THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

Written in FRENCH by

Mr. RAPIN de THOYRAS.

Tranſlated into ENGLISH with additional NOTES,

By J. TEMPLEMAN, Eſq;

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ЕНСГАНД

ОВ

ЗАЛОГИ

TO THE

SUBSCRIBERS

TO THIS

TRANSLATION.

GENTLEMEN,

THE uſefullneſs of this HISTORY having now made it almoſt univerſal, there needs nothing farther to be offered in its vindication. But I could not poſſibly cloſe this VOLUME without making ſome proper

per acknowledgments, to you the PATRONS of it, for your kind encouragement of this particular TRANSLATION, at the ſame time aſſuring you, that it ſhall continue to be carried on with the utmoſt care and fidelity, by

GENTLEMEN,

your moſt obliged

and obedient

humble ſervant,

J. TEMPLEMAN.

THE

PREFACE.

WHEN Mr. Rapin first begun this work, he little thought of writing a compleat History of England. His long stay in our island giving him an opportunity of learning our language; and his post in the army, during the war in Ireland, even obliging him to it, he diligently applied himself to the reading of English books, and, particularly, of such as treated of the government and History of England, after the Norman conquest. As the desire of knowledge continually increases, and being master of his time, he was not satisfied with understanding the nature, but wished also to know the original, of the English constitution. To this end, he thought it necessary to peruse, carefully, the History of the Anglo-Saxons, who introduced this form of government into Great-Britain. He found this study to be very discouraging, the History of the Anglo-Saxons being like a vast forest, where the traveller, with great difficulty, finds a few narrow paths to guide his wandering steps. However, it was this that inspired him with the design of clearing this part of the English History, by removing the the rubbish, and carrying on the thread so, as to give, at least, a general knowledge. For this purpose, he was indispensably obliged to shew, how the Saxons came to send troops into Great-Britian, and why a conquest, which had cost them so much, was abandoned by the Romans. In a word, he fixed the beginning of his History to the time of Julius Cæsar, who first attempted to conquer our island, intending to conclude with the Norman conquest. But not knowing how to employ his time better, and besides finding, that after the conquest, the scene was changed, and from a wild forest he was entered into a cultivated country, where the way was easy, he resolved to proceed. However, when he came to the reign of Henry II, he was upon the point of relinquishing his work, of which the beginning gave him no encouragement, when an unexpected assistance, not only induced him to continue it, but also to form the project of a much larger History than what he, at first, intended. This assistance was RYMER'S FOEDERA, communicated to our author, by the famous le Clerc, to whom, being then publishing at the government's charge, the volumes were sent by the lord Halifax, a great promoter of that noble work.

This Collection, consisting then of 17 folios, which are lately reprinted with two additional volumes, was of infinite service to our author in compiling his History, and enabling him to clear numberless things, which remained in obscurity. It afforded him means, 1. To rectify the dates, in many places; 2. To discover a great number of errors in the best English, Scotch, French, Italian, and Spanish historians. 3. To decide on many occasions, concerning the contrarieties between the historians. 4. To incert in his History, many events, wholly omitted, or but slightly mentioned by others. In a word, it is this, that chiefly distinguishes his History from all that have appeared before this Collection was published. For it is easy to see what an advantage it was to him, since it contains treaties of peace, truce, league, marrages, commerce, made by the kings of England with other princes; ambassadors instructions; their letters and informations, as well concerning their own negotiations, as the affairs of the courts to which they were sent; very instructive memoirs upon affairs confusedly spoken of, by the historians; letters patents; orders; safe-conducts; with numberless other papers, which cannot be ranged under general heads, and which are of great use to a historian. All these Mr. Rapin was so well acquainted with, that he has published abstracts of 17 volumes, to shew the relation of these acts to the History of England. This work to a man less versed in the English History than Mr. Rapin, would require his whole life; but to him, who knew the intent and motive of every act, it was only a diversion. By the way, it may be added, that Mr. Rapin had a thorough knowledge of our parties and factions, as appears in his Dissertation on the Whigs and Tories, published, in 1717, and translated into English, Dutch, Danish, and twice into High-Dutch.

The advantage which the use of RYMER'S Collection, gave Mr. Rapin over all our historians, serves, in great measure, to remove the objection of his being a foreigner, which

naturally ariſes in the mind of an Engliſhman. But if it is farther conſidered, that beſides this advantage, he not only carefully peruſed all the Engliſh hiſtorians, but alſo confronted them with thoſe of the neighbouring ſtates, whether they wrote in Latin, French, Italian, or Spaniſh, it muſt be owned this objection entirely vaniſhes, and that ſuppoſing his judgment and capacity equal to the work, (which the publick by an uncommon approbation ſeems to allow) he was in all other reſpects as well qualified as any Engliſhman can be.

As his aſſiſtances were extraordinary, ſo there is reaſon to believe his impartiality uncommon; for beſides his privilege, as a foreigner, of freely ſpeaking the truth, without fear of offending any party, he had no motive or intereſt to induce him to be partial to England, or any of the neighbouring ſtates; for his life was equally ſpent in France, England, Holland, and Germany. During the 17 years he was employed in this work, he had no poſt or penſion, nor exerciſed any profeſſion, which might bias him to one nation more than another, and as he had no particular obligations to any of the forementioned ſtates, ſo he had no reaſon to complain of ever receiving the leaſt injuſtice.

But notwithſtanding his endeavours to be entirely impartial, he plainly foreſaw, people's prejudices in favour of their own nation, would prevent them from doing him juſtice upon ſeveral occaſions. But this was a rock he could not avoid. How is it poſſible, for inſtance, to relate the conteſts between the Engliſh and Scots, to the ſatisfaction of both? The war between them in the XIVth century, concerning the ſovereignty of the kings of England over Scotland, cannot be deſcribed with its cauſes and circumſtances, without exaſperating the one or the other. The Scots are perſuaded, Edward I. acted very unjuſtly with their anceſtors, and that his grandſon Edward III, was not more ſcrupulous. The Engliſh, on the contrary, believe, their kings had then and long before an unconteſtable right of ſovereignty over all Scotland, and that Edward I's war upon that account was very lawful. Our author has declared for the Scots, as believing the truth on their ſide; for which reaſon, he has endeavoured to ſet this whole affair, in the cleareſt light poſſible; thinking it the duty of a hiſtorian, to correct ſuch errors as have gathered ſtrength from time, or from the negligence and prejudices of former writers.

The quarrel between Edward III, and Philip de Vallois, in which ſo much blood was ſpilt, is another inſtance wherein it is almoſt impoſſible to pleaſe both the Engliſh and French. Among the French, the Salick law is a Noli me tangere. To ſatisfy them, not only the antiquity of that law muſt be acknowledged, but the ſenſe and extent muſt alſo be left unexamined. The Engliſh, on their ſide, are no leſs prejudiced. Without conſidering that Edward could have no right to the crown of France, but upon ſuppoſition of the authority of the Salick law, they alledge againſt it ſuch reaſons, as are not only unſerviceable, but even prejudicial, to that prince's right. Our author, however, without being reſtrained by the fear of diſpleaſing either, has explained, in a Diſſertation at the end of Edward III's reign, what is meant by the Salick law, wherein conſiſted the difference between the two kings, and ſhewn, that their rights were ſo litigious, as to be very difficultly decided by that law.

If it is hard to ſatisfy two different nations, in the recital of their conteſts and quarrels, it is no leſs ſo to content the Engliſh themſelves, in things wherein their opinions are divided; as for inſtance, the prerogatives of the king, the privileges of parliament, the ſucceſſion of the crown, and the like. Mr. Rapin obſerves, that diſputes on theſe points were firſt ſet on foot among us, in the laſt century, by two oppoſite parties, one whereof was for an abſolute and arbitrary power in the king, whilſt the other endeavoured not only to diveſt him of his juſt prerogatives, but even to render him dependent on the parliament. Theſe two extremes he equally condemned, and as he had no motive or intereſt to incline him to either party, he has done his utmoſt to diſcover the truth, through the paſſions and prejudices of the writers on both ſides. He has fairly confronted the facts laid down by the ſeveral hiſtorians, received for true, ſuch as they all agree in, and of ſuch as are variouſly related, he has admitted only thoſe that are ſupported by ſtrong evidences. The barons wars are alſo a ſubject that can hardly be treated to the ſatisfaction of all readers; ſome conſidering as rebellion, what others deem a juſt defence of liberty and property. Mr. Rapin has declared for neither of theſe opinions, farther than induced by ſolid reaſons, and, by means of the Fœdera, has clearly accounted for the riſe and progreſs of theſe wars, which, for want of that aſſiſtance, are very confuſedly explained by others.

What moſt embarraſſed our author, is the national partiality of the hiſtorians, chiefly upon two articles, the violation of the treaties, and, the ſucceſs of the battles. For the firſt, where the truth was no other way to be diſcovered, he has frequently made uſe of a very natural maxim; viz. that it is not likely the party, to whom a treaty is advantageous, ſhould be the firſt to break it. As for the ſecond article, nothing is more common than to ſee hiſtorians ſtick to own their nation vanquiſhed, and think it incumbent on them to diminiſh its loſſes, or magnify its victories. On theſe occaſions, when our author could not fix the ſucceſs of a battle by the conſequences, he has taken care to inform the reader of the diſagreement between the hiſtorians.

Mr. Rapin, profeſſing to write for the information of foreigners, was obliged to give a particular account of the Engliſh conſtitution. The following diſcourſe, therefore, was ſolely deſigned for the inſtruction of ſuch as

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are ſtrangers to our government, which, being different, as he obſerved, from all others, the reader, as well as hiſtorian, muſt always have it in ſight, leaſt wrong ideas lead them into great errors.

Origin and nature of the Engliſh conſtitution.

The government of England is a mixt and limited monarchy, as it is certain, all the governments, in Europe, eſtabliſhed by the northern nations formerly were. They were monarchies, inveſted, not with abſolute and arbitrary, but with a power bounded by the national laws. Such is, ſtill, the Engliſh conſtitution, whatever changes have happened in the other European kingdoms. The king and people make but one body, of which the king is head. He directs and gives motion to all the other members, takes care of their welfare, and ought always to have an eye to the publick, to procure their good, and guard them againſt all impending evils. By watching, thus, for the publick, he conſults his own intereſt, ſince, being ſtrictly united with his ſubjects, he is ſure to be gainer by all the advantages he procures them.

But, to enable the king to labour, effectually, for the good of the kingdom, it was neceſſary, to cloath him with a great power, and aſſign him a revenue ſufficient to live in ſplendor, in order to attract the veneration of the people. It was neceſſary to grant him privileges approaching abſolute power; as the command of the armies, and fortified places; the execution of the laws, and the adminiſtration of juſtice, in his own name; the pardoning of condemned criminals; the diſpoſal of all the high offices; the calling and diſſolving of the parliament; the rejecting of bills he thinks contrary to the publick good; the proclaiming peace and war; theſe are called the prerogatives of the king, or of the crown. I do not pretend to give an exact liſt of them. I am ſenſible, ſome extend them much farther, but all I mean here is, that the king has great prerogatives, which were the effect, or conſequence, of the mutual agreement of the firſt Anglo-Saxon kings, with their people. The king wants nothing to render him happy, and powerful; his revenues are more than ſufficient for his ordinary expences, and to reward thoſe who diſtinguiſh themſelves by their merit, beſides the preferments in the church, ſtate, and army, which he may beſtow as he pleaſes. Has he a juſt war to maintain? He is not obliged to burden his people with taxes and impoſitions. It is the people themſelves, that voluntarily furniſh him with every thing neceſſary. Thus, without ever being under a neceſſity of heaping up riches for the future, he is ſure of finding, in the purſes of his ſubjects, wherewithal to ſupply his preſent occaſions.

There are but two things, the Saxons did not think proper to truſt their kings with, by reaſon of the ill conſequences, for, being of like paſſions with other men, they might, very poſſibly, abuſe them, viz. the power of changing the laws, enacted by conſent of king and people; and, the power of raiſing taxes at their pleaſure. From theſe two articles ſpring numberleſs branches, concerning the liberty and property of the ſubject, which the king cannot touch, without breaking the conſtitution, and they are the diſtinguiſhing character of the Engliſh monarchy. The prerogatives of the crown, and the rights and privileges of the people, flowing from the two fore-mentioned articles, are the ground of all the laws that, from time to time, have been made, by the unanimous conſent of king and people. The Engliſh government conſiſts, in the correſpondence and ſtrict union of the king's prerogatives with the people's liberties. So far are theſe from deſtroying one another, that they are rather the ſtrongeſt cement of that ſtrict union, ſo neceſſary between the prince and people. The king, by means of his prerogatives, is able to protect his ſubjects; to ſee the laws duly executed, and juſtice impartially adminiſtered; to defend the weak againſt their powerful oppreſſors; to aſſiſt the unfortunate, and puniſh the diſturbers of the ſociety. On the other hand, the people, whilſt in poſſeſſion of their liberties, confiding in the laws, and the king's care to execute them, live ſecurely, without any fears for their lives or properties. They enjoy the fruits of their induſtry, which turns to the king's advantage, ſince from the people it is, that the king's occaſions are ſupplied. If they make their court to the nobles, it is only when their intereſt, or aſſiſtance, may be neceſſary, and, not out of fear of being oppreſſed, ſince the greateſt are equally ſubject to the laws, with the meaneſt.

It cannot be denied, ſuch a government is extremely proper to render both prince and people happy; but when kings aroſe, as ſome there were, that aimed at abſolute power; by changing the old, and making new, laws, at pleaſure; by impoſing illegal and arbitrary taxes on the people; this excellent government being, in ſome meaſure, diſſolved, by theſe deſtructive maxims, confuſion, and civil wars enſued, which ſome, very wrongfully aſcribe, to the fickle and reſtleſs temper of the Engliſh. On the other hand, the people have not always been contented, with maintaining their privileges, when once infringed by the king; but, for fear of the like attempts for the future, have proceeded to meaſures very deſtructive of the juſt rights of the crown; and this is the reaſon why the prerogative, abuſed by ſome former kings, runs not, at preſent, ſo high as formerly.

Since then, the Engliſh conſtitution conſiſts in an intimate union between the prince and people, as between the head and body, it is, conſequently, in its utmoſt perfection and ſtrength whilſt this union ſubſiſts, and both, without mutual ſuſpicions, jealouſies, and fears, ſecurely enjoy their reſpective rights. On the contrary, it decays and degenerates, when one endeavours to invade the privileges of the other.

To preſerve a perfect union between the king and the people, it was neceſſary to eſta-

bliſh a way of communication between them. This was done by means of a Wittena-Gemot, or aſſembly of wiſe men, who repreſented the whole nation. This method the Saxons brought with them, from Germany, where all publick affairs were decided in ſuch an aſſembly, of which their generals, choſen in time of war, were preſidents. However, they were obliged to make ſome alterations, becauſe in Germany they had no kings, the ſupreme power being lodged in the Wittena-Gemot; whereas in England, their chiefs, or leaders, aſſumed the title of kings. Hengiſt, who firſt led Saxon troops into Britain, as auxiliaries, was the firſt that aſſumed this title, probably, with the approbation of the Saxons, under his command. For, ſince he was not, naturally, their king, how could he become ſo without their conſent? But it muſt be obſerved, Hengiſt may be conſidered in a double capacity. At his arrival, in Great-Britain, he was, certainly, only general of the Saxons; but after receiving the grant of Kent from Vortigern, king of the Britons, he became as much ſovereign of that country, as Vortigern was before him, and accordingly, aſſumed the title of king of Kent; but this new title did not make him king of the Saxons, of whom he was only intruſted with the command. So it is likely, the Saxons, in conſenting their general ſhould become their ſovereign, did not give him an abſolute power over their lives and properties, ſuppoſing, what would be extremely difficult to prove, he was inveſted with ſuch a power over his Britiſh ſubjects. There is a remarkable paſſage, in the Hiſtory of France, to this purpoſe. Clovis was king of the Francs, before he led his army into Gaul, and his large conqueſts there, gave him no more power over his own countrymen, than he enjoyed before. This is evident, from his being prevented, by a common ſoldier, from preſenting the archbiſhop of Rheims, with a piece of plate, taken among the plunder. The ſoldier could not bear, the king ſhould appropriate to himſelf what belonged to all in common, ſo hewed it in pieces with his battle-ax, and took his ſhare. The king, who knew he exceeded his power, did not dare to puniſh him upon the ſpot, and tho' he afterwards took an occaſion to put him to death, it was upon ſome other account, wherein he might lawfully do it. It may then, with good reaſon, be affirmed, that the Saxon generals, in aſſuming the title of king, acquired not a deſpotick power over their own followers, by whoſe aſſiſtance they conquered Britain. Since, therefore, the firſt kings had not ſuch a power, it was neceſſary to eſtabliſh ſome way to prevent their uſurping it; and that could not be done better, than by general aſſemblies, which conſiſting of the king, and the chiefs of the people, kept the balance even betwixt both. It muſt be farther obſerved, there is one material difference between the ſettlement of the Francs, in Gaul, and of the Saxons, in Britain. In Gaul, the number of the conquered was always ſuperior to that of the conquerors. Whereas in Britain, if any Britons remained in the conquered provinces, they were but few, and in a ſtate of ſlavery. So, the country was, properly, inhabited only with Saxons, Juttes, and Angles, over whom, the conqueſts made by their own arms, gave to their firſt kings no power, but what they conſented to. We are ignorant, indeed, of the particulars of the agreement between the kings and their reſpective people; but the proofs that afterwards appear, of the people's liberty, leave no room to doubt, there was, at firſt, ſome regulation thereon.

It is not eaſy to know, diſtinctly, who the Witan or wiſemen were, that compoſed their Wittena-Gemots. At firſt, theſe aſſemblies might only conſiſt of the Saxon officers, among whom the conquered lands were divided, and who, from thence, became the princes, or chiefs, in the ſeveral ſtates. In proceſs of time, the Britons having, entirely, abandoned their country, the conquerors, finding themſelves too few to cultivate the whole, ſent for a great number of families from Germany, to whom the reſt of the lands were given. Theſe diſtributions were thus made. The new king gave, to thoſe of his followers, who were diſtinguiſhed by their birth, ſervices, or perſonal merit, ſuch a portion of land, on condition they ſerved the crown, on certain occaſions; which theſe parcelled out again to others, with a reſervation of ſuch and ſuch ſervices to themſelves. Theſe two ſorts of poſſeſſors were called thanes, that is, ſervants; but the firſt were diſtinguiſhed by the title of king's thanes, which anſwers to that of the immediate vaſſals of the crown. Theſe, after the Norman conqueſt, were called barons, and afterwards, peers of the realm; for earl and duke were only honorary titles, or names of offices. It is not denied, the king's thanes were members of the Wittena-Gemots; but that the other thanes were ſo, is greatly diſputed, as will be ſeen, in the Diſſertation on the government, laws, and cuſtoms of the Saxons. It ſuffices, at preſent, that there was in each kingdom, an aſſembly of Witan, or wiſemen, who, jointly with the king, regulated all important affairs, made laws and ordinances, and impoſed taxes. As nothing was decided, but by the mutual conſent of the king and the aſſembly, their intereſts not being ſeperate, and their views the ſame, viz. the good of the publick, this is a clear evidence, that the eſſence of the government conſiſted in the ſtrict union between king and people. If we look into the Hiſtories of the other European kingdoms, founded by the northern nations, we ſhall find the like aſſemblies, under different names, as Diets, in Germany, and Poland, and Cortez, in Spain. It is not, therefore, ſtrange, the Saxons ſhould eſtabliſh, in England, the only form of government known to them.

After the Norman conqueſt, theſe aſſemblies were called parliaments. If William the Conqueror continued them, which, perhaps,

haps, is not very eaſy to prove, it was not with the ſame rights and privileges they enjoyed under the Saxon kings. It is true, in the following reigns, ſome traces of them appear, which made it thought, they were not entirely aboliſhed. However, parliaments were not frequent till king John, and Henry III, in whoſe reign, ſeveral affirm, and, perhaps, not without reaſon, that the commons, for the firſt time, ſent repreſentatives to parliament. Probably, the lords and commons, after their ſeparation, the time whereof is unknown, met in two different houſes, ſince the Engliſh ſtill call houſes the two rooms where they aſſemble, tho' under the ſame roof. They ſay, the upper houſe, or houſe of lords, and the lower houſe, or houſe of commons, to denote what is expreſſed, in French, by the word chamber. It is only ſince the reign of Edward I, ſucceſſor to Henry III, that there has been an uninterrupted ſeries of parliaments.

After the commons became a diſtinct houſe from the lords, they pretended to be the ſole repreſentatives of the people, by whom they were choſen. The lords could pretend only to act for themſelves, or for the body of the nobility, as making a conſiderable part of the nation. However this be, the barons, of whom very likely the parliament at firſt conſiſted, loſt by degrees many of their antient rights, and the houſe of commons came to be conſidered as the guardians of the people's intereſts. However, the lords ſtill retain very great privileges; they are, for inſtance, the higheſt court of juſtice in the kingdom; they have a power to bring in, approve, and throw out bills; in a word, they always make an eſſential part of the parliament. The biſhops and abbots, who had all along a right to ſit in parliament, had it continued to them after the conqueſt. It cannot well be doubted that they ſate in the Wittena-Gemots, as king's thanes, or barons, ſince they were the immediate tenants of the crown; but it is not ſo certain, that they enjoyed this right, as repreſentatives of the clergy.

The commons, as a conſequence of their being the repreſentatives of the people, claim an undiſputed right of laying taxes, and granting money to the king. So that the houſe of lords in this caſe have no other power than to paſs, or throw out, the bill, without offering to make any alterations or amendments.

Thus, the two houſes of parliament compoſe the body of the nation, jointly with the king, who is the head. The cloſe and abſolutely neceſſary union between the king and the parliament, appears in nothing ſo much as in the manner of making an act of parliament, or law. When either of the two houſes deſigns to bring in a bill (for ſo is an act called before it is paſſed) after examining and debating every clauſe, it is ſent to the other houſe for their approbation. If it paſſes there, it is brought to the king for the royal aſſent, after which, and not before, it has the form and force of a law. But if either of the houſes throw it out, or the king refuſes his aſſent, it comes to nothing, as if it had never been mentioned. Nothing more plainly demonſtrates, that the eſſence of the Engliſh government, conſiſts in the union between the king and his people. Take away this union, and it becomes confuſion and anarchy.

Whether the commons originally ſate in parliament, or only ſince the reign of Henry III, it is certain, their power, by degrees, is very much encreaſed, to which the maxim, that their houſe ſolely repreſents the people, has greatly contributed. This maxim was not yet eſtabliſhed in the reign of Henry VIII, ſince we find he applied to the barons for a ſupply of money. But this is not the only new privilege they have acquired: on their ſeparation from the lords, the intereſts of the two houſes were not the ſame upon all occaſions. They have had frequent conteſts concerning their reſpective rights; but generally the commons had the advantage of the lords; and no wonder, ſince they alone diſpoſe of the nation's money.

On the other hand, as great alterations have happened with regard to the lords or peers. Formerly all the immediate vaſſals of the crown were barons, and, as ſuch, had a ſeat in parliament; but now, as there are none of thoſe lands that were called fees of the crown, the right of ſitting in the houſe of lords is annexed to the bare honorary titles of duke, marqueſs, earl, viſcount and baron, which give thoſe that are inveſted therewith, no power over the ſhires, cities, or lands, whoſe names they bear, and which the king may beſtow on whom he pleaſes. However, when once theſe titles are conferred on a family, the head cannot be deprived of his right to ſit in parliament, unleſs he has been judicially condemned by his peers, for ſome crime that renders him unworthy. But it muſt be obſerved, it is in the king's power to extend or limit, many ways, the right of ſucceeding to theſe honours; ſo that ſometimes, tho' rarely, he extends it to the female, in default of the male, line. Tho' a peer only has a right to ſit in the houſe of lords, the king may, if he pleaſes, call the ſon of a nobleman to the houſe of peers, in his father's life-time. The inferior titles are always included in the ſuperior, ſo that every duke is at the ſame time marqueſs, earl, viſcount and baron. Thus, all the lords are barons, and properly as ſuch, are members of the parliament, according to antient uſage; for before and long after the conqueſt, the lords of parliament were conſidered only as the king's thane or barons. For this reaſon, civil wars in the reigns of king John and Henry III, are called the barons wars. The title of duke was firſt conferred, in England, after the conqueſt, by Edward III, on his eldeſt ſon, whom he made duke of Cornwall. The title of marqueſs is much later. In the time of the Saxons, earls or counts were properly governors or chiefs of ſhires or counties, ſo called from them. William the Conqueror having diſtributed the lands of the Engliſh among his followers, they

on whom he conferred the title of earl or count, became really and truly lords of thoſe lands whoſe titles they bore, ſo that they were hereditary in their families. Afterwards, but at what time is not known, they loſt this privilege, and the title of earl, as was before obſerved, is become only honorary. The viſcounts, under the Saxon kings, were lieutenants to the earls in their counties. They diſcharged the office of high-ſheriff, which is now left to inferior officers, whilſt the viſcounts are ranked among the peers, and have even the precedence of the barons. This laſt title was formerly general, and included the whole body of the nobility or peers of the realm, of whom the upper houſe of parliament conſiſts. Next to theſe are what they call in England, the gentry, who, tho' diſtinguiſhed by ſeveral titles, as knight, eſquire, &c. are all included in the body of the commons, who in France are called, the third eſtate. From among theſe are choſen the knights of the ſhires, citizens and burgeſſes, who compoſe the lower houſe, to the number of 513; but it ſeldom happens that all are preſent, and 40 are ſufficient to make a houſe.

What has been ſaid ſhews, how the two houſes of parliament are a part of the legiſlature, ſince by them the laws, are made with the royal aſſent. Accordingly, the parliament has ever been very careful to preſerve its privileges, and hinder the leaſt breach, for fear of loſing them inſenſibly, as it has happened in other kingdoms. On the other hand, moſt of the laws tend to maintain the liberty and property of the ſubjects, ſo that they can be deprived of them only by law. There are abſolutely but two ways to deprive the Engliſh of their liberties; either by laying aſide parliaments entirely, or by bribing the members to ſacrifice their country to their ambition or avarice. Both theſe methods have been tried more than once, and for ſome time with ſeeming ſucceſs, but in the end have turned to the confuſion and ruin of the projectors. The Engliſh have ever been extremely jealous of their liberties, and this jealouſy has frequently cauſed violent motions in the kingdom, when they have ſeen or ſuſpected a tendency to undermine their privileges, and they have thereby preſerved the conſtitution of their government in much the ſame ſtate, as in the beginning of the monarchy.

Some PARTICULARS of the LIFE of Mr. RAPIN de THOYRAS.

MR. RAPIN, counted among his anceſtors and relations, many eminent perſons as well of the ſword as the gown. His family is originally from Savoy, where it flouriſhed time out of mind, and enjoyed ſeveral honourable poſts. As I am ignorant of their perſonal qualities, I cannot ſay whether it was through a wiſe precaution, or to perpetuate an ill-grounded enmity, that a biſhop of Maurienne cauſed to be engraved, in the epiſcopal palace, the following inſcription ſtill to be ſeen, Caveant ſucceſſores noſtri a familia Rapinorum, that is, Let our ſucceſſors beware of the RAPINS. On the other hand, this family pretends, that their external luſtre was impaired ſolely by their ſteady adherence to the laws of honour and juſtice. This is inſinuated by the author of the following verſes, which are not quoted for their elegance.

Pour n' avoir ſans beſoin ſu prendre,
On voit tomber cette maiſon:
Si l' Effet eut ſuivi ſon nom,
Elle autoit de quoi ſe defendre.

That is, this family, for being too honeſt to invade the property of others, is gone to decay. Had they been given to what their name implies, they would have wherewithal to ſupport themſelves.

But to draw nearer to Mr. RAPIN, I ſhall proceed to four brothers of that name, who ſettled in France, in the reign of Francis I.

One, a clergyman, was almoner to queen Catharine de Medici, who deſired him of the duke of Savoy. Beſides the preferments he enjoyed in his own country, he was called the king's orator, but what that means I cannot tell.

His brothers (of whom but one has left iſſue) were all three ſoldiers, and embraced the reformed religion; for the ſake of which, very probably, they abandoned their country.

The eldeſt was a colonel of foot, and governor of Montauban, with authority over the neighbouring governors. His name is among thoſe of the viſcounts, who commanded the troops of the reformed, in the ſouthern provinces of France. Letters, ſtill extant, ſhew how well known he was to Henry IV, to Lewis and Henry princes of Conde, to admiral Chaſtillon, and many other perſons of the firſt quality.

All we know of one of his brothers, called Peter, is, that a commiſſion of captain of horſe muſt, by all circumſtances, belong to him; but of this we cannot be ſure, becauſe the name is not expreſſed.

Philibert, another brother, was gentelman to the prince of Conde, and afterwards his ſteward. He had no leſs reputation in military, than capacity in civil, affairs: but both proved fatal to him, as they drew upon him the enmity of the Catholicks, and, particularly, of the parliament of Toulouſe, who cauſed his head to be ſtruck off at the very time he was come, by the king's order, to regiſter the edict of peace of 1568.

The French hiſtorians frequently ſpeak of theſe two brothers. Father Daniel alone does not mention them, and paſſes over in ſilence, this cruel execution. The reaſon does not appear at firſt, for he cannot ſay, this ſentence, how unjuſt ſoever it may be ſuppoſed, is only a private affair, which, therefore, he might omit if he pleaſed; ſince it is viſible, on the contrary, that ſuch an event, rendered memorable by its circumſtances and conſequences, ought neceſſarily to have place in Hiſtory. But when we conſider, we find this able hiſtorian has very artfully managed this omiſſion for two uſes; firſt, to extinguiſh, as far as in him lay, all remembrance of a rage which caſts a blemiſh on the Roman Catholicks; ſecondly, to render the reformed odious, when he comes to ſpeak of the ravages committed by the admiral's army, ſome time after, about Toulouſe. In the interim, with regard to theſe ravages, he was not ſo free as he deſired, but was obliged to ſpeak of them in general terms, for he could not deſcend to particulars, without diſcovering the connexion between theſe ravages and RAPIN's death, by which they were both occaſioned and juſtified. But what he ſlightly mentions, Thuanus and Mezerai relate more at large, and ſet in a true light. Mezerai, who is more circumſtantial, and informs us, there was then in Toulouſe 8000 regular troops, which added to the great number of inhabitants, deprived the reformed of all hopes of becoming maſters of the city, ſays expreſly, that the Hugonots-- "ſet fire

"to

" to all the lands and houſes of the coun-
" ſellors, on the ruins whereof the ſoldiers
" wrote with ſmoaking coals, RAPIN's RE-
" VENGE."

Peter Rapin, baron of Mauvers, ſon to Philibert, was governor of Mas-Granier, one of the cautionary-towns granted to the reformed, in Guienne. He was a ſoldier from his youth, and attended king Henry IV, in all his expeditions. Moſt part of that time, he received not a farthing from his eſtate, which threw him into great ſtraits, as well as many others for the ſame reaſon. The king himſelf, was in no better circumſtances, as may be inferred from his anſwer to Mr. RAPIN, who having loſt his horſe, beſought his majeſty to give him wherewithal to buy another. " I " would, ſays he, withal my heart, but ſee, " I have ſcarce a ſhirt to my back." But Mr. RAPIN's ſufferings in the religious wars were not confined to what paſſed in the army. He thrice ſaw his houſe burnt and battered down in his life, and every thing plundered. It is true, he had amends made him the laſt time, as far as was poſſible, and in a manner which muſt have been very agreeable to him; for the Catholick gentlemen of the neighbourhood, by whom he was eſteemed and beloved, meeting together, reſolved to ſupply him with neceſſaries to plow and ſow his lands; and as thoſe troubles laſted but eight months, when they were appeaſed, he found a crop ready, and all his eſtate, except his houſe, in as good condition as the moſt diligent owner could have kept it. On another occaſion, he had a pleaſure without any allay: upon a rumour of his death, he read himſelf a letter from queen Mary de Medici, expreſſing her great ſorrow to his family. He married a daughter of Mr. de Lupe, lord of Moravat, captain of 50 men at arms, governor of Mauvezin, a cautionary-town, and a major-general.

He left a numerous iſſue, of whom his ſecond ſon James, ſieur de Thoyras *, was the darling of his parents. His father left him more than any other of the younger children, and his mother gave him, moreover, that portion of the eſtate of John de la Ferriere, vidame † of Chartres, and one of the heads of the French Proteſtants, which fell to her in right of her mother. He was deſigned for a ſoldier, like his brothers; but his mother willing to have him near her, was for breeding him a ſcholar, to which the father conſented. After he had finiſhed his ſtudies, he was admitted advocate in the court of the edict of Caſtres, and, contrary to to the cuſtom of the country, were perſons nobly deſcended are never of that profeſſion, he practiſed it both at Caſtres and at Caſtelnaudary, and Toulouſe, above 50 years, to the day of his death. It is true, I include the four years he ſpent at Paris, where he went, upon news of Mr. Pelliſſon, his brother-in-law, being arreſted with Mr. Fouquet. Nothing paſſed in that famous affair, but what he was privy to, and he was very ſerviceable in many reſpects. He was one of the three concerned in the Factum, and ſupplied all we find there relating to the Roman law. I ſaw in France, a letter ſent to him by Mr. Fouquet from the Baſtile, thanking him for it, in the moſt affectionate manner. All that new him, of whom ſeveral are now living, have always deſcribed him as one of the prime advocates of his time, and very eminent for his impartiality and integrity. His wife, who died, at Geneva, where ſhe was ſent by the king's order, for refuſing to turn Catholick, was ſiſter to George and Paul Pelliſſon, whoſe memory is ſtill recent. Her father and grandfather were judges in the parliament of Toulouſe, and in the court of the edict of Caſtres. Raymond Pelliſſon, her great grandfather, after having been maſter of the requeſts, and ambaſſador to Portugal, was, at laſt, firſt preſident of the ſenate of Camberi, and commandant, in Savoy, whilſt in poſſeſſion of the French. I ſay nothing of a very extraordinary affair that befell him, and on which ſeveral authors have enlarged, nor of his deſcendents above-named, becauſe I ſhould only copy what is to be found in the ſupplement to Morei's Dictionary, printed at Amſterdam, in 1716. This family, from whence have ſprung ſeveral illuſtrious perſons, is originally Engliſh, and comes from an attorney-general to the prince of Wales, when in Guienne.

I proceed now to Mr. RAPIN. PAUL RAPIN Sieur de Thoyras, younger ſon of James, was born at Caſtres, March 15, 1661. He began to ſtudy Latin under a tutor, his father kept in the houſe, after which he was ſent to Puylaurens, and from thence to Saumur. At this laſt place, when about 17, he had a quarrel with a friend, upon a ſlight occaſion, and they immediately challenged each other. But whether they loſt time in fetching their ſwords, for being ſtudents they ſeldom wore any, or the duel held long, night came whilſt they were engaged, and then Mr. RAPIN's ſword broke near the hilt, without his perceiving it. His adverſary, immediately ſeeing it, generouſly told him. Whereupon the combat ceaſed, and embracing each other, they returned together to town. Some time after he had another quarrel with a perſon much older than himſelf, who rudely joſtled him, as he was walking through a narrow and difficult paſſage. Mr. RAPIN fell upon him, but they were quickly parted by the people there preſent. He ran for his ſword, and ſpeedily returning, found the perſon gone, neither could he meet with him, tho' he carefully ſought him ſeveral days. Some time after, he heard the man was gone to Paris, where Mr. RAPIN followed him. He was no ſooner arrived, but he was ſeiſed by a guard of the marſhals of France. This accident, which he did not expect, believing his deſign very ſecret, becauſe he had not imparted it, was occaſioned by the advice his uncle Pel-

* The name of a village belonging to his family.
† That is, judge of a biſhop's temporal juriſdiction.

liſſon

liſſon received from Saumur, from whence he was informed of the ſuppoſed cauſe of his nephew's journey, which might be of ill conſequence, and withal, of the place where his antagoniſt might be heard of. Mr. Pelliſon fearing a duel would enſue, which, however it ended, would ruin his nephew, acquainting the marſhals of France with the matter, Mr. RAPIN, who was yet very young, affording them opportunity to ſecure him, by going directly to his uncle's. The marſhals having heard both parties, condemned the aggreſſor to lie in priſon at Fort-l'Eveque, till Mr. RAPIN ſhould conſent to his diſcharge, which he did about a month after, at the deſire of the prince of Furſtemberg, biſhop of Strasburg, who was then at Paris. In the interim, the next day after the ſentence, the priſoner's brother, who was reckoned a good ſword's-man, meeting Mr. RAPIN in the ſtreet, accoſted him, and talking to him ſo as to renew the quarrel, Mr. RAPIN anſwered him by drawing his ſword, and wounded him before they were parted. But this rencounter was kept ſecret by the advice of the friends of both parties, for fear of incenſing the marſhals.

The beginning of the year 1679, Mr. RAPIN returned to his father's, in order to apply himſelf cloſely to the ſtudy of the law; but before he had made any progreſs, he was obliged, with many other young gentlemen, to commence advocate, upon notice of an edict which was publiſhed ſoon after, that a doctor's degree ſhould not be given to any perſon, who had not ſtudied five years in ſome univerſity.

This ſame year, the courts of the edict were ſuppreſſed, by which Mr. RAPIN's family were forced to remove to Toulouſe. Not long after, Mr. RAPIN perceiving the ill ſtate of the reformed, and that, probably, it would daily grow worſe, deſired his father's conſent to quit the profeſſion of advocate for that of arms. His father, without abſolutely denying his requeſt, returned ſuch a reply, as only tended to gain time. Not that the requeſt ſeemed to him unreaſonable and ill-grounded; but he was apprehenſive this new way of life, where ambition is more fired than in any other, would expoſe his ſon to great temptation, when he ſhould find by daily experience, that it would not be poſſible to riſe to any tolerable poſt, ſo long as he adhered to his religion; whereas that obſtacle being removed, he might hope to be advanced like the reſt. This ſtate of uncertainty, made him very remiſs in the ſtudy of the law. He pleaded however one cauſe as advocate, but ſtopped there, and applied himſelf more cloſely than ever, to the reading of good authors, to the mathematicks and muſick, in which he acquired great skill.

In the year 1685, his father died, and two months after, the edict of Nantz was revoked. Whereupon Mr. RAPIN retired into the country, with his mother and brothers; but as the perſecution, ſoon after, was at the higheſt, he departed with his youngeſt brother, and arrived in England, in March, 1686.

Not long after, there came to London a French abbe of quality, and friend of Mr. Pelliſon, who made Mr. RAPIN frequent viſits, and introduced him to Mr. de Barillon, the French ambaſſador, from whom Mr. RAPIN received great civilities. Theſe gentlemen would have perſuaded him to wait upon the king, aſſuring him of a gracious reception. Mr. RAPIN, who could not ſee what pretenſions he had to ſuch an honour, and beſides, was apprehenſive that a propoſal ſeemingly ſo advantageous, might tend to his prejudice, excuſed himſelf in the handſomeſt manner he could. This affair put him upon ſeriouſly reflecting on his preſent ſituation, continually teazed about his religion, by the marqueſs of Seiſſac and other French Catholicks then, at London, but eſpecially by the abbe, who, tho' extremely courteous and civil, always turned their converſation to controverſy. Perceiving, therefore, it was not poſſible for him to defend himſelf unprepared, againſt a man who was maſter of theſe ſubjects, and managed them with great art, he returned into the country, from whence he was come to viſit the abbe, without taking leave. He knew himſelf guilty of ill manners, but choſe to be ſo, rather than remain any longer expoſed.

As he had then no expectations, in England, he made but a ſhort ſtay, and going over to Holland, where he had relations, he liſted himſelf in a company of French voluntiers, at Utrecht, commanded by Mr. Rapin, his couſin german.

The ſame year, Mr. Pelliſon publiſhed his reflections on religious differences, and ſent them to Mr. RAPIN, charging him to tell him his opinion, which he did very largely, as he ſaid himſelf, retorting, in ſeveral places, Mr. Pelliſon's expreſſions. But nothing of this appears among his papers. Not that I think it either loſt or miſlaid, but rather believe that out of modeſty he never took a copy, imagining that what he could ſay on ſuch a ſubject, was not worth preſerving.

He was ſtill in the company of voluntiers when they went into England, with the prince of Orange. But in 1689, the Lord Kingſton made him enſign in his own regiment, with which he paſſed into Ireland. At the ſiege of Carrickfergus, juſt after his arrival, he had the good fortune to gain the eſteem of the officers of the regiment, and eſpecially of lieutenant colonel Fielding, who, in leſs than a year, procured him a lieutenancy.

In the beginning of 1690, the regiment to which Mr. RAPIN belonged, was given to lieutenant general Douglaſs, who, upon the recommendation of three French colonels of the army, took more notice of him than of the reſt of the ſubalterns, and afterwards put a very great confidence in him.

After the battle of the Boyne, in which Mr. RAPIN was preſent, general Douglaſs

was detached with his own, and 12 other regiments of horſe and foot, to make a diverſion about Athlone, and, if poſſible, ſurpriſe the town. He appointed Mr. RAPIN and Mr. Carles, now lieutenant general, in Portugal, to act as quartermaſter general of his little army. This ſiege not proving ſucceſsful, the town being ſtrongly garriſoned, general Douglaſs was recalled. Mr. RAPIN, who was ſent before to receive orders, found the king at the head of a line, who ſtopping him, asked ſeveral queſtions, to which Mr. RAPIN made ſuch anſwers, as ſerved to remove ſome ill impreſſions infuſed into his majeſty, concerning Douglaſs's conduct.

At the aſſault of Limerick, he was ſhot in the ſhoulder, and next day the ſiege being raiſed, was forced to ride four miles on horſeback, in great anguiſh. He was left with the reſt of the wounded, (among whom was his brother, who was ſhot thro' the body) and ſo loſt his regiment, which was ordered to the North. But ſoon after, he heard general Douglaſs had procured him a company, and cauſed him to be admitted, tho' abſent. It was the ſame company where he had been enſign, and where he was ſtill the ſame lieutenant, which made Mr. RAPIN extremely uneaſy.

The next year, general Douglaſs had orders to go to Flanders. Mr. RAPIN, whom he deſigned for his aid de camp, not being in a condition to attend him, by reaſon of his wound, adviſed him to take another, to whom the general ſoon gave a company in the Scotch guards, of which he was now colonel. The campaign opened in Ireland, with the taking of Baltimore, where Mr. RAPIN had the ſatisfaction to be ſerviceable to a poor diſtreſſed captive family, with whom he was acquainted the foregoing year. He was afterwards, at the ſiege of Athlone, and in the aſſault, made through the river that runs under the ſtrongeſt rampart of the town, a bold and brave action, and which ſucceeded, as it is thought, contrary to the expectation of the generals. In this town were left two regiments of different nations, commanded by the lieutenant colonels, who underſtood not each other's language, and were both very jealous of their power, which might have occaſioned diſputes. Happily, Mr. RAPIN belonged to one, and his intimate friend, a captain of good ſenſe, to the other, who were both equally eſteemed by their reſpective commanders; ſo whenever any accident happened that was like to breed a quarrel, theſe two officers, who were unprejudiced, agreed between them upon what was to be done, and adviſed it each with conſtant ſucceſs.

After that, Mr. RAPIN was ſent ſucceſſively to ſeveral garriſons, and among the reſt to Kilkenny, where he frequently waited on the biſhop, who ſeemed pleaſed with his converſation. This commerce would have been very agreeable, could he have peaceably enjoyed it; but the warm and daily conteſts between the mayor and the officers, ſcarce allowed him a moment's repoſe. He often uſed his endeavours to ſtifle them, and prevented their proceeding to extremities. In the interim, his fear that things would be brought to a deſperate paſs, made him gladly embrace the opportunity of commanding two companies in another place. Some time after, he rejoined his regiment at Kinſale, where he contracted an intimate friendſhip with Sir James Waller, who commanded there.

About the end of the year 1693, he received an order to repair to England, without any reaſon aſſigned; but at the ſame time, a letter from Mr. Belcaſtel informed him, he was to be governor to the earl of Portland's ſon. He could not conceive whence this proceeded, having never had any ſuch thoughts; and it was ſome time before he knew, he was recommended by the lord Galloway. He came, therefore, to London, and entered upon his office. Here was an end of all his hopes of riſing in the army, to ſuch poſts as ſeveral younger officers of his acquaintance have obtained. All the amends he received, was leave to reſign his company to his brother, who died, in 1719, lieutenant-colonel in a regiment of Engliſh dragoons. It is true, ſome time after, the king granted him a penſion of 100l. a year, till he ſhould better provide for him, which never happened. So he enjoyed his penſion ſeveral years, but upon that prince's death, it ceaſed, and a place was given him, which brought him in but a moderate income.

His new employment obliged him to be ſometimes in Holland, often, in England, and alſo in France, whilſt the earl of Portland was ambaſſador, till the young lord was fixed at the Hague, where he learned his exerciſes. Whilſt he was there, in the year 1699, Mr. RAPIN married Mariamne Toſtart, an advantageous match, of whom I ſhall ſay nothing, as ſhe is living. This did not hinder him, however, from minding his pupil, and attending him in his travels. He began then with Germany, where they made ſome ſtay at ſeveral courts, and, particularly, at Vienna. From thence they paſſed into Italy, by way of Tyrol, where they ſaw marſhal Villeroy, a priſoner, who gave Mr. RAPIN a letter for cardinal d' Etrees, then at Venice.

At his return, his employment ceaſing, he repaired to his family, who in his abſence lived at the Hague, where he ſpent ſome years. During that time, he improved his leiſure hours, as far as the common duties of life would allow, in reſuming the ſtudy of fortification, and eſpecially of hiſtory, which led him to draw many general and particular genealogical and chronological tables. But what was moſt agreable to him, and, as he thought, moſt inſtructive, was his being member of a ſociety or club, ſtill in being, to the erecting of which he was proud of contributing, where ſeveral perſons of learning and merit reaſoned upon ſuch ſubjects as occurred, and ſpoke their opinion on ſuch queſtions as were uſually propoſed. In the interim, as he found his

his family increaſe, he reſolved to ſacrifice to the good of his children the pleaſures of the Hague, by retiring to a cheaper country. Accordingly, he removed, in 1707, to Wezel, in the duchy of Cleves. He found there a good number of French refugees, among whom were ſeveral officers, men of quality, with whom he lived very friendly; and he was alſo received as kindly as could be expected, by perſons of the higheſt rank, who were chiefly concerned in the government of the country, and who, on all occaſions, gave him marks of their favour.

The way of living at Wezel, different in many reſpects from that of the Hague, rendered him more than ever maſter of his time, and allowed him almoſt as much leiſure as he could deſire, to ſtudy the Hiſtory of England, and the nature of the government. This was a more extenſive deſign than, perhaps, it ſeems at firſt; for it obliged him, not only to peruſe all the Engliſh hiſtorians, but alſo thoſe of other nations, who had any affairs with the Engliſh, in order to procure light, and be aſſured of the truth of the facts, by confronting the ſeveral authors. He would have found it very difficult to ſucceed, or rather would, probably, have miſcarried, had he not before qualified himſelf for reading, in their original tongue, all the books he was obliged to conſult. Beſides Greek and Latin, which he learnt at the college, and had ſince improved, he underſtood Italian and Spaniſh, not to mention High and Low-Dutch, of which, indeed, he was not ſo much maſter. As for Engliſh, which was the moſt neceſſary of all, he had made that his particular ſtudy.

Tho' he was of a very ſtrong conſtitution, yet a 17 years conſtant application to compoſe his Hiſtory, entirely ruined his health. About three years before his death, he found himſelf quite ſpent, and frequently ſeiſed with violent pains in his ſtomach. He might have recovered, if he would have relinquiſhed his work, and unbent his mind for a time. Of this he was ſenſible, but could not reſolve it, as he ought. All he indulged himſelf in, was, not to riſe before ſix a-clock, after which it was impoſſible for him to ſleep or lie in his bed. As to his diverſions, of which walking was the moſt uſual, he was quickly tired of them, and, if his indiſpoſition permitted, returned to his work, which was the cauſe of his illneſs, and properly his ſole delight. At laſt, a violent fever, attended with an oppreſſion upon his lungs, carried him off the 7th day, being the 16th of May, 1725.

He has left one ſon and ſix daughters.

From what has been ſaid, it appears that Mr. RAPIN was naturally grave. This led him, whilſt he was in the ſervice, to ſeek the converſation of the ſerious, which prejudiced not only ſeveral of his comrades, but even ſome of his ſuperiors, againſt him, who would have had him partake of all their diverſions. But, on the other hand, it gained him the eſteem and friendſhip of many perſons of merit, who were in conſiderable poſts. We are not, however, to imagine, he was an enemy to mirth; he could be merry on occaſion, tho' not ſo frequently, nor ſo immoderately as many are; nay, he wrote ſeveral little things in proſe and verſe, with humour and gaiety; but as they were on light or ludicrous ſubjects, and deſigned only for a preſent amuſement with his friends, he never thought them worth reviſing, and I queſtion whether there is one to be found among his papers. What has been ſaid of his application to his ſtudy, and works, is alſo to be underſtood with this limitation, that it never hindered him from embracing all opportunities to ſerve his friends, and reconcile their differences.

Thus I have done what lies in my power, to make known Mr. RAPIN's character. I am ſenſible, that to have a compleat idea of him, we muſt, beſides what I have ſaid, conſider him in his writings, but this is what I ſhall not undertake. It belongs to the publick to declare what opinion he there gives of himſelf, and to determine whether he ſhews good ſenſe and judgment in his manner of diſcovering the motives of actions; and above all, whether he has juſtly obſerved an entire impartiality, ſo eſſential to a good Hiſtory.

THE INTRODUCTION.

The extent of Great-Britain, or Albion. Whence ſo called. Its firſt inhabitants. Cuſtoms and manners of the Britons. Their way of fighting and commerce. Their religion. The Druids. Their government. Original of the Iriſh, Scots, and Picts.

The extent of Great-Britain.

GREAT-BRITAIN, the largeſt and moſt conſiderable iſland in Europe, and perhaps in the whole world, is almoſt in the ſhape of a triangle; whoſe ſides, conſider'd as right-lines, are 1500, but, with the windings of the coaſts, about 1800 miles in compaſs. The ſhorteſt ſide, from North-Foreland in Kent to the Land's-End in Cornwall, is 300; the weſtern, from the Land's-End to the moſt northern point in Scotland, 800; and the eaſtern ſide, 700 miles in length.

Original of its names.

The names of Albion and Britain are ſo antient, that the reaſon of them can only be gueſs'd at. Some vainly fancy, that a certain giant, ſon to Neptune, gave the firſt of theſe. Others derive it from the Greek word Alphon, or white; becauſe the coaſts at a diſtance appear of that colour. Some again imagine it comes from the Celtic word Alp, or high, the land ſeeming to be ſo, as you approach it from the continent.

As for the name of Britain, ſome, but without any grounds, derive it from Brutus, a Trojan prince. Somner will have it come from the Britiſh word Brydio, or rage, as if the ſea on the coaſts of Great-Britain raged more than in other places, which is falſe in fact. Cambden and Temple, whoſe opinion is the moſt generally receiv'd, form the word Britain from Brith, which in the Britiſh language ſignifies woad, a plant with which the Britons dyed their skins. But how could foreigners give a Britiſh name to this iſland? which objection affects this as well as Somner's notion; for that Britain was firſt call'd ſo by foreigners is evident from the natives always ſtiling themſelves Cumri, or Cumbri, from whence Cambria, the name of Wales to this day. Bochartus, more probably, thinks the Phœnicians, trading to this iſland for tin, gave it the name of Baratanack, in their language, the land of tin, which the Greeks and Romans changed into Britannia. This conjecture is confirm'd by the Grecians calling the iſlands of Scilly Caſſiterides, which is the ſame in Greek as Baratanack in Phœnician; but, after all, this is no more than gueſs-work. It is notorious how far caprice and ſome trivial accidents were concern'd in naming ſeveral parts of the new world, when firſt diſcover'd. And, perhaps, the conjectures of Cambden and Bochartus are as foreign to their purpoſe, as ours would be, were we ignorant of the occaſion of the names of the countries of America, in tracing them from the language, cuſtoms, or commerce of the natives.

And inhabitants.

The original of the firſt inhabitants of Albion is equally uncertain, becauſe, in all probability, it was peopled at different times, by colonies from different places. However, endeavours have been made uſe of to give us ſome light in this affair, from their cuſtoms, manners, religion, and form of government. But before I proceed to this conſideration, I ſhall juſt touch upon the fabulous original of the Britons, publiſh'd in the twelfth century by Geoffrey of Monmouth, a Benedictin, in his Latin hiſtory of Britain, dedicated to Robert earl of Gloceſter, natural ſon to Henry I. This I the rather chuſe to do, as believing it the part of an hiſtorian, as well to guard his readers againſt fictions, as to relate matters of fact.

The fabulous origin of the Britons.

Brutus, grandſon to Æneas, having kill'd his father Silvius, as he was ſhooting at a wild beaſt, left Italy, and retir'd into Greece; from whence, with the deſcendants of the Trojans, who came thither after the deſtruction of Troy, he put to ſea, and, after many adventures, at laſt landed at Totneſs in Devonſhire. Britain being then inhabited by giants, under the government of Gogmagog; Brutus and his companions, tho' few in number, at length, quite rooted out the native giants, and got poſſeſſion of the whole iſland, which from Brutus was afterwards call'd Britain. Brutus, before his death, divided his dominions among his three ſons. Locrin or Loegrin, had Loegria, the ſame with England now. To Camber's lot fell Wales, thenceforward ſtiled Cambria. Albanact had Scotland, from him named Albania *.

Upon this foundation, the author proceeds to relate the various revolutions in the reigns of Brutus's ſucceſſors; but in ſuch a manner, as evidently ſhews his account to be fictitious.

That Great-Britain was peopled by the Celtæ or Gauls, the poſterity of Gomer, the ſon of Japhet, is allow'd on all hands. Beſides other reaſons, the name of Cumri, which the Welch have to this day, undeniably proves it. Great-Britain had, doubtleſs, its ſhare of thoſe ſwarms of Gauls that over-ran ſo great a part of Europe and Aſia.

The great affinity between the religion and cuſtoms of the Gauls and Britons does farther confirm this point. Some authors, indeed, ſay the Belgæ ſettled in the eaſtern; the Spaniards in the weſtern; and the Hibernians or Iriſh in the northern parts of Britain; but this contradicts not the common opinion, for the Belgæ were Gauls, and the Spaniards, as well as the Iriſh and Scots, were Celtiberians that inhabited along the weſtern coaſt of Spain. But tho' it were doubtful that theſe Spaniards were Celtiberians, it is, however, certain that England or South-Britain was peopled by the Celtæ or Gauls.

Cuſtoms and manners of the Britons.

The Britons were, for the moſt part, tall and well-made, and, as the Iriſh generally are at this day, red-hair'd. Such was their natural conſtitution, that Plutarch ſays they often lived to an 100 or 120 years; to which the ſobriety of their lives contributed, as much or more than the temperateneſs of the air. They all went naked, except thoſe along the ſouthern coaſt, who cover'd themſelves with the skins of wild beaſts, thrown careleſly over them, more to avoid giving offence to ſtrangers, than to defend themſelves from the weather. As an ornament, they us'd to cut their bodies in the ſhape of flowers, trees, and animals, which they dyed blue with the juice of woad.

They lived in woods, in hutts covered over with skins, boughs, or turf. Some people now, in the north of Scotland, are ſaid to have none but ſuch houſes. When I was in Ireland, I ſaw there little hutts cover'd only with green turf, inhabited by poor people, who, I was inform'd, ſpent their days contentedly, never caring to go abroad, but to provide themſelves with milk and potatoes. This may ſhew us the way of living among the antient Britons, as well as other nations; their uſual food was milk, and the fleſh they got by hunting. As for domeſtick fowls, ſuch as hens and geeſe, if they bred any, it was merely for pleaſure; their religion ſtrictly enjoining them to abſtain from that ſort of food, as Cæſar expreſly affirms †; neither did they eat any fiſh, tho' they had them in plenty. Their towns, or rather villages, were a parcel of hutts, confuſedly placed at a ſmall diſtance one from another; and commonly in the middle of a wood, the avenues of which were defended with ſlight ramparts of earth or trees laid athwart one another. Tho' they lived in this plain and ſimple manner, they were as quick of apprehenſion as the Gauls, nay of greater penetration, according to Tacitus; and, for their morals, Diodorus Siculus declares they even excelled the Romans themſelves. One cuſtom, however, among them, for ten or a dozen brothers to live all together, and enjoy their wives in common, was odious in the eyes of other people. This practice prevailed long among them, tho' they were otherwiſe pretty much civilized, by converſing with the Romans. A Britiſh lady being reproached on this account by Julia, the empreſs of Severus, made this ſmart reply: "The Roman ladies ought not to "upbraid us on this ſcore, ſince what we "do publickly with the beſt of our men, "they do in private with the worſt of theirs, "freed-men and ſlaves." The Britons had, doubtleſs, other cuſtoms different from thoſe of other nations; but ſo ſmall was their correſpondence with foreigners, that we know little of them, before the arrival of the Romans.

Their way of fighting.

Cæſar ‡ highly applauds the bravery and valour of the Britons; but his account of their way of fighting is ſomewhat ſurprizing. He ſays, they uſually fought in chariots, which they furiouſly drove among their enemies, throwing their darts; but, when they engaged the horſe, they quit their chariots, to fight more advantageouſly on foot, ſword in hand. But this ſeems to me altogether impoſſible.

Trade.

Tho' the Britons were well ſituated for trade, they had no large ſhips, nor even

* Loegria is quite loſt; and tho' Cambria in Wales and Albania in Scotland ſtill remain, yet they do not prove Geoffrey's fiction.

† Cæſ. com. l. v. ‡ Cæſ. com. l. iv.

ventur'd

ventur'd to ſea, farther than the coaſt of Gaul. They chiefly dealt with the Phœnicians, who exported yearly great quantities of tin, with which they alone ſupply'd diſtant nations, till the Greeks at laſt found their way hither alſo.

This trade reaching no farther than the extreme parts of Cornwall, foreigners could not eaſily know exactly the ſtate of Great-Britain; and therefore it is we have ſo little recorded of the government and religion of the antient Britons. It is certain, however, they had in a manner the ſame gods with the Gauls. Dis and Samothes were equally worſhiped by both; but the Britons paid a particular veneration to Andate, the goddeſs of victory, in whoſe honour they ſacrificed their priſoners of war.

Druids. The druids, among both nations, had the care and direction of all religious affairs. They were ſo called from the Celtic word, Deru or oak, the ſame as Drus in Greek*; for miſletoe they look'd upon as moſt ſacred, and the greateſt bleſſing they received from the gods. So highly were the druids honour'd by the people, that no publick matters were tranſacted, nor could a malefactor be executed, without their conſent. Nay, they made religion an engine to procure the management of private as well as publick affairs. The diſobedient they excluded from their ſacrifices; and a man being thus, as it were, excommunicated, was not only avoided by all, as a profane wretch, but deprived of the benefit of the law, and incapable of any employ. The chriſtian clergy, in this reſpect, have too cloſely copied after the druids. They had a ſort of pontiff or high-prieſt, which dignity was elective; and ſometimes, when the candidates were of equal merit, they have fallen to blows, before the election was over.

Bards. The Britiſh bards were inferior to the druids; they celebrated the praiſes of their heroes in verſes and ſongs, which they ſung to their harps. There were ſome of theſe in being, even after the Romans had entirely quitted Britain.

Eubates. The eubates, both in Britain and Gaul, were a third ſort of prieſts, who, as Marcellinus tells us, were altogether employed in the ſtudy of natural philoſophy.

Religion. As the religion of theſe nations was the ſame, it is very likely that one of them had it from the other. Cæſar thinks the Britons taught it the Gauls, becauſe they us'd to come hither for a thorough knowledge of all its myſteries; but this, perhaps, was only during their wars with the Romans. Bochartus believes it uncertain, which of them had their religion from the other. It is, however, very probable, that the Gauls, when they peopled Britain, planted their own religion there. But ſince the Britiſh and Gauliſh druids held the ſame notions, and we are very much in the dark about the firſt, the laſt muſt ſerve to give us ſome idea of their religion, which after all will be but very imperfect, becauſe the druids left nothing behind them in writing. According to a Burgundian writer theſe are ſome of the chief druidical maxims or rules. Golluſ. Mem. de la Franche Comte.

" None muſt be taught but in the ſacred " groves.

" Miſletoe muſt be gather'd, if poſſible, " in the ſixth moon, and with reverence; " it muſt be cut with a golden bill.

" All things derive their origin from hea- " ven.

" The arcana of the ſciences muſt be " committed to the memory only.

" Children are to be educated with great " care.

" The diſobedient are to be excluded " from the ſacrifices.

" Souls are immortal.

" The ſoul after death paſſeth into other " bodies.

" If the world is deſtroyed, it will be " either by fire or water.

" Upon extraordinary occaſions, a man " muſt be ſacrificed.

" As the body falls, or moves after it is " fallen; as the blood flows, or the wound " opens, future events are foretold.

" Priſoners of war muſt be ſlain upon the " altars, or burnt alive, incloſed in wicker, " in honour of the gods.

" All commerce with ſtrangers is to be " prohibited.

" He that comes laſt to the aſſembly of " the ſtates ought to be puniſhed with " death.

" Children are to be brought up apart " from their parents, till they be 14 years " of age.

" Money lent in this will be repaid in " the next world.

" There is another world, and they who " kill themſelves, to attend their friends thi- " ther, will live with them there.

" Letters given to dying perſons, or thrown " on their funeral piles, will carefully be " deliver'd in the next world.

" The moon is a ſovereign remedy for " all things, as its name in Celtic implies.

" All maſters of families are kings in " their own houſes, having a power of life " and death over their wives, children, and " ſlaves."

Hence we may form ſome notion of the religion of the druids, which for a long time prevail'd in Britain, as well as Gaul. It ſpread itſelf even into Italy, for Auguſtus prohibited the Romans from celebrating its myſteries. The druids were both male and female; it was a woman druid that, as Vopiſcus tells us, foretold to Dioclefian,

* Pezron takes both Greek and Latin to come from Celtic; and ſo the Greek Drus comes from the Celtic Deru. then

then a private ſoldier in Gaul, that he would be emperor of Rome.

Govern-ment. The government of the Britons alſo muſt be learnt from the Gauls. From the founding of Rome, the Gauls were divided into ſeveral petty ſtates, with a head over each of them: out of theſe chiefs was choſen by common conſent one, who, for the time being, had the command of the armies in general, and the power of putting the laws in execution. Livy, after the manner of the Romans, calls this magiſtrate king; but a modern author*, thinking this title too great, ſtiles him only paramount or above all the reſt. However, as the land between the Tyne and the Britiſh channel was divided into no leſs than 17 petty kingdoms †, it is highly probable, the Britons had the ſame form of government. Caſſibelanus, prince of the Trinobantes, upon Cæſar's invaſion, and Caractacus, head of the Silures, in the time of Claudius, were choſen to be commanders in chief of the armies. Theſe ſeveral independent ſtates were, doubtleſs, at continual variance; but we know nothing of their affairs till the Romans invaded them. But, before I enter upon their hiſtory, it will be proper to give ſome account of the origin of the Picts and Scots, inhabitants of North-Britain.

Origin of the Scots. The Scots, reſolving to equal the Britons in antiquity, claim Gathelus, ſon to Cecrops king of Athens, for their founder; or, according to ſome, Argus the 4th king of the Argives, and Scota, daughter to Pharaoh king of Egypt.

Gathelus, being forced to leave Greece, came at length into Egypt, where he fought under Moſes, in Pharaoh's wars with the Ethiopians. He diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by ſo much bravery, that the king, upon Moſes's leaving Egypt, gave him the command of the army, with his daughter Scota in marriage. About 39 years after, terrified at the prediction of an oracle of the downfall of Egypt, accompany'd by many Greeks and Egyptians, he put to ſea. After ſeveral vain attempts to ſettle in Africa, he lands on the weſtern coaſt of Spain, naming the place Portus Gatheli, afterwards called Portugal. [Here the author forgets that Gathelus was Greek and not Latin.] This prince, planting a colony here, went farther north, and took poſſeſſion of a country which he ſtil'd Gathelicia or Gallicia. From hence, in proceſs of time, his ſon Hiberius, with ſome of his father's followers, ſailed to an iſland, which he named Hibernia, afterwards Ireland. The natives, being few, gave theſe foreigners a kind reception, and mixing with them ſoon became one nation, under the common name of Scots, from Scota Hiberius's mother.

This fabulous origin of the Scots Buchanan relates, to expoſe its abſurdity to his countrymen. The following is the moſt probable account.

Iren, called by the Engliſh and Scots Irenlandt or Ireland, had long been poſſeſs'd by the European Scyths or Scots, when a company of Spaniards (whom Buchanan ſuppoſes to be the deſcendants of the Celtiberian Gauls) landed there, about the time the Carthaginians became maſters of Spain. Their number being ſmall, the natives received them with open arms, which ſoon drew others thither; ſo that at length they became one nation, under the general name of Scyths or Scots, and were ſo very populous, that abundance of families were obliged to repair to the Ebudes or Hebrides, iſlands lying north of Ireland, which were ſoon alſo overſtock'd. The Scyths are ſaid to land in Ireland a little after the flood, and the Spaniards in the year of the world 3380.

Picts. The Hebrides being thus poſſeſs'd by the Scyths, the Picts, from that part of Germany now called Mecklenburgh and Pomerania, having embarqued, like other northern nations, to mend their quarters, offer'd to land in theſe iſlands; but hearing the ſoil was too barren to maintain any more inhabitants, and that a large neighbouring iſland, ſtiled Albion, would certainly anſwer their purpoſe, they directly ſailed thither, and ſettled in the north parts, that were but thinly inhabited, without any interruption.

The Scots ſoon followed them with the ſame view. The Picts were pleaſed to ſee them come over in ſuch numbers, as they not only wanted their aſſiſtance againſt the natives, but alſo a ſupply of women. Accordingly wives they had, on condition the heirs of the women ſhould have the preference before thoſe of the men, in the ſucceſſion to the kingdom they deſigned to eſtabliſh. This law was ſtill in force in Bede's time. The Scots and Picts, thus united, clear'd at length all the country, north of the Tyne, of its antient inhabitants. After this they parted by conſent, the Scots chooſing the weſtern parts, as neareſt to Ireland; and the Picts the eaſtern, as oppoſite to Germany. The Scots in Albion were ſoon after this called Albins, and thoſe in Ireland, Irens or Iriſh; whence the diſtinction of Great Scotland or Ireland, and little Scotland or North-Britain. The Albins, being continually ſupplied from their brethren the Iriſh, grew too powerful for the Picts, and at length quite rooted them out; but this was not done till many ages after their ſeparation. It is not eaſy for two bordering nations to be friends long; the Picts and Scots ſoon fell at variance. The Britons, for ſo I ſhall call the antient inhabitants for the future, tho' it is uncertain when they firſt received that name, did all they could under-hand to bring this quarrel to an open

* S. Julian. orig. des Bourg. † Pompon. Mela. l. 3.

rupture,

rupture, hoping by this means to rid themſelves of both parties. As they dreaded moſt the growing power of the Albins, they fell in with the Picts. The Albins, upon this, apply to Ferchard king of Ireland, who immediately ſent over his ſon Fergus to aſſiſt them. This prince, finding the Albins had hitherto lived in a ſort of anarchy, convinc'd them of the inconveniencies of ſuch a ſtate, and ſo got himſelf inveſted with the ſupreme authority. Fergus then, in ſtrictneſs of ſpeech, was the firſt king of Scotland; for Great-Scotland or Ireland had kings many ages before, and, if we will believe them, was the moſt antient monarchy in the world. Fergus, they ſay, arrived in Scotland in the year of the world 3627, about the time Alexander the great made his entrance into Babylon. But this pretenſion of theirs to ſo great antiquity admits of no ſmall diſpute.

Fergus was no ſooner ſeated on his throne, than he made great preparations for the war againſt the Picts, at the ſame time trying all poſſible means to bring matters to an accommodation. He repreſented to them, by his ambaſſadors, that the quarrel might eaſily be made up, would both ſides hearken to reaſon; and that the Britons, their common enemies, would take, the advantage of their diviſions to ruin them both. This prevail'd upon the Picts; and they immediately join'd the Scots againſt the Britons. Fergus, thus reinforced, gave the Britons battle, in which their king Coilus was ſlain, upon which they ſued for peace. Fergus, ſome time after, returning to Ireland, was ſhipwreck'd on that coaſt, in the very place where Carrick-Fergus now ſtands.

This is the account the Scotch hiſtorians give of the ſettlement of theſe two nations in North-Britain. From Fergus's arrival to the Roman invaſion, they ſay, the ſtate of things remained much the ſame. The land between the channel and the river Tyne was inhabited by Britons. From the Tyne to the fartheſt bounds of the north, the eaſtern part of the country was poſſeſs'd by the Picts, and the weſtern by the Scots, who reckon 15 kings from Fergus to Ederus, in whoſe reign Cæſar invaded Britain.

Diſpute about the antiquity of the Scots.

Tho' one would think the Scotch ſhould beſt know the origin of their own monarchy; yet this antiquity of theirs is greatly conteſted by ſeveral very famous Engliſh authors. As religion was concern'd in the diſpute, it was carried on with great warmth. The presbyterians alledge, that the church of Scotland was governed by presbyters only, called culdees, before ever there were any biſhops in it; whence they infer that epiſcopacy is not of divine inſtitution. The Engliſh biſhops deny the fact; aſſerting that the Scotch church was ſo far from being governed by presbyters, that it was not then in being, the Scots not coming to the iſland till the year of our Lord 503. At this rate, 800 years muſt be cut off from the Scotch account. And is it poſſible that the 40 kings they ſay reigned from Fergus I. to Coran, in the year of Chriſt 501, are all imaginary? On the contrary, it is not to be ſuppoſed, their learned adverſaries would charge them with ſo great an error, did they not believe they had good grounds for what they ſay. It is not to be expected I ſhould give a particular account of a diſpute which has filled ſo many volumes. I ſhall only briefly ſtate the queſtion.

Were the Scotch obliged to prove directly their ſettlement in North-Britain, ever ſince the time of Alexander the great, their arguments, perhaps, would not give entire ſatisfaction to unprejudic'd judges; but they had the art to put the diſpute on another footing. When a nation, ſay they, affirms any thing about its own hiſtory, it is to be admitted, without evident proofs to the contrary. Thus they oblige their adverſaries to prove a negative, which, all know, is a difficult task. However, they have undertaken it; and their chief argument is, that no writer ever mentions the Scots, as inhabitants of Britain, till the ſixth century.

They quote ſeveral paſſages from Latin authors, wherein there is not the leaſt notice taken of the Scots. To this the Scotch reply, that their nation not being conquer'd till the reign of Severus, and being but a ſhort time ſubject to the Romans, it is no wonder they gave ſuch an imperfect account of them. They add alſo, that tho' Tacitus and other hiſtorians mention the Deucaledonians, Meatæ, Attacotes, as inhabiting the north parts of Britain, it will not follow from thence, that they were not Picts or Scots, no more than that the Icenians, Trinobantes, Silures, were not Britons, becauſe they are diſtinguiſhed by theſe particular names. The chief againſt the Scots in this diſpute are Uſher Loyd, Stillingfleet, writers of great note. In their defence, the principal authors are Hector Boethius, Buchanan, Mackenzie, three very famous in Scotland.

The ſame Engliſh writers affirm, that the Picts are Britons, who to avoid the dominion of the Romans retir'd into the north; where continuing to paint their bodies, the Romans called them Picts, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe that upon their ſubmiſſion to them had diſus'd that cuſtom. But as the Romans did not ſubdue the 17 nations of the Britons all at once, why were not ſome of theſe, before their conqueſt, called Picts, as well as thoſe that fled beyond the Tyne? The Scotch urge, moreover, that this argument of the Engliſh has no other foundation than the conformity of the name Picts with the Latin word Picti; that tho' it is certain ſeveral Britons took refuge in the north, yet, to prove theſe to be the ſame with the Picts, it muſt be ſhewn how they

became a diſtinct nation, ſo as to live apart by themſelves, as we know the Picts did for ſeveral ages, with laws and cuſtoms different from thoſe of the Britons and Scots. But as this cannot be made appear, it is more natural to think that theſe Britiſh refugees, retiring amongſt the Picts, were incorporated with them. This opinion, to which I own myſelf inclin'd, is farther confirm'd from the Scots, who had but little intercourſe with the Romans, calling their neighbours Pehiti. Now, if this name be the ſame with Picts, is it to be ſuppoſed that the Scots ſhould give their neighbours a Roman name? But if it is different, it follows that the Picts were not Britons, nor ſo named from painting their bodies. Buchanan, who believes the name Picts to be Roman, owns however, he is ignorant what name they gave themſelves; and affirms they deſcended from ſome Gauliſh colonies that ſettled in Thrace, who painted their bodies as well as the Britons. He adds, the Picts had the ſame language with the Britons and Scots, ſince it does not appear theſe three nations ever made uſe of interpreters. But it is very poſſible they might ſpeak different tongues, and yet hiſtorians take no notice of interpreters. Buchanan, however, concludes from hence, that they were of Celtic extraction. Verſtegan, an Engliſh hiſtorian, derives the name Picts from a word in their own language, ſignifying a warriour. But enough of a nation that has been entirely extinct for near 900 years.

THE

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK I.

Julius Cæſar invades Britain twice. Obliges them to a yearly tribute. Remarks on Cæſar's account of his two expeditions. The ſtate of Britain in the reigns of Auguſtus, Tiberius, and Caligula. Claudius invades and conquers Britain. The wars between the Britons and Romans; and what happen'd before the arrival of the Saxons. Their original. The Angles, and Juttes. The ſtate of the Britiſh church to the coming of the Saxons.

THE Romans had conquer'd almoſt all Europe, Africa, and the chief kingdoms of Aſia, before they made any attempts upon Britain. They had as yet no leiſure for this undertaking, on account of their long wars with the Gauls; and Julius Cæſar was the firſt that engaged in it. Not ſatisfied with the conqueſt of the Gauls, being deſirous of ſtill greater glory, and of enlarging the bounds of the commonwealth, he reſolved to ſubdue the Britons. Some ſay, indeed *, his only view in this enterprize was his own private intereſt. The pretence, however, of both his invaſions was that the Britons had aſſiſted his enemies, the common excuſe of the Romans on ſuch occaſions; and, in his commentaries, he gives the following account of his expeditions hither.

Cæſar invades Britain, ante Chr. 54.

Cæſar, having ſpent the beſt part of the ſummer againſt the Germans, determin'd to employ the reſt in this deſign. And tho' he knew the ſeaſon was far advanced, he thought it would be worth his while, were it only to get ſome knowledge of the iſland, very little known to any but the merchants that traded thither; and who, themſelves, were unable to inform Cæſar of the extent or populouſneſs of Great-Britain, or whether the harbours were fit to receive ſhips of burthen. Upon this, he ſent Voluſenus to get better intelligence, whilſt the troops were marching to the place from whence they were to embark.

The Britons, being inform'd by the merchants of Cæſar's deſign, ſent ambaſſadors with offers of their ſubmiſſion, and the delivery of hoſtages for their ſecurity. He received them very civilly, and, having exhorted them to ſtedfaſtneſs in their reſolution, diſmiſs'd them with many fair promiſes, without acquainting them poſitively with his intentions. Comius, whom he had juſt before made king of the Atrebates †, he ſent with them, giving him inſtructions to excite the Britons to an alliance with the Romans, and inform them of his deſign of coming into Britain. This unexpected news was far from pleaſing them, and upon it they impriſon'd Comius, loading him with irons.

In the interim Voluſenus returned; and, all things being ready, Cæſar put two legions on board 80 ſhips, and his horſe were to follow in 18 more with all ſpeed. Coming

* Suet. in Jul. Cæſ. c. 47. Britanniam petiſſe ſpe margaritarum, quarum amplitudinem conferentem, interdum ſua manu exegiſſe pondus.

† Arras.

upon

upon the Coaſt of Britain, he found the hills and cliffs cover'd over with Britons, that with their darts might eaſily prevent his landing; which determin'd him to look out for a place where he might land with more ſafety. However, he lay by till four in the afternoon, waiting for ſome ſhips that were behind. The fleet being join'd, he ſet ſail and came to an anchor about two leagues farther. The Britons, perceiving this, ſent their chariots and horſemen before, which were followed by all the foot. The ſhips being too large to come near enough the ſhore, the Romans were under a neceſſity to leap into the ſea, armed as they were, to attack the enemy, who ſtood ready to receive them on dry land. Cæſar, obſerving the uſual ardour of his ſoldiers abate on this occaſion, order'd ſome gallies to advance as near the ſhoar as poſſible, to annoy the enemy in the flank, with ſtones and darts from their engines and ſlings, which put them into ſome diſorder. But the Romans durſt not ſtill venture to throw themſelves into the ſea, and, perhaps, would never have been brought to it, had not an enſign of the tenth legion leap'd in firſt with his colours in his hand, crying out aloud, "Follow me, fellow-ſoldiers, unleſs you would betray the Roman eagle into the enemy's hands: I, for my part, will diſcharge my duty to the commonwealth and my general." Fir'd at this, the ſoldiers, at once, leap'd into the ſea, and began the fight. But ſtill the Britons kept their ground; and the Romans were in danger of being repulſed, had not Cæſar with ſome arm'd ſloops obliged the enemy to give way a little. Upon this, the Romans advanced with the greateſt ſpeed; and, getting on dry ground, preſs'd the Britons ſo vigorouſly, that, at laſt, they put them to flight. They durſt not, however, purſue them, having no horſe, which, Cæſar tells us, prevented him from having a complete victory.

The Britons, terrify'd at the valour of the Romans, ſet Comius at liberty, and ſent him to Cæſar, charging his ill treatment upon the fury of the populace. Ambaſſadors were alſo diſpatched to ſue for peace, which Cæſar granted them, upon the delivery of ſome hoſtages, and the promiſe of more.

This being done four days after their landing, the Britiſh troops were diſmiſs'd, and ſome of their princes came and made their ſubmiſſion to Cæſar. In the mean time, the ſhips employed in tranſporting the Roman horſe, were drove back again by a ſtorm into the ports of Gaul. Some of the ſhips alſo that lay in the road were by the ſame ſtorm daſh'd in pieces, and others received great damage; and the tide of flood, the moon being at full, roſe ſo high, that the gallies they had drawn aſhore were fill'd with water. This put the Romans into a terrible conſternation, they not having brought with them materials to refit their veſſels, or any quantity of proviſions, Cæſar having determin'd to winter in Gaul.

The Britons that were with Cæſar eaſily perceived this; and alſo, by the ſmall compaſs of their camp, that the number of the Romans was inconſiderable. Having repreſented theſe things to their countrymen, upon their return, the Britons enter'd into a reſolution to cut the Romans off from all proviſions, and to amuſe them till winter. Cæſar, gueſſing at their deſign, took all poſſible care to lay in proviſions; and, having ſent to Gaul for neceſſaries to refit his ſhips, he made uſe of the timber and iron of the ſhatter'd ones to repair the reſt. The ſoldiers, knowing they wrought for their lives, ſoon put the fleet in a condition to ſail, there having been only 12 ſhips loſt.

In the mean time, the ſeventh legion being ſent out to forage, news was brought that a cloud of duſt was ſeen to riſe from that quarter. Cæſar directly marches away with the two companies that guarded the camp, ordering the reſt to follow with all expedition. As the harveſt was in every where elſe, the Britons knew the Romans would come to forage there, and ſo lay ready to fall upon them, as they ſhould be ſcatter'd in the field. Some they kill'd, and the reſt they ſurrounded with their chariots, when Cæſar came, in the critical moment, to ſave them from being all ſlain or taken. Having brought them off, he retir'd to the camp, not thinking it proper to come to a battle.

The Britons, upon this ſucceſs, augmented their horſe and foot, reſolving to attack the Romans in their camp; but Cæſar gave them ſo warm a reception, that they were ſoon put to flight, the Romans purſuing them as long as they were able. This defeat ſo diſpirited the Britons, that they ſent that very day ambaſſadors to treat of peace, which Cæſar agreed to, upon their ſending after him into Gaul double the number of hoſtages he demanded before. Tho' his paſſage thither was ſhort, yet the fear of expoſing his fleet to another ſtorm, it being ſo late in the year, made him hurry away; and, the Britons not being ſo good as their word, he reſolved to make them another more formidable viſit the following ſpring.

Cæſar's ſecond invaſion.

Cæſar, having left orders to repair the old and build ſome more new ſhips, went and ſpent part of the winter in Italy. At his return he found in the port of Iccius ſix-ſcore veſſels and 18 gallies, on board of which he put 5 legions and 2000 horſe, and landed at the place he had mark'd before, without any reſiſtance. The Britons, terrified by ſo vaſt a fleet, retir'd farther up in the country, behind ſome hills. Cæſar, having fortified the camp, ſet out in the night in queſt of the enemy; and, when he had marched about 12 miles, he ſaw them poſted on the other ſide of a river, to diſpute his paſſage. The Roman cavalry, in ſpite of their reſolution at firſt, obliged them to abandon their poſt;

Near Calais.

The Stowe in Kent.

and

and they retir'd into a wood, the avenues whereof were block'd with large trees laid acroſs one another. The ſeventh legion attack'd them, notwithſtanding, and put them to flight; but, night approaching, Cæſar gave orders not to purſue them. The next day, as he was in purſuit of the Britons, he was inform'd that his fleet was almoſt entirely deſtroy'd by a ſtorm; upon which he returns to the camp, and found 40 of his ſhips ſhatter'd, and the reſt very much damag'd. He directly employs all the carpenters in his fleet and army, and ſent for others from Gaul; and, to prevent ſuch an accident hereafter, he made his ſoldiers, with infinite toil, draw up the ſhips within the camp. Having writ to Labienus, his lieutenant in Gaul, to build new ones, he proceeded in ſearch of the Britons, leaving a ſufficient guard for the camp.

Before he marched far, he found that the enemy's forces were greatly augmented under Caſſibelan king of the Trinobantes, whoſe kingdom lay beyond the Thames about 20 miles from the ſea. This prince had hitherto continual wars with his neighbours; but a peace was made with them all on this occaſion, and the command of the confederate army conferr'd upon him. The Romans were ſurpriz'd on their march by the Britiſh horſe and chariots; but they were repulſed with great loſs. In the mean time, ſome troops that lay in the woods furiouſly attack'd thoſe that guarded the camp, and put them in very great diſorder. Two companies that Cæſar ſent to their aſſiſtance, were, at the firſt onſet, put to the rout, and the tribune Quintus Laberius Durus was ſlain. Cæſar evidently perceived that the Romans, with their heavy armour, were unequal to an enemy that was nimble and light-armed, and always fought in ſmall parties, with a body of reſerve in their rear. The Roman horſe was no leſs embarraſs'd than the foot; for as the Britons often pretended to run away, the horſemen that purſued them were immediately cut off, ſo that it was as dangerous to purſue as to retreat. Cæſar's confus'd account of this action clearly ſhews the Romans were worſted. Beſides, if there be any weight in his reaſons for their ſucceeding no better in this encounter, why had he not the ſame difficulties in others, wherein he affirms the Britons were totally routed?

In Eſſex.

On the morrow, Cæſar having ſent out all the cavalry to forage, with three legions to guard them, the Britons fell upon them with great fury, who were defended by the legions, till Cæſar advanced with the reſt of the army; upon which, in a great battle, the Britons were entirely defeated.

After this, Cæſar marched towards the Thames, in order to enter the kingdom of Caſſibelan. Coming to the place where he was to ford, he ſaw the enemy on the other ſide drawn up in great numbers. However, tho' the bank and river were ſtuck full of ſharp ſtakes, he order'd the horſe to ride in, and the foot to follow, who waded up to their chins. Upon this reſolute attack, the Britons were obliged to retire. Caſſibelan, having disbanded his army, reſerved only 4000 men, who carried off all the corn and cattle in their way, to diſtreſs the Romans, who durſt not make any excurſions for proviſions, for fear of ſallies from the woods and by-places.

The Trinobantes, finding Cæſar on their borders, ſent deputies to treat of peace; intreating him alſo to protect Mandubratius their king, who had fled into Gaul, Caſſibelan having kill'd his father Imanuentius, and depriv'd him of his dominions. This Cæſar agreed to, provided they would victual his army, and deliver 40 hoſtages. Cæſar, at laſt, other ſtates following their example, was in a condition of attacking the capital city of Caſſibelan. A city, among the Britons, was no more than a wood fenc'd with a ditch. The Romans ſtorm'd this intrenchment, tho' very ſtrong, at two places at once, with ſo much briskneſs, that the enemy fled out at one of their avenues, having many ſlain and taken, and leaving abundance of cattle behind them.

In the mean time, four Kentiſh princes Cingetorix, Carnilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, at the inſtigation of Caſſibelan, attack'd the Roman camp that guarded their ſhips; but, after a long and reſolute fight, were repulſed, and Cingetorix taken priſoner.

Upon this, Caſſibelanus, by the mediation of Comius, treated with Cæſar, who conſented to a peace on the following conditions; that the Britons ſhould pay a yearly tribute to the Romans; and that Caſſibelan ſhould deliver a certain number of hoſtages, and leave Mandubratius in the quiet poſſeſſion of his dominions. Theſe things being ſettled, Cæſar embarqued his troops, and arrived ſafely in Gaul.

Remarks upon Cæſar's two expeditions.

Tho' in this account of his two expeditions into Britain, Cæſar does not commend himſelf in ſo many words; yet the very hiſtory of his actions gives him the moſt exalted praiſes. To make a deſcent with two legions only, in the view of a formidable army; nay, to ford the Thames at a place drove full of ſharp ſtakes, the oppoſite bank being defended by numerous troops, and the waters being ſo deep as to take the ſoldiers up to the neck, are actions that evidently ſpeak their own praiſe. Cæſar has been accus'd of turning every thing to his own advantage, in his commentaries; but, in the preſent caſe, it is plain there is ſomething paſs'd over in ſilence not at all to his honour. Not to inſiſt, that the part of the Thames, thought to be the place his men are ſaid to wade over, is ſix foot deep, what has been advanced will appear more evident, if we conſider Cæſar's deſign and ſucceſs in his attempt upon Britain. Dion Caſſius aſſures us, his intent was to reduce the whole iſland to a Roman province. He always gets the better of the Britons; he paſſes the Thames, in ſpite of all difficulties; Caſſibelan, at length, disbands his troops; Cæſar ſubdues his capital; and the Britons ſubmit. After all this, he only impoſes a light

tribute on Caſſibelan; and neither fortifies any place, nor leaves any troops behind him, contented with reſtoring Mandubratius, as if that had been all he aim'd at in his undertaking. Is it not, then, very ſuſpicious that he was oblig'd to comply with theſe terms? Lucan, tho' no friend of his, would not, ſurely, without any grounds, ſo flatly accuſe him of turning his back to the Britons*. Dion declares, that in an action the Britons entirely routed the Roman foot, but were put in diſorder by the horſe. Horace and Tibullus† give ſeveral hints, that the Romans were not maſters of Britain in their time. From all which it is evident, that Cæſar's reputation, in this affair, is not ſo great as he repreſents in his own hiſtory. However, it is certain the commonwealth received very little advantage from theſe expeditions; for which reaſon, doubtleſs, Tacitus ſaid, "Cæſar had "rather ſhewn the Romans the way to Bri-"tain, than put them in poſſeſſion of it.

The ſtate of the Britons in the reign of Auguſtus.

After Cæſar's Death, the Britons did not pay their tribute, nor was it demanded for 20 years; but Auguſtus, after he was peaceably ſettled in the empire, was reſolv'd to force the Britons to a compliance. With this view, he went twice as far as Gaul‡, but was once prevented by a revolt in Pannonia; and the ſecond time the Britiſh ambaſſadors met him and ſued for peace. At laſt, the Britons not keeping their word, he determin'd to make a complete conqueſt of them; but the Britons found means to divert him from his deſign. Tenuantius, Caſſibelan's ſucceſſor, ſent him rich preſents, which were laid up in the Capitol. Cunobelin, who ſucceeded him, order'd money to be coin'd, ſome pieces of which may be ſeen in the cabinets of the curious, with the five firſt letters of his name. C.u.n.o.b. or C.a.m. the three firſt of Camelodunum, his capital city on one ſide; on the other, a man ſitting and coining money, with theſe letters T.A.S. c.i.o. from which antiquaries conclude that this money was intended for the payment of tribute.

Tiberius.

Tiberius left the Britons to enjoy their liberty, being ſatisfied with their ſending back ſome ſoldiers of Germanicus, that were ſhipwreck'd on their coaſt.

Caligula.

Caligula pretended to invade Britain; but, hearing that the Britons ſtood ready to receive him, he deſiſted. However, he went on board a galley, and order'd them to row with all ſpeed towards the Britiſh coaſt. He ſuddenly came back as faſt as he went off. Being come on ſhore, he harangued his troops, as if going upon ſome great expedition. This done, a charge was ſounded as if the enemy were in view; upon which the whole army, by his orders, ſet about gathering cockle-ſhells in their helmets. He generouſly rewarded his ſoldiers for their alacrity, and ſent an account of his ſucceſs to Rome, expecting the ſenate would decree him a triumph; which they not doing, he reſolved to put them all to death; but this deſign was prevented by a conſpiracy againſt him, wherein he loſt his life.

The Britons enjoy'd their liberty for above 90 years after Julius Cæſar's ſecond invaſion, to the reign of Claudius.

The occaſion of Claudius's conquering Britain.

Cunobelin's two ſons, Togodumnus and Caractacus, both ſucceeded him; but whether they reign'd jointly, or ſeparately, is uncertain. In their reign, Bericus, for attempting to raiſe a ſedition, being obliged to leave the kingdom, went to the emperor's court at Rome, to whom he ſhewed how eaſy it was to conquer Britain. Claudius, upon this, ſent to the Romans, to demand the tribute due to the empire, which they flatly refus'd to pay; and, having a ſpecious pretence for the war, he ſent Plautius before him, who landed without any reſiſtance; for the Britons having heard of a mutiny in the Roman army, juſt as they were embarquing, and not thinking it could have been ſo ſoon over, they did not put themſelves in a condition to oppoſe him. Plautius was deſirous of giving them battle at once; but the Britons did all they could to avoid it, expecting he would, like Cæſar, winter in Gaul. However, at laſt, he found means to attack Togodumnus ſeparately; and, having entirely defeated him, went in ſearch of Caractacus, over whom alſo he obtain'd a ſignal victory. The Britons kept off, and encamped careleſly on the other ſide of a river, which they believed the Romans could not paſs without a bridge; and they were ſo ſurpriz'd at ſeeing ſome Germans, who were excellent ſwimmers, croſs over, that they decamp'd and retir'd at a greater diſtance. Upon this Plautius paſs'd over a conſiderable body of troops, commanded by Veſpaſian and Sabinus his brother, who gave the enemy battle and put them to flight. But rallying the next day, they attack'd ſo furiouſly a detatchment under the command of Sidius Geta, that they put them into ſome diſorder, and had like to have ſlain or taken Geta himſelf; but, happily eſcaping, he gave the Britons, almoſt ſure of victory, ſo briſk a charge that they quit the field. Upon this, the Britons retir'd towards the mouth of the Thames. Being acquainted with all the fords, they eaſily paſſed the river, whilſt the Romans fell among the moraſſes. At laſt, the Germans finding a ford, and the reſt of the army having paſs'd over a bridge a little higher up†*, the Britons were hemm'd in on all ſides, and great numbers of them ſlain.

Plautius ſent before him.

* Territa quæſitis oſtendit terga Britannis.

† Intactus aut Britannus aut deſcenderet
Sacra catenatus via. HOR.
Te manet invictus Romano Marte Britannus. TIB.

‡ Serves iturum Cæſarem in ultimos
Orbis Britannos. HOR. l. 1. od. 35.

†* It is improbable there ſhould be a ford ſo nigh the Thames' mouth, or a bridge a little higher up. Dion Caſſius ſeems to confound ſome river running into the Thames with the Thames itſelf.

Plautius

Claudius comes over into Britain.

Plautius now ſends to the emperor, to come and have the honour of putting an end to the war, who ſet out immediately. Claudius, as ſoon as he was arrived, commanded his army in perſon, and, forcing the Britons to a battle, entirely routed them. After this, he advanced towards Camelodunum*, meeting with little oppoſition; and, enlarging his conqueſts, ſubdued ſome neighbouring nations. Upon this occaſion, he was ſeveral times ſaluted imperator by the army, tho' the Romans never allow'd a general this honour more than once in the ſame war.

Finiſhes his conqueſts in 15 days.

If Claudius by this expedition, which was compleated in 15 days, acquir'd great glory, his clemency to the Britons, whom he left in poſſeſſion of their goods, was no leſs honourable and advantageous. Touch'd with his generoſity, they erected a temple to him, and paid him divine honours. He left Plautius governor of Britain, returning to Rome, after 6 months abſence, where the ſenate decreed him the honour of a triumph, and the ſirname of Britannicus. Tho' Suetonius affirms, that he ſubdued ſome part of Britain, without a ſtroke; yet Dion Caſſius's account is the moſt probable.

Plautius, ſeconded by Veſpaſian and Titus, purſued the conqueſts Claudius had begun. Veſpaſian beat the Britons in 30 conflicts; in one of which Titus his ſon, then but a tribune, ſav'd his father's life. He conquer'd two of the moſt powerful nations, and the iſle of Wight. But Plautius, commanding in chief,

Plautius recall'd.

reap'd the glory of it; and, at laſt, being recall'd, the ſenate decreed him the honour of an inferior triumph.

Oſtorius ſucceeds him.

Oſtorius Scapula ſucceeds him, who, upon his arrival, found the Britons making continual inroads into the Roman conqueſts. Getting his army together, he marched ſo unexpectedly againſt them in the midſt of winter, that he defeated the firſt that oppos'd him and diſpers'd the reſt. However, to prevent future alarms, he propos'd to coop them up between the Avon and Severn, by building forts along between theſe rivers. Before he ſet about this work, he planted a Roman colony at Camelodunum. About this time alſo London became a colony; and the land between the Thames and the ſea was made a province, by the name of Britannia prima.

The Icenians†, tho' allies to the Romans, firſt oppos'd Oſtorius's deſign; and, others joining with them, encamped on very advantageous ground, but the Romans forced their intrenchments, and made great ſlaughter among them. After this Oſtorius went againſt the Cangians‡, who were ſoon diſpers'd. The Roman army was near the Iriſh ſea, when news was brought him that the Brigantes** had revolted. Putting off, therefore, his firſt deſign, he immediately marches againſt them, and appeaſes this inſurrection by puniſhing the authors of it. But neither fair nor foul means could reduce the Silures*†, the braveſt and moſt powerful of all the Britons. Caractacus, their king, was eſteem'd the greateſt general Britain had ever produced; and all the nations in alliance with the Silures had conferr'd upon him the command of the confederate army. He retir'd among the Ordovices††, where he gather'd all his forces together, poſting himſelf advantageouſly on a ſteep hill, at the bottom of which was a ſmall river, and ſurrounding his camp with a rampart of flints and ſtones, in order to receive the enemy. Caractacus, to invigorate his ſoldiers, told them on the day of battle, that it would give them liberty or enſlave them for ever, reminding them of their anceſtors, who had glorioufly driven Cæſar out of Britain. The ſoldiers loudly proclaim'd, that they would defend their liberty, with the laſt drop of their blood. Such undaunted courage appear'd in their looks as, at firſt, ſtartled the Roman general; but, his army being extremely deſirous of engaging, he gave the ſignal of battle. The Romans eaſily paſs'd the river, but many of them were ſlain and wounded by the enemy's darts, before they came up to their camp. In ſpite of all reſiſtance, they approach'd the rampart, which, being but looſe ſtones, they ſoon tumbled down. The Britons were not able to withſtand the veteran troops, when they fought ſword in hand, but were ſpeedily put to flight. The wife, daughters, and brothers of Caractacus were taken priſoners; and he himſelf, a few days after, was deliver'd to Oſtorius by Cartiſmandua, queen of the Brigantes, to whom he fled for protection. He had commanded the confederate army 9 years; and all the world was ſurpriz'd at his reſiſting ſo long the Roman power. Claudius order'd the captives to be ſent to Rome; and on a certain day, before all the people, they were preſented to him, as he ſate on his throne. Firſt came Caractacus's vaſſals and retinue, then his wife, daughters, and brothers, and laſtly himſelf, walking with a compos'd countenance, not appearing too much dejected. Approaching the emperor, he made the following ſpeech, if Tacitus has not ſpoke for him. "If my moderation had

Caractacus general of the Britons.

Is defeated.

And deliver'd up to Oſtorius.

His ſpeech to Claudius.

"been equal to my birth or fortune, Rome
"had beheld me this day her ally, and not
"captive, and perhaps ſhe would not have
"diſdain'd to rank, in the number of her
"friends, a prince of royal deſcent, and who
"commanded many nations. My preſent
"condition is as diſhonourable to me, as it
"is glorious to you. I had arms, horſes,
"riches, and grandeur. Is it a wonder, I
"ſhould loſe them with reluctance? Muſt
"every one tamely ſubmit, becauſe you have
"a mind to rule over all. Had I ſooner been
"betray'd to you, neither your glory nor
"my miſery had been render'd ſo famous,

* Malden in Eſſex. † The inhabitants of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeſhire, and Huntingtonſhire.
‡ In the weſtern parts of Wales. ** Yorkſhire, Lancaſhire, Durham, Weſtmoreland, Cumberland.
*† Herefordſhire, Radnorſhire, Brecknockſhire, Monmouthſhire, Glamorganſhire.
†† Mongomeryſhire, Merioncthſhire, Carnarvonſhire, Flintſhire, Denbighſhire.

"and

" and my puniſhment would have been bu-
" ried in eternal oblivion. But now, if you
" preſerve my life, I ſhall be a laſting monu-
" ment of your clemency to ſucceeding ages."
The emperor, upon this moving diſcourſe, pardon'd them all. The ſenate, meeting on the occaſion of Oſtorius's victory over Caractacus, equall'd it to thoſe of Scipio over Syphax, and Paulus Emilius over Perſes, and they decreed him the ſame honours. In the mean time, the glory of Oſtorius began to loſe ground, whether he did not carry on the war with his former vigour, or that the Britons did their utmoſt to repair their diſgrace.

The Britons gain ſome advantages over the Romans.

They would have cut to pieces the troops left behind to build forts, had they not received timely aſſiſtance from the places adjacent. They kill'd the Roman commander, eight captains, and a great number of ſoldiers. At another time, they defeated a body of troops that went out to forage, and put the horſe that guarded them in diſorder; ſo that Oſtorius was obliged to come up with his legions, which forced the Britons to retreat, tho' with little loſs. There were, after this, ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, the ſucceſs whereof was various.

The Silures are intractable.

The Silures were more obſtinate and intractable than all the other nations, reſenting Claudius's ſaying, Britain would not be quiet, till, like the Sicambri, they were tranſported into ſome foreign land. Two cohorts, which they had ſurpriz'd, that had advanced too near the enemy's quarters, they diſpers'd among the other nations, to ſpirit them to a revolt.

Oſtorius dies.

Oſtorius, quite ſpent with vexation, died about this time, at whoſe death the Britons rejoic'd the more, as they attributed it to his grief at not being able to interrupt the courſe of their victories.

Aulus Didius ſucceeds him.

Aulus Didius was immediately ſent over, who found the Roman affairs in a worſe condition than ever, a legion commanded by Manlius Valens having been defeated with great loſs. He ſoon put a ſtop to the Silures, who were making inroads into the frontiers of the Roman province.

The war breaks out a-freſh.

Venutius king of the Brigantes, who ſucceeded Caractacus, as commander of the army, was perſuaded by Cartiſmandua his queen, who betray'd Caractacus, to enter into an alliance with the Romans. But he and his queen quarrelling, and the Romans openly eſpouſing her cauſe, he was incenſed by their partiality to excite his countrymen to a revolt; upon which the war broke out with more fury than ever, which Didius, being very old, manag'd by his lieutenants.

Veranius ſucceeds Didius, and dies.

Verannius, his ſucceſſor in the reign of Nero, died before he had accompliſh'd any thing remarkable, tho' he boaſted in his will, that in two years, had he lived, he ſhould have ſubdued the whole iſland.

Suetonius Paulinus conquers the iſle of Mona.

Suetonius Paulinus ſucceeds him, from whom, being an experienced general, great matters were expected. He, firſt, undertook the conqueſt of Mona or Angleſey; to which end he paſs'd the foot over in flat-bottom'd boats, the horſe either fording or ſwimming. The iſlanders were drawn up on the other ſide, the women running about, dreſs'd like furies, their hair hanging looſe, fire-brands in their hands, and ſurrounded with druids, who with the greateſt ſolemnity, pour'd out dreadful curſes and imprecations. This frightful ſight ſo confounded the Romans, that they ſtood, without motion, expos'd to the enemy's darts. But, at laſt, ſhame and the exhortations of their general bringing them to their ſenſes, they attack'd the enemy ſword in hand, and conquer'd the iſland. Suetonius, in the firſt place, order'd all the conſecrated groves to be cut down, where they ſacrificed their captives, and conſulted their gods by inſpecting the entrails of men.

A general revolt.

However, Suetonius was obliged to leave Mona abruptly, to ſettle matters of greater importance. Praſutagus, king of the Icenians, to ſecure the protection of Nero to his family and kingdom, had made him and his daughters co-heirs to his vaſt treaſures; but no ſooner was he laid in his grave than the emperor's officers ſeiz'd on all his effects. Boadicea his widow, a woman of ſpirit, oppoſing theſe unjuſt proceedings, the officers caus'd her to be publickly whipp'd, and her daughters to be raviſh'd.

The cauſe of it.

This barbarity inſpir'd the whole iſland with the ſpirit of revolt. The Icenians were ſeconded by the Trinobantes, and Venutius join'd with them; nay, all the nations that had ſubmitted to the Romans, the city of London excepted. The Roman hiſtorians agree that the cauſe of this revolt was juſt. The Britons were deprived of their eſtates by the veterans, without any form of law. Catus Decianus, Nero's procurator, having no regard to their petitions, or the ordinance of Claudius, confiſcated their eſtates to the emperor's uſe. Thus, were the minds of the people, at once, inclin'd to ſhake off a foreign yoke. Venutius did all he could to foment this rebellion; and even his queen's adherents, dropping their domeſtick jars, renounced the friendſhip of the Romans.

A general maſſacre of the Romans.

Boadicea, full of reſentment, headed the revolters, in a lively manner exhorting them to take the advantage of Suetonius's being at a diſtance, to recover their liberty, by putting their oppreſſors to the ſword. The Britons, upon this, unawares and furiouſly, fell upon the Romans in their colonies, which they had rather embelliſh'd than fortified, and maſſacred all, without diſtinction. Unparallel'd cruelties were at this time acted; wives were hung up with their infants at their breaſts, to make them, in ſome ſort, ſuffer a double death; and virgins had their breaſts cut off and cramm'd in their mouths, that they might ſeem, in the agonies of death, to eat their own fleſh. The veterans at Camelodunum, tho' inclos'd in a temple as in an aſylum, were ſacreligiouſly burnt rather than ſtarv'd to death. In fine, not a Roman was ſuffer'd to live; and 80,000 * are ſaid to have periſh'd in this maſſacre.

* Tacitus ſays 70,000.

Let

The politicks of the Romans.

Let us here reflect upon the policy of the Romans, who, having conquer'd a country, directly ſent thither large colonies, that by degrees, mixing and intermarrying with the inhabitants, ſecur'd their conqueſts. Accordingly, above 80,000 Romans were now ſettled in Britain, tho' it had been ſubdued but 18 years before by Claudius, beſides the army of Suetonius and the garriſons that had eſcap'd the fury of the Britons.

Suetonius in great ſtraits.

Boadicea, from whoſe noble ſtature and courage, they had entertain'd great hopes, was now at the head of 100,000 Britons. As Suetonius had only 10,000 men, ſhe ardently deſir'd to come to a battle. The Roman general, the ninth legion under Petilius Cerealis being juſt then entirely routed, and Pœnius Poſthumius, who had a large detatchment of the ſecond, refuſing to join him, he was, in this extremity, obliged either to go and meet the enemy, or expect them in ſome town. He, firſt, reſolved to ſhut himſelf up in London; but foreſeeing that, in attempting to ſave that colony, he ſhould endanger the loſs of the whole province, he marched out, notwithſtanding the cries and intreaties of the inhabitants to the contrary. He ſaw evidently, at this juncture he muſt either conquer or die; and, therefore, he thought it beſt to go and attack them. Here he had need for all his experience and conduct, the number of the enemy being ſo great. He choſe a narrow ſpot of ground for the field of battle, with a foreſt behind him to ſecure him from ambuſcades in the rear, and a large plain before him where the Britons were encamp'd. The legions were cloſely drawn up in the center, the light-arm'd ſurrounded them, and the horſe made the two wings. The enemy ſwarm'd about the plain in batallions and ſquadrons, ſecure of victory, and had brought their wives and children to be witneſſes of their actions, and ſharers in the booty.

Boadicea's ſpeech to the army.

Boadicea, having her daughters by her ſide in the chariot, ſpoke to the ſeveral nations, as follows: "That the Britons had been formerly victorious under their queens; that "ſhe came not there, as one of royal deſcent, "to fight for empire or riches, but as one of "the common people, to revenge the loſs of "liberty, the wrongs done to her own perſon, and the violation of her daughters "chaſtity; that the Romans luſt was grown "to that pitch, that neither old nor young "eſcap'd its pollutions; but that the gods "had already began to puniſh them, for one "legion, that durſt hazard a battle, was cut "in pieces, and the reſt skulk'd in their "camp, or fled for their lives; ſo that the "very ſhouts of ſuch a great and victorious "army would put them to flight; that if the "Britons would only conſider the number of "their forces, and the motives of the war, "they would reſolve to vanquiſh or die; that "it was far better bravely to fall a ſacrifice "for their liberty, than endure again the out-"rages of the Romans. This was her reſo-"lution; but for the men, if they pleas'd, "they might live and be ſlaves."

Suetonius alſo, tho' he was aſſured of the valour of his troops, yet he exhorted them to deſpiſe the clamours of the barbarians. He told them that among the Britons, "There "were more women than ſoldiers, and that "moſt of them would make the beſt of their "way, as ſoon as they felt the force of their "victorious arms; that, in the greateſt armies, the deciſion of the battle depended "on a few, and their glory would riſe the "higher, as it was leſs divided; that they "ſhould only keep their ranks cloſe, and "fight, ſword in hand, after they had thrown "their darts; and, laſtly, that they ſhould "not loſe time about the ſpoil, which would "be the certain reward of victory." Upon this ſpeech, which was follow'd with loud acclamations, the courage of the ſoldiers appear'd ſo great, that the general, not fearing ſucceſs, gave the ſignal of battle. The Romans darted their javelins, without quitting their poſt; and, when the enemy's darts were ſpent, advanced ſword in hand, ſeconded by the auxiliary troops, who behav'd with equal bravery. Whilſt they fought at a diſtance with their darts, the Britons expected that the Romans would have fled before them; but, when they ſaw the legions advancing with ſhort and thick ſteps, in a reſolute manner, they fell into diſorder, which was ſo much the greater, as there were no leaders to checque it*. The Romans put the whole army in the utmoſt confuſion, who thought of nothing but ſaving themſelves by flight. At the ſame time, the Roman cavalry breaking through the Britiſh horſe, a terrible rout enſued. The Romans ſpar'd neither age nor ſex, but ſacrificed to their fury the women, children, and the very horſes. This victory equall'd their moſt famous ones, if, as Tacitus aſſures us, 80,000 Britons were ſlain, with the loſs only of 400 Romans, and as many wounded. Boadicea eſcap'd their hands, but was touch'd with ſuch a ſenſe of her ſhame and loſs, that ſhe poiſon'd herſelf. Pœnius Poſthumius, either to avoid the puniſhment due to his crime for refuſing to obey his general, or out of grief for loſing his ſhare of the glory of this victory, ſtabb'd himſelf.

The miſerable ſtate of the Britons.

The Britons, after this, in the utmoſt conſternation, fled, without the leaſt oppoſition, whoſe miſery was increas'd by famine, which themſelves had brought on, by neglecting to till the ground. They had hopes, indeed, from the ſmall number of the enemy, that they would keep together, and that ſo they ſhould have an opportunity of forming another army; but they were diſappointed, the Romans being furniſh'd with powerful ſupplies from Germany. Doubtleſs, Suetonius's army would have now made a complete conqueſt of Britain, had not the Romans fallen out among themſelves.

* Where was Venutius?

Suetonius recall'd.

Julius Classicianus, who succeeded Decianus, as procurator, thwarted Suetonius in all his designs; probably, because the general would not permit him to continue the oppressions that had caus'd the revolt. Such was Classicianus's prejudice against him, that he openly declar'd, and even writ to the emperor's ministers at Rome, that the war would never be ended, under the management of Suetonius. He never ceas'd till an order was sent him, to resign to Petronius Turpilianus, who did nothing worth notice, hiding his love of sloth under the specious name of the love of peace.

Resigns to Turpilianus.

Succeeded by Trebellius.

Trebellius Maximus succeeded him, as indolent as himself, famous for nothing but his quarrel with Cælius who commanded the 20th legion, which rose so high, that, a great part of the army deserting him, he fled to Vitellius general of the Roman army in Germany.

Nero dying, the Britons had some quiet in the short reigns of Galba and Otho, the army being commanded only by tribunes, among whom Cælius bore the chief sway. Vitellius, being emperor, sent Vectius Bolanus into Britain, who being ignorant of the art of war, nothing was done against the Britons. Vespasian, succeeding Vitellius, appointed Petilius Cerealis in his room. He defeated the Brigantes in several battles; and Julius Frontinus, who succeeded him, acquired no less glory in subduing the Silures.

Vectius Bolanus.

Petilius Cerealius.

Frontinus.

Agricola.

Towards the end of Vespasian's reign, Julius Agricola was made governor of Britain, a particular account of whose wars is given us by his son-in-law Tacitus.

The Ordovices, before the arrival of Agricola, having cut in pieces a body of the Roman horse that was quarter'd in their frontiers, the first thing he did was to march directly against them; and, tho' they were retir'd among the mountains, he made them pay dear for their late success. He, then, turn'd his arms against Mona, which the Romans abandon'd, tho' he had no flat-bottom'd boats to carry over his men. Some of the horse, that swam over with their arms in their hands, so astonish'd the islanders, that they submitted without striking a blow.

First campaign of Agricola.

He gains the love of the Britons.

Agricola found that the Britons were never to be tam'd by arms alone, and that lenity was as necessary as force; and, therefore, during the winter, he attempted to reform several abuses, occasion'd by the avarice or carelessness of former governors. He stopp'd all manner of extortions, caus'd justice to be impartially administer'd, and the like; and so gain'd on their affections, as not to fear their revolting in his time. Vespasian dying, Titus his son, knowing the merit of Agricola, continued him in the government.

Second campaign.

In the spring he took the field again, marching towards the north, where he made some new conquests. He found the Romans had suffer'd, because they durst not take up their winter-quarters in the countries they had conquer'd; to prevent which, Agricola, who thoroughly understood the art of fortification, order'd forts to be built, that the Romans might safely winter there.

He spent the following winter in softening the rough manners of the Britons, and inspiring them with a desire of imitating the Roman customs. Soon after this, Britain was adorned with stately temples, noble portico's, and many curious buildings both publick and private. The British nobles spoke the Latin tongue, and wore the Roman habit; and, as Tacitus says, they look'd upon, as signs of politeness, what were so many badges of their slavery.

Third campaign.

Fourth campaign.

In his third campaign, Agricola proceeded in his conquests as far as the river Tweed. In the fourth, he subdued the nations between the Tweed and the two bays, call'd the fyrths of Edenborough and Dunbritton, into which the rivers of Glota and Bodotria discharge themselves. These two fyrths, one on the west, and the other on the east-side of Scotland, penetrate so far into the land, that the space between them is not above 30 or 35 miles. Here Agricola built castles and forts, by which the nations, yet unconquer'd, were pent up as in another island.

Fifth campaign.

In his fifth campaign, he vanquish'd some nations beyond the fyrths, and planted garrisons along the western coast opposite to Ireland, designing to invade it, being fully inform'd of its condition by a nobleman that was banish'd from that island.

Sixth campaign.

In his sixth campaign, Agricola pass'd the Bodotria, ordering his fleet, the first the Romans ever had on these seas*, to row along the coasts, and take a view of the ports in the northern parts. This terrified the enemy, but exceedingly animated the Romans, who, by this means, in those unknown countries, had always a communication with their fleet.

But Agricola, advancing farther north, found that the northern nations were marching towards him with a formidable army. To prevent being surrounded, he divided his troops, as the enemy had done theirs, into three bodies. The Britons, upon this, at once rejoin'd their forces, and furiously attack'd the ninth legion, encamp'd at some distance from the rest of the army, and were in a fair way of subduing the camp. Agricola march'd with all speed to their assistance, sending the light-horse before, to continue the fight, till the army should come up. At break of day, he was in view of the enemy; and the army, seeing the legion in extremity, rush'd upon them, and, at last, obliged them to give way; and, if the fens had not favour'd their retreat, this single battle would have compleated the war.

Seventh campaign.

In the spring, the Britons took the field again; and Agricola, having some trusty natives for his guides, marched in quest of them. Being near Grantzbain-hills, he saw above 30,000 of the enemy. Galgacus, the British general upon their approach, represented to

* Agricola is said to be the first that sail'd round the island.

his

his army, that, as they were at the extremity of the iſland, nothing but victory could preſerve them from perpetual bondage. On the contrary, Agricola exhorted his ſoldiers to their duty, ſhewing what a dreadful thing it would be, if, after a defeat, they ſhould fly to the Britons, who, for 50 years, had felt the force of their victorious arms. Then, drawing up his army in the beſt manner, to prevent the effuſion of Roman blood, he placed the auxiliary foot in the front, and the legions in the rear, whom he headed. Galgacus, to ſtrike the Romans with the greater terror, ranged his men on the ſide of a hill, that they might, at once, view his whole army; the horſe was drawn up on the plain at the bottom, and the chariots ran between the two armies. They fought, for ſome time, with darts, the Britons being unwilling to quit their poſt, their ſmall bucklers and great pointleſs ſwords being improper for cloſe fighting. However, Agricola forced them to it, by detatching four cohorts of Batavians and Thuringians, who attack'd them ſword in hand; by which means their ranks were ſoon broken, and the cohorts began to aſcend the hill. The others, following their example, gave the enemy no time to rally, but defeated all that oppoſed them. The Britiſh horſe began alſo to loſe ground; and the chariots drove up the hill, to aſſiſt the firſt ranks of the foot that were extremely diſorder'd. The chariots, at firſt, daunted the Romans; yet, through the unevenneſs of the ground, the charioteers could not command their horſes, and ſo they trampled upon friends as well as foes, as they came in their way. The infantry, poſted on the top of the hill, attempted to ſurround the Romans, as they purſued their victory. Agricola, upon this, order'd four ſquadrons to advance, who not only routed this body of foot, but, attacking the flank of the troops on the plain, made a great ſlaughter of them, which finiſh'd the victory. Galgacus, in this extremity, retreated, by night, with the remains of his army, in ſuch haſte, that it was in vain for the Romans to purſue them in the morning. The Britons loſt 10,000 men, and the Romans only 340. Agricola having diſpers'd the enemy, winter approaching, march'd back among the Horeſtians, who gave him hoſtages.

Domitian recalls Agricola.

Domitian, ſucceeding Titus his brother in the empire, ſeem'd pleas'd with the news of this victory, tho' he inwardly envy'd Agricola's glory; and on that account recall'd him, to make him governor of Syria; but, having got the ſenate to decree him a ſtatue crown'd with laurel, he caus'd him to be poiſon'd.

And poiſons him.

The Britons, all the country lying ſouth of the two fyrths having been reduced to a Roman province by Agricola, for the entire loſs of their liberty, receiv'd, however, great improvement in their cuſtoms and manners. Arts and ſciences flouriſh'd among them; and, from mere ſavages, they grew polite and civiliz'd, an advantage the northern parts could never attain. They, therefore, made but feint ſtruggles for the recovery of their freedom, the majority being ſatisfied with their ſlavery. But ſome of them, notwithſtanding, choſe to forfeit their eſtates, and retire among the Picts and Scots, rather than live in ſubjection to the Romans; who, joining with thoſe nations, waged continual wars againſt them, not ſparing even their own countrymen, whom they abhorr'd, for their tame and contented ſubmiſſion to the Romans.

The Britons, that had thus ſubmitted, underwent the uſual hardſhips of a conquer'd people. Exceſſive taxes were, on every occaſion, laid upon them, and their eſtates given to the veterans. The flower of their youth were ſent away as recruits into other provinces, a conſtant cuſtom among the Romans, to put it out of the power of a vanquiſh'd nation to revolt.

From this time to the reign of Adrian, we know little of the Britons; ſo that, probably, in this interval, they were quiet, and the inhabitants of the north enjoy'd their liberty. It is obſervable alſo, that the Romans permitted the Britons to have their kings, being proud in having ſuch for their ſubjects; Juvenal mentions Arviragus, as a Britiſh king, in the reign of Domitian.

Caledonians make irruptions into the Roman province.

In the firſt year of Adrian, the inhabitants of the north, conſiſting, as is believ'd, of Picts, Scots, and Britons, tho' the Roman writers ſtile them all by the common name of Caledonians, make irruptions into the Roman province. They, firſt, demoliſh ſome of Agricola's fortreſſes between the two fyrths; upon which, Julius Severus was ſent over, who was recall'd, before he could effect any thing, to be employ'd elſewhere. Adrian reſolv'd to go over, in perſon, to ſubdue theſe fierce and turbulent people, who ſtill continued their inroads; upon whoſe arrival, they retir'd towards the north. The emperor, however, went as far as York; but the account, ſome of Agricola's old ſoldiers gave him of the country, diverted him from his deſign. To make the Caledonians eaſy, he deliver'd up unto them all the lands between the two fyrths and the Tyne; and, to ſecure the Roman province, threw up a rampart of earth, from the mouth of the Tyne to Solway-fyrth, 80 miles long, and quite croſs the country from eaſt to weſt. He, after this, return'd to Rome, where he was honour'd with the title of reſtorer of Britain, as is evident from ſome medals.

Adrian comes into Britain, Ann. Dom. 124.

Raiſes a rampart quite croſs the country.

This rampart, however, did not prevent the irruptions of the Caledonians; for no ſooner were the Roman forces at a diſtance, than they began their inroads. In the reign of Antoninus, they broke down the rampart in ſeveral places. Lollius Urbicus, who was ſent to reſtrain them, having quell'd the Brigantes, rais'd another rampart between the two fyrths, which Agricola had formerly fortified; and, encamping ſome troops near at hand, pent up the Caledonians within their proper bounds.

Marcus

Marcus Aurelius, ſucceſſor to Antoninus, made Calphurnius Agricola governor of Britain, who repreſs'd the Caledonians, and more firmly eſtabliſh'd the Roman power over the diſcontented Britons. In this reign, Lucius a Britiſh king, embraced chriſtianity, which had long been planted in this iſland, tho' it made no great progreſs.

In the reign of Commodus, the Caledonians cut in pieces the Roman army, under the command of an unskilful general, and laid waſte the country in a moſt terrible manner. The whole province was in danger, had not the emperor ſpeedily ſent over Ulpius Marcellus, who ſoon compleated the war. He ſaw that theſe inroads of the Caledonians proceeded from the want of diſcipline in the Roman army, which he, therefore, endeavour'd to reſtore to its ancient ſtrictneſs. But, in ſpite of theſe, and all his other ſervices, the emperor depriv'd him of his government, and had like to have taken away his life.

The army mutinies.

Upon Marcellus's abſence, the army began to mutiny; and, therefore, Perennis, Commodus's favourite, broke or call'd home all the old officers, employing none but ſuch as were creatures of his own. The army, reſenting this, detach'd 1500 men, to accuſe him before the emperor of treaſonable practices. Commodus, having been jealous of him for ſome time, deliver'd him up to the ſoldiers, who diſpatch'd him on the ſpot.

Pertinax made governor.

Pertinax, afterwards emperor, was ſent over, to ſuppreſs the ſeditious temper of the army, who, acting according to the rigour of military diſcipline, in a mutiny of the ninth legion, was left for dead among the ſlain. However, at laſt, he brought the army to obedience; and, deſiring to be remov'd, was ſucceeded by Clodius Albinus, who, on ſome ſuſpicion, being recall'd, Junius Severus was ſent in his room.

Albinus.

In the reign of Pertinax, Albinus was again made governor, and continued in his poſt by Julian. Albinus's generoſity ſo charm'd the ſoldiers, that they proclaim'd him emperor, on the death of Julian. Septimius Severus in Pannonia, and Peſcennius Niger in Syria, at the ſame time, received the ſame honour from their armies. Severus, craftily offering to ſhare the empire between him and Albinus, which offer was accepted, he vanquiſh'd Peſcennius and ſlew him. Then, getting Albinus to be declar'd an enemy to the ſtate, he gave him battle in Gaul, near Lyons, whither he had brought his army from Britain, in which Albinus was defeated and ſlain. Severus, ſoon after, divided Britain into two governments, giving the ſouth to Heraclitus, and the north to Virius Lupus, whom the Caledonians ſo infeſted, that he was oblig'd to purchaſe a peace.

Britain divided into two governments by Severus An. 197.

Upon this, Britain was quiet till the 15th year of Severus, when the Caledonians, encourag'd by the entire neglect of diſcipline in the Roman army, made freſh inroads into the Roman province; inſomuch that the emperor, tho' ſixty years old, and afflicted with the gout, went over in perſon with a great army, to ſubdue the north, taking with him his two ſons Caracalla and Geta. The Caledonians, upon his arrival propos'd an honourable peace, which he rejected; and, leaving Geta at London, to take care of the ſouthern parts, he with Caracalla penetrated even to the extremities of the north. In this fatiguing expedition, he loſt 50,000 men, in cutting down woods, draining bogs or filling them with bavins, and by the ambuſcades of the enemy. Having, at laſt, vanquiſh'd thoſe nations, that had hitherto been unconquer'd, he found the country could not be kept in ſubjection, without a great army on the ſpot; and, therefore, did no more than divide the iſland into two parts, by building a wall in the place where Adrian had made a rampart, and not, as ſome fancy, between the two fyrths. Some remains of this wall, call'd by the ancient Britons Murſever or the wall of Severus, and by the Engliſh the Picts-wall, are to be ſeen to this day. The emperor, leaving the finiſhing of the wall and command of the army to Caracalla, went to York, and aſſum'd the title of Britannicus Maximus. Caracalla, in his father's abſence, indulged the ſoldiers in all ſorts of licentiouſneſs, ſo that the Caledonians unanimouſly revolted, who were but little accuſtom'd to the Roman yoke. Severus, not underſtanding the grounds of it, order'd all the rebels to be maſſacred; he died ſoon after at York, and his ſons, having made a peace with the Caledonians, return'd to Rome.

Severus comes into Britain.

Vanquiſheth the Caledonians.

Builds the Picts-wall.

Dies at York.

From the death of Severus to the reign of Diocleſian, we have a very imperfect account of the Britiſh affairs. The coins of Lollianus, Victorinus, Poſthumius, and others, commonly found in England, ſhew that ſome of the thirty tyrants were acknowledg'd, if not perſonally preſent, in Britain. Bonoſus, who attempted to uſurp the empire, in the reigns of Tacitus and Aurelian, was born in Britain. Probus was the firſt that permitted the Britons, Gauls, and Spaniards to plant vines. He ſent over alſo into Britain ſwarms of Vandals and Burgundians, who, it is general, thought, ſettled on Gogmagog-hills near Cambridge, where there is a fortification to this day, ſuppos'd to be their work, tho' it is far more probable it belong'd to the Danes, who were, for a long time, maſters of Cambridge.

Diocleſian.

In the firſt part of Diocleſian's reign, Carauſius was order'd to clear the ſeas of the Francs and Saxons that infeſted the Belgic, Armorican, and Britiſh coaſts. He enrich'd himſelf ſo prodigiouſly by unfair methods, that Maximilian, who reign'd then in the weſt, reſolv'd to have him aſſaſſinated. Carauſius, being inform'd of this, aſſum'd the title of emperor; and ſuch intereſt had he in the army in Britain, by his wealth, that his authority was own'd in that iſland. Maximilian march'd againſt him as far as Gaul; but judg'd it moſt proper, at length, to make him partner

partner with him in the empire, leaving him the government of Britain for his ſhare. There are coins of theſe two emperors ſtill in England, having on the reverſe two hands join'd together with theſe words, Concordia Augg.

Maximilian, notwithſtanding this treaty, ſent Conſtantius, whom he had juſt then made Cæſar, with an army againſt his aſſociate. Whilſt Conſtantius was engag'd in the ſiege of Bulloign, taking it to be the door into Britain from Gaul, Carauſius was ſlain by Alectus, who aſſumed the title of emperor. Conſtantius directly paſs'd into Britain to expel this uſurper; but Alectus, ſoon after, was kill'd by Aſclepiodorus, who, uſurping the imperial dignity, was afterwards ſlain in a battle.

In the interim, Diocleſian and Maximilian, both on the ſame day, reſign'd the empire to Conſtantius and Galerius. Conſtantius had the weſtern provinces with Britain, who, upon ſome commotions, came over in perſon, and died at York, in an expedition againſt the northern people, then called Deucaledonians and Vecturions. Before his death, he had the pleaſure of ſeeing his ſon Conſtantine, whom he named for his ſucceſſor, and who is ſaid by ſome * to have been born in Britain of Helena daughter of Coel king of Colcheſter.

Conſtantius comes over, and dies at York.

Conſtantine.

The Britons liv'd quietly, during Conſtantine's reign, who was the firſt emperor that allow'd the chriſtians the free exerciſe of their religion throughout the Roman empire, and conſequently in Britain. He divided the whole empire into four præfectures, viz. Italy, Gaul, the Eaſt, and Illyria, which contained under them 14 large dioceſes or provinces. Britain, one of them, was ſubject to the præfect of Gaul, and govern'd by his lieutenant. Conſtantine divided it into three provinces, Britannia prima, the country ſouth of the Thames, the capital London; Britannia ſecunda or Wales, the capital Iſca or Caerleon; and Maxima Cæſarienſis, the capital York; which laſt was afterwards ſubdivided into two parts, the ſouthern which retain'd its old name, and the other more northward which was ſtil'd Flavia Cæſarienſis. There were 28 cities in theſe three provinces that became ſo many biſhops ſeats. The præfect of Gaul's lieutenant had under him four magiſtrates; two conſulars, and two called preſidents. Theſe officers, with ſeveral inferior ones, managed all civil and criminal affairs. As for the government of the army, there were in the empire two generaliſſimo's †, one for the eaſt, and another for the weſt. There were three general officers in Britain, viz. the count of Britain, who took care of the inland parts, and, probably, of the weſtern coaſts ‡; the duke of Britain, who defended the north from the inroads of the Picts and Scots **; and the count of the Saxon coaſts, who guarded the eaſtern and ſouthern coaſts from the Saxon piracies *†. There were ſeveral other officers for more private concerns; all which enriched themſelves, at the expence of the province.

Britain divided into provinces.

Conſtantine, having removed the imperial ſeat from Rome to Conſtantinople, often drain'd his weſtern provinces of their forces, and, among the reſt, Britain; on which account, the Britons were ſo much expos'd to the ravages of the Picts and Scots, that, at laſt, they were forced to invite a foreign nation to their aid, who ſubdued the iſland.

Upon Conſtantine's death, the empire was divided between his three ſons; but, in a little time, Conſtantius became ſole emperor. He ſent into Britain a notary, call'd Paulus, who was guilty of numberleſs extortions. As he had an independent commiſſion, Martinus, the governor, could not oppoſe him; yet he adviſ'd him to uſe his power with more diſcretion. Paulus inſolently told him, that they who cenſur'd his proceedings deſerv'd to be put in irons, as rebels to the emperor, which incenſed Martinus to draw his ſword and ſtrike at him; but miſſing his blow, he ran it into his own breaſt and kill'd himſelf, and Paulus, after this, protected by the emperor, condemn'd to death or impriſonment all that oppos'd him.

Conſtantius.

Paulus's extortions.

In Valentinian's reign, Britain was miſerably reduced by the joint attacks of the Picts, Scots, Attacots, Francs, and Saxons. Nectaridus, guardian of the coaſts, was defeated and ſlain, as was ſoon after duke Buchobaudes. Firſt Severus and then Jovinus, ſent over on this occaſion, had the ſame fate. At laſt, Theodoſius the elder, ſo called to diſtinguiſh him from his ſon, the firſt emperor of that name, being deputed, routed and drove theſe pillagers out of the Roman province, and, having recover'd all their plunder, reſtor'd it to the proprietors; he repair'd the ruin'd cities and caſtles, and, the enemy being retir'd beyond the two fyrths, he fortified the neck of land between the two ſeas, making a fifth province of the country they deſerted, ſtiling it Valentia, in honour of Valentinian. After this, Theodoſius return'd to Rome, leaving the iſland to the care of the governors of the five provinces.

Valentinian. An. 368.

In the reign of Valentinian II. and Gratian, Maximus was ſent into Britain, to appeaſe the Picts. Finding, on his arrival, that the union of the Scots and Picts was the only obſtacle to the entire conqueſt of the iſland, he propos'd to divide them; and, accordingly, prevail'd on the Picts to join the Romans, promiſing them all the lands that ſhould be taken from the Scots, who, ſoon after, being attack'd by theſe united powers, abandon'd their country, flying to Ireland and the adjacent iſles. Maximus was as good as his word to the Picts, tho' with an intent of ſubduing them alſo, on a proper occaſion.

Valentinian II. & Gratian.

* Uſher, Cambden, Stillingfleet. His father is ſaid to put away Helena, to marry the daughter of Maximillian.
† Magiſtri peditum. ‡ Comes Britanniæ. ** Dux Britanniæ. *† Comes littoris Saxonici.

In the mean time, Gratian, who reign'd jointly with his brother Valentinian, made Theodoſius the younger his partner. This choice, tho' applauded by all, was highly reſented by Maximus, who expected and imagin'd he beſt deſerv'd that honour himſelf; and, therefore, he reſolv'd to aſſume the imperial dignity. Inſtead of waging war againſt the Picts, he, now, endeavour'd to ſecure their friendſhip, to prevent any diſturbance in Britain, whilſt he ſhould be engag'd, elſewhere, againſt the three emperors; but the Scots, aided by ſome Iriſh troops, attempting to recover their country, for the preſent, interrupted his deſigns. He forced them, however, back into Ireland; and, pretending to follow them thither, ſo terrify'd the Iriſh, that they ſent to him to make his own terms, which were more favourable than they expected; and then, taking upon him the title of emperor, he went into Gaul againſt Gratian. According to the Roman hiſtorians, Maximus having got Gratian to be aſſaſſinated, as he was flying into Italy, and dethron'd Valentinian II. was, himſelf, conquer'd and beheaded by Theodoſius. Valentinian, being reſtor'd, was ſoon after murder'd by Arbogaſtus, who advanced Eugenius to the throne. Theodoſius fought the uſurper, treating him as he had done Maximus; and, thus, he became ſole emperor, and continued ſo to his death.

Honorius. He dying, the empire was divided between his two ſons, Arcadius having the eaſt, and Honorius the weſt. The latter being very young, the famous Stilico was regent, during his minority. His firſt care was to ſend Victorinus, a fierce and arrogant perſon, with a legion into Britain, to keep the Picts within bounds; but he treated them as ſubjects to the empire, forbidding them to chuſe a ſucceſſor to Hengiſt their king, lately deceaſed. The Picts, upon this, reſolved to recall the Scots; and, therefore, ſent an honourable ambaſſy to Fergus of the blood-royal of Scotland, then in Denmark, intreating him to return with his countrymen, and take poſſeſſion again of their country, promiſing him the command of their army in the war againſt the Romans, which ſeem'd to be unavoidable. Fergus, accepting this offer, ſent to the Scots to inform them, that he was ready to conduct them home; that they could never have a better opportunity, the empire being torn in pieces by inteſtine quarrels, and without powerfully attack'd by barbarous nations, that made horrible devaſtations on the frontiers; beſides, Stilico had recall'd Victorinus with his legion. At this juncture, the Scots reenter Britain, and unanimouſly choſe Fergus for their king*.

Gordon Scotorum. Chr. Buch. An. 403.

Fergus wages war with the Romans. Fergus immediately began to think of revenge on the Romans; and, having ſubdued the fortreſſes between the two fyrths, he proceeded as far as Severus's wall, where, without much difficulty, he enter'd into the Roman province, making great ravages.

The Britons, that is, the natives with a mixture of Romans and other foreigners, whoſe intereſt was now the ſame, being thus harraſs'd by their neighbours, and deſpairing of any aſſiſtance from Rome, elected Marcus, an officer of great eſteem among them, for their emperor; but, not pleaſing the people, he was ſlain or dethron'd, and Gratian choſen in his room, who, being of a cruel diſpoſition, was diſpatch'd four months after his election. One Conſtantine, a private centinel, purely on the account of his name, was next choſen, who, being a courageous man, drove back the Scots and Picts into their country; and, entering into a treaty with them, deſign'd to make himſelf maſter of the whole Roman empire. Accordingly, he paſs'd over into Gaul with the remainder of the Britiſh army; but, about four years after, he was vanquiſh'd by count Conſtantius, and beheaded by the order of Honorius the emperor.

The Britons, thus abandon'd, were reduc'd to great extremities by the Picts and Scots. The Romans could not aſſiſt them, being, themſelves, invaded by the Goths under Alaric, who, having ſack'd the city of Rome, had got poſſeſſion of Gaul; and the Suevi, Vandals, Catti, and Alans were become maſters of Spain. The emperor, however, to prevent the importunities of the Britons for aſſiſtance, publickly and freely acquitted them of the Roman juriſdiction. An. 410. An. 410.

Miſery of the Britons. This liberty enhanced their miſery. Ætius, in the reign of Valentinian III. having obtain'd ſignal victories over the Wiſigoths and Burgundians, in compaſſion to the Britons, ſent them a legion, under the command of Gallio of Ravenna, or, as others ſay, of Maximilian, who forced the Scots and Picts to retire into their own country; but the emperor recall'd this legion, juſt as the enemy was beginning their irruptions.

Ætius, before his departure, aſſur'd the Britons, that it would be in vain for them to expect any aſſiſtance hereafter from the emperor; he, therefore, adviſ'd them to inure themſelves to arms, exhorting them to repair Severus's wall, as a barrier againſt their enemies, and promiſing them the help of his ſoldiers and his own direction in the work. The Britons fell in with his advice; and, as ſoon as they had compleated the wall, the Romans took their laſt farewell of Britain, about the year 426 or 427†.

The Romans take their laſt leave of Britain.

The Picts and Scots began their hoſtilities, now, with greater confidence than ever; and, that they might make irruptions, at their pleaſure, they made large breaches in ſeveral parts of the wall, lately repair'd, which was weakly defended by the Britons. Some time after, Fergus died, on his way to Ireland, leaving his young ſon, Eugenius II. under the

* According to the Scotch hiſtorians, tho' the Engliſh charge them with writing many fables. Vid. Floyd and Stillingfleet.

† Stillingfleet ſays in the year 418.

regency

regency of Graham, his grandfather by the mother's ſide.

The Britons, in their deſperate condition, retir'd more ſouthward. The Picts and Scots, upon this, would have ſent for colonies from Ireland and the adjacent iſles, to inhabit the lands abandoned by the Britons, deſigning to drive them entirely out of the iſland, had not Graham prevented them by his authority, fearing the return of the Romans, with whoſe diſtreſſed ſtate, perhaps, he was not thoroughly acquainted; and, therefore, he preferr'd a ſolid peace before a dangerous war. This treaty oblig'd the Britons to pay a conſiderable ſum of money, and Severus's wall was to be the common boundary between both nations; this peace, however, was no way pleaſing to the Scots.

Eugenius breaks the peace.

Eugenius II. having the reins in his own hands, reſolved to break a treaty ſo diſagreeable to his ſubjects, and ſent ambaſſadors to demand all the lands the Scots were formerly poſſeſs'd of. The Britons, ſurpriz'd at this news, conveen'd a general aſſembly. The majority, believing that the Scots wanted only a pretence to begin the war, judg'd it beſt to reject their demands, which would only facilitate their deſign. Others, ſenſible of the extreme weakneſs of the nation, were for finding out ſome expedient to pleaſe the Scots, and avoid, if poſſible, a war, which muſt, of courſe, prove fatal to them; they farther told the aſſembly that Britain, drain'd by the Romans of all their ſoldiers, were forced to abandon the very lands now demanded, and their enjoying them was altogether owing to Graham's generoſity; that it was, therefore, more adviſeable for the Britons freely to reſign what they could not keep, than, on that ſcore, endanger the loſs of their all.

The Britons, declaring for war, are beaten; they obtain peace on hard terms.

Notwithſtanding the weight and ſolidity of theſe reaſons, the other party prevail'd; and the Scots ambaſſadors were diſmiſs'd with an inſulting anſwer. A deſtructive war enſuing, in which the Britons loſt 15,000 men, they were obliged humbly to ſue for that peace they had ſcornfully refus'd; but, to obtain it, they deliver'd up to the Picts and Scots all the country north of the Humber.

Cauſes of the weakneſs of the Britons.

Cambden.

Nennius, c. 23.

That the Britons were reduced to ſo low a ſtate may be accounted for, firſt, becauſe the Romans always employ'd foreign troops in their conqueſts, never permitting the natives to exerciſe their arms; for the levies rais'd in Britain were ſent into other provinces, from whence they never return'd. There were twelve large bodies of Britons, in the ſervice of the Romans, always recruited from Britain. Secondly, Maximus and Conſtantine almoſt drain'd the iſland of all that could bear arms; to which we may add their loſſes, after they were deſerted by the Romans.

Gildas.

From this time to the arrival of the Saxons, the Britiſh hiſtory is very confus'd, thro' the great difference among the writers of this age. We can learn nothing certain from them, but that the Britons had ſeveral kings, who were ſlain or dethron'd, according to the caprice or intereſts of the chiefs. It is alſo likely, that ſeveral princes reigning, at the ſame time, over different provinces weaken'd one another by their diviſions; and, to compleat their miſery, a dreadful famine rag'd among the Britons. Vaſt numbers, to ſave their lives, retir'd into Armorica, where a great part of the army, Maximus led into Gaul, was ſettled; and others, rather than periſh with hunger, ſubmitted to the mercy of the Picts and Scots, who, at this juncture, broke the peace, and, paſſing the Humber, made horrible devaſtations.

In this extremity, the Britons once more apply'd to the Romans, and writ a very moving letter to Ætius then in Gaul: "We "know not, ſay they, what courſe to ſteer. "The barbarians drive us to the ſea, and "the ſea drives us back to the barbarians. "Thus, of two kinds of death, always in our "view, one or other muſt be choſen, either "to be ſwallow'd up by the waves, or de-"ſtroy'd by the ſword." Ætius was making preparations againſt Attila, who had enter'd Gaul with 80,000 men; and, therefore, anſwered the Britons, that he could not comply with their petition. Upon this, they were thunder-ſtruck, and call'd together a general council, which agreed that the only means, to prevent their ruin, was to chooſe a monarch *, fancying that, being united under one head, their diviſions would ceaſe, and they ſhould be more enabled to reſiſt their enemies; but ſuch were the diſſenſions of their petty kings, that they endeavour'd to diſpatch the monarch elect, in order to ſucceed him. Theſe monarchs, therefore, could not ſubſiſt long; and the Britons, by this means, only plunged themſelves the deeper into anarchy and confuſion.

Vortigern choſen in 445.

The names of theſe monarchs are unknown till Vortigern king of the Dnumonii †, choſen in the year 445, who, being the moſt impatient of a ſuperior, had been always an avowed enemy to the preceding monarchs, and, as hiſtorians affirm, he even aſſaſſinated his predeceſſor. He was altogether unfit to reſtore the Britiſh affairs; and, being advanced by artifice and cabals, he was chiefly ſollicitous to ſecure his power. He was, alſo, of a cruel and covetous temper, addicted to many vices, and ſo lewd, that he debauched his own daughter, perſuading her ſhe ſhould be a queen. In the interim, the enemy muſt be repulſed; and Vortigern knew how unequal he was to that work, for which he was elected; and his continual apprehenſions of being dethron'd, moſt of all, perplexed him. Dreading, thus, his own ſubjects as well as the enemy, he thought he had form'd a project of freeing himſelf from the danger of both; but, not being able to execute his

His character.

* By which is meant one ſuperior to the other kings, on whom they depended ſome meaſure. See Selden and Guill. of Malmsbury.

† Who inhabited Devon and Cornwall.

deſign,

design, without the consent of the Britons, he conven'd a general assembly. Having pathetically represented the misery of the Britons, who must, as things stood, either be forced out of their country, or utterly destroyed by the enemy, assur'd them, there was only one way left for their safety, viz. to invite the warlike Saxons to assist them, who were at hand, and by whose means they might be in a capacity to repay the enemy in their own coin.

Proposes the calling in of the Saxons.

His proposal received.

Their fears and hopes, and, to be sure, the desire of revenge, induced them joyfully to receive Vortigern's proposal. The next thing to be consulted was, what conditions they should offer the Saxons. Vortigern propos'd the giving them some province, that their interest might prevail on them to fight with more vigour; but, as this would deprive some of the chiefs of part of their dominions, it was warmly debated. At last, it was agreed, they should have the isle of Thanet in Kent, being a proper place for landing their forces, and also for embarquing, when they should have a desire to return home. It was voted also, that the Saxon soldiers should be allowed pay, which should be settled by mutual agreement. Upon this, ambassadors were sent to negotiate this affair in Germany. Vortigern having gained his point, without being suspected of self-interest, fancied himself altogether out of danger. But alas, how blind is human wisdom! This very expedient, by the direction of divine providence, proved his own and the nations ruin.

Here it will be necessary to say somewhat of the Saxons, of whom the generality of the English historians give us but a slender account.

Origin of the Saxons.

About the time the Romans began their conquests in Germany, the inhabitants of the Cimbrian Chersonesus, now called Jutland, took possession of the northern parts of Germany, who divided themselves into the Suevi, Francs, and Saxons. Some affirm that the Francs were a branch of the Suevi; but, be that as it will, these three nations, continually advancing southward, at last, came upon the frontiers of the Roman empire, the Suevi towards Italy, the Francs to the south-west, towards the coast of Belgic Gaul, and the Saxons to the westward, towards the German ocean. The Suevi so terrify'd the ancient Germans, that they thought them to be a match for the immortal gods. The Francs over-run at length, the whole province of Gaul [founding the noble and antient kingdom of France.]

Temple Introd.

Cæs. com. l. 4.

The Saxons were possess'd of all the land between the Rhine and the Elbe, their territories being bounded on the west by the German ocean, and extending eastward to the borders of Thuringia, so that they were masters of Saxony, Westphalia, and all the Low-countries north of the Rhine. The people they subdued were also, at length, called Saxons; but, whether the Saxons proceeded more slowly in their conquests than the Suevi, or that they took a longer course, before they approach'd the Romans, they were not so soon known. Eutropius and Orosius, the first Roman historians, to whom we are obliged for our accounts of the northern nations, that take notice of them, at least, by the name of Saxons, tell us that Carausius, as above, was sent to clear the seas of the pyratical Francs and Saxons. From this time, they became formidable to the Romans; and, upon the decline of that empire, after Theodosius's death, the Saxons conquer'd all the country along the coasts of the German ocean, extending their conquests to the islands of Zealand; and, therefore, the Frisons, Batavians, and all their neighbours were scarce known by any other name but that of Saxons.

Tho' several have wrote on this subject, they leave us still in the dark, as to their original, nor do they distinguish the people that were stiled by the general name of Saxons; and, for this reason, the beginning of their history is confus'd, which is not to be wonder'd at, the authors, for the most part, having made no distinction of times and places. Sometimes, considering them, as they left their own country, they confound them with the Francs and Suevi, under the name of Cimbrians; at another time, they represent them as settled to the north of the Frisons, Batavians, and other neighbouring nations subject to the Romans. Some place them, at once, along the shore of the German ocean and banks of the Rhine, and even in the islands of Zealand, as if they had been from their original, inhabitants of these countries. Others, again, not observing that all their conquests were called Saxony, and finding some Saxons in the east of Westphalia, fancied them a distinct nation from those along the Rhine, as if I should make the Francs that vanquish'd Gaul a different people from those that settled in the Narbonnoise. However, it is certain, when the Britons called them in to their assistance, the Saxons were possess'd of Westphalia, Saxony, east and west Friezland, Holland, and Zealand.

Stillingfleet, Sheringham.

Eyndius chron. Zel.

Some carry their original as high as the tower of Babel; and, after several removes, from one country to another, at last, settle them in Saxony, so termed from them. Others think they descended from the Sacæ or Sassones of Asia *. Some derive them from the Persians, from the affinity between several Saxon and Persian words; but they, who have no mind to make an elaborate enquiry into this affair, begin the history of the Saxons from their leaving the Cimbrian Chersonesus.

The Saxons had, for some time, been possessed of the Cimbrian Chersonesus, when, The Angles.

* According to Cambden, Sacsons, i. e. the sons of the Sacæ.

being

being expell'd by the Goths, from whom that peninſula was ſtiled Gothland or Jutland, they came and ſettled in lower Saxony. Between theſe two places were a people, called Angles, inhabiting about Sleſwick in Holſtein; and, probably, the little country of Anglen, in thoſe parts, receiv'd its name from them, or they theirs from it. Theſe Angles, as well as a vaſt number of Juttes, call'd Wittes by Bede, joining the Saxons, with a view of having a ſhare in their conqueſts in Germany, became in a manner but one people; but, though they were generally all term'd Saxons, they were

Anglo-Saxons.

ſometimes called Anglo-Saxons. The good underſtanding between theſe three nations, their intereſt being always the ſame, and the government they eſtabliſh'd in Britain, evidently prove, that they were united before their coming here, and that they look'd upon themſelves as one nation.

Etymology of the word Saxon.

The genuine etymology of their name is as uncertain as their original. It is generally thought, that the word Saxon is deriv'd from Seax, in their language, a ſword. The Saxons wore a long ſword by their ſide, or at their back, and they uſed a ſhorter one for a bayonet or dagger; they were both ſhaped like a cutlace or faulchion.

Their manners.

In their manners, they much reſembled the antient Germans, being naturally fierce and warlike; but they were cruel to their enemies, eſpecially their priſoners of war, whom they ſacrificed to their gods.

Their government.

Their dominions were divided into twelve provinces, each of which had a chief accountable to the general aſſembly of the nation. In time of war, they choſe a general, who was inveſted with almoſt ſovereign power; but, the war being ended, his authority, like the Roman dictators, expir'd. Brunſwick was the center of their dominions.

Religion.

Their religion was the ſame with that of other northern nations and ſome part of Germany. The Britiſh Saxons became chriſtians about the end of the ſixth century; but thoſe in Germany were not converted till the ninth, by the care or rather violence of Charlemain. Their chief gods, before their converſion, were the Sun, Moon, Tuiſco, Woden, Thor, Friga or Fræa, and Seater, to whom they conſecrated the days of the week, as appears from the names the Germans, Dutch, and Engliſh give the days of the week to this day. Tuiſco is ſuppos'd to be Japhet's grandſon, and to have peopled the north of Europe; and the name of Teutch, the Germans give themſelves, is probably derived from Tuiſco. The god Thor, from whence the word thunder, was the ſame among the Saxons, as Jupiter among the Romans, i. e. the thunderer. Woden was the god of war, becauſe, under his conduct, the firſt Saxons left their country and made great conqueſts; and the principal families regarded him as their founder. In all probability, there were two of this name often confounded; one more antient, whom they ador'd as a god, and another who was the common father of the Saxon leaders. There are ſtill in England ſome footſteps of Woden, as Wanſdick, Wansborough, contractions of Woden's-dick and Woden's-borough. Friga, Woden's wife, was the Venus of the Saxons, who was worſhipp'd in the ſhape of an hermaphrodite, as being the goddeſs of both ſexes. They had another god, called Ermenſwol, the ſame as Mercury, and ſome others in common with all the northern nations. This is the moſt complete and clear account I can give of the Saxons, whom the Britons, by Vortigern's advice, invited to their aſſiſtance.

The ſtate of the Britiſh church, to the calling in of the SAXONS.

The ſtate of the Britiſh church.

THE Britons, like all other nations, except the Jews, before the birth of Chriſt, were groſs idolaters; and they had as many and extravagant deities, as the Egyptians themſelves. Andate, the goddeſs of victory, was one of the chief; and they had alſo gods to whom they aſcrib'd the ſame attributes, the Greeks and Romans did to Apollo and Diana.

Converſion of the Britons.

Tho' the preciſe time is uncertain; yet all agree the goſpel was preach'd very early in Britain. Thoſe, who ſuppoſe it to have been in Tiberius's reign, don't conſider that the firſt gentile Cornelius was not converted before the year of our Lord 40, three years after that emperor's death. Baronius, on the authority of Simeon Metaphraſtes, which he often rejects with reaſon, ſays St. Peter firſt preached to the Britons; but it is certain that this apoſtle perform'd his office chiefly in the eaſtern countries. Others tell us, that Simeon Zelotes converted the Britons. Nicephorus, Calliſtus Dorotheus, in his ſynopſis, and the Grecian kalendar affirm, that this apoſtle was crucified and buried in Britain; when, at the ſame time, the Roman martyrology and thoſe of Bede, Adon, and Uſuard declare that he ſuffer'd martyrdom in Perſia.

Whether Joſeph of Arimathea converted the Britons.

The moſt received opinion for ſome time, tho' as groundleſs as the former, was, that Joſeph of Arimathea was the apoſtle of the Britons. William of Malmsbury, to prove the

the antiquity of the church of Glaſton or Glaſſenbury, affirms, after Freculphus, that, upon St. Stephen's martyrdom, the apoſtles being diſpers'd over the whole world, St. Philip, at his coming among the Francs, ſent Joſeph of Arimathea, with twelve of his diſciples, to plant the goſpel in Great-Britain, where they arrived in the year 61. After ſeveral interruptions, a Britiſh king gave them a ſmall ſpot of fenny ground, for a dwelling-place; and, ſoon after, two other neighbouring kings having allowed them twelve hydes of land, the angel Gabriel commanded them from God, to build a church in Glaſton, then called Inſwitrin *. This church, being finiſh'd in the year 63, was dedicated by our Saviour to the virgin Mary. To confirm this, a manuſcript chronicle in the abbey of Glaſſenbury is produced, to ſhew that Arviragus was the king who made the firſt preſent to Joſeph. Indeed, Juvenal mentions a Britiſh king of this name in the reign of Domitian; but it muſt be proved, that he lived in the time of Nero, ſince it is ſuppoſed the land, on which the church was built, was given to Joſeph in the year 61. In the next place, a charter of St. Patricius is alledged, which ſays, that Glaſton-church was founded by twelve diſciples of St. James and St. Philip; but, beſides ſeveral marks of forgery in this charter, it does not make the leaſt mention of Joſeph of Arimathea. Another charter is alſo produced from Ina king of the Weſt-Saxons, who lived in the 8th century, which declares that Glaſton is the moſt antient of all the Britiſh churches; but even in this charter, more ſuſpicious than the former, there is not a word of Joſeph. To the ſame purpoſe, a charter from Henry II. king of England, is alledged, wherein the king himſelf affirms, that, upon examination, he found it well atteſted, that the church of Glaſſenbury was built by the diſciples of the apoſtles, and dedicated to the virgin Mary by our Saviour himſelf. But this aſſertion, being founded upon the former proofs, is of no weight at all; and, beſides, the Francs were unknown at the time St. Philip is ſaid to come into their country. Euſebius, moreover, and ſeveral others tell us, that this apoſtle preached in Phrygia, and ſuffer'd martyrdom in Hierapolis; and, as for the hydes of land, the word hyde alone, being Saxon, ſufficiently confutes the ſtory; and it is notorious the Saxons came not to Britain till the year 449.

See Collier's eccl. hiſt.

The Britons were converted ſoon after Chriſt's death.

It is highly probable the goſpel was preached in Britain ſoon after † Chriſt's death. Theodoret affirms, that the Britons were converted by the apoſtles. Euſebius, ſpeaking of the dangers the apoſtles met with, in preaching the goſpel in the moſt diſtant countries, mentions the Britiſh iſles. It is moſt likely the Britons were converted, between the time of Claudius's victory and Boadicea's defeat; for there were then in the iſland above 80,000 Romans, and, doubtleſs, ſome chriſtians, the goſpel having, at that time, prevail'd in many places, eſpecially at Rome; and I, therefore, ſee no inconvenience in aſſerting with ſeveral modern authors, that St. Paul firſt preached the goſpel in Britain. It is evident that, in the eight years between his firſt impriſonment at Rome and his return to Jeruſalem, he propagated chriſtianity in ſeveral places, particularly in the weſtern countries. He tells us of his deſign of going into Spain; and, probably, he might come over among the Britons, in order to convert them. Venutius Fortunatus, in his poem on the life of St. Martin, ſpeaking of the travels of St. Paul, favours this opinion; but, after all, it is mere conjecture, and proves no more than that the goſpel was very early planted in Britain.

Tho' this opinion could be ſupported beyond contradiction; yet it may be preſumed the chriſtian religion had no deep footing in the iſland, ſince, as ſeveral writers affirm, Lucius, a Britiſh king, ſent ambaſſadors to Eleutherus, the 12th biſhop of Rome, to intreat him to ſend over ſome miſſionaries, to inſtruct him in the chriſtian faith. Eleutherus joyfully embracing this opportunity of replanting the goſpel in Britain, where, in all probability, it had been rooted out by perſecutions, firſt of all, inſtructed Elwan and Medwin the two ambaſſadors; and, having baptized and conſecrated them biſhops, he ſent them home, by whoſe means chriſtianity flouriſh'd again in Britain, and had a vaſt ſpread. I omit the many things reported of Lucius, eſpecially the great number of churches he built in London, becauſe it is not to be ſuppoſed the Romans would ſuffer it. I paſs over alſo his travels, wherein he is ſaid to convert ſeveral nations, particularly the Griſons, in whoſe country he ſuffer'd martyrdom, as being entirely groundleſs; tho', poſſibly, ſome chriſtian, called Lucius, might preach the goſpel to the Griſons, and be martyr'd at Coire.

Lucius's converſion.

From this time to Diocleſian's perſecution, the hiſtory of the Britiſh church is altogether unknown. It is, however, likely that, during this interval of 80 years, chriſtianity made great progreſs in Britain, as is evident from Tertullian, Origen, Bede, and Gildas; but the vaſt number of Britiſh martyrs, that ſuffer'd in the dreadful perſecution under Diocleſian and Maximilian his collegue, puts this matter beyond all diſpute. St. Alban was the firſt martyr, who was converted at Verulam ‡ by a prieſt, whom he harbour'd in his houſe. How much ſoever Conſtantius Clorus was inclin'd to favour the chriſtians, when governour of Britain, yet he could not diſpenſe with the edicts of the emperors; but, on his coming to the empire, he put a ſtop to the perſecution.

St. Alban the firſt Britiſh martyr.

* In the Britiſh language, the town of Glaſs; Glaſton or Glaſs-town is the ſame in Engliſh.

† Tranſit & oceanum, vel qua facit inſula portum,
Quaſque Britannus habet terras, quaſque ultima Thule.

‡ Call'd after him St. Albans.

ſecution. In the reign of Conſtantine his ſon, chriſtianity flouriſh'd in all his dominions, eſpecially in Great-Britain, where ſome ſay he was born.

Upon this happy revolution, Great-Britain abounded with churches; and, according to ſome, there were Britiſh biſhops at the council of Nice in 325. This is not at all improbable, ſeeing there were certainly three biſhops at the council of Arles, 22 years after; as there were ſome at the council of Ariminum in 359, but ſo poor, that they could not bear their own charges *. Their ſigning at this council the confeſſion of faith, wherein the term, conſubſtantial, was omitted, made ſome think that Arianiſm prevail'd in Britain; but a late author has proved, that the faith of the Britiſh church was the ſame, in this point, both before and after this council, which had not the effect the hereticks expected.

Stilling-fleet.

Pelagianiſm in Britain.

The Britiſh church was more juſtly charged with pelagianiſm. Several biſhops were ſeduced into this error, not by Pelagius himſelf, who, tho' a native of Britain, never returned thither, but by Agricola, one of his diſciples. This hereſy increaſing daily, the orthodox biſhops, ſent to the Gauliſh prelates, to deſire their aſſiſtance to confute it, who, being aſſembled in council, deputed Germanus biſhop of Auxerre, and Lapus biſhop of Troyes, to go over into Britain. At Verulam, in a conference with the pelagians, they brought over ſeveral from their errors. But, after their departure, the hereticks gaining ground again, Germanus, tho' advanced in years, made a ſecond voyage into Britain, accompanied by Severus biſhop of Troyes; and, deſpairing to convince them by arguments, he caus'd the edict of Valentinian III. that condemns all hereticks to baniſhment, to be put in execution againſt them. Before he left the iſland, he founded ſchools, which produced many biſhops famous for learning and piety.

Corruptions of the Britons the cauſe of their miſeries.

From this period to the arrival of the Saxons, we are much in the dark about the affairs of the Britiſh church. Doubtleſs, the wars with the Picts and Scots, by deſtroying their churches, and, what is worſe, by introducing a general corruption of manners, were very fatal to the chriſtians; tho' Gildas and Bede ſay, not ſo much the wars, as the ſudden and exceſſive plenty, juſt after the famine, corrupted the manners of the Britons. The clergy out-did even the laity in wickedneſs; and, gluttony, avarice, and luxury reigning among them, they took no care to preach to their flocks the precepts of chriſtianity, which they ſo little regarded themſelves. The dreadful calamities that befel the Britiſh nation, which are the ſubject of the next book, are imputed, by theſe two hiſtorians, to this general corruption.

* Du Pin affirms, the French and Britiſh biſhops choſe rather to bear their own charges, than to accept of the emperor's allowance.

THE

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK II.

The arrival of the Saxons. Vortigern makes Hengiſt, their general, king of Kent, and falls in love with his niece. Long and bloody wars between the Saxons and Britons under the conduct of Ambroſius firſt, and afterwards of the great king Arthur. The founding of the heptarchy of the Anglo-Saxons. The Britons are driven into Wales, where they remain, to this day, a diſtinct nation from the Engliſh. The extirpation of chriſtianity throughout their conqueſts by the Anglo-Saxons.

AS in a deſperate diſeaſe, we apply a deſperate remedy; ſo the Britons, in their extremity, tho' they often had ſmartly ſuffer'd by their irruptions, had recourſe to the Saxons. Were they at liberty to make a choice, they would, perhaps, have maturely conſider'd the diſadvantages as well as conveniencies of calling in this nation to their aſſiſtance; but, as they had no other remedy, they overlook'd ſuch objects as their fears might lay before them. Moreover, Vortigern, by ſoothing their hopes, prevented them from attentively weighing the conſequences of this proceeding; ſo that every one, being intent only to avoid the preſent dangers, ambaſſadors were immediately ſent away to negotiate this affair among the Saxons. Upon their arrival, Witigeſil, the Saxon general, having ſummon'd an aſſembly on this occaſion, the chief of the ambaſſy addreſs'd them, as follows:

Ambaſſadors ſent away with all haſte

Their ſpeech.

" Illuſtrious and generous Saxons, the Britons, oppreſs'd by the continual irruptions " of the Picts and Scots, ſend us to implore " your aſſiſtance. We have heard of your " renown, and we are ſenſible that your arms " are invincible; and, therefore, we are " come to intreat your protection. Britain, " for many years, was a conſiderable part of " of the Roman empire; but, being aban- " don'd by our maſters, we know no nation " better able than yourſelves to aſſiſt us. If " you grant our requeſt, we offer, in return, " all that our country, which is both rich and " fertile, can afford. We ſhall ſubmit to your " own terms, provided you enable us to " drive the enemy out of our country *." Witigiſil gave them this ſhort tho' pleaſing anſwer, " Be aſſured the Saxons will ſtand by " you in your extremity:" and, accordingly, 9000 men were granted them, on condition the Saxons ſhould be poſſeſſed of the iſle of Thanet, and their troops allow'd a certain pay.

Nennius. W. of Malmſ. Bede. l. 1.

The Saxons had ſome knowledge of Britain; and they had been dreaded, for a long time, by the inhabitants of the eaſtern coaſts. If they had not, as yet, attempted any conqueſts in the iſland, it was, becauſe they thought thoſe on the continent of greater importance; and, perhaps, they were ſtrangers to the great weakneſs of the Britons, before the diſcovery they now made themſelves. It is no wonder, therefore, they comply'd ſo readily with the Britons. Hengiſt and Horſa †, Witigiſil's ſons, were named to command the forces deſigned for Britain.

* Tho' Witichind, a Saxon author, puts theſe words in the mouth of the Britiſh ambaſſadors, it muſt be own'd they are very natural, conſidering the circumſtances of the Britons.

† Horſa ſignifies a horſe, and Hengiſt a ſtone-horſe. The Saxons uſually gave their children the names of animals.

Hengiſt

Hengiſt's character. Hengiſt was about thirty years of age; he firſt carried arms under his father, but, for his improvement in the art of war, he ſerved Verſtegan. alſo in the Roman armies, the emperors generally keeping ſome Saxon troops in pay. This young general had valour and experience, a ſound judgment, a becoming addreſs, with an engaging and affable behaviour, qualifications which warranted, in ſome meaſure, his ſucceſs. As for Horſa, nothing in particular is related concerning him.

The Saxons, having but an imperfect knowledge of Britain, did not, at once, ſend over the 9000 men they had promiſed; and, pretending the reſt were not in readineſs, on account of their great diſtance, they ſhipp'd off only a part of them, in three keyles or long boats, the nature of which veſſels * evidently ſhews that their number was ſmall. Hiſtorians have not diſtinctly mentioned the place from whence they embarqued; but, probably, it was from Zealand, then poſſeſs'd by the Saxons, which was moſt commodious as well as neareſt to the iſle of Thanet, where they landed.

449. The Saxons arrive in Britain. Hengiſt and Horſa arrived at Ebbesfleet in the iſle of Thanet, where Vortigern received them with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, and directly put them in poſſeſſion of the iſland, according to agreement. As ſoon as they had a little refreſhed themſelves, they were led againſt the Picts and Scots, who had advanced as far as Stamford in Lincolnſhire. G. Malmſ. In the firſt battle, the Saxons, whoſe very aſpects terrified the enemy, diſregarding their darts, came to a cloſe fight, and ſoon obliged them to give way; and, being diſpirited, by this and ſeveral other defeats, gradually retreated into their country, dreading nothing ſo much as an engagement with the Saxons.

Vortigern, tranſported at this ſucceſs, was now chiefly ſollicitous to attach the Saxons to his intereſt; and, with this view, he gave Nennius. Hengiſt and Horſa ſome lands in Lincolnſhire, where they firſt repulſed the enemy †. Hen- Langhorn, chron. reg. Angl. giſt, on the other hand, form'd hopes of procuring to himſelf a ſettlement in Britain; and the land, Vortigern beſtowed him, furniſhed him with a fair opportunity for promoting his deſign. He told the king, that, being at a great diſtance from the iſle of Thanet, to ſerve the Britons in the north, he wanted a place wherein he might ſecure his booty; and, therefore, he begg'd leave to build a ſmall fort on the lands he had given him, which requeſt Vortigern very readily granted. It is generally ſaid by hiſtorians, that he only ask'd leave to wall in as much ground, as he could ſurround with the hide of an ox; which he cut into ſmall thongs, incloſing with them a ſpace ſufficient for his purpoſe, where he built a fort, before the Britons could have time to interrupt his deſign. The name of the caſtle, Thong-Caſtor ‡, or the caſtle of thongs, ** ſeems to confirm this account; and the name of the caſtle might give occaſion for applying to it Juſtin's ſtory of Dido, when ſhe was going to build Carthage; or Hengiſt might be informed of Dido's artifice, whilſt he ſerved in the Roman armies. Hengiſt builds Thong-Caſtor.

The Britons, ſeeing a caſtle in the very heart of their country, began to murmur againſt Vortigern. Hengiſt perceiving this, and having dived into the king's deſigns, repreſented to him, that his ſubjects, being delivered from their enemies, were grown inſolent, and only wanted an opportunity to dethrone him; he adviſed him, therefore, to divert the impending ſtorm, to ſend directly for the reſt of the Saxon troops. Vortigern, at once, fell in with this advice, and urged him to put it in execution immediately; and Hengiſt, accordingly, ſent to Witigiſil his father, who diſpatched away the troops in 16 large veſſels, ſending over with them Eſcus 450. and Rowena, the eldeſt ſon and niece of Hengiſt. More Saxons come into Britain.

Vortigern became now more abſolute than ever, which ſtrengthen'd the ſuſpicions the Britons had concerning him. Without conſulting his ſubjects, he allotted habitations for the Saxons; and he entered into a ſtrict friendſhip with Hengiſt. Vortigern grows abſolute.

Hengiſt, all the while, had his own ends in view; and, to bring them about, finding that love was Vortigern's darling paſſion, he takes the advantage of his weak ſide. He, one day, invites him to Thong-Caſtor, preparing for him a moſt ſplendid entertainment; but what pleas'd Vortigern, moſt of all, was the young Rowena, a lady of uncommon beauty. Hengiſt had given her inſtructions to ſtand directly in his view, that he might, during the repaſt, gratify his eyes with that amiable object. The plot ſucceeded; for the king gazed all the time upon Rowena, who convinced him by her looks, that ſhe was not inſenſible of the honour he did her. Hengiſt, reſolving to ſoothe his growing paſſion, made a ſign to his niece; upon which, ſhe fill'd a gold cup with wine, and, on her knees, preſented it to the king, ſaying, in Saxon, Liever kyning waſs heal, that is, dear king, your health. Vortigern, agreeably ſurpriz'd, ask'd his interpreter the meaning of her words, and how he muſt anſwer her in her own language; and, with an amorous glance, he ſaid, Drinck heal, that is, do you drink the health. Rowena, having juſt put the cup to her lips, preſented it to the king, who roſe up to ſalute her, which honour Rowena received with the moſt profound reverence; and, withdrawing, ſhe left Vortigern inflamed with love and deſire. This was a fatal moment to the Bri- Hengiſt plots againſt Vortigern.

* In Latin ciulæ.

† Some ſay, theſe lands were in Kent; but Nennius aſſures us, they lay in Londeſia, or Lindeſia, regione. Lindum is Latin for Lincoln.

‡ Now named Caſtor, ſix miles from Grimsby.

** Accepitque ſolum factum de nomine tergum,
Taurino quantum potuit circundare tergo. Epit. of the hiſt. of Eng. in Lat. verſe.

tons, as the ſequel will ſhew; ſo true is it, that the greateſt events ſometimes ariſe from accidents, that ſeem, at firſt view, trifling and frivolous.

He gives Kent to Hengiſt.

The king could think of nothing, now, but the enjoyment of Rowena; and, therefore, tho' he had a wife, demanded her in marriage. Hengiſt, to increaſe his eagerneſs, told him, he could not, contrary to the cuſtom of his nation, give his niece to a prince that was already married; that he was not abſolute maſter of Rowena; and, moreover, that the Saxon princes, eſpecially his father, perhaps, would never conſent ſhe ſhould marry a chriſtian. Vortigern, reſolving to ſurmount all difficulties, divorced his wife, by whom he had ſeveral children; then, he declared that Rowena ſhould have the free exerciſe of her religion; and, to ſatisfy the Saxon princes, he thought of an expedient, or, poſſibly, it was propos'd to him, by which he fancied he could reconcile his love with his politicks, viz. to inveſt Hengiſt and Horſa with the ſovereignty of Kent. The crafty Saxon having gain'd his point, all obſtacles vaniſh'd; and the amorous Vortigern was put in poſſeſſion of the charming Rowena. This was tranſacted ſo ſecretly, that Gorongus *, prince of Kent, was depoſed, before he ſo much as heard of it.

Hengiſt forms new deſigns.

Hengiſt, regardleſs of the murmurs of the Britons, forms deſigns of riſing ſtill higher; but, knowing that the Britons eſteem'd him, ever ſince his ſettlement in Britain, as an avowed enemy, he conceals his intentions, till he ſhould have a fairer opportunity of putting them in execution. To render Vortigern ſubſervient to his deſigns, he gave him repeated aſſurances, that he was entirely devoted to his ſervice; and, when he perceived he had thoroughly gained his confidence, he told him, that his ſubjects were plotting againſt him; and, that it was to be feared, whilſt the Saxon troops were engaged in the north, they would execute their intentions. He informed him alſo, that the Britons held a correſpondence with Ambroſius Aurelianus, then at the court of Aldroen king of Armorica, whom they intended to place on the throne; and there were ſome grounds for what he ſaid concerning Ambroſius.

Ambroſius, who he was. Stillingfleet orig.

This prince was ſprung from Roman anceſtors, and, according to the received opinion, ſon to one of the Britiſh monarchs, choſen after the departure of the Romans †. Being very young, when his father died, he was not ſuſpected by thoſe that ſucceeded to the crown; but, when Vortigern was elected, a powerful party declaring for Ambroſius, he tried all poſſible means to deſtroy him. Upon this, he retir'd to Aldroen his relation, waiting for a proper opportunity to head his party. What Hengiſt ſaid, therefore, could not but make a deep impreſſion on Vortigern's mind; who having entirely loſt the affections of his ſubjects, and looking upon Ambroſius as a dangerous rival, had nothing to depend on but the advice and aſſiſtance of this Saxon prince. Hengiſt, whoſe aim was to introduce more Saxons, that he might be a match for the Britons, and act without Vortigern, repreſented to him, that, as the Britons would certainly take advantage of the Saxons being in the north, his only way was, to ſend over for more Saxon troops to be commanded by truſty leaders, who would blindly obey his orders. Vortigern readily conſented to what was ſo agreeable to his own ſentiments. Hengiſt aſſur'd him, the new troops ſhould be ſent into the north againſt the Picts and Scots, whilſt he himſelf would ſtay in Kent to keep the male-contents in awe, who would, thus, be ſurrounded by the Saxon forces, and ſo kept from revolting.

Octa and Ebuſa ſettle in the north. 452.

Hengiſt ſent for a fleet of 40 ſhips, in which was embarqued a vaſt number of Saxon forces, commanded by Octa his brother, who brought his ſon Ebuſa along with him. They firſt plunder'd the Orcades; and then, attacking the Picts, forced them to retire northward, and firmly ſeated themſelves in their country. At firſt, they ſettled on the north ſide of the Tyne, eaſtward; but, afterwards, they advanced towards the ſouth, and drove the Britons beyond the Humber. Hengiſt, now, ſhew'd very little reſpect to Vortigern, ſending for recruits from Germany, without his leave; and, acting without diſguiſe, complained that the Saxon ſoldiers were not paid, according to agreement, and boldly demanded the arrears, threatening without ſpeedy payment to do himſelf juſtice. Gildas. Bede, l. 1. c. 15.

453. Vortimer animates the Britons to expel the Saxons.

The Britons, ſurpriz'd and exceedingly mortified to ſee Hengiſt in a condition to execute his menaces, began to think of ſome expedient to free themſelves from the Saxons. Vortimer, Vortigern's eldeſt ſon, had obſerved with regret, how the Saxons had ſtrengthen'd themſelves daily, by his father's indulgence; and he laid hold of this juncture, to acquaint the nobility, that it was high time to redreſs the evils that oppreſs'd them. He declar'd, that his father's cowardice, or treachery, had made the Saxons ſo powerful; that it was neceſſary, therefore, to reſtrain Vortigern from heaping any more favours on theſe ſtrangers, who would over-run the Britiſh nation, if ſteps were not taken to checque their growing power. The Britons awak'd, at laſt, out of their lethargy; and, by Vortimer's inſtigation, the moſt conſiderable of them, entering into a private confederacy, oblig'd Vortigern to make his ſon partner with him in the government, and reſign to him the adminiſtration of affairs. This was done ſo ſuddenly, that, not having time to call the Saxons to his aſſiſtance, he was compell'd to do as they would have him. Thus, Vor- 454.

* Cambden thinks Gorongus to be the name of an office.

† Several ſay, he was ſon to Conſtantine, beheaded by Honorius.

timer

timer left his father only the empty title of a king *.

The Britons resolve upon a war against the Saxons.

Vortimer easily perſuaded the Britons, that nothing but force would expel the Saxons, who, therefore, reſolved upon a war. Hengiſt, upon this, enter'd into a treaty with the Picts, by their means, with the Saxon troops ſettled in thoſe parts, to give the enemy a powerful diverſion in the north. As for Kent, Hengiſt thought himſelf ſtrong enough there to oppoſe Vortimer, who was preparing to attack him.

Before I enter upon the relation of a war, which ended with the conqueſt of Britain, it is proper to acquaint the reader, that he muſt not expect a complete and particular account. Hiſtorians content themſelves with the mention of certain facts, which preſerve the thread of the hiſtory, but ſcarce give us a general idea of that revolution, which introduced a new face of things over the whole iſland.

455. The battle of Egleſford.

The Britiſh and Saxon armies ſoon came to an engagement; they met at Eglesford † in Kent, where a bloody battle was fought, Horſa ‡ falling that day, as did Catigern **, the youngeſt brother of Vortimer, by the hand of Hengiſt. The Britiſh hiſtorians ſay, Vortimer not only totally defeated the Saxons; but that, driving Hengiſt into the iſle of Thanet, he forced him to embarque for Germany. But what follows ſhews that, if the Saxons were not victorious, at leaſt, they were not conquer'd, ſince all their hiſtorians agree, that in this very year 455, immediately after the battle, Hengiſt aſſum'd the title of king of Kent, which, to be ſure, he would not have done, had he been vanquiſh'd and oblig'd to fly into Germany.

457. The battle of Crecanford.

Two years after, another battle was fought near Crecanford *† in Kent, wherein Vortimer was entirely defeated, with the loſs above of 4000 men and his beſt officers; and he was oblig'd to ſhut himſelf up in London, till he could raiſe another army. In the interim, Hengiſt made great devaſtations in the country, to ſtrike terror into the Britons; they, that lay moſt expos'd to the fury of the Saxons, fled to the woods for refuge, and ſome retir'd into Armorica, where they were kindly receiv'd by Aldroen. During theſe ravages, the very churches in the neighbourhood of the Saxons were reduced to aſhes; for theſe barbarians, joining to their natural fierceneſs a religious zeal, thought they honour'd their gods, by cruelty to the chriſtians, eſpecially the clergy.

The Britons apply to the king of Armorica for aſſiſtance.

The Britiſh chiefs aſſembled themſelves, at this juncture; and Guithelin, archbiſhop of London, and head of Ambroſius's party, adviſ'd them to apply to the king of Armorica, who had always ſhewn great kindneſs to the Britons, for aſſiſtance; and that he thought it neceſſary to invite over Ambroſius Aurelianus, who being deſcended from illuſtrious anceſtors, and having all the qualifications of a general, would, in all probability, deliver them from their preſent danger. As they had always hated Vortigern, and, ſince his laſt defeat, were diſpleas'd with Vortimer, the common, tho' unjuſt fate of generals in his caſe, they readily fell in with the archbiſhop's advice, deſiring himſelf to go and negotiate the affair. He ſet out directly for Armorica, and eaſily obtain'd the aid of 10,000 men, who all landed ſafely at Totneſs, under the command of Ambroſius. This general was receiv'd, as the only ſupport of the ſinking Britons; but Vortimer's party, ſtill conſiderable, regarded Ambroſius, as one that came to uſurp the crown, under a pretence of defending it. Vortimer himſelf threatened to puniſh ſeverely all that ſhould join him; ſo that the Britons, inſtead of uniting againſt the Saxons, by their inteſtine diviſions, deſtroy'd one another.

458. Ambroſius lands with 10,000 men.

Ambroſius and Guithelin contriv'd a plot, for the ruin of Vortigern and Vortimer; they repreſented to their party, that the ſon had neither courage nor conduct, and that the father was an enemy to the nation; and that, in vain, they attempted to drive out the Saxons, if they did not, firſt, deſtroy theſe two domeſtick enemies. Vortigern and Vortimer, on the contrary, told their abettors, that Ambroſius came with an intent to ſubdue them; that Guithelin, being ambitious, attempted to make Ambroſius a king, only to get the adminiſtration in his own hands, than which nothing ſhould be more dreaded by the Britons; that they muſt be wilfully blind not to ſee, that their deſign directly oppoſed the good of the kingdom; and that, inſtead of marching againſt the Saxons, they had only plotted how they might diſtreſs thoſe who were in arms for their country.

Civil wars among the Britons.

458.

Theſe mutual animoſities ſoon came to blows; their firſt battle was near Catgwaloph in Carmarthenſhire. As it is not eaſy to know who got the victory in this and other engagements, I ſhall only obſerve, that the civil wars continued till the year 465, to the great prejudice of both parties, whilſt the Saxons daily grew more powerful both in Kent and beyond the Humber. So miſerable was the ſtate of the Britons, that numbers of them abandon'd their native country. A Dutch author ſays, that ſome of theſe unhappy wretches embarqued in a galley; and, rowing towards the mouth of the Rhine, landed at Catwick near Leyden, where they ſettled themſelves, by the ſea-ſide, in an old Roman camp, which they called Brittenburge.

Joh. Leydan.

465. The end of the civil wars.

Britain having, for ſeven or eight years, ſuffer'd all the calamities of a civil war, at laſt, the wiſeſt of both parties brought about an union, by dividing the kingdom between the contending princes. The Britiſh kings had

* Some hiſtorians affirm, that he voluntarily made his ſon partner with him. † Now Aylesford.
‡ He was buried at Horſted, ſo named after him.
** He was buried near Aylesford, where four ſtones ſtand an end with others a-croſs them, like Stone-henge.
*† Now Creyford, from the river Crecan, now Crecee. Vid. Cambden.

the

the eaſtern part, and Ambroſius the weſtern, parted by the Roman high-way, called Watling-ſtreet *.

466. The war againſt the Saxons breaks out again.

The Saxons, upon this, join'd their forces alſo; and, in the firſt battle, Hengiſt loſt Wipped, one of his chief officers, from whom the place, where they fought, was named Wipped's-Fleet †. The Saxon writers affirm, their countrymen obtained a ſignal victory; whereas the Britiſh authors tell us, that Vortimer entirely defeated the Saxons, forcing Hengiſt, a ſecond time, to fly into Germany. The ſequel, however, proves, that the Saxons had the advantage; nay, I will venture to aſſert, contrary to the opinion of ſome famous hiſtorians, that, in all probability, Hengiſt never returned to Germany, not ſo much as one author taking notice of the time or place of his ſecond landing.

Arthur firſt appears. Lang chr. reg. Angl.

In this war the renowned Arthur, at 14 years of age, firſt appeared in the Britiſh armies under Ambroſius, whoſe martial genius inclined him, ſo early, to take upon him the profeſſion of a ſoldier, which he followed to his death. He ſucceeded Gorlous his farther, as king of Danmonium ‡ in 467; and, ſoon after, was engaged in a war againſt Howel king of Areclute, on the borders of Scotland. This prince, envying Arthur's glory, became an ally with the Saxons in the north againſt him; but Arthur exceedingly increaſed his fame, by driving him to the iſle of Mona, where, in a battle, he ſlew him with his own hand. He was then about 18 years old; he afterwards diſtinguiſhed himſelf by actions more glorious, as well as more advantageous to his country.

470. Priſceus hiſt. Brit. def.

473. The 4th battle between the Saxons and Britons. Flor Wigorn. Vortimer dies.

The war continuing between the Britons and Saxons, a battle the former loſt, in 473, put their affairs in the greateſt confuſion, and gave Hengiſt a fit occaſion for enlarging his power. At length, Vortimer died, in 475, poiſoned, as ſome affirm, by Rowena his mother-in-law, thro' the inſtigation of Hengiſt. The Britiſh hiſtorians, willing, at any rate, to make Vortimer a hero, tell us, he obtained many ſignal victories over the Saxons; but the power of the Saxons evidently ſhews, that Vortigern's advantages over them were neither great nor real. His death gave ſome quiet to the Britons, if a deceitful calm may be ſo call'd, which iſſued in their ruin.

A peace concluded on between the Saxons and Britons.

After a twenty years war, both parties ſeem'd deſirous of peace, which Vortimer had always ſtrenuouſly oppoſed; fearing, this war being over, he ſhould be forced to begin another with Ambroſius, who had gain'd the hearts of the people, and was uneaſy to ſee Vortigern and his ſon on the throne, tho' deprived of half their dominions. The peace was concluded, on condition each party ſhould keep their preſent poſſeſſions. This was mortifying to Hengiſt, who had formed hopes of ſubduing the whole iſland; he pleaſed himſelf, however, with the thoughts of effecting that by policy, which he could not do by force.

Remarks on the reſiſtance of the Britons.

That the Britons, who were ſo weak and diſpirited, before Hengiſt's arrival, ſhould ſo bravely reſiſt the Saxons in the firſt war, is very ſurprizing; that thoſe very Britons, who, when the Romans left them, durſt not face the Picts and Scots, ſhould, notwithſtanding, defend themſelves againſt both Saxons and Picts! But a long war teaches, by degrees, the moſt undiſciplin'd nation the uſe of arms, and often enables them to repair, in the end, what they loſt in the beginning. Had the Saxons invaded Britain, at firſt, with a great army, they, in all likelihood, would very ſpeedily have made an entire conqueſt of Britain; but, coming over in ſmall numbers, at different times, they protracted the war, and ſo taught the Britons an art, which the Romans were induſtrious in making them forget. It may be objected, perhaps, that, whilſt they defended themſelves in the ſouth, they loſt ground in the north. But the country beyond the Humber was taken from them, before Hengiſt's coming; and the Saxons took it from the Picts and Scots, and not from the Britons. What Octa and Ebuſa did, during this war, is unknown; probably, they aſſiſted Hengiſt, by giving the Britons frequent diverſions, and by ſending him ſupplies by ſea, which they could not do by land, the enemy's country lying in the way.

Hengiſt was extremely diſturbed to find himſelf reduced to the kingdom of Kent. He acquainted the Saxon princes in Germany, that, if they would ſend him ſupplies, he could eaſily procure for them a ſolid ſettlement in Britain; tho', after a long war, he had but a ſlender proſpect of his being able to perform his promiſe; and, beſides, the falling off of Vortigern, with the valour and conduct of Ambroſius, lay as inſuperable difficulties in his way. He was reſolved, however, to purſue his deſign, of being maſter of the iſland, by cunning; and, to this purpoſe, contriv'd a plot, which tarniſh'd the glory of all his former actions. He ſeem'd exceedingly pleaſed with the peace, to diſguiſe his baſe intentions; and the Britons, charm'd with his behaviour, which was, in outward appearance, moderate and friendly, they no longer repin'd for the loſs of Kent, thinking they knew the worſt, and, perhaps, hoping, one time or other, to recover it. In the interim, they lived amicably with Hengiſt; and their prejudices againſt the Saxons, at length, entirely vaniſh'd. Hengiſt, on the other hand, aſſur'd them it was his deſire, that both nations ſhould preſerve a good underſtanding with each other; and that he ſhould be glad, if it were promoted by mutual

* The Romans, to paſs the more conveniently from one colony to another, had their viæ conſulares, prætoriæ, regiæ, &c. which Bede and the moderns call ſtratæ or ſtreets. There were four in England, Watling-ſtreet, paſſing thro' St. Albans; Ikenild-ſtreet, thro' the country of the Iceni; Ermin-ſtreet, and Foſs-way.

† Wippedi fluentum. Vid. Gloſſar. Saxon. probably, Ipſwich in Suffolk. Cambden takes it to be the iſle of Thanet, but that is impoſſible.

‡ Cornwall and Devon. There were ſeveral petty princes that depended on the chief monarch.

inter-

interviews for pleaſure. Vortigern joyfully accepted his propoſal, and paid him the firſt viſit, accompanied by 300 of his principal ſubjects. They were entertained in a re-
G. Malmſ. ſpectful and ſplendid manner, and nothing was wanting that might contribute to their diverſion; but, towards the end of the feaſt, Hengiſt having artfully rais'd a ſubject of diſpute, at a ſignal given, all the Britiſh lords were murder'd *. Vortigern, becauſe Hengiſt had occaſion for him, was only made priſoner, who, to no purpoſe, complained of his treachery; and he was not releaſed, without delivering up to the Saxons a great part of his dominions, on the borders of Kent, which they divided into three counties, calling them Suſſex, Eſſex, and Middleſex, which names they retain to this day. Hengiſt, after this, made horrible devaſtations in the neighbouring country, and got poſſeſſion of London, Lincoln, and Wincheſter.

So highly did the Britons reſent this inſtance of barbarity, that they could not view a Saxon, without horror; and, looking upon Vortigern, as an accomplice in the maſſacre, as he alone eſcaped, they all went over to Ambroſius ‡, except a few friends, who could do him but little ſervice in his ſinking condition.

Ambroſius takes upon him the title of emperor.

Ambroſius, being now ſole monarch of Britain, aſſumed the imperial purple, after the manner of the Roman emperors, creating, at the ſame time, prince Arthur a patrician **. Could Britain have been preſerved, from becoming a prey to the Saxons, theſe two great princes, who had all the qualities of the moſt celebrated heroes, would, doubtleſs, have prevented it; but its fate was determined, and even they could only, for a while, defer its ruin.

Hengiſt ſends for more Saxons.

Hengiſt, however, with regret, ſaw his country quite diſpeopled; for the inhabitants, deteſting his treachery and cruelty, retired, in ſwarms, into the other provinces, ſo that there were not left hands enough to cultivate the ground. He ſent, therefore, for Ella, a

477. Ella lands in Britain. F. Æthelius. F. Wigorn. H. Hunt. l. 2.

Saxon general, from Germany, promiſing him part of the lands Vortigern had granted him. Ella, rejoycing at the news, ſoon arrived in Britain, with his ſons Baldulphus, Colgrin, and Ciſſa an infant, landing his troops at Whitering in Suſſex, but not without reſiſtance. He did not become maſter of the ſhore, without a long battle; but, at laſt, he drove the Britons as far as the foreſt of Andred's-wall ††, then 65 miles long and 30 broad. This retreat gave the Saxons an opportunity of ſettling themſelves, by degrees, along the coaſt, and towards the Thames. During the nine years they were employed in thoſe parts, they had continual wars with the Britons, the particulars of which are unknown. We are only informed, that the Saxons, ſeated along the ſouthern coaſt, were called Sud or South-Saxons, and their country Suſſex. Hengiſt, to ſtrengthen himſelf, Suſſex.
eſtabliſhed Saxon colonies in the reſt of the country that had been given him. Thoſe that were ſeated eaſtward, had the name of Eaſt-Saxons, and their country Eſſex; the land between Eſſex and Suſſex was called Middleſex; and, as for Kent, it retain'd its antient name, the only one, perhaps, that was not changed by the Saxons. Eſſex. Middleſex.

Hengiſt, after this, granted leave to thoſe ſoldiers, that were inclined to it, to return into Germany. Arriving on the continent, they built the caſtle of Leyden, which work is attributed to Hengiſt by a Dutch poet and Jo. Douſa.
ſeveral others, who ſuppoſe that he went back into Germany.

The Britons, harraſs'd by almoſt continual wars for 60 years together, were not in a condition to think of recovering the provinces uſurped by the Saxons; tho' they were not a little concerned to ſee the Saxons ſo firmly ſettled in their country, and that they could, when they pleaſed, have freſh ſupplies from Germany. Without any previous truce or treaty of peace, both parties lay quiet for nine years, for Hengiſt, himſelf, as well as the Britons, wanted a ceſſation of arms, to regulate the affairs of his kingdom. In this interval, Ella gain'd ground, the Britons not daring to reſiſt him, leſt they ſhould give Hengiſt a handle to renew the war, which they were reſolved to avoid. Nine years ceſſation of arms.

The Britons, having had time to recruit themſelves, ſollicit Ambroſius to take up arms; they aſſured him, that the longer the Saxons were ſuffered to reſt, they grew the ſtronger; that Britain, now, abounded with young ſoldiers, fit to ſerve their country; and that, perhaps, they ſhould never have a better opportunity. Ambroſius repreſented to them, that their reaſons were very convincing; but, that there was no proſpect of ſucceeding in their attempts to expel the Saxons, whilſt Vortigern was alive; that, tho' he was advanced in years, he had an able party, that would certainly raiſe new animoſities, as ſoon as the war ſhould break out; that they knew, ever ſince the arrival of the Saxons, he had always been their friend; that all their loſſes were occaſioned by their inteſtine diviſions; and, whilſt they continued, it was in vain to expect any better ſucceſs; and he concluded with telling them, they muſt either let the Saxons remain undiſturbed, till Vortigern's death, or diſpatch that domeſtick enemy, that they might unite their forces againſt the foreigners. Vortigern was ſo much hated by moſt of the Britons, that they inſtantly reſolved upon the latter; and they unanimouſly The Britons ſollicit Ambroſius to take up arms.

* The ſignal was, Neamt uve ſeaxen, i. e. Pull out your daggers. Stillingfleet queſtions the truth of this fact, becauſe Witichind mentions one like it in Germany; but it might be repeated in Britain. Ambroſius is reported to have built Stone-henge near Saliſbury, in memory of this maſſacre.

‡ Baronius confounds Ambroſius Aurelianus with another Aurelian.

** Prince Arthur was certainly created a patrician by Ambroſius, there being no other emperor then in the weſt. Odoacer, king of the Heruli, reigning then in Italy, had no pretenſions to Britain.

†† Andredſwald, now termed Weild or Wild, according to Cambden, was 120 miles long.

prepared to execute their deſign, with all imaginable ſecrecy and expedition. Vortigern was in danger of falling into the hands of Ambroſius, and had but juſt time to get into a caſtle in Wales, where he was not very ſafe. Ambroſius went and beſieged him, being intent upon his deſign; but, during the ſiege, the caſtle, either by accident or the engines of the beſiegers, taking fire, was conſumed to aſhes; and the unhappy Vortigern periſh'd in the flames. Thus, died that prince, very old, after a troubleſome reign of forty years. He had three ſons, by his firſt wife, Vortimer, Catigern, and Paſcentius, of whom I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. By his daughter, whom he debauched, he had a ſon, called Fauſtus, who ſpent his life in a monaſtery, where he was diſtinguiſh'd for his piety.

485. Vortigern's death.

Ambroſius renews the war, and beats Ella in 487.

Ambroſius, upon this, renews the war againſt the Saxons, of which we have not a particular account. The moſt remarkable event was Ambroſius's victory over Ella and his two eldeſt ſons; which was the firſt the Britons could truly boaſt of, tho' all their hiſtorians affirm the contrary. The Saxon general was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in his ſtrong holds, till he received new ſupplies from Germany.

Hengiſt dies in 488. Nennius. Flor. Wigorn. W. Malm. H. Hunt Ran. Ceſtrenſis.

Hengiſt died, before the end of this war, in 488, aged about 69, of which he ſpent 39 in Britain, and 33 on the throne of Kent *. He was certainly the moſt valiant and prudent general of his time; and it could be wiſh'd for the honour of the Engliſh, that the founder of their monarchy had not, as I may ſay, cemented his throne with the blood of ſo many Britiſh lords, whom he, baſely and treacherouſly, murder'd; an action that leaves an indelible ſtain on his memory. Were it not for this, his glory would have been ſingular, as, by his conduct and bravery, he ſucceſsfully accompliſh'd a deſign extremely difficult in the execution. Beſides Kent, Eſſex, and Middleſex, he was poſſeſſed of ſome lands in Lincolnſhire, where he built Thong-Caſtor; and the Saxons beyond the Humber owned him for their ſovereign. He left two ſons, Eſcus who ſucceeded him, and Audoacer who remained in Germany.

Eſcus king of Kent

After Ella's defeat, about a year before Hengiſt's death, Eſcus was ſent into the north, to aſſiſt Octa and Ebuſa againſt the Britons; but, as ſoon as he heard of his father's death, he returned to Kent, to take poſſeſſion of the kingdom. In the mean while, Ambroſius, purſuing his victory, recovered London, Wincheſter, and Lincoln. Eſcus, wanting his father's qualities, never attempted to retake theſe three places, preferring his eaſe before the fatigues of war. In all likelihood, he obtained a truce, ſince, in the three ſucceeding years, there is no mention of hoſtilities on either ſide.

In this interval, Arthur having no employment at home, made a voyage to Jeruſalem; whilſt Ambroſius, by the aſſiſtance of Samſon, whom he had invited from Armorica, and made archbiſhop of York, regulated the affairs of the church, which, by the wars, was extremely diſordered.

490. Arthur goes to Jeruſalem. Nennius, H. Hunting. l. 2.

The Northumberland Saxons beginning to riſe in 491, Arthur being returned from his voyage, attacked and defeated them. Ella likewiſe, having received powerful ſupplies from Germany, beſieged Andred-Ceſter †, ſituated in the foreſt of Andred's-Wald. The reſiſtance of the beſieged, and an army of the enemy advantageouſly poſted, made him loſe much time; but, at laſt, he took the town by ſtorm, and reduced it to aſhes. Upon this, he aſſumed the title of king of Suſſex or of the South-Saxons, which he durſt not do, whilſt Hengiſt was alive. This ſecond Saxon kingdom contained the counties of Suſſex and Surrey; he was alſo choſen monarch or general of the Saxons, in Hengiſt's room; for altho' Hengiſt was only king of Kent, yet he was regarded as chief of all the Saxons, according to the cuſtom of that nation in Germany, who, in time of war, had always a captain-general, accountable only to the convention of the ſtates, which cuſtom the Saxons continued in Britain. Hengiſt's ſon did not think himſelf ſufficient for this office, ſince he ſuffered Ella to be inveſted with it.

491. Ella beſieges Andred-Ceſter. H. Hunt. l. 2.

He aſſumes the title of king of Suſſex.

Is choſen monarch.

About two years after, Arthur defeated the Northumbrians, on the banks of the river Douglas ‡, as he had done three years before.

494.

The year 495 was very remarkable, for the arrival of Cerdick, a Saxon general, not only for his conqueſts, but chiefly, becauſe from him were deſcended the kings of England, in the male line, down to Edward the confeſſor, and, in the female, to the glorious prince who now ſits on the throne. In tracing him back, the Saxon annals ſhew us, that he ſprung from Woden, the original of all the principal Saxon families. He was famous alſo, for founding a kingdom, to which all the reſt, at laſt, were ſubject; and, therefore, he is to be eſteemed, if not the firſt, at leaſt, one of the chief founders of the Engliſh monarchy. This valiant prince, having acquired great glory in Germany, and having no farther employment there, determined to try his fortune in Britain, where many of his countrymen were already ſettled; and, with this view, he fitted out five veſſels; and, accompanied by his ſon Kenrick, now adult, he embarqued for Britain.

495. Cerdick arrives in Britain. Fl. Wigorn. Polychr. l. 5. c. 4. G. Malm.

Octa, having been often defeated by Arthur in the north, and not being able to keep all his conqueſts, divided them into two parts, north and ſouth; the firſt, named Deira, he committed to the care of Baldulphus and Colgrin **, Ella's ſons, reſerving the other,

Northumberland divided into Bernicia and Deira.

* Some Britiſh or Welch writers ſay, Hengiſt was beheaded by the Britons; but all the Saxons aſſure us, he died a natural death.

† In Latin Anderida. In the reign of Edward I. a ſmall town, called Newenden, was built in the ſame place.

‡ In Lancaſhire.

** So called by Britiſh authors, but by the Engliſh, Cymen and Pleting, from whom Cymenſhore in Suſſex.

call'd

call'd Bernicia, to himſelf, to defend it againſt the continual attacks of the northern nations. Congrin, after the defeat of the Northumbrians by Arthur, had ſhut himſelf up in York, where Arthur immediately went and beſieged him. Baldulphus, however, was gone into Norfolk, to aſſiſt Cerdick at his landing; but, his coming being delay'd, he marched back towards York, in order to relieve it. Cador, Arthur's nephew, meeting him on the way, ſo defeated him, that he was oblig'd to diſguiſe himſelf in a peaſant's habit, to ſave his life; by which means he came ſafely under the walls of York, where, diſcovering himſelf, he was drawn up with a rope. The news he brought of Cerdick's coming with powerful ſupplies, from Germany, animated the beſieged, tho' Arthur briskly carried on the ſiege, hoping to take the town, before his arrival. In the mean time, Cador waited in Norfolk, to oppoſe the landing of the Saxons; but Arthur, being inform'd that Cerdick was landed at Yarmouth, and had defeated Cador, he raiſes the ſiege, retiring into a place of ſecurity, till he could learn exactly the number of the Saxons, which fame had magnified. Baldulph and Colgrin, coming out of York, made great devaſtations in Lancaſhire, whilſt the Britons were ſo terrified at Cerdick's arrival, that Arthur, for the preſent, thought fit to keep off from theſe formidable enemies.

Cerdick arrives, and defeats Cador.

426. Paſcentius revolts;

Paſcentius, ſon to Vortigern, having long concealed his ſecret diſguſt, for being deprived of all his father's dominions, made an attempt, at this juncture, to obtain what he took to be his right. Aſſiſted by his party, he got ſome forces together; and, joining Baldulph and Colgrin, he was reinforced by great numbers of his friends in Wales. Ambroſius being very ſickly, and of an advanced age, Arthur march'd againſt this rebel, and entirely routed him, near the little river Douglas.

But is defeated by Arthur.

497. He is defeated again, and pardon'd. Nennius.

The enſuing year, Arthur defeated him again in the ſame place, and ſo warmly purſued his victory, that he forced him to yield and ſue for pardon. Paſcentius's ſubmiſſion proved more advantageous to him than his arms; for he was not only pardon'd, but put in poſſeſſion of Brecknock and Radnor * in Wales, which being made a kingdom, his poſterity enjoy'd it for many years. I ſuppoſe theſe lands to be no more than Vortigern's private eſtate in thoſe parts, before he was king; and that, if Ambroſius inveſted Paſcentius with ſovereignty, it was only to give him ſome ſatisfaction about his pretenſions to the crown of Britain.

Galway ſubdued by the Saxons.

About this time, the Saxons in the north ſubdued the little kingdom of Galway † from Galvan, Arthur's nephew; which, tho' now part of Scotland, had been poſſeſs'd by the Britons, and withſtood the continual attacks of the Saxons as well as Picts. Galvan retir'd to his uncle Arthur, whom he aſſiſted very much in his wars.

Soon after this, Porta landed at Portland ‡, ſo called after him, with a new ſupply of Saxons from Germany; which obliged Arthur to repair to London. Tho' this prince had generally the advantage over the Saxons, in all their engagements; yet his forces were exceedingly diminiſh'd, whilſt the enemy's troops were continually reinforced, entire bodies of Saxons, under the command of famous generals, coming over to Britain, either with the view of a ſettlement, or for plunder only. Arthur, on this account, would have been reduced to extremity, were it not for the aſſiſtance of Hoel king of Armorica, his nephew, who being deſirous of glory, rejoiced at an opportunity of ſignalizing himſelf in the ſervice of his uncle, and, at the head of 15,000 men, landed at Southampton. Arthur, upon this, attack'd the Northumbrians, grown formidable by the valour of Baldulph and Colgrin, and completely defeated them. The two Saxon brothers, not being able to ſtand before him, after this victory, with the remains of their army join'd Cerdick, then laying ſiege to Lincoln; but Arthur, purſuing them with all ſpeed, ſo ſuddenly ſurprized Cerdick, that he was forced to hazard a battle, which proved fatal to the Saxons. Cerdon betook himſelf to the foreſt of Celidon; where, having ſuffer'd great hardſhips, he, at laſt, tho' with great difficulty, retir'd towards the weſtern coaſts. Some hiſtorians affirm, that, in this extremity, having no proviſions, nor the hope of any aſſiſtance, he obliged himſelf, by a treaty with Arthur, to return into Germany, with the remainder of his troops; and alſo, that being embarqued, contrary to his promiſe, he return'd and landed at Toſton in the weſt. However, it is certain Cerdick continued in Britain, and lay quiet for ſome time, having loſt in the battle above 6000 men.

501. Porta's arrival. H. Hunt. Cambden Annal. Sax. Flor. Wigorn.

Argentre Hiſt. de Bret. ch. 33.

G. Malmſ. Nennius. H. Hunt. l. 2. Polychron. l. 5. c. 6. Gal. Mon. c. 2.

Upon this defeat, the Saxons dreading Arthur, who knew how to improve his victories, reſolved to unite all their forces, the more effectually to ſtop the progreſs of his arms. Accordingly, Eſcus king of Kent, Ella king of Suſſex, Cerdick, Porta, the northern Saxons, joining all their forces, Cerdick was made general of the whole army. Ella, who had been monarch ever ſince 492, would, doubtleſs, have had the command, were it not for his infirmities and advanced age. Cerdick, dividing his troops into two bodies, placed the ſmalleſt under Baldulph and Colgrin, and commanded the other himſelf, with his ſon Kenrick. In the mean time, the Britons made great preparations, as they knew they had occaſion for all their forces againſt ſo powerful an enemy; all that could carry arms came in ſwarms, to liſt under their generals; and it was thought, on both ſides, they ſhould ſoon come to a battle, that would decide the

The Saxons and Britons make great preparations. Nennius. H. Hunt.

* In Britiſh, Bwelt and Vortigiern Maur.

† In Latin, Gallovidia. G. Malm. ſtiles it Walvitha and Walvertha.

‡ According to others, at Portſmouth.

fate

fate of both nations. Ambroſius himſelf, whom the hiſtorians have called Nazaleod, appear'd at the head of his army; and, having detatch'd Arthur to follow Baldulph and Colgrin, who were marching weſtward, determin'd to go in queſt of Cerdick. Arthur, every where triumphant, engaging with the Saxon brothers in Cornwal, obtain'd a ſignal victory.

508. The Britons are defeated.

In the interim, Ambroſius advanced towards Cerdick, who ſtood his ground; and, coming to an engagement, he broke the right wing of the Saxons and routed them. But, whilſt he eagerly purſued them, who made but little reſiſtance, Kenrick, having had the ſame advantage over the right wing of the Britons, inſtead of purſuing them, attack'd Ambroſius in the flank, and ſo gave Cerdick time to rally his troops, and finiſh the victory, by an entire defeat of the Britons.

Ambroſius ſlain.

Ambroſius, mortified at this diſappointment, in ſpite of his age and infirmities, threw himſelf among the enemy, to animate his troops to renew the fight; but all his efforts ſerved only to crown his glorious life with an honourable death. The ſucceſs of this battle was, by the publick acknowledgment of his father, attributed to Kenrick; it was fought in 508, near a place, call'd by the Saxons Cerdick's-Ford *.

Nazaleod and Ambroſius the ſame. Cambden. H. Hunt.

The name of Nazaleod, given to the Britiſh monarch ſlain in this battle, has led ſome to think it was not Ambroſius; but the opinion of Cambden and other good authors is, doubtleſs, the moſt probable. All hiſtorians agree, that Ambroſius fell in battle; now, after the beginning of this prince's reign, there was no other, in which a Britiſh monarch was ſlain; beſides, hiſtorians would have mention'd the time of the death of ſo great a prince, had it happen'd in any other action.

Arthur elected monarch. Uther de Prim. G. Mon.

Arthur ſucceeds Ambroſius, as monarch, who was certainly beſt qualify'd to command the army, his very name being a terror to the Saxons. Between Ambroſius and Arthur, ſome authors place Uther Pendragon, who, they ſay, was Arthur's eldeſt brother, and both of them ſons to Ambroſius. Others affirm, that Arthur was Uther's ſon and ſucceſſor; but the beſt Engliſh hiſtorians aſſert, that Uther was only a ſirname given to Arthur, on the account of his victories, the word bearing that ſenſe in the old Britiſh language; and that he was named Pendragon, from his wearing a dragon for his creſt.

Uther Stillingfleet. Langhorn.

Arthur, after his coronation at Caerleon, defeated the Northumbrian Saxons, on the banks of the little river Ribroyt that runs thro' Lancaſhire; this is reckon'd his tenth victory over the Saxons. In the interim, Baldulph and Colgrin made ſuch ravages in the weſtern parts, that he was obliged to leave Northumberland, to go and reſtrain them, leaving Hoel in Bernicia, to watch the motions of the Saxons there, who, tho' often conquer'd, were ſtill formidable. Arthur, forcing the Saxon brothers to come to an engagement, routed them near Cadbury † in Cornwall. Cambden.

The battle of Badon-hill.

In the mean time, Cerdick being reinforced by the Saxon princes in Britain, as well as from Germany, laid ſiege to Bath. Baldulph and Colgrin joining him alſo, with what troops they could muſter together, he wiſh'd the Britons would raiſe the ſiege; and he ſoon obtain'd his deſire; for Arthur, reſolving to hazard all, to ſecure that place, came and gave him battle, which prov'd the moſt bloody that had ever been fought between the two nations. It continu'd from noon till night, without any apparent advantage on either ſide. Both armies kept the field, waiting for the day to renew the fight. The Saxons, in the night, poſted themſelves on a little hill, call'd Banneſdown, which neither party had done the day before, tho' of ſuch importance to them. No ſooner was it light, than Arthur, obſerving their advantageous poſt, was reſolv'd to diſlodge them, which he effected, after a long and obſtinate fight. The Britons, animated by the preſence and valour of their king, and finding that the Saxons, in retreating down the Hill, were put into diſorder, ſo vigorouſly preſs'd upon them, that they routed them entirely. Baldulph and Colgrin were both ſlain; and Cerdick, with the remains of his army, retreated to a place of ſecurity. Bede. Langhorn.

The Picts beſiege Areclute. G. Mon. l. 7. H. Hunt. l. 2.

An unexpected accident prevented Arthur from purſuing his victory. The Picts, in alliance with the Saxons, Arthur being at a great diſtance, and Hoel lying ſick at Areclute, reſolved to beſiege that town; but Arthur, flying to the aſſiſtance of his nephew, obliged them to raiſe the ſiege. This prince enrag'd at the Picts, who, by this diverſion, had done ſervice to the Saxons, rifled their country from one end to the other, and, were it not for the interceſſion of the biſhops, would have entirely deſtroy'd it.

Arthur's wife dies. G. Malmſ. l. 1. Fl. Vigorn.

About this time, died Gueniver, Arthur's wife, who was buried in the county of Angus †; and, as ſhe died without iſſue, the women of the country fancied all that walk'd over her grave would, like her, be barren, and all poſſible care was, therefore, taken to prevent young damſels from approaching it. Hoel, upon this, return'd to Armorica, the victory of Badon having ſecur'd Arthur, for ſome time, from any attempts of the Saxons. Arthur, as he came back from the Picts, made ſome ſtay at York, to regulate the affairs of the church, which were put in great diſorder by the Saxons. H. Boeth. Gal. Mon. l. 7.

512. Octa king of Kent. G. Malmſ. l. 1.

Eſcus king of Kent died in 512, after whom all the kings of Kent were called Eſcingians; he was ſucceeded by his ſon Octa.

514. Ella's death. M. Weſt. Bede, l. 2. H. Hunt.

Two years after, died Ella, king of Suſſex and monarch of the Saxons, having enlarged his dominions, at the expence of the Britons, during a reign of 23 years. Ciſſa, his youngeſt ſon, ſucceeded him, as king of Suſſex, the two eldeſt having been ſlain at Badon; but Cerdick was made monarch of the Saxons.

* Chardford in Hampſhire. † Gadbury is in Somerſetſhire, near Yeovil. ‡ In Scotland.

Cerdick

Cerdick lay quiet ever ſince his defeat, expecting new ſupplies from Germany, which arrived in 514, under Stuff and Withgar his nephews. Upon this, he took the field again, and committed great ravages in the country of the Britons; but Arthur, tho' weaken'd by his own victories, not being reinforced like the Saxons, made vigorous attempts to oppoſe the progreſs of the enemy. The many and bloody battles between the two nations did not decide the quarrel, becauſe in ſome of them the Saxons, and in others the Britons were victorious; but in 519 Cerdick ſo defeated the Britons, that they deſpair'd of ever expelling the Saxons. Arthur, at this juncture, enter'd into a treaty with Cerdick, by granting him a part, rather than endanger the loſs of all his dominions. He, therefore, ſurrender'd to him Hampſhire and Somerſetſhire, with which Cerdick was contented, deſiring, after ſo long a war, to enjoy ſome repoſe in his declining age. Upon this, he founded the kingdom of Weſſex, or of the Weſt-Saxons, ſo called, becauſe it lay weſt of Kent and Suſſex; and he was crown'd at Wincheſter, 23 years after his arrival in Britain *. Thus, by his valour and conduct, Cerdick, as well as Hengiſt and Ella, obtain'd a ſettlement in Britain.

519. Cerdick entirely defeats the Britons.

Crown'd king of Weſſex.

Chron. Rudborn. l. 2.

Arthur, in this interval, rebuilt ſome churches that were deſtroy'd by the late wars, and did all that was poſſible to repair the damages religion had ſuſtain'd.

527. Erchenwin firſt king of Eſſex.

The Saxons and Juttes, whom Hengiſt had planted in Eſſex and Middleſex, had hitherto been governed by a deputy, under the king of Kent; but in 527 Erchenwin, ſprung from Woden, aſſumed the title of king of Eſſex, or of the Eaſt-Saxons. We are at a loſs to know who he was, how long he had been in Britain, and what right he had to this new kingdom. I conjecture he was governor under Octa king of Kent; and, taking the advantage of his weakneſs, got the people to acknowledge him for their king.

The arrival of the Angles. Bede. G. Malm. M. Weſt.

About this time, a great number of Angles, under twelve chiefs, whoſe names, except that of Uffa, are unknown, landed ſomewhere on the eaſtern coaſt of Britain; where continually gaining ground towards the weſt, they forced the Britons, at laſt, to deſert the country along the eaſtern ſhore. The Angles, thus ſituated, had an opportunity of ſending for new colonies, as they wanted them, from Germany, by whoſe aſſiſtance they founded the kingdom of the Eaſt-Angles; but, as their firſt chiefs did not aſſume the title of kings, the beginning of this kingdom is generally brought down to 571.

The kingdom of the Eaſt-Angles founded in 571. Gal. Mon.

During the peace, which laſted eight years, Hoel ſent to his uncle for aid againſt Frollon, that had revolted againſt him. Arthur went over to Armorica in perſon, and in the very firſt battle ſlew Frollon with his own hand.

The battle of Cherdſley.

In Arthur's abſence, the Angles arrived in Britain; and Cerdick alſo took this opportunity to break the peace, and by the means of his ſon Kenrick, who always accompanied him, obtain'd a ſignal victory in Buckinghamſhire at Cerdick's Lega, now Cherdſley †.

Arthur, upon his return, renew'd the treaty with Cerdick; upon which, he aſſum'd the title of emperor, as ſome undertake to prove by his ſeal, found at Weſtminſter. Leland declares, he ſaw the impreſſion of it on red wax, with theſe words on it: Patr. Arthurius. Britann. Gall. Germ. Dac. Imper. Theſe lofty titles, perhaps, gave the occaſion of attributing to him ſo many victories in foreign countries, and of ſtiling him conqueror of the Gauls, Germans, and Dacians; but whether this ſeal be genuine or not, there are ſufficient grounds for theſe titles, from what I have already ſaid concerning this prince. He might be called Britannicus, as he was monarch of the Britons; Gallicus, from his expedition againſt the Gauls that I juſt now mention'd; Germanicus, as he ſo often defeated the Saxons, who came from Germany; and Dacicus, on account of his victories over the Juttes, who were mix'd with the Saxons, and whom ſome have confounded with the Danes and Dacians. However, if he aſſum'd the title of emperor, as, in all likelihood he did, after the example of Ambroſius, it will be neceſſary, to avoid the confuſion, with regard to chronology, in the hiſtory of this prince, carefully to diſtinguiſh the ſeveral epocha's or times of his entering upon his four dignities. 1. He was crown'd king of Dammonium in 467, at the age of fifteen. 2. In 476, he was created patrician by Ambroſius. 3. In 508, he was choſen monarch of Britain. 4. In 508, he aſſum'd the imperial purple.

528. Arthur renews the treaty with Cerdick. Leland.

4 Epocha's in Arthur's reign.

The king of Armorica, being told that the Wiſigoths, who then poſſeſs'd part of Gaul, reſolv'd to invade his dominions, intreated Arthur to come over, once more, to his aſſiſtance, who readily complied with his requeſt; and, as he foreſaw he ſhould be abſent, for ſome time, he left Modred his nephew, whom he deſign'd for his ſucceſſor, regent, entruſting him alſo with the care of his queen.

Upon Arthur's departure, Modred ſubdued the iſle of Wight, barbarouſly deſtroying moſt of the inhabitants; but this was nothing to Arthur, in compariſon of Modred's treachery, who, having his wife and kingdom in his power, fell paſſionately in love with both. Not ſatisfy'd with debauching the queen in private, he publickly married her; and, to ſcreen himſelf from Arthur's reſentment, reſolved to ſeize upon the crown of his uncle, king, and benefactor. With this view, he enter'd into an alliance with Cerdick, who made him pay dear for his protection, obliging him to deliver up to him Berkſhire, Wiltſhire, Devonſhire, and Dorſetſhire. By this means Cerdick's kingdom became vaſtly ſuperior, in extent and dignity, to all the Saxon kingdoms already eſta-

Ran. Ceſtr. G. Malm. Antiq. Gl. Polychron. Ricard.

* Hiſtorians are not agreed as to the date of this fact.

† Milton makes this the ſame with the battle of Badon-hill.

bliſh'd. Modred, having thus made a league offenſive and defenſive, he was crown'd at London, thoſe, who deteſted his treachery, not daring to reſiſt him, before Arthur's return.

Cerdick invites over more Saxons. G. Malm. Antiq. Gl.

In the interim, Cerdick, the moſt of his ſubjects being Britons, thought it neceſſary, to ſecure his new dominions, to people them with Saxon colonies; and, therefore, he gave great encouragement to all that were inclin'd to leave Germany, and ſettle in his kingdom. Upon this invitation, above 800 veſſels arrived in his ports, in which were vaſt numbers of Saxons and Juttes. Cerdick, having alloted them habitations, expell'd ſuch Britons as he moſt ſuſpected, eſpecially from the frontiers; and the Britons, at length, loſt the ſuperiority in number they had over the Saxons.

Cerdick, having ſo many new ſubjects, repeated the ceremony of his coronation at Wincheſter, his capital city, as king of the Weſt-Saxons. This kingdom was very advantageouſly ſituated, being bounded on the north by the Thames, on the weſt by the Severn, on the ſouth by the ſea, and on the eaſt by the kingdom of the South-Saxons; and Cerdick was pretty ſecure from the Britons who were ſtill poſſeſs'd of the greateſt part of Dammonium, as they were divided from the reſt of the nation by this new kingdom and the Severn.

Cerdick crown'd again.

Cerdick, being thoroughly acquainted with Arthur's valour and activity, did all that was poſſible, to put himſelf in a poſture of defence; and he rewarded his nephews, Stuff and Withgar, for their faithful ſervices, with the iſle of Wight. As, in all probability, they were Juttes, Cerdick, in the diſtribution of his new colonies, had peopled that little iſland with their own countrymen *.

534. Cerdick's death G. Malm. l. 1.

Cerdick, thus prepar'd againſt Arthur's attacks, departed this life in the year 534, 16 years after his firſt coronation, and 39 after his arrival in Britain. He muſt have been very old, when he died, ſeeing, 39 years before, his ſon Kenrick was able to aſſiſt him in his wars. As the time he ſpent in Britain was a continued ſcene of good and bad ſucceſs, he had always an opportunity of diſcovering his great abilities, either in improving his victories, or in extricating himſelf out of thoſe difficulties into which he was plunged by the fortune of war. Kenrick, the truſty companion of all his labours, ſucceeded him, as king of Weſſex, and alſo as monarch of the Saxons and Angles. Cerdick's ſucceſſors had the ſirname of Gewiſhians, from Gewiſh one of their anceſtors, famous in his generation.

Kenrick ſucceeds him.

Polychr. l. 5. c. 4.

The ſame year died Octa king of Kent, after a reign of 22 years, remarkable for nothing but the diſmembering the kingdom of Eſſex, which, for what reaſon is unknown, he did not oppoſe; Hermenrick his ſon ſucceeded him.

535. Arthur returns.

Arthur, at length, returns, after a four years abſence. We are ignorant of the cauſe of his long ſtay in Armorica, ſo extremely prejudicial to his own affairs. Modred was poſſeſs'd of his throne, and in ſtrict alliance with the Saxons; but Arthur, tho' waſted with age, and almoſt deſtitute of friends, was reſolved to make an attempt to regain his kingdom, and to revenge himſelf on Modred. This reſolution animated thoſe that, durſt not, at firſt, declare for him; many, both officers and ſoldiers, who could not think of drawing their ſwords againſt him that taught them how to conquer, abandon'd the uſurper, and liſted themſelves in the ſervice of their lawful ſovereign. With this ſmall army, whoſe defect in number was amply ſupply'd by their courage, and the conduct as well as valour of the general, Arthur met Modred, reinforced with Saxons and Picts, who were incenſed againſt Arthur, on the account of the devaſtations he made in their country, and, engaging him at a great diſadvantage, ſignally defeated him. In the battle he loſt Galvan and Anguſel, two princes of his blood, who had ſteadily adhered to him.

And defeats Modred, 537.

Modred, by the aid of the Saxons and Picts, was ſoon in a condition to engage his uncle again; but he had no better ſucceſs than before. Arthur, tho' always victorious, could not deſtroy the uſurper, much leſs recover what had been ſurrender'd to the Saxons. Whilſt this war continued, there were two eclipſes of the ſun, which ſome fanciful hiſtorians have thought to be preſages of the entire ruin of the Britons, which followed ſoon after.

Mordred is again defeated.

542. The laſt battle, wherein Arthur and Modred were both ſlain. Gal. Mon. H. Hunt.

The war had now laſted ſeven years, when the fatal blow was given in 542, by the river Camb-alon *, near Camelford in Cornwall; for the Britons, having loſt their beſt troops, were never after able to withſtand the Saxons. The uncle and nephew, in this bloody battle, ruſh'd upon one another, with ſuch fury, that Modred was ſlain upon the ſpot; and Arthur, being mortally wounded, was carried to Glaſſenbury, where he died, aged 90 years, 76 of which he had continually ſpent in the exerciſe of arms. Tho' he reign'd but 34 years; yet, before he aſcended the throne, he had long commanded the Britiſh armies under Ambroſius. It is a pity the actions of ſo valiant a general ſhould have given riſe to ſuch a vaſt number of fables; whereas his life was a ſubject that deſerved the graveſt and moſt skilful pen. He is reported to have inſtituted the order of the knights of the round table, ſo famous in romances; and this is not at all improbable, ſince we are aſſur'd, from the letters of Caſſiodorus, that Theodorick, king of the Oſtrogoths, inſtituted one in Italy in the ſame century.

So great an affection and eſteem had the Britons for this hero, that many of them would not believe that he was dead; nay, ſeveral ages after, ſome imagined that he was only on his travels in foreign countries, vainly

* There were many Juttes alſo in Kent, Eſſex, and Suſſex.

† Cam is winding in Saxon; it is named alſo Camel.

expecting

expecting his return *. This might ſeem incredible, were it not for a late inſtance of the like folly, with reſpect to Don Sebaſtian king of Portugal. Some writer, perhaps, to ingratiate himſelf with the Britons, might, from hence, take occaſion to invent all thoſe pretended voyages and victories; which have been an inexhauſtible fund for abſurd fictions to romantick authors, who have ſo confounded his hiſtory, that ſeveral have queſtioned whether there was, in reality, ſuch a man in the world. But if we diſtinguiſh truth from falſhood, by having recourſe to the epocha's I have, above, laid down, we ſhall find nothing in his character unworthy of a great and glorious prince. He was born at Tindagol in Cornwall in 452 or 453, and died in 542; and was buried in the monaſtery of Glaſſenbury, by the ſide of Gueniver his ſecond wife. He had two others of the ſame name, one of which died in the country of the Picts, and the third proved falſe to him. By the laſt he had a ſon called Noem, who died a child. Arthur, juſt before he expired, ſent his crown to Conſtantine his couſin, the ſon of Cador and grandſon of Ambroſius, declaring him, by that, his ſucceſſor, that is, as king of Dammonium, for the Britiſh monarchy was extinct by his death. It is ſaid that his body was found entire in Glaſſenbury monaſtery, in the reign of Henry II. whereon might be plainly diſtinguiſh'd ten wounds, one of which only ſeemed mortal. But the report of his ſtature, viz. that the diſtance between his eye-brows was a ſpan, and that other parts of his body were in proportion, is altogether fictitious. Ancient romances tell us, that his ſhield was named Pridwen, his lance Ron, and his ſword Caliburn; which laſt was preſented, in 1091, to Tancred king of Sicily by Richard I.

Uſher de Prim. &c. Giral. Cambr. in ſpec. eccl.

Roger de Hovedon.

547. Ida's arrival. Gal. Mon. An. Sax. Flor. Wigor. H. Hunt. M. Weſt.

No ſooner did the news of Arthur's death and the preſent diſtreſs of the Britons reach Germany, than great multitudes reſolved to come over and ſettle in Britain. Ida, an Angle and ſprung from Woden, with many families of his own countrymen, having embarqued in 40 veſſels, landed at Flamborough in Yorkſhire, then poſſeſſed by the Northumberland Saxons, who received them as friends. The Northumbrians, ſo ſtiled from the north of Humber which they inhabited, had been there, ever ſince the time of Hengiſt, and had all along been ſome way dependent on the kingdom of Kent, tho' we are ignorant how they were govern'd, from the death of Octa and Ebuſa to the year 547. Ida got himſelf acknowledged, both by them and the Angles he brought with him, king of Northumberland. As the Saxons ſo readily mixed with the Angles, and obeyed a king of that nation, it is highly probable, as I have already obſerved, that they were both originally the ſame people. This was the fifth kingdom founded by the Anglo-Saxons. Ida was a very famous prince; but, however, we have nothing recorded concerning him, except his building the city of Bebbanburgh, ſo named after Bebba his queen. This city was after many years deſtroyed, tho' the caſtle of Bamborough remains to this day.

In the year 552, the Britons, attempting to recover part of their lands from Kenrick king of the Weſt-Saxons, were repulſed near Salisbury. 552. H. Hunt.

The Saxon annals tell us, that, three years after, two ſons of Modred, aided by the Saxons, made an effort to dethrone Conſtantine, who ſucceeded Arthur, as king of Dammonium; but, Conſtantine routed them, purſuing them to Glaſſenbury, and ſlew them even in the abbot's arms. 555. Gal. Mon. l. 8.

Ida king of Northumberland died in 559, after he had reigned peaceably twelve years, whom all the hiſtorians acknowledge to have been a prince of great accompliſhments. After his death, Northumberland, tho' the occaſion of it is not known, was divided into two kingdoms. Adda, Ida's ſon, was king of Bernicia, and Alla, of the race of Woden, had Deira. Ida left behind him twelve ſons, ſix by wives, and the reſt by concubines. 559. Ida dies.

The enſuing year, Kenrick, king of Weſſex and monarch of the Anglo-Saxons, died after a reign of 26 years, during which he never was in arms but once, to repel the Britons who attack'd him, employing himſelf wholly in promoting peace and tranquillity in his dominions. Keaulin, the eldeſt of the four ſons that ſurvived him, ſucceeded to his kingdom and the Saxon monarchy. 560. Kenrick's death. Keaulin ſucceeds him.

Keaulin, being an ambitious prince, regarded the other Saxon kings, as his vaſſals and dependents; and, finding they would not eaſily be brought to ſubmit to him in this manner, he made vaſt preparations, which alarm'd both the Saxon and Britiſh princes, eſpecially the laſt, who, ſince Arthur's death, had liv'd in a ſort of anarchy; what remain'd of their country being canton'd out into little independent ſtates, which weaken'd one another by the diſunion of their princes. The Britiſh hiſtorians give us a melancholy account of theſe petty ſovereigns. Conſtantine, king of Cornwall, was a cruel tyrant, polluted alſo with abominable luſts. Aurelius Conanus, whoſe kingdom lay to the eaſt of the Severn, was guilty of parricide, and his reign, to the laſt degree, tyrannical. Vortipor, king of Demetia or South-Wales was bloated with pride, and glorying that he had no religion, perſecuted the clergy. Cuneglas, whoſe dominions were north of Cambria or Wales, grew old in vice, and was notorious for wickedneſs. Maglocune or Malgon †, king of Mona or Angleſey, did nothing elſe but pillage his neighbours and ſubjects, enriching himſelf by rapine and violence. Theſe tyrants, not daring to confide in one another, never met together to conſult about their common ſafety; Gildas.

* Hiſtorians affirm, this conceit was not entirely rooted out, till his tomb was found in the reign of Henry II. 600 years after his death.

† Arthur's ſiſter's ſon, who join'd Modred againſt his uncle.

but,

but, each purſuing his private intereſt, they left Britain in a deplorable ſtate of confuſion, and gave the Saxons an opportunity to eſtabliſh themſelves on its ruin.

However, for their defence againſt Keaulin's preparations, they elected Malgon general, merely on account of his gigantick ſtature; who, being one of no experience, could have done them little ſervice, had the Saxons united their forces againſt him; but, fortunately for him and the Britons, Keaulin turned thoſe arms againſt his countrymen, which ſhould have been employ'd againſt the common enemy. As none of the Saxon princes were in a capacity of engaging againſt him ſingly, they were, by degrees, obliged to yield to Keaulin greater ſubmiſſion, than their laws and cuſtoms demanded from them to their monarch, dreading at the ſame time that he would make ſtill farther incroachments on their liberties.

564. Ethelbert is made King of Kent. G. Malmſ. l. 1.

At laſt, Hermenrick king of Kent dying in 564, Ethelbert, his ſon and ſucceſſor, could not bear the haughty proceedings of the Weſt-Saxons, and the more, becauſe, being of Hengiſt's family, he thought he had the beſt claim to the dignity of monarch. He, therefore, declares war againſt Keaulin, not conſidering the diſproportion between their forces. Keaulin, deſpiſing him, as a young prince of no reputation, gave him battle at Wibbandune or Wimbleton in Surrey, and entirely routed him; and, upon his being defeated a ſecond time, he ſued for peace. Ethelbert's concern for this diſappointment was enhanced by the jeſts of the other princes, who derided his preſumption. He learnt, however, that courage, without prudence and force, is inſufficient for a war; and, by making a proper uſe of this leſſon, he became one of the wiſeſt and moſt illuſtrious princes of his nation. This was the firſt civil war among the Saxons, which was follow'd by many others, occaſioned by the ambition of their princes; ſo that, if another Arthur had appear'd, the Britons might have recovered all their loſſes. But divine providence had otherwiſe determined.

Flor. Wigor.

571. Uffa firſt king of East-Angles.

Uffa, the laſt of the 12 chiefs of the Angles before mentioned, aſſumed in 571 the title of king of the Eaſt-Angles, forty years after his arrival in Britain. This was the ſixth kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons*.

Keaulin's ambition.

Keaulin, upon his ſucceſs againſt Ethelbert, treated the neighbouring Saxon princes, as his vaſſals; but the kings of Northumberland and Eaſt-Anglia, being ſeparated from him by a large tract of ground poſſeſs'd by the Britons, were pretty ſecure from the effects of his ambition. The kings of Kent, Eſſex, and Suſſex, having ſubmitted to him, as he was ſuperior to each of them in the extent of his dominions, he attacks the Britons, with a view of making new conqueſts. This war, which continued ſeven years, extremely weakened the Britons. Hiſtorians, who give but a very imperfect account of it, tell us, that Cutha, Keaulin's brother, often defeated the Britons, and would, in all likelihood, have exceedingly enlarged his brother's territories, had he not been ſnatch'd away by death, in the midſt of his victories.

He attacks the Britons. F. Wigorn. H. Hunt. l. 2.

Before the end of this war, Uffa died in 578, leaving the kingdom of the Eaſt-Angles, which he founded, to Titil his ſon. 578. Titil. F. Wigorn.

The Britons, being ſurrounded on all hands by their enemies, in this their laſt extremity, apply'd to the Scots, ſending ambaſſadors to Aidan king of Scotland, to implore his aſſiſtance, who aſſur'd him, "That his ruin was "inſeparable from theirs; that the Saxons "deſign'd to ſubdue the whole iſland, a great "part of it being already in their poſſeſſion; "that, if they ſhould conquer what was re-"maining in the hands of the Britons, they "would give the Scots no better quarter "than the Picts; they added, that Keaulin "was an enterprizing and ambitious prince, "capable of forming projects of dangerous "conſequence to all, unleſs a ſpeedy ſtop "were put to his proceedings." Aidan, prevail'd on by theſe arguments, at the head of a powerful army, join'd the Britons againſt the common enemy. Keaulin march'd againſt him with the greateſt expedition; but, the other princes not over-haſtily ſending in their troops, his forces were not equal to thoſe of the Britons and Scots. He engaged them, notwithſtanding, with undaunted reſolution; but his army was cut in pieces, his ſon Cuthwin ſlain, and he himſelf had a very narrow eſcape. The Britons, elated with this ſucceſs, began to contrive ſchemes for expelling the Saxons; but they were far from being in a condition to put them in execution. The Saxon princes, not diſpleaſed to find Keaulin's ambition mortified, yet, for their own intereſt, ſoon put their monarch at the head of an army much greater than the former; and, upon this, deſirous of revenge, he ſpeedily engaged the Britons, and by a glorious victory repaired his diſgrace. Aidan retreated into Scotland †, and the Britons, finding all their meaſures diſconcerted, were forced to ſit down contented with what was left them. But the juſtice of God, which had long purſued them, was not yet ſatisfied; they muſt be reduced to ſtill greater extremities, and be diveſted of their beſt and richeſt countries by a nation, whom the Almighty had choſen to be the inſtrument of his vengeance.

Aidan aſſiſts them and defeats Keaulin. H. Hunt. l. 2.

Aidan is defeated, and retreats into Scotland.

The Britons were but juſt recovered from their conſternation, when a vaſt fleet, ſeen on their coaſts, entirely diſpirited them, as it was the greateſt that ever came from Germany, and brought over ſwarms of Angles, under Crida who was deſcended from Woden. I cannot learn where they landed, but probably in Eaſt-Anglia; and, having marched thro' that kingdom, they advanced towards the middle of the iſland, without oppoſition. Crida every where terrified the Britons by his

584. Crida's arrival.

preſence;

* The kings that ſucceeded him, were ralled Uffings.

† Some affirm, he was ſlain in the battle. Scot. chr. Buchan. l. 5.

preſence; and, in vain, did they fly for ſhelter to their fortified towns, the want of proviſions for ſo great a number ſoon obliging them to ſurrender.

The Britons retreat into Wales.

The Britons, at length, as their laſt and only refuge, retreated into Cambria, on the other ſide the Severn; by whoſe flight, Crida got poſſeſſion of all the land lying between the Humber, the Severn, and the Thames, by which he was bounded on the north, weſt, and ſouth, and eaſt of him lay the kingdoms of Eſſex and Eaſt-Anglia.

Crida founds the kingdom of Mercia.

Crida, upon this, founded the kingdom of the Middle-Angles or Mercians, the largeſt and moſt conſiderable of all the Saxon kingdoms, being crown'd firſt king thereof in 584.

The ſtate of the Britons.

Cambria being too ſmall for ſo many families, great numbers of the Britons went over into Armorica, where many of their countrymen were already ſettled*. Others ſubmitted to the Saxons, content to be made hewers of wood and drawers of water, for a ſorry ſubſiſtence. Thoſe that continued in Cambria, for a long time, defended themſelves againſt the conquerors, who did not, for a great while, extend their conqueſts beyond the mountains. This little corner of the iſland, to which the Britons were confined, was afterwards divided into ſeveral petty kingdoms, which had different fates, according to the ambition or power of their kings. The Britons, from this time, having no relation to the hiſtory of England, I ſhall, for the future, conſider them only as a neighbouring nation. It is certain, they made ſeveral efforts to recover their loſſes, but to as little purpoſe as were the attempts of the Anglo-Saxons to force them from their retreat.

The Saxons give to Cambria the name of Wales.

The Saxons named the Britons Gwalliſh or Walliſh, that is, Gauls, taking them to be, as probably they were, of Gauliſh extraction. For the ſame reaſon, they call'd Cambria Walliſh-land; whence the Engliſh term it Wales to this day, which name the French have changed into Galles, as being derived from the Gauls. The Walloons and Wallachians ſtill retain theſe names; and, in ſome parts of Germany, the Italian tongue is ſtiled Welch, on the account of Gallia Ciſalpina inhabited by the Gauls. As for Cambria, it is my opinion, that, before the arrival of the Saxons, the Britons, who term'd themſelves Cumri or Cumbri, call'd their country Cambria; and that, after their retreat, the name, that before was common to the whole, became peculiar to that part of the iſland.

The Saxons call Britain England. Jo. Saliſb. in Polychr. l. 5.

About the ſame time, the Anglo-Saxons, with one conſent, gave to the ſeven kingdoms the general name of England, that is, the country of the Angles. Whether this was done, becauſe the Angles were more numerous than the Saxons or Juttes, and their kingdom the moſt conſiderable, or on ſome other account, is uncertain. Perhaps, Engle-land is a contraction of Engle-Saxe-land, a name derived from the two chief nations that ſettled in Great-Britain; but the Picts, Scots, and Iriſh, retaining the old names, continu'd to call them Saxenag and their country Saxeneage. As the Saxons were firſt known in Britain, the neighbouring nations, accuſtomed to that name, would not make uſe of a new one introduced by the conquerors.

It is the moſt received opinion, indeed, that Ecbert king of the Weſt-Saxons, 250 years after the time I have mention'd, firſt called Britain by the name of England; but the truth of it depends on the authority of an hiſtorian, that is far from being infallible. Others aſſure us, and with greater probability, that this change of names was brought in by the Saxons, ſoon after their arrival in Britain; that is, as may reaſonably be conjectured, about the time of Crida's ſettlement in the iſland; but how can this account agree with the reign of Ecbert, which did not commence till the year 800?

Kings of Bernicia. G. Malm.

After Ida's death and the diviſion of Northumberland, Adda, Ida's eldeſt ſon, king of Bernicia, dying, in 563, four kings, all ſons or brothers to Ida, reigned ſucceſſively to 586, when Athelric, Ida's youngeſt brother, aſcended the throne.

Sledda king of Eſſex.

In the year 587, Erchenwin, king of Eſſex, died, after a reign of 60 years, and was ſucceeded by Sledda his ſon.

Thus, have I related the moſt material events that happen'd in Great-Britain, from the arrival of the Saxons to their eſtabliſhment, after a war of 130 years. We have ſeen how the Britons, notwithſtanding their reſolute ſtruggles for liberty, were obliged, at laſt, to ſurrender the whole iſland to the very nation they call'd in to their aſſiſtance. The following book will ſhew us, what was tranſacted, during the heptarchy. The Saxons, Juttes, and Angles, who ſubdued Britain, as they eſteemed themſelves to be all of the ſame nation, as they had done in Germany, eſtabliſh'd a form of government, very nearly reſembling that they liv'd under in their own country. They had their Witten-a-Gemot or aſſembly of wiſe-men, for managing the affairs relating to the ſeven kingdoms; and they choſe one out of the ſeven kings to have the command of their armies, who, tho' he was ſtil'd monarch, ſeems to me to have been ſomewhat like to a ſtadtholder in Holland. There was, however, ſome difference between the Saxon government in Britain and that in Germany; for, in the latter place, the general aſſembly was inveſted with the ſupreme power, whereas in Britain each king was ſovereign in his own dominions. In a word, this form of government reſembled that of the united provinces, each of which, conſider'd abſtractly, is ſovereign and independent, tho' all of them, as a body, are ſubject to the decrees of the general aſſembly of the ſtates, to which they give their conſent by their deputies.

The cauſe of the Britons ſubjection.

If we enquire into the cauſes of this grand revolution, the entire ſubjection of the Britons

* Armorica, i. e. maritime, on account of its ſituation, is ſaid to have been called Bretagne from theſe Britons.

to the Saxons, we muſt, in the firſt place, aſcribe it to the juſt judgment of God, who puniſh'd them for their enormous crimes, from which neither the people, kings, nor clergy were free, as their own hiſtorians acknowledge. But if we look after ſecond cauſes, as the Divine Being generally employs natural means in the execution of his deſigns, we ſhall find their own diviſions, their want of courage, occaſion'd by their long ſubjection to the Romans, and their being without a general that was able to conduct them and revive their drooping ſpirits, concurr'd in introducing this fatal calamity. How bravely did the Britons behave under Ambroſius and the great Arthur; and yet what a poor defence did they make againſt the Picts and Scots? The hiſtories of all nations demonſtrate the influence the good or bad qualities of princes have over their ſubjects; and we ſhall learn, from the ſequel, that civil wars were as pernicious to the Anglo-Saxons as to the Britons.

The ſtate of the church, from the arrival of the Saxons, to the retreat of the Britons into Wales.

The eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of the Britiſh church very little known.

AN accurate account of the eccleſiaſtical affairs of Britain, during a war which continued 130 years, is not to be expected. The clergy, the only writers in thoſe days, were too much engaged in other buſineſs, to have leiſure for penning hiſtories; and, had they an opportunity for it, their writings could not eaſily, as things ſtood, have been tranſmitted to poſterity. We muſt, then, be contented with the relation of a few traditionary events, without any order or connexion.

Several ſchools erected.

Before the arrival of the Saxons, Germanus biſhop of Auxerre, coming twice into Britain, on account of the pelagian hereſy, as hath been mention'd, found that the ignorance of the clergy was, in a great meaſure, the cauſe of their corruption; and he, therefore, founded publick ſchools, for the education of the Britiſh youth, eſpecially ſuch as were deſign'd for holy orders. Dubricius and Iltut taught the moſt famous of theſe ſchools. Dubricius, biſhop of Landaff, afterwards archbiſhop of Caerleon and metropolitan of all Cambria, had two ſchools, one at Henſland, which he taught himſelf, and another at Mockroſt; and Iltut kept his at Llan-tayl, that is, the church of Iltut. There was alſo at Bangor in Wales a noted monaſtery, where youth were inſtructed. Some are of opinion alſo, that Germanus introduced the Gauliſh rites and ceremonies into the publick ſervice of the Britiſh church. This is the ſubſtance of what can be related concerning the Britiſh church, whilſt the Saxons were employ'd in their conqueſts; I can only add a few particulars concerning ſome eccleſiaſticks, celebrated for their piety, who, at that time, flouriſh'd in the iſland, ſo concluding my account of the church of Britain, till, by the converſion of the Saxons, I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of the church of England.

Schools of Dubricius and Iltut.

St. Patrick.

Patrick was one of the moſt famous, for converting the Iriſh, which is generally attributed to him, tho' Anatolius and Palladius preach'd in Ireland before him. In all likelihood, he made the greateſt progreſs; and, therefore, the Iriſh have always had the profoundeſt veneration for him, and do ſtill reverence him, as their apoſtle and protector. There were three ſo called; Patrick the elder, who died in 449, and is taken notice of in the chronicle of Glaſſenbury monaſtery; Patrick the great, who converted the Iriſh, and died in 493, after he had govern'd the church of Ireland 60 years; Patrick the younger, his nephew, who ſurvived him ſome years.

Dubricius.

Dubricius, archbiſhop of Caerleon, was remarkable for his piety, learning, the ſchools he erected, and alſo for the ſynod he held, at Breva in Cardiganſhire, againſt the pelagians.

St. David.

David, ſon to a Britiſh prince and ſucceſſor to Dubricius, transferr'd the archiepiſcopal ſeat from Caerleon to Menevia, after him called St. David's. He was illuſtrious for his auſtere life, and his ſynod at Vittoria, which ratify'd the canons of Breva. It is ſaid that he wrought many miracles, and particularly, that he gave the virtues to the Bath-waters they retain to this day. He is reported to have lived 146 years.

Samſon elder and younger.

Samſon the elder was invited over from Armorica, and made archbiſhop of York by Ambroſius. Samſon the younger, of royal blood, was an archbiſhop, that had a power to perform this office wherever he came, without a particular ſee; and, the Saxon wars forcing him to return home, he was made archbiſhop of Dol. It is ſaid, that he carried away with him ſeveral memoirs, that would have given great light to the eccleſiaſtical affairs of Britain, had they been carefully preſerved.

Cadoc.

Cadoc, abbot of Landcaervern, ſpent a very conſiderable income, in maintaining 300 prieſts; and he lived to the year 570.

Patern.

Patern, of a noble family in Armorica, having ſtudied 20 years in Ireland, ſettled in Cambria, where he was altogether employ'd in promoting peace among the ſeveral princes. He, for the moſt part, reſided at Cardigan, where may ſtill be ſeen Llan-Badarnvawr, that is, the church of great St. Patern, which was, for ſome time, a biſhop's ſeat; he died in Armorica, where he was ſo diſtinguiſhed for his piety, that no leſs than three feſtival-days were conſecrated to his memory.

Petrock,

Petrock. Petrock, born in Cornwall, was eminent for his holy life, and after him Petrock-ſtow or Padſtow, in the ſame county, was ſo named.

Kentigern. Kentigern, ſon to a princeſs of the Picts, was abbot of Glaſcow, from whence he went into Wales; and, founding a monaſtery there, he returned home. He is much celebrated for his auſterities, particularly his rigid abſtinence from fleſh.

Aſaph. Aſaph, Kentigern's diſciple, wrote the life of his maſter, who made him abbot of the monaſtery he erected in Wales; he died in 590, and from him the city of St. Aſaph received its name.

Columba. Columba, of a noble Iriſh family, founded a monaſtery in Ireland, called Dearmach, or the field of oaks, becauſe ſituated in a foreſt. Some time after, he came into Britain, to preach among the Highland-Picts, whom he converted to chriſtianity, with their king Brydius, who gave him the little iſland of Jona or Hy, ſince named Colchil, where he founded a very famous monaſtery. The Scotch churches, both in Ireland and Great-Britain, were, for many years, ſupplied, by theſe two monaſteries, with biſhops and prieſts. It is remarkable, that, purſuant to Columba's inſtitution, the abbot of Jona retained a juriſdiction, not only over the ſeveral monaſteries which ſprung from that, but alſo over the monks that went off to be prieſts or biſhops. Bede gives this reaſon for it, that Columba the founder was no more than a prieſt; but it might be added, that the monks, who had vowed obedience to the abbot of Jona, tho' advanced to the epiſcopal dignity, believed their former vow to be indiſpenſably obliging. The defenders of the eccleſiaſtical hierarchy are ſomewhat perplexed by this inſtance; yet they endeavour to evade it, by alledging that it was an ill cuſtom that prevailed in that country, contrary to the general practice of the church in all other places.

Gildas. Gildas of Badon or Bath was Iltut's ſcholar, and a monk of Bangor monaſtery. He was born in the year of the battle of Badon, according to Uſher in 520; but, in my opinion, founded upon reaſons too tedious to be inſerted here, in 511. Gildas wrote a treatiſe de excidio Britanniæ, or concerning the deſtruction of Britain, wherein he freely cenſures the Britiſh princes in his time, i. e. thoſe who, upon Arthur's death, divided the country into ſeveral petty ſtates; and we are indebted to him for the knowledge of what was tranſacted among the Britons, about the time he wrote, in 564. There is another hiſtory, or rather romance, under Gildas's name, who is by ſome called Albanian and ſuppoſed to be a different perſon; but Stillingfleet affirms, both theſe works were penn'd by the ſame author, and that there was no other Gildas but he of Badon. Orig. Brit.

Columbanus. Columbanus an Iriſhman, diſciple to Congal, abbot of Bangor in Ireland, ſpent a conſiderable part of his life in Britain; and, from thence paſſing into Burgundy, he founded the abby of Luxeul, of which he was the firſt abbot. Twenty years after, Thierri king of Auſtraſia and likewiſe of Burgundy, baniſh'd him, for too boldly cenſuring his conduct, and forced him to take ſanctuary in the court of Agilulph king of the Lombards. At length, he founded the monaſtery of Bobio near Naples, where he died. Fauchet Antiq. Gaul.

Theſe were the moſt famous eccleſiaſticks in the Britiſh church, from the coming of the Saxons to the retreat of the Britons into Wales. It is obvious, we have an account only of thoſe that flouriſhed in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales; for, as for the other parts of Britain, we have not ſo much as the names of the biſhops, except Theon and Thadiock, archbiſhops of London and York, who were obliged alſo, at laſt, to fly into Wales. It is extremely probable, that all the monuments of the Britiſh church were deſtroyed by the Saxons, wherever they became maſters, that is, in all places except Wales. Theſe cruel idolaters, as well out of duty as wantonneſs, trampled upon every thing relating to chriſtianity, and treated even the chriſtians themſelves with the utmoſt barbarity. "From the eaſt to the weſt, ſays Gildas, "das, nothing was to be ſeen but churches "burnt and deſtroyed to their very founda- "tions. The inhabitants were cut off by the "ſword, and buried under the ruins of their "own houſes; and the altars were daily pro- "faned by the blood of the Britons ſlain "thereon." Bede, who was himſelf a Saxon, tells us, that "By the Saxons a fire was "lighted up, which executed the juſt ven- "geance of God againſt the wicked Britons, "as he had formerly burnt Jeruſalem by the "Chaldeans. Britain was ſo ravaged by the "conquerors, or rather by the hand of the "Almighty, that there ſeemed to be a con- "tinued flame from ſea to ſea, which con- "ſumed the cities, and covered the ſurface "of the whole iſland. Publick and private "buildings fell in one common ruin; the "prieſts were murdered on the very altars; "and the biſhop and his flock periſh'd, with- "out any diſtinction, no one daring to give "their ſcatter'd corpſe an honourable bu- "rial." Gildas. Bede.

The Britons, who eſcaped the fury of their enemies, for want of proviſions in the woods and mountains to which they retreated, were forced, at laſt, to ſubmit to the Saxons, being glad to purchaſe their lives with the loſs of their liberty. Some retired into foreign parts; and they, who out of love to their native country, remained in the iſland, and, dreading ſlavery, could not think of ſurrendering themſelves up to the Saxons, dragged on a miſerable life, expoſed unto inexpreſſible wants, and perplex'd with continual fears.

THE

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK III.

The ſtate of Great-Britain, after the conqueſt of the Saxons. Of the heptarchy in general. The hiſtory of each of the ſeven kingdoms in particular; with a full account how chriſtianity was eſtabliſhed at ſeveral times, in each of thoſe kingdoms, and other remarkable affairs relating to the riſing church.

THE revolution, made by the Anglo-Saxons, introduced a new face of things in Great-Britain; they changed the very names of the towns and provinces, and divided the country in a new manner. It will be convenient, then, before we proceed, to take a ſhort view of the ſtate of the whole iſland.

The ſtate of Great-Britain.

Great-Britain, canton'd out into ſeveral kingdoms, was in the poſſeſſion of four different nations, viz. the Britons or Welch, the Scots, the Picts, and the Anglo-Saxons. Under the Britons were included all thoſe foreigners, whether Romans or others, ſettled in the iſland, ever ſince the reign of Claudius. As Britain was ſubject to the Romans 400 years, the poſterity of theſe foreigners was, doubtleſs, very numerous, as the Romans ſent vaſt numbers, either of veterans or people from their other conqueſts, to inhabit Britain. Theſe colonies were diſtinguiſh'd from the natives, before the Romans abandon'd the iſland; but, when they join'd the Britons againſt the Scots and Picts, and afterwards againſt the Saxons, they were incorporated with them, and became one people, being never, after that time, diſtinguiſhed by hiſtorians. The Vandals, ſettled about Cambridge, were alſo eſteemed as Britons, and involved in the ſame common ruin. After the eſtabliſhment of the heptarchy, the Britons had only Cambria and the weſtern parts of Danmonium. The firſt of theſe, the antient name of all Britain, was changed by the Saxons into Wales. As for Danmonium, it was, in all likelihood, ſo named by the Romans, the Britains calling it Kernaw from Kern or horns, on account of the many promontories that ſhoot out into the ſea like horns. The Saxons ſtiled it Cornwall, i. e. the country of Kernaw, inhabited by Gauls or Britons, affecting to eraſe all footſteps of the Romans, ſince they even called a people Gauls, whom the Romans had named Britons, for 400 years together. The natives kept their ground in that corner of the iſland, as well as in Wales, for a long time, till, at laſt, they were entirely ſubdued, as the ſequel will inform us.

The northern parts of Great-Britain were poſſeſſed by the Picts and Scots, being ſeparated from the Engliſh by the rivers Esk and Tweed and the mountains between them. The Picts were on the eaſt ſide, and the Scots on the weſt, the mountain of Grantzbaine being their common boundary, from the mouth of the Nid to the lake of Lomond. Aberneth, in the county of Strathern, was the capital of the Picts, from whence the biſhop's ſeat was removed to St. Andrews. Edinburgh belonged alſo to the Picts; and what the Saxons poſſeſs'd, beyond Severus's wall, was taken from them. The territories of the Scots lay towards the north and weſt, as far as the ſea that bounds Britain on theſe two ſides.

The Saxons, Angles, and Juttes, all three compriſed under the name of Engliſh, had ſubdued all the ſouthern parts of Britain, from the channel to Severus's wall, and ſomewhat farther, towards the eaſt. This was divided into ſeven kingdoms, of which the Saxons and Juttes had four, viz. Kent, Eſſex, Suſſex, and Weſſex; the Angles alone had two,

Mercia

Mercia and East-Anglia; but in Northumberland they were mix'd with the descendents of the Saxons, that first took possession of the country beyond the Humber, under Octa and Ebusa.

In relating the history of these seven kingdoms, I shall, first, give some account of the heptarchy in general; secondly, I shall particularly describe the state of each of these seven kingdoms; and, lastly, I shall exhibit, in synchronical tables, the most remarkable events that happen'd in each of them, that I may present to the reader, in one view, the history of all the seven kingdoms.

Of the heptarchy in general.

By the heptarchy is meant the government of the seven kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons, as united into one body or state. The bond of this union was their captain-general, or, if you please, their monarch, who was elected by the joint consent of the seven kingdoms, and invested with certain prerogatives, the nature or number of which are not thoroughly known.

Besides a monarch, as the center of the heptarchy, they had also an assembly-general, composed of the principal members of the seven kingdoms or their deputies, which they called the Wittenagemot. Each kingdom had likewise its convention or parliament, as the several states have in the united provinces of the Low-Countries; and, altho' each of them was sovereign and independent, yet were they all subject to the determinations of the assembly-general.

But, as times and circumstances often occasion alterations in the best constitutions, the ambition or restlesness of their kings soon dissolv'd that union the very form of their government supposed. The most powerful very often took the advantage of the weakness of the others, to aggrandize themselves; whence proceeded the wars among them, which ended in the subversion of the heptarchy.

Another cause of their wars was the ambition of their monarchs, who, not satisfied with the privileges of that dignity, were desirous of enlarging them. Had we an exact account of the prerogatives of the monarch, transmitted to us by the historians, we might have been able to form some judgment on this head; but as they have given us a bare relation of facts, only marking the time and success of those wars, without informing us about the reasons and motives of them, the history is render'd imperfect, and incapable of being carried on so regularly, as one could have wish'd. All that we can gather from the annals is, that the Anglo-Saxon kings were naturally very restless and troublesome; but this character is not peculiar to them, since, in succeeding ages, there has been no greater union among the princes of Europe.

Besides these wars, to which the annalists have chiefly confin'd themselves, there were, doubtless, many other events, that would have given life and spirit to their histories; but, as they were all monks, they regarded nothing but the foundations of monasteries, and the privileges granted to the clergy. In doing this, they were naturally led to give some account of the heptarchy, in order to make out their rights; but, as this was their only view, they have taken notice of little else besides the succession of the kings in their respective kingdoms, with some of their principal actions. However, as this is properly all the assistance we have towards an history of the heptarchy, which chiefly relates to religious affairs, it will be requisite to say somewhat concerning it.

When the Saxons arrived in England, they were all pagans; and their conversion began in 597, with the kingdom of Kent, by Austin a benedictin monk, and ended in 653, with the kingdom of Mercia, by the preaching of certain missionaries from Northumberland. During these 56 years employ'd in propagating christianity, it fell out that, in the kingdoms of Essex, Northumberland, and East-Anglia, it was entirely extirpated, after its first establishment; so that some of the kingdoms remained in paganism, whilst others embraced the christian faith, neither were all of the same kingdom converted at once.

Austin preached to the Saxons in Kent, Mellitus to the East-Saxons, Paulinus to the Northumbrians, Birinus to the West-Saxons, Wilfrid to the South-Saxons, Felix to the East-Angles, and the northern Monks to the Mercians. These had not all the same success in their ministry; yet, in about 60 years after Austin's arrival, all England was converted. But of this I shall have occasion to say more hereafter.

One remark, however, I shall make, viz. that the monks, in converting the Anglo-Saxons, took special care to inspire them with a veneration for monasteries and a monastick life. Such an influence had they over the princes and grandees, in this particular, that the number of monasteries, that were founded in England, from the conversion of the English to the dissolution of the heptarchy, i. e. in 200 years, and the immense riches the monks acquired in that time, are matter of astonishment. Religion seem'd entirely to consist in enriching the monks, and absolute perfection in embracing a monastick life. Even kings and queens renounced their worldly grandeur, to pass their days in a monastery, either to expiate their enormous crimes, or from a belief that it was the nearest way to salvation. The monks took all imaginable pains to keep alive the fervour of this sort of devotion, loading with panegyricks all that were so piously dispos'd, and sainting them, when they died. Hence it is, that we have so many male and female saints in the ecclesiastical history of England, and, among the rest, several kings, who of all others, were best able to purchase a saintship this way.

I now proceed to give a particular account of each of the seven kingdoms, wherein I shall endeavour, as much as possible, to avoid the dryness usually attending the bare relation of facts.

The Hiſtory of NORTHUMBERLAND.

Bounds of Northumberland.

THE kingdom of Northumberland, as its name imports, lay on the north of the Humber, being bounded to the ſouth by that river, to the weſt by the Iriſh ſea, to the north by the country of the Picts and Scots, and to the eaſt by the German ocean; it contained Lancaſhire, Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, Northumberland, York, and Durham. The chief cities were York, Dunelm, now Durham, Carliſle called by the Romans Luguballia, Hexham or Hagulſtadt, and Lancaſter. The greateſt length of this kingdom was 160 miles, and its greateſt breadth 60.

IDA. 547.

Ida, the firſt king, began his reign in 547, and died in 559. After his death, Northumberland was divided into two kingdoms. Adda, Ida's ſon, was king of Bernicia or the northern part, reaching from Severus's wall to the mouth of the Tweed; and Alla was king of Deira or the ſouthern part. Glappa ſucceeded Adda in 566, Fridulph him in 572, Theodorick him in 579, and Athelrick him in 586.

ADDA of Bernicia. ALLA of Deira.

We know nothing of thoſe kings, but the time of their death. Athelrick being ſuperannuated, when he came to the crown, Adelfrid his ſon governed the kingdom in his name, tho' without the title of king; and, having eſpouſed Acca, daughter to Alla king of Deira, who died in 588, he got poſſeſſion of that kingdom, tho' Alla left behind him a ſon about three years old, called Edwin.

ADELFRID 590. 613. Bede, l. 2. c. 2.

Adelfrid *, ſucceeding his father in 590, became very formidable to his neighbours, eſpecially to the Welch, as well as to the Scots and Picts; but of theſe wars we have only the following remarkable particular. Adelfrid preparing to beſiege Cheſter, then poſſeſſed by the Welch, they were reſolved to give him battle; and, to procure the divine bleſſing on their arms, 1250 monks, from Bangor monaſtery, were ordered to pray near the field of battle; during the whole time of the engagement. Adelfrid meeting thoſe monks, who made too much haſte to the place appointed, put them all to the ſword; and this maſſacre was followed with a ſignal victory over the Welch. Upon this, Adelfrid paſſing into Wales, entirely demoliſhed the monaſtery of Bangor, which ſtill contained above 1000 monks; for Bede aſſures us, they were divided into ſeven claſſes, each of which conſiſted of above 300. Two of the gates of this immenſe ſtructure were more than a mile diſtant; and as this monaſtery was very antient and famous, in all likelihood, the monks, forced out of Britain by the Saxons, had taken ſanctuary there.

Whilſt Adelfrid was purſuing his conqueſts, Edwin, ſon to Alla king of Deira, wandered up and down without any fixed place of reſidence, no one daring to eſpouſe his cauſe, for fear of Adelfrid. At length, Redowald, king of the Eaſt-Angles, taking pity on this diſtreſſed orphan, allowed him a retreat at his court. Edwin was then about 30 years of age, handſome and well-made, and maſter of ſuch agreeable qualities as ſoon attracted the love and eſteem both of Redowald and his queen. Scarce had he taſted the ſweets of this retreat, when Adelfrid ſent ambaſſadors to Redowald, to deſire him either to deliver up Edwin or take away his life, and, on his refuſal, to declare war againſt him. Redowald, being thus ſurprized, could not immediately reſolve how to act. As his forces were inferior to Adelfrid's, he dreaded a war. On the contrary, honour, honeſty, the laws of hoſpitality, and Edwin's innocence, all concurred to plead againſt his giving him up, as a ſacrifice, to an implacable enemy; beſides, he thought it mean and ignoble to ſubmit to the orders of one that had no right to command him. Thoſe different conſiderations, for a long time, kept him in ſuſpence, whether he ſhould act the generous part, or purſue his own intereſt. Bede, l. 2. c. 12.

In the mean time, Edwin, being inform'd of this by the queen, was in great perplexity of mind. For 27 years, he had been a wanderer, without any fixed abode but what the king of Eaſt-Anglia had generouſly granted him, which now was likely to prove fatal to him. If Redowald ſurrendered him, he foreſaw that his ruin was unavoidable; but his irreſolution, on the other hand, led him to hope for ſome lucky turn in his favour. He conſidered that, if Redowald ſhould determine to protect him, the war, that would certainly follow, might give him an opportunity of recovering his father's dominions; beſides, he was not ſure of avoiding by flight the danger that threaten'd him. He was reſolved, therefore, to depend upon Redowald's honour, who was naturally of a generous diſpoſition; but this prince, at length, to prevent a deſtructive war, came to a reſolution to ſacrifice Edwin, for the benefit of the publick. Edwin, being informed of Redowald's deſign by the queen, thought himſelf now in a deſperate condition, knowing that the king had put it out of his power to ſave himſelf by flight.

Nothing has been, hitherto, ſaid of Edwin but what is natural; but Bede, in whoſe days miracles were ſo much in vogue, that every remarkable occurrence was attended with

* Adel, Athel, Ethel, i. e. famous or noble; Fred, Frid, Freth, Frith, i. e. peace; Adelfrid or Ethelfrid, i. e. famous for peace; Athelrick, nobly ſtrong, Rick ſignifying ſtrong or powerful.

ſome

ſome prodigy or apparition, in his large account of this prince's adventures, was willing to grace his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory with a miraculous event, which, as he tells us, he received from ſome old men in his time. Moreover, as this author was himſelf a Saxon, and born in Northumberland, a miracle, wrought in favour of the firſt chriſtian king of that kingdom, muſt, of courſe, redound to the honour of his country. If the hiſtorians had not copied it from him, I ſhould have taken no more notice of it, than of ſeveral others in his works, that are no better atteſted; leaving it, therefore, to the reader to believe as he pleaſes, I ſhall preſent him with the hiſtory of Edwin, as related by Bede.

Edwin, having been inform'd by the queen of the king's final reſolution, walk'd about the palace-garden in the night-time, to conſider of his affairs. Being in a penſive mood, and even buried in thought, he ſaw a man in an extraordinary garb, approaching towards him, who asked, what was the occaſion of his being ſo diſturbed, when all the world was aſleep? The prince told him, he was amazed to find an entire ſtranger to him ſo inquiſitive about his affairs. The ſtranger made him the following anſwer: "Think "not that I am unacquainted with the cauſe "of your diſquiet; I am privy to all that "has befel you to this very hour, and now "come to give you comfort under your mis-"fortunes. What return will you make to "him that ſhall aſſure you of your becoming "the moſt powerful and glorious king, that "ever ſway'd a ſceptre in England? When "this happens, reply'd Edwin, I will gene-"rouſly reward all that ſhall have done me "any ſervice, as well as the perſon who pre-"dicts my good fortune. The ſtranger an-"ſwered, He that is able and willing to ad-"vance you to the throne, requires nothing "from you, but the belief of his doctrine "and obedience to his precepts. Edwin re-"ply'd, I ſhould be a wretch, with a witneſs, "to refuſe ſubmiſſion to ſuch a ſincere friend." The ſtranger, then, laying his hand on the prince's head, ſaid; "Reflect attentively on "what I am now doing; and, when the like "ſhall happen to you, remember to perform "your promiſe immediately." Upon this, the ſtranger diſappear'd in an extraordinary manner, to convince Edwin, that there was ſomething ſupernatural in the adventure *.

Edwin's ſurprize was increaſed by a meſſage from the queen, giving him to underſtand, that Redowald had alter'd his purpoſe; for ſhe had ſo pathetically repreſented to him the horror of the action he had reſolved to commit, that he choſe to run all riſques, rather than act ſo diſhonourable a part. The king, accordingly, told the ambaſſadors, that he would not deliver up Edwin, much leſs take away the life of an innocent prince, that had retreated to his palace for protection. As he expected that a bloody war would enſue this anſwer, he determin'd to begin firſt, by attacking Adelfrid in Northumberland, before he could muſter his forces together. Redowald levied an army with all expedition, and divided it into three bodies, that were to march at ſome diſtance from each other. Reyner, his eldeſt ſon, commanded the firſt, who had orders to go before, to ſecure a certain paſs; whilſt he follow'd himſelf, at the head of the ſecond, leaving Edwin to bring up the rear. Reyner, being deſirous of glory, by ſpeedy marches, contrary to his orders, hoped to ſurpriſe Adelfrid, before he was prepared to receive him. Adelfrid, indeed, had not aſſembled all his forces; but, finding that Reyner was too far advanced, he fell upon him, before it was in the power of Redowald to join him. As Reyner's raſhneſs entirely proceeded from his exceſs of courage, he defended himſelf with great reſolution and bravery; but, being too ventureſome, was ſlain, and his army routed.

Redowald, enraged at this, joining Edwin, march'd, with all ſpeed, to attack the enemy, who had not time to retreat; but, adelfrid, who would have been glad of ſuch an opportunity, inſtead of retiring, fiercely advanced towards the Eaſt-Angles, and both armies ſoon came to an engagement. Adelfrid performed wonders, to ſecure his reputation; and, finding he was over-power'd by numbers, choſe rather to die, than ſurvive the diſgrace of a defeat. With this view, he threw himſelf among the thickeſt of his enemies, and, being cover'd over with wounds, bravely fell a ſacrifice; the Northumbrians, upon this, laid down their arms, and betook themſelves to flight.

After this ſignal victory, to which Edwin had not a little contributed, Redowald enter'd into Northumberland, without any reſiſtance. Anfrid, Oſwald, and Oſwy, Adelfrid's three ſons, fled into Scotland; and the Northumbrians, thus abandon'd, ſubmitted to Redowald. This generous prince did neither puniſh them for the inſolence of their king, nor ſeize on their kingdom; but, from a peculiar greatneſs of ſoul, he not only gave to Edwin the kingdom of Deira, to which he had ſome pretenſions, but alſo that of Bernicia, contenting himſelf with the glory of ſo generous an action; and, for this, and on the account of his late victory, he was elected monarch, that dignity being then vacant.

Edwin † by a ſurprizing and unexpected turn of affairs, wherein the hand of heaven appear'd, now found himſelf at the head of a powerful kingdom, God, as the ſequel ſhews, raiſing him up, to propagate chriſtianity in Northumberland, as Ethelbert had already done in Kent.

Redowald dying in 624, Edwin put up for the monarchy; and, indeed, none of the princes were in a condition to diſpute this point with him, except Cinigiſil and Quicelm,

* Ut ferunt, repente diſparuit.

† From Ed or Ead, i. e. happy, bleſſed; and Win or Wine, i. e. war, or beloved.

joint-

joint-kings of the Weſt-Saxons. Quicelm, eſpecially, oppoſed him with all his might; and he thereby drew upon himſelf a war, which endangered the loſs of his dominions, being obliged humbly to ſue for peace. Upon this, Edwin was choſen monarch; and the very Welch, leſt Edwin ſhould invade them, as he had threaten'd, conſented to pay him tribute.

674. Edwin enlarged the prerogatives of the monarchy, more than any of his predeceſſors, aſſerting an abſolute power over the other kings. Ebald, king of Kent, was his chief favourite, [illegible]ſe ſiſter Ethelburga, a princeſs of great merit, he deſigned to eſpouſe. As he was monarch, he imagined that his propoſal would be joyfully received; but Ethelburga, being a zealous chriſtian, abhorred the thoughts of marrying an idolatrous prince, tho' never ſo much to her advantage. Her brother too refuſed to conſent to the match, unleſs ſhe had free liberty publickly to profeſs her religion. The deſire of poſſeſſing ſo accompliſh'd a perſon prevailed on the monarch to comply with all their demands; and Ethelburga conſented, as ſhe was led to hope ſhe ſhould have it in her power to convert her ſpouſe and his ſubjects, as Bertha her mother had done before her in Kent. This affair being ſettled, Ethelburga ſet out for Northumberland, accompanied with ſome eccleſiaſticks, particularly Paulinus, conſecrated a biſhop by Juſtus archbiſhop of York, who brought over Edwin and the Northumbrians to the chriſtian religion, as will be particularly ſhewn in the ſtate of the church.

Edwin, for many years, enjoyed a profound tranquillity, being both feared and eſteemed by all the other kings; and, in thoſe peaceable times, he not only maintained his ſovereignty over the other princes, but enacted wholeſome laws, which he cauſed to be ſtrictly obeyed. Hiſtorians obſerve, that he adminiſter'd juſtice with ſuch impartiality and rigour, that, in his reign, a child might have travelled over the whole kingdom with a purſe of gold in his hand, without the leaſt danger of robbing; but his chief care was, after his converſion, to propagate chriſtianity, in places where it was not known, and to replant it, where it had been aboliſhed. At his inſtigation, if not by his abſolute order, Erpwald, king of the Eaſt-Angles, permitted that the goſpel ſhould be preached a-new in his dominions; and, at length, he became a chriſtian himſelf. Edwin, who could not bear the leaſt reſiſtance to his will, aſſumed an authority over the other kings, of which he was very jealous; for, by an enſign carried before him, in the form of a globe *, as a ſymbol of the the union of the heptarchy in his own perſon, he convinced them, that he would be regarded not only as their head, but as their maſter.

633. Bede, l. 2. c. 2. Penda, king of Mercia, was the moſt impatient under this yoke; and, not daring to attempt it alone, long'd for a favourable opportunity to ſhake it off. At laſt, finding that Cadwallo, king of Wales, could not think of paying tribute to a foreign prince, he entered into a confederacy with him againſt the king of Northumberland. As their preparations were publick, Edwin, reſolving to ſurpriſe them, advanced as far as Heathfield, where they came to an engagement. The battle, on both ſides, was fought with deſperate fury, the Mercians and Welch confiding in their numbers, and the Northumbrians in the courage and conduct of their king. Edwin, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of the enemy's forces, kept the fight in an equal balance, till an unhappy accident took from him his uſual preſence of mind, tho' at this juncture, more than ever neceſſary. Offrid, his eldeſt ſon, who bravely aſſiſted him, being ſlain at his feet, ſo highly enraged him, that he flew among the thickeſt of his enemies, not regarding whether he was followed by his ſoldiers; he was immediately ſtabb'd in many parts of his body, and with his life loſt the victory.

Thus fell Edwin, in the 48th year of his age, the 16th of his reign, and the 9th of his monarchy. By his firſt wife, daughter to Cearlus king of Mercia, he had two ſons Offrid and Effrid; and by his ſecond, Ethelburga of Kent, he had two ſons and two daughters, who all died in their infancy, except Anfleda, wife to Oſwy king of Northumberland. Edwin reſided at Derventø, now Auldby in Yorkſhire.

Interregnum. Bede, l. 2. c. 20. The two kings, after their victory, enter'd into Northumberland, making horrible devaſtations, and treating the inhabitants with the utmoſt inhumanity. The Welch too, tho' they were chriſtians, carried their barbarity to ſuch a height, that Effrid, Edwin's ſon, ſurrender'd himſelf to Penda, who treated him, at firſt, with civility, but afterwards ordered him to be ſlain in his preſence. Ethelburga and Paulinus fled to the king of Kent, who beſtowed his ſiſter ſome lands for a monaſtery, in which ſhe continued to her death; and Paulinus was made biſhop of Rocheſter. Thorn. Hiſt. Abb. Canterb. Cam. in Kent.

The Northumbrians, on account of their defeat and the fury of the two kings, could not, for a long time, recover themſelves; and, at laſt, they eſteemed it more glorious to die bravely, with their ſwords in their hands, than periſh by the cruelty of theſe tyrants. But, when they came to elect a king, the Bernicians and Deirans could not agree in their choice, thoſe of Deira chooſing Oſrick, a relation of Edwin's, and the Bernicians, Anfrid. This laſt, upon the death of Adelfrid his father, retir'd into Scotland with Oſwald and Oſwy his brothers, where they were all three baptized into the chriſtian faith.

633. Oſrick in Deira. Anfrid in Bernicia. These two kings were no ſooner on the throne, than they turn'd apoſtates to chriſtianity; but their puniſhment from God was as ſudden as their revolt from him, being both ſlain in the firſt year of their reigns. Oſrick raſhly beſieging Cadwallo in York, with an army of undiſciplin'd troops, the

* In Latin Tuffa; Lipſius or Vegetius mentions it.

Welch

Welch king ſallied out and attack'd him ſo briſkly, that he routed his army, and left him dead on the ſpot. After this, Cadwallo march'd againſt the king of Bernicia, who was at the head of 12,000 men; and amuſing him with overtures of peace, till he had got him
634. in his reach, ſuddenly fell upon him, and made a dreadful ſlaughter of the Northumbrians, Anfrid himſelf being kill'd in the battle.

Interregnum. So many ſucceſſive loſſes were fatal to the Northumbrians; and the Welch king, being exaſperated by their late ſtruggles, deſign'd nothing leſs than the entire ruin of this miſerable nation. His cruel outrages, at laſt, alarm'd Oſwald, Anfrid's brother, who determin'd, at all hazards, to relieve the Northumbrians; and, raiſing a ſmall number of forces, he boldly oppoſed the uſurper. Tho' the king of Mercia had return'd to his own kingdom, Cadwallo, not doubting of ſucceſs, march'd againſt Oſwald, who intrenched himſelf in an advantageous place, expecting his coming; but, relying more on the divine aſſiſtance, than on his own ſtrength, he erected a croſs before the camp, and, on his knees, with his whole army, humbly implored a bleſſing on his arms. In the interim, Cadwallo advanced, full of confidence that his numbers would gain him the victory. Pleas'd with the thoughts of ſatisfying his revenge, to encourage his men, he attempted in perſon, to force their intrenchments; but, before he could accompliſh his deſign, he was ſhot thro' the body with an arrow, which put an end to his life. Upon this, his troops began to retreat, being exceedingly diſorder'd; and, the Northumbrians, ſallying out from their retrenchments, attack'd them ſo vigorouſly, that they were entirely routed. The providence of God ſo viſibly interpos'd, in favour of the Engliſh, that the field of battle was named Heaſen-field, now Haledon.

634. OSWALD. F. Wig. M. Weſt. Oſwald, upon this victory, became poſſeſſed of both the kingdoms of Northumberland; he was heir to Bernicia by Adelfrid his father, and to Deira by Acca his mother, ſiſter to Edwin. He was the moſt knowing as well as moſt religious prince of his age, having been inſtructed in the chriſtian faith, whilſt in Scotland. Such was his virtue, humility, and zeal for chriſtianity, that his ſubjects, who highly loved and eſteemed him whilſt alive, reverenced him as a ſaint, after his deceaſe. Oſwald deliver'd his country from Cadwallo's tyranny, re-united the two kingdoms of Northumberland, and was alſo monarch of the Anglo-Saxons; he was particularly induſtrious in replanting the goſpel in his dominions, from whence the late troubles had entirely baniſh'd it.

Penda, king of Mercia, who could not bear to ſee Oſwald his ſuperior, as monarch, took up arms, without declaring war, in order to ſurpriſe him. Oſwald, on the other hand, endeavour'd, with all expedition, to come upon him, before he had muſter'd his forces together. Penda took the advantage of his haſte; for, his army being the moſt numerous, he gave him battle, and obtain'd a victory, which would have been glorious, had he not ſullied it by his cruelties. The body of Oſwald, who was ſlain in the fight, being found among the dead, he barbarouſly cut in ſeveral pieces, and, fixing them on ſtakes, erected them in the field of battle, like ſo many trophies. This battle was fought at Oſweſtree *. Oſwald left a ſon behind him, called Adelwalt, afterwards king of Deira.

Penda, who acted with his uſual inhumanity, having ravaged Northumberland, beſieged Bamborough, a fortified town built by Ida; where meeting with greater oppoſition than he expected, he determin'd to reduce it to aſhes. With this view, he laid a prodigious quantity of wood under the walls, ſetting it on fire, as ſoon as the wind was favourable to his deſign; but no ſooner was the fire lighted, than the wind tack'd about, blowing the flame directly into his camp, to the great prejudice of the beſiegers. Upon this, he rais'd the ſiege, and, leaving Northumberland, carried the war into Eaſt-Anglia. Penda having thus retreated, Oſwy, Oſwald's brother, was crowned king of Bernicia; and, the ſucceeding year, Oſwin, the ſon of Oſrick ſlain by Cadwallo, was placed on the throne of Deira. Bede, l. 3. c. 16.

643. OSWY in Bernicia. Oſwy thought he was very unjuſtly deprived of part of his brother's dominions; but dreading another invaſion from Penda, he wanted an opportunity to recover his right; but, at length, finding the king of Mercia otherwiſe engaged, he aſſerted his claim to the kingdom of Deira; which obliged Oſwin to
644. take up arms, in his own defence, having OSWIN in Deira. made uſe of ſeveral means to prevent it. He was of a mild and peaceable temper, more devout than brave; and tho' he was drawn into the war, merely by neceſſity, yet he could not overcome the ſcruples it raiſed in his conſcience. He verily believed, that the ſhedding of his ſubjects blood, in his quarrel, was the greateſt of crimes; and, for this reaſon, he retir'd from his army to a certain count's houſe, whom he eſteem'd to be his beſt friend, deſigning to betake himſelf into a monaſtery; but his friend treacherouſly diſcover'd him to Oſwy, who order'd him to be cruelly murder'd, expecting to come at his kingdom with the greater facility. The people of Deira exaſperated againſt him, on the account of this inhuman action, and dreading to fall under the dominion of ſuch a tyrant, placed Adelwalt, ſon to Oſwald his brother, on the throne, who was a prince of greater valour than Oſwin his predeceſſor. In proceſs of time, Oſwy, touch'd with remorſe, built a monaſtery in the very place where Oſwin was murder'd, thinking that ſlight penance would atone for his crime.

650. 651.

Oſwy ſtill kept up his pretenſions to the crown of Deira; and Adelwalt, to put himſelf out of all danger from his uncle, enter'd Oſwy ſtill in Bernicia. 552.

* In Shropſhire.

ADELWALT in Deira.

into an alliance with the kings of Mercia and East-Anglia, Penda, tho' 70 years of age, being the author of this league. Oſwy did all he could to divert the impending ſtorm, and would even have brib'd Penda with a ſum of money, to deſiſt from his deſign; but Penda, who was an irreconcilable enemy to the Northumbrians, would not comply, having now an opportunity of gratifying his paſſion. Oſwy, in this extremity, being obliged to ſtand alone againſt this triple alliance, made a vow to found a dozen monaſteries, and devote one of his daughters to be a nun, if God would grant him the victo-
655. ry. To this vow hiſtorians attribute the ſucceſs, the Divine Being was pleaſed to vouchſafe him in this war.

Whilſt the two armies were on their march, in order to engage, Adelwalt, conſidering that he had the ſame reaſon to fear his being dethron'd by Penda as by Oſwy, was reſolv'd to ſtand neuter, during the engagement, that he might defend himſelf againſt the conqueror. Penda, being ignorant of Adelwalt's reſolution, vigorouſly attack'd the king of Bernicia, not doubting that he ſhould be ſeconded by the Deirians and East-Anglians; but, when the Mercians found that Adelwalt drew off his troops, their courage abated, and, thinking they were betray'd, began to give way. The kings of Mercia and East-Anglia try'd all poſſible means to revive the ardour of the ſoldiers; but, being both ſlain, their army was routed. This battle was fought in Yorkſhire, on the banks of the Are, and the place was afterwards named Winwidfield *.

After this victory, Oſwy marched into Mercia, and ſubdued that kingdom, tho' he enjoy'd it but three years; during which time, the monarchy, vacant ever ſince the death of his brother Oſwald, was conferr'd upon him. Penda, indeed, had the beſt pretenſions to it; but he was alſo the moſt dangerous perſon to be entruſted with it. Oſwy poſſeſs'd Mercia, by right of conqueſt, whilſt Penda's ſons were obliged to ſeek for refuge among their friends. The Mercians, however, at length, not being able to bear the proceedings of Oſwy's officers, took up arms; and, they concerted their meaſures ſo wiſely, that, whilſt Oſwy had not the leaſt apprehenſions of it, they ſuddenly forced the Northumbrians out of
WULFER. Mercia, and placed Wulfer, the ſon of Penda, on the throne.

A few years after, Adelwalt dying, without iſſue, Oſwy was crowned king of Deira; and Northumberland was, once more, united into one kingdom.

OSWY king of Bernicia only.

However, this union was not of a long continuance; for ſo great was Oſwald's affection for Alfred his natural ſon, that he made him king of Deira, againſt the liking of his ſubjects.

ALFRED king of Deira.

Oſwy, after a reign of 28 years, died in 670. In the beginning of it, he was embroil'd in wars; but, at length, he enjoy'd ſome quiet. Bede, for reaſons I ſhall take notice of in the hiſtory of the church, looks upon him to have been one of the moſt illuſtrious kings of the heptarchy, tho' the murder of Oſwin had exceedingly tarniſh'd the glory of his other actions. He had two ſons and three daughters, by Anfleda daughter to Edwin. Egfrid his ſon ſucceeded him, as king of Bernicia, and likewiſe in the monarchy of the Anglo-Saxons; and the Deirians, upon Oſwy's deceaſe, revolting againſt Alfred, and ſubmitting to Egfrid, he became king of all Northumberland. Alfred retir'd into Ireland, where he purſued his ſtudies, waiting for a proper opportunity to recover his dominions.

Egfrid, tho' young when he came to the 670.
crown, ſoon gained the reſpect and eſteem of EGFRID
his ſubjects. The Picts, who invaded his do- G. Malmſ.
minions, were often defeated, and, at laſt, l. 3. de
obliged to purchaſe a peace with part of their Pontif.
country. Wulpher king of Mercia, was inclin'd alſo to make ſome conqueſts in Northumberland; but, before the war was over, he found reaſon to reſt ſatisfied with the preſervation of his own kingdom. Egfrid, on account of theſe ſucceſſes, was advanced to the monarchy.

In the year 684, he made a deſcent upon 684.
Ireland, under the conduct of Bertfrid, whoſe Bede, l. 4.
barbarity to the Iriſh, eſpecially his not ſparing their very churches and monaſteries, render'd this expedition abortive; for the Iriſh, who were terrify'd at firſt, afterwards defended themſelves with ſo much courage and bravery, that they forced Bertfrid to return home with the remains of his army.

Egfrid, upon this diſappointment, reſolving to enlarge his bounds towards the north, invaded the Picts, who, being unexpectedly ſurprized, had recourſe to their bogs and fens, to avoid the firſt attacks of their enemies. Egfrid raſhly purſued them, and led his men into ſuch dangerous places, that they could not retreat. The Picts, who were thoroughly acquainted with the country, ſo diſtreſſed his troops, that he loſt above half his army; and, being, after all, under a neceſſity of engaging the enemy, on very unequal terms, he loſt his life, in the 40th year of his age and 14th of his reign.

Egfrid was twice married; but Adelfrida, his firſt wife, daughter to Annas king of the East-Angles, and widow to an Engliſh lord, called Thombert, is reported to have continued a virgin, though ſhe had two husbands, and, at laſt, to be ſeparated from Egfrid entirely; ſhe founded a monaſtery at Ely, and was the firſt abbeſs herſelf, being reverenc'd in England by the name of St. Auldry.

The kingdom of Northumberland was never ſo conſiderable, after Egfrid's death, as before. The Picts ſubdued part of Bernicia, which lay advantageouſly for them; and the Welch ſeized on the two provinces, that did formerly conſtitute the kingdom of Areclute, and out of them erected the kingdoms of Lennox and Cumberland, the firſt of which was recover'd from them, ſome years after.

* Now Leeds.

Egfrid

Egfrid dying without iſſue, the Northumbrians invited Alfred from Ireland, to make him king of both their kingdoms, which from that time were always united.

685. ALFRED. Bede, l. 4. The Picts and Welch having had leiſure to ſecure their conqueſts, before Alfred was ſettled on the throne, he could do no more, nor even that without difficulty, than defend the reſt of his dominions. The monarchy of the Anglo-Saxons paſſed over to the kings of Weſſex.

705. An. Sax. F. Wigor. Alfred died in 705, after a reign of 20 years, leaving Oſred his ſon to ſucceed him, at eight years of age, under the tuition of a lord, named Brithrick.

OSRED. G. Malm. l. 3. de Pont. The beginning of his reign, as it often happens to princes, in the caſe of minority, was attended with troubles; for Edulph, a lord of the country, taking the advantage of Oſred's youth, made an attempt upon the crown. As a powerful party had declared for him, Oſred and his guardian were forced to take ſanctuary in Bamborough-caſtle, where Edulph immediately beſieged them. The length of the ſiege having given Brithrick an opportunity to look about him, and his friends a fit occaſion for riſing, in the behalf of their lawful ſovereign, Edulph was obliged to raiſe the ſiege in a hurry; and Brithrick ſallying out in purſuit of the uſurper, took him priſoner, ordering him to be beheaded, about two months after his revolt.

Bede l. 5. F. Wigor.

Oſred was no ſooner his own maſter, than he fell into a wicked and lewd courſe of life; and, particularly, he had very little veneration for the monks, which, in thoſe days, was accounted the height of impiety. It is ſaid, that he debauched the nuns, without ſcruple, and even committed rapes upon them, when he could not prevail by other means. Tho' the truth of this accuſation is uncertain, yet it proved of very dangerous conſequence; for ever ſince Alfred, Oſwy's natural ſon, came to the crown, all the baſtards of the kings, or their deſcendents, fancied they had the ſame pretenſions, which was the cauſe of many troubles in the kingdom. Kenred and Oſrick, the poſterity of Ogga natural ſon to Ida, formed a party againſt Oſrick, which was very warmly abetted by the regular and ſecular clergy; it became, at laſt, ſo powerful, as to be in a condition to give Oſred battle, wherein he was ſlain, in the 19th year of his age and 11th of his reign.

716. G. Malm. l. 1. c. 3.

716. KENRED. Kenred, the chief author of the revolt, ſucceeded him, and died in the ſecond year of his reign.

OSRICK. Oſrick was his ſucceſſor, who reigned 11 years, without doing any thing remarkable.

CEOLWULF. 730. Ceolwulf, his relation, to whom Oſrick left the crown, turn'd monk in the 7th or 8th year of his reign, paſſing the remainder of his days in the monaſtery of Lindisfarne.

750. EDBERT. G. Malm. l. 1. c. 3. Edbert, his ſucceſſor, was invaded by the Picts, immediately after his coronation. As this obliged him to march his army towards the north, the king of Mercia, in the mean time, fell upon the ſouthern parts of Northumberland, and carried off great booty.

Edbert, towards the concluſion of his reign, having enter'd into an alliance with Oenguſſa king of the Picts, recover'd Areclute, the capital of the kingdom of Lennox, taken by the Welch in the time of Alfred. Deovama, general or prince of the Welch, attempting to raiſe the ſiege, was defeated; and Edbert, ſoon after, retir'd into a monaſtery. 756.

OSULF. Oſulf, to whom he left his crown, was aſſaſſinated, in the firſt year of his reign. 758.

MOLLON ADELWALD. 760. Mollon-Adelwald, tho' not of the blood-royal, was choſen to be his ſucceſſor; which election ended, at length, in the entire ruin of the kingdom. Upon this, all the grandees thought they had a right to the crown, as well as the princes of the blood; and ſome of them, finding that Mollon was advanced to the throne by a powerful party, they imagined they might make uſe of the ſame means to raiſe themſelves. Oſwy was one of the principal; but, he dying, Alcred, ſprung from Ida by Alarick, one of his natural ſons, treading in his ſteps, enter'd into a ſecret conſpiracy againſt the king, and, having taken away his life, was crown'd in his ſtead.

ALCRED. 765. Mollon's faction, that were exceedingly mortify'd by his death, in proceſs of time, recovering their ſtrength, Alfred was obliged to fly for refuge to the Picts; and, upon his departure, Ethelred, Mollon's ſon, was plac'd on the throne.

ETHELRED. 774. Ethelred, being thus advanced, thought the death or baniſhment of the oppoſite party the beſt way to ſecure his crown; and, accordingly, he took away the lives of three lords, for forged or ſlight offences, becauſe they had been moſt active in oppoſing his election. However, this method ſerved only to furniſh his enemies with a ſpecious pretence for making an inſurrection. The king, ſending the beſt of his troops, under a general entirely devoted to his intereſt, expected he ſhould have ſpeedily reduced them to obedience; but his army was twice defeated by the rebels, who forced him to repair for ſecurity to ſome of the neighbouring kingdoms. Upon this, Alfwald, the ſon of Oſulf and grandſon to Edbert, was placed on the throne.

ALFWALD. 770. H. Hunt. l. 4. Alfwald I. reigned eleven years with great juſtice and moderation; but he was, however, aſſaſſinated by one of the other party, tho' reverenced by his followers as a ſaint, after his deceaſe.

OSRED II. 789. Oſred II. Alcred's ſon, was elected in his ſtead, who became ſo contemptible, that he was confin'd in a monaſtery, in the firſt year of his reign. Ethelred's faction were much concerned in depoſing Oſred, and had intereſt enough to have him recalled, after an exile of 12 yers.

Ethelred restored to the crown. 794. Ethelred began his new reign with two cruel actions, which very much incenſed his enemies againſt him, as he put Oſred his predeceſſor, tho' a monk, to death, and diſpatched Alphus and Alphwin, ſons of the good king Alfwald.

795. In this reign, the Danes invaded Northumberland, and deſtroy'd by fire Lindisfarne monaſtery;

monaſtery; and, the year following, they ravaged Tinmouth monaſtery, founded by king Egfrid. Ethelred, aſſiſted by Offa king of Mercia, his father-in-law, putting a ſtop to their proceedings, drove them to their ſhips, where the greateſt part of them periſhed by a tempeſt on the Engliſh coaſt.

Tho' Ethelred's inhumanity had mightily inflamed the reſentment of the oppoſite party, he ſtill indulged his revengeful temper, fixing himſelf on his throne, by the death or baniſhment of thoſe whom he ſuſpected; and, at length, endeavouring to baniſh Ardulph, one of the principal lords, he introduced a civil war. When it had continued two years, the malecontents, reſolving, at all hazards, to get rid of Ethelred, had him aſſaſſinated. His party, however, placed Osbald, one of their own faction, on the throne.

Sim. Dunelm. Rog. Hov.

Charlemain, a friend to Ethelred, ſo reſented this proceeding, that he was upon the point of declaring war againſt the Northumbrians, as we learn from Alcuin's letter to Offa king of Mercia.

Alcuin Ep. G. Malm. l. 1. c. 3.

OSBALD. 796.

During the publick rejoicings at Osbald's election, the oppoſite faction had the management to dethrone him, 27 days after he was advanced to the throne, and choſe Ardulph in his room.

ARDULPH. 800.

Tho' Ardulph's party were, at preſent, the ſtrongeſt, yet the other made frequent attempts to get the aſcendant, Alcred having left a ſon behind him, called Alcmund, that commanded it; and, as this prince grew formidable, Ardulph eſteemed it abſolutely neceſſary to ſacrifice him, for his own ſecurity. As Alcmund's death was conſider'd by his friends, as a martyrdom, they ſainted him, and took up arms to revenge it; but Aldred, their general, being ſlain, they remain'd quiet for a while, waiting for a more favourable opportunity, which fell out ſoon after. This party, at length, became ſo powerful, that Ardulph fled for protection to the court of Charlemain, where the Engliſh were always kindly received.

S. Dunelm

ALSWALD. 808.

Alfwald II. who had expelled Ardulph, ſucceeded him, and dying, after a reign of two years, left the crown to Andred.

ANDRED.

In Andred's reign, Northumberland became ſubject to Ecbert king of the Weſt-Saxons, who put an end to the heptarchy.

The hiſtory of the kingdom of MERCIA.

Kingdom of Mercia.

THE kingdom of Mercia, the moſt conſiderable of the heptarchy, was bounded on the north by the Humber, which parted it from Northumberland; on the weſt by the Severn, beyond which were the Britiſh or Welch; on the ſouth by the Thames, which ſeparated it from the kingdoms of Kent, Suſſex and Weſſex; and on the eaſt, by the kingdoms of Eſſex and Eaſt-Anglia. Thus Mercia was defended, on three ſides, by three large rivers, and was as a boundary to all the other kingdoms, the name Mercia being derived from the Saxon word, Merk, which ſignifies a bound, and not, as ſome have fancied, from an imaginary river called Mercia. The inhabitants of this kingdom are ſometimes ſtiled by hiſtorians Mediterranei Angli or the mid-land Engliſh, and ſometimes South-Humbrians, as being ſouth of the Humber, but moſt generally Mercians. The chief cities of Mercia * were Lincoln, Nottingham, Warwick, Leiceſter, Coventry, Litchfield, Northampton, Worceſter, Glouceſter, Darby, Cheſter, Shrewsbury, Stafford, Oxford, and Briſtol. Its greateſt length was 160 miles, and its greateſt breadth about 100.

CRIDA. H. Hunt. F. Wig.

Crida, the firſt king of Mercia, came to England in 584, and, being crown'd the ſame or following year, died in 494.

Interregnum.

Upon Crida's death, Ethelbert, king of Kent, took poſſeſſion of Mercia; but he, at length, reſtored it to Wibba, Crida's ſon, reſerving, however, ſome right of ſovereignty, the nature of which has not been related by the hiſtorians.

WIBBA. 597.

Wibba, after a reign of 19 years, died in 615, leaving a ſon behind him, named Penda; but Ethelbert, dreading his turbulent ſpirit, when Mercia had been a year without a king, conferred the crown on Cearlus, Webba's couſin-german.

CEARLUS 616.

Cearlus, upon Ethelbert's death, delivered Mercia from the dominion of the kings of Kent; and, having reigned nine years, died in 624.

PENDA. 625.

As Cearlus had no iſſue, Penda, Wibba's ſon, ſucceeded him in the 50th year of his age, who was the moſt reſtleſs and active prince that ever reigned in England. I have already given ſome account of his wars with Edwin, Oſwald, and Oſwy, kings of Northumberland; and thoſe he had with the kings of Weſſex and Eaſt-Anglia, I ſhall ſpeak of in the hiſtory of theſe two kingdoms.

653.

In 653, Penda, having made his eldeſt ſon king of Leiceſter, ſent him into Northumberland, to eſpouſe the daughter of Oſwy, where he embraced the chriſtian faith. He brought back with him ſome miſſionaries, who preached the goſpel in Mercia with good ſucceſs; but Penda continued a pagan to his death.

At laſt, he was ſlain in battle, in the 80th year of his age, as hath been mentioned, leaving behind him five ſons, Peda, Wulfer, Ethelred, Merowald, and Mercelm, and two daughters Ciniburga and Ciniſwintha.

Interregnum. 657.

After Penda's death, Oſwy became maſter of Mercia, keeping it three years. He left Peda, his ſon-in-law, the little kingdom of Leiceſter; but being poiſoned ſoon after by

* It contained 16 counties.

his

his wife, Oſwy ſeized on that too, holding it, with the reſt of Mercia, till he was expelled by Wulfer.

WULFER. 659. Wulfer's reign was as full of commotions as that of his father Penda; but as his wars were of no moment, and are very imperfectly related by hiſtorians, I ſhall only obſerve, that he took Adelwalch, king of Suſſex, priſoner, and brought him to Mercia, after he had ſubdued his kingdom. In proceſs of time, Adelwalch embracing chriſtianity, during his im-
663. priſonment, Wulfer gave him the iſle of Wight, which he had alſo conquered. It is
665. probable, that Wulfer likewiſe made a conqueſt of the kingdom of Eſſex, ſince it is notorious, that Ina was promoted by him to the biſhoprick of London.

Wulfer was a pagan, when he came to the throne, but he was converted ſoon after, and had all his children educated in the chriſtian faith. Vereburga, one o his daughters, was honoured as a ſaint. He died in 675, deſigning to leave his crown to his ſon Cenred; but Ethelred his brother, by ſupplanting his nephew, obtained the kingdom.

ETHELRED. 675. Ethelred, being ſeated on the throne, erected Herefordſhire into a kingdom, giving it to Merowald his brother, who, dying without iſſue, left it to his younger brother Marcelm; he dying alſo without an heir, it was again united to Mercia.

679. In 679, Ethelred invaded Kent, making great devaſtations. After this, he turned his arms againſt Northumberland, and forced Egfrid to reſtore ſome Mercian towns he had taken, during Wulfer's reign. Theodore, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was very active in making up the peace between the two kings.

In 697, Oſtrith, Ethelred's wife, was aſſaſſinated; and, as the king took no pains to diſcover the murderers, it was ſuſpected that the king himſelf had ſome concern in the mat-
704. ter. However, Ethelred reſigned his crown to Cenred his nephew, Wulfer's ſon, and retired from the world into Bardney monaſtery *, being, ſoon after, made the abbot of it.

CENRED. 704. Cenred did nothing remarkable, during a reign of four years, except his taking up the monkiſh habit, after the example of Offa king of Eſſex, who came to his court, to demand Ciniſwintha his aunt, Penda's daughter, in marriage. This princeſs managed both the kings with ſo much dexterity, that ſhe perſuaded them to turn monks, and to wait upon the pope at Rome, to receive the tonſure from his hands. Ceolred, Ethelred's ſon, ſucceeded Cenred.

CEOLRED 709. Ceolred was engaged in a terrible war with Ina king of the Weſt-Saxons; but we are told no more concerning it, by the hiſtorians, but that both theſe kings fought a bloody battle, at Wodenburgh in Wiltſhire, with equal ſucceſs.

Coelred was ſo far from preferring the monkiſh habit to a crown, that he entirely diſregarded the monks and the other clergy, invading their privileges, without the leaſt remorſe; and, by this practice, ſo contrary to that of all the other Engliſh princes, he made the monks his inveterate enemies. They not only painted him in the blackeſt colours, whilſt alive, but, after his death, which happen'd in 716, they gave out, that, with his lateſt breath, he blaſphemed and talked with the devil. Such reports, as theſe, the monks induſtriouſly raiſed and ſpread abroad, againſt thoſe that were not devoted to their intereſt; and the hiſtories of theſe times abound with ſuch inſtances. Ethelbald, the grandſon of Eoppa, Penda's brother, ſucceeded Ceolred.

This king, one of the moſt illuſtrious that had, hitherto, reigned in Mercia, was alſo choſen monarch, in the room of Ina king of Weſſex, who had embraced the monaſtick life. Tho' this dignity originally conſiſted only in preſiding at the general aſſemblies, in commanding the armies of the heptarchy, and in ſome other prerogatives, which conferred no right of ſovereignty over the other kings; yet the monarchs generally made it their principal care to graſp at an unlimited power. Ethelbald carried the prerogatives of the monarchy to the utmoſt height, taking the advantage of a favourable opportunity, and became very formidable to the other princes. On this account, the kings of Weſſex and Northumberland agreed to attack him, at once, from two different quarters. Mercia being ſituated between thoſe kingdoms, Ethelbald was forced to ſend half his army towards the north, whilſt he, with the reſt, marched againſt the Weſt-Saxons under the command of Ethelum. We know nothing of this war, but that Ethelbald was vanquiſh'd and his army routed.

ETHELBALD. 716. 752.

Four years after, he was ſlain in a mutiny, raiſed by Beornred, a lord, who was proclaimed king by the ſoldiers.

757. BEORNRED.

This election very much diſpleaſed the Mercian lords, eſpecially as he did not belong to the royal family; and, before he could ſettle himſelf on the throne, they choſe Offa, nephew to Ethelbald, who gave the uſurper battle, and entirely defeated him. Some tell us, Beornred was ſlain; and others, that he defended himſelf, for ſome time, in a part of Mercia.

OFFA. 757. Offa was one of the moſt glorious kings that reign'd in England, during the heptarchy, on ſeveral accounts, which I ſhall briefly mention. One of his moſt remarkable victories was that over Aldrick, king of Kent, in 774.

Offa, treading in the ſteps of his predeceſſors, who aſſerted a ſovereign authority over the other kings, had continual wars with the princes that diſputed his pretenſions; but the account, hiſtorians give us of them, is very lame and defective. We muſt, then, reſt ſatisfied with what is ſaid of him, in general, which may ſerve to let us into ſome knowledge of his character.

Whilſt Offa was employ'd in ſubduing the Saxon kings, the Welch, who catch'd at eve-

* In Lincolnſhire.

ry advantage the frequent diſſentions of the Engliſh put in their way, reſolved to attack him. In this war, the Welch were, at firſt, ſucceſsful; but, Offa having ſtruck up a peace with the Engliſh, that he might turn his arms againſt the Welch, ſoon obliged them, not only to abandon their conqueſts in Mercia, but alſo part of their own country beyond the Severn, which Offa peopled with Engliſh colonies. To prevent its being ever retaken by the Welch, he threw up a rampart defended by a large ditch, as a boundary between Mercia and Wales. This rampart 24 miles long, from the mouth of the Dee to the place where the Wye runs into the Severn, was called Clawdh-Offa or Offa's-dike.

In 786, Offa made his ſon Egfrid partner with him in the government, and gave his daughter Edburg in marriage to Brithrick king of Weſſex.

The greateſt blemiſh on Offa's reputation, was his treachery to Ethelbert king of the Eaſt-Angles, who came to his court, to demand his daughter Adelfrida in marriage. This young prince was treated, at firſt, with great marks of affection and eſteem; but, by the preſſing and repeated inſtigations of Quendrida his queen, who repreſented to him, that he ought not to loſe ſo fair an opportunity of becoming maſter of Eaſt-Anglia, Offa was prevailed upon to violate the moſt ſacred laws of honour and hoſpitality, by the murder of Ethelbert. Upon this, he marched into Eaſt-Anglia with a great army, and, meeting with no reſiſtance, he ſeized on the kingdom, uniting it to Mercia.

He had no ſooner committed this horrid fact, than he was ſeverely tortur'd by the laſhes of his own conſcience, which, continually preſenting his crime to his view, did not allow him a moment's eaſe. To appeaſe its fury, he went to Rome, in 794, to obtain a pardon from the pope*, who granted his requeſt, on condition that he would be liberal to the churches and monaſteries, the way to atone for ſins in thoſe days; it could have been wiſhed, that reſtitution alſo had been made a neceſſary and previous article.

794. * Adrian.

Among Offa's liberalities to the churches of Rome, there was one, which proved very prejudicial to England, that we ſhall particularly mention. Ina, king of the Weſt-Saxons, had founded a college at Rome, for the education of Engliſh youth; to the ſupport of which, he had order'd a penny to be collected yearly, from every family in his dominions. This charity was termed Romeſcot, that is, tribute of Rome, or ſent to Rome. Offa extended this tax throughout Mercia and Eaſt-Anglia, the lands of the monaſtery of St. Albans only excepted; and becauſe this money was paid at Rome on a holy-day called St. Peter's ad vincula*, this tax was called Peter's-pence, inſtead of Romeſcot. The directors of the college were, by this means, amply ſupplied with money to defray the expences they were at, from the great concourſe of the Engliſh that came to ſtudy at Rome. In proceſs of time, the popes, pretending it was a tribute the Engliſh paid to St. Peter and his ſucceſſors, converted it to their own uſe, till it was entirely aboliſhed by Henry VIII.†

* 1ſt of Auguſt.

Before Offa left Rome, he obtained of the pope the canonization of St. Alban, whoſe relicks were ſuppos'd to be found at Verulam. At his return, he built there a fine church and a ſtately monaſtery; from this time, Verulam was named St. Alban's. Offa, likewiſe, was very liberal to the church of Hereford, where the body of Ethelbert lay interr'd, that they might pray to God continually, both for him and the king whom he murdered. 793

William of Malmsbury expreſſes himſelf to be at a loſs, whether he ſhould place Offa among the good or bad princes, putting the canonization of St. Alban, the firſt Britiſh martyr, and the founding a noble monaſtery to his honour, in the balance with the murder of the king of Eaſt-Anglia.

Offa's reign was remarkable on ſeveral accounts: for the erecting of Litchfield into an archbiſhoprick, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter; for Peter-pence; and for publiſhing a body of laws, entitled Mercens Leaga, i.e. laws of the Mercians, which was a pattern to his ſucceſſors, the greateſt part of them being inſerted in king Alfred's laws, publiſh'd about the end of the enſuing century.

Offa had contracted a ſtrict friendſhip with Charles the great. We have ſome of the letters they wrote to each other, in the life of Offa, at the end of Matthew Paris's hiſtory; a life that contains in it almoſt as many fables as truths.

Offa died in 796, after a reign of 39 years. Egfrid, who had been already crown'd, as his partner, ſucceeded him, as king of Mercia, and in the dignity of monarch.

Egfrid, who ſurvived his father but four or five months, employ'd that time in enriching the monks, eſpecially thoſe of St. Alban's. Cenulph, ſprung from Wibba by another branch, was his ſucceſſor in both of his dignities. EGFRID, 796.

Cenulph immediately declared war againſt Edbert-Pren, king of Kent, tho' the cauſe of it is unknown. We are only told, that it was fatal to the king of Kent, who, being taken priſoner, was carried to Mercia, where Cenulph order'd his eyes to be put out, after he had placed another on his throne. CENULPH, 796.

Cenulph died in 819, after a glorious reign of 24 years, leaving a ſon, named Cenelm, very young, and two daughters, Quendrida and Burganilda.

Quendrida, Cenelm's eldeſt ſiſter, hoping to obtain the crown, if her brother was diſpatch'd, had him aſſaſſinated by one Aſcobert, who threw his body into a well, where it was found, as is reported, by a miracle, Quendrida did not ſucceed in her deſign, the Mercians electing Cleolulph, the uncle of the laſt king. CENELM, 819.

† Nat. Bacon, ch. xi. proves it was far from being a tribute.

Cleoluph,

CLEOLULPH. 819. Cleolulph, after a year's reign, was depos'd by Bernulph, one of the principal lords. Bernulph, 821. Ludican, 823. Witglaph, 825. I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of theſe three kings of Mercia, in the hiſtory of the kingdom of the Weſt-Saxons.

The hiſtory of EAST-ANGLIA.

East-Angles. THE kingdom of Eaſt-Anglia was bounded, on the north, by the Humber and the German ocean; on the eaſt, by the ſame ocean, which almoſt ſurrounded it on two ſides; on the ſouth, by the kingdom of Eſſex; and on the weſt, by Mercia. Its greateſt length was 80 miles, and its greateſt breadth 55. It contained the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, and part of Cambridgeſhire; and its chief towns were Norwich, Thetford, Ely, and Cambridge. I have already related, how this kingdom was founded by the Angles, and that Uffa was the firſt who aſſumed the title of king of Eaſt-Anglia.

UFFA. 571. We have nothing remarkable recorded concerning him; he died in 578, and was ſucceeded by

TITIL. 578. Titil his ſon, who died in 599, had for his ſucceſſor

REDOWALD. 599. Redowald his ſon, the moſt illuſtrious of all the kings of Eaſt-Anglia, if not of the whole heptarchy. As I have given a large account of him, in the hiſtory of Northumberland, I ſhall only obſerve here, that he died in 624, leaving his crown to

ERPWALD 624. Erpwald his ſon, who made no figure, being, during his whole reign, in ſubjection to Edwin king of Northumberland, who might have deprived him of his kingdom, with the conſent of the Eaſt-Angles, if his obligations to Redowald his father would have permitted him to be guilty of ſuch an ungrateful action. But, though he left Erpwald the title of king, Edwin himſelf was, in reality, the ſovereign of Eaſt-Anglia; Erpwald was aſſaſſinated in 633, after a reign of 9 years.

Interregnum. After his death, there was an interregnum for three years, though the occaſion of it is unknown. In 636, the Eaſt-Angles placed on the throne.

SIGEBERT. 633. Sigebert, who having been baniſhed by Erpwald, on ſuſpicion of aſpiring to the crown, had retired into France, where he embraced the chriſtian faith. As ſoon as he was on the throne, he made it his principal ſtudy to propagate the knowledge of the true God among his ſubjects; for tho' the goſpel was planted in Eaſt-Anglia, in the reign of Redowald, it was now almoſt extinguiſhed, having never taken deep root. Having accompliſhed this deſign, by the aſſiſtance of Felix a Burgundian prieſt, he retired into a monaſtery, reſigning his crown to

Egrick his relation, who being attacked, ſoon after he came to the crown, by Penda king of Mercia, the Eaſt-Angles petition Sigebert to quit his monaſtery and be their commander. He reſiſted, for ſome time, all their intreaties; but as they were perſuaded, that heaven could not refuſe the victory to ſuch a religious prince, they preſſed him with ſo much importunity, that, at laſt, he complied with their requeſt, and headed the army with Egrick, having no arms but a ſwitch. God, who is not directed by our notions, gave the victory to the Mercians, both the Eaſt-Anglian kings being ſlain on the ſpot. They were ſucceeded by EGRICK. 644.

Annas the ſon of Ennius, nephew to Redowald, one of the moſt illuſtrious kings of Eaſt-Anglia. By his aſſiſtance, Cenowalch king of Weſſex, who fled to him for protection, recovered his dominions from Penda, who had taken them from him, in 645. ANNAS. 644.

Penda, being incenſed againſt Annas, on that account, was reſolved to carry fire and ſword into Eaſt-Anglia. Annas dying, whilſt he was making preparations to defend himſelf, left the management of this dangerous war to 654.

Ethelrick his brother and ſucceſſor, who, dreading Penda, purchaſed a peace with a ſum of money; and, to engage him in a war with Northumberland, he offered to join him with all his forces. I have already related, how they were both ſlain in an engagement with Oſwy. He was ſucceeded by ETHELRICK. 654.

Adelwalt his brother, who died in 664, leaving his crown to ADELWALT. 655.

Aldulph his nephew, the ſon of Ethelrick, of whom we only know, that he was alive in 680, and aſſiſted at the council of Hatfield. His ſucceſſor was ALDULPH 664.

Alfwald, who died in 749, and was ſucceeded by ALFWALD.

Beorna and Ethelbert, who divided the kingdom *. Ethelbert dying before the year 758, Beorna reigned alone; but we know nothing more of him, but that he was ſucceeded by BEORNA and ETHELBERT.

Ethelred, who died about the year 790, leaving the crown to 749. ETHELRED.

Ethelbert, whom Offa, king of Mercia, put to death, in order to ſeize his kingdom; and, from this time, Eaſt-Anglia and Mercia were united into one kingdom. ETHELBERT.

* Tyrrel declares, he ſaw, in a chronicle of Mailroſs, a king, called Switheard, who reigned in 749. He might have ſucceeded Alfwald.

The

The hiſtory of the kingdom of ESSEX.

Kingdom of Eſſex.

THE kingdom of the Eaſt-Saxons was bounded, on the north, by Eaſt-Anglia; on the eaſt, by the German ocean; on the ſouth, by the Thames; and, on the weſt, by Mercia. Its greateſt length was 65 miles, and its greateſt breadth 38. It contained the counties of Eſſex and Middleſex, and part of Hertfordſhire. The chief cities were London and Colcheſter; the firſt of which became, at length, the metropolis of all England. It had been very conſiderable, on account of its ſituation in the time of the Romans; but, in all likelihood, it was reduced very low, after the arrival of the Saxons.

Hengiſt having extorted this country from Vortigern, after the maſſacre of the Britiſh lords, Erchenwin erected it into a kingdom. The hiſtorians have not given us an account of the founding of this kingdom, by the loſs of which Hengiſt's ſucceſſors were deprived of ſo large a tract of land as the kingdom of Kent. Had there been a monaſtery in the caſe, we ſhould have had all the particulars.

ERCHENWIN. 527. Erchenwin came to the crown in 527, and died in 587, after a reign of 60 years. He was ſucceeded by

SLEDDA. 587. Sledda his ſon. The year of his death is not known, but

SABERT. Sabert or Saba his ſon reigned in 599. He was the firſt chriſtian king of Eſſex, being converted by the miniſtry of Mellitus and the ſollicitation of Ethelbert king of Kent, his uncle by the mother's ſide*. He was remarkable for his piety and zeal for chriſtianity. He died in 616, and was ſucceeded by

SAXRED, &c. 616. Saxred, Seward, and Sigebert his ſons, who, reigning jointly, unanimouſly turned apoſtates to the chriſtian religion, which they had profeſſed, during the life of their father. After a reign of ſeven years, raſhly engaging, on very unequal terms, with Cinigiſil and Quicelm kings of Weſſex, they were, all three, cut off, with their whole army. They had for their ſucceſſor

SIGEBERT the little. 623. Sigebert the little, the ſon of Seward, the very time of whoſe death his unknown; but he was ſucceeded by

Sigebert the good, grandſon to a brother of pious king Sabert, who was on the throne in 653. He re-eſtabliſh'd chriſtianity in his dominions, from whence it had been expelled, ever ſince the death of Sabert, he was aſſiſted in this work by Cedd, a Northumberland prieſt, who was conſecrated biſhop of the Eaſt-Saxons. He was aſſaſſinated, in 655, by two counts his relations, who, having been excommunicated by Cedd, complain'd that the king, inſtead of avenging their quarrel, threw himſelf at the biſhop's feet, begging pardon for his having convers'd with them, ſince their excommunication. His ſucceſſor was SIGEBERT the good. 653.

SWITHELM. Swithelm his brother, who was ſucceeded by

SEBBA and SIGER. Sebba and Siger; the firſt was the ſon of Seward, and the other of Sigebert the little. Siger return'd to paganiſm; but Sebba ſtedfaſtly adhered to the chriſtian faith. They were both vaſſals to the king of Mercia, as has been related in the reign of Wulfer. Siger died in 683, and

Sebba alone. 683. Sebba having reigned alone, about 11 years turned monk in 694, leaving the crown to

SIGHARD and SENOFRID. 694. Sighard and Senofrid his ſons, who, reigning together, in all probability, died much about the ſame time, towards the year 705. To them ſucceeded

OFFA. 705. Offa the ſon of Siger, who, with Cenred king of Mercia, was perſuaded, by Ciniſwintha, to embrace the monaſtick life, as has been already obſerved. Some ſay, Offa was ſucceeded by

SEOLRED. 709. Seolred or Selred the ſon of Sigebert the good, who was ſlain, after a reign of 39 years, but by whom, or how, is not known. His ſucceſſor was

SWITHRED. 749. Swithred his ſon, as ſome tell us. This is the laſt king, whoſe name is mention'd in the Saxon annals. He began his reign in 746; and, if he was alive, at the time of the diſſolution of the heptarchy, he muſt have reigned 78 years. Of all the ſeven kingdoms, the hiſtory of the kingdom of Eſſex is the moſt imperfect.

The hiſtory of the kingdom of KENT.

The kingdom of Kent.

THE kingdom of Kent, the firſt that was founded by the Saxons being neither large nor very conſiderable, made no figure in the heptarchy, after the reigns of Hengiſt and Ethelbert. It was very advantageouſly ſituated, having the ſea to the ſouth and eaſt, the Thames to the north, and the little kingdom of Suſſex to the weſt. Whilſt that continued, it ſerved, as a rampart, againſt the ambition of the kings of Weſſex; but, when it was ſubdued by the Weſt-Saxons, the kingdom of Kent lay dangerouſly

* Ricula, Ethelbert's ſiſter, was Sabert's mother.

expos'd

expos'd to its powerful neighbours. The truth is, the awe the kings of Weſſex and Mercia ſtood in of each other, becauſe of the equality of their forces, prevented, for a long time, the little kingdom of Suſſex from becoming a prey to either of them. It was not above 60 miles in length and 30 in breadth. The principal towns were Dorobern or Canterbury the capital, Dover, Rocheſter, and ſome others not ſo large, but noted for their ſituation and harbours, as Sandwich, Deal, Folk-ſtone, Reculver, &c.

HENGIST 455. Hengiſt came into Great-Britain in 449, aſſumed the title of king in 455, and died in 488. He was ſucceeded by

ESCUS. 488. Eſcus his ſon. As the Saxons, after Hengiſt's death, made Ella king of Suſſex their monarch, it is very probable, that Eſcus was not in ſo great eſteem as his father. We know nothing remarkable of his reign, tho' it laſted to the year 512. His ſucceſſor was

OCTA. 512. Octa his ſon, who ſuffer'd, or, at leaſt, could not prevent, the erecting of the counties of Eſſex and Middleſex, taken from him, into the kingdom of the Eaſt-Saxons. We meet with nothing elſe remarkable, during a reign of 22 years. To him ſucceeded

HERMENRICK. 534. Hermenrick, who reigned 30 years. Before his death, he made partner with him, in the government, his ſon and ſucceſſor

ETHELBERT. 568. Ethelbert, one of the moſt illuſtrious kings of the whole heptarchy; he was, particularly, famous for being the firſt chriſtian king of the kingdom of Kent.

This prince, being of an aſpiring genius, was extremely concern'd to find, that his predeceſſors had loſt the dignity of monarch, and the authority Hengiſt had over all the Saxons ſettled, in his time, in Great-Britain. Keaulin king of Weſſex, being now in poſſeſſion of the monarchy, he diſputed it with him, and 568. was twice defeated. Upon this, he lay quiet till the year 593, when he was join'd by all the other kings, who were diſpleas'd at Keaulin's becoming maſter of the kingdom of Suſſex; and Ethelbert, being appointed general, vanquiſh'd the king of Weſſex, who died ſoon after.

Ethelbert being elected monarch, not conſidering Keaulin's fall, occaſion'd by himſelf, exerciſed an abſolute power over all the kingdoms lying ſouth of the Humber, the Northumbrians alone being able to preſerve their liberty.

He was not only dreaded, on account of his uncommon accompliſhments; but alſo, as he was in alliance with France, by marrying Bertha, daughter to Cherebert king of Paris; and tho' the contempt with which Ethelbert treated the neighbouring princes, whom he had often defeated, render'd him formidable, yet had they ſtill a much greater reaſon to be alarm'd.

594. Upon the death of Crida king of Mercia, Ethelbert ſeized his kingdom, tho' he had left a ſon to ſucceed him; in this, treading exactly in the ſteps of Keaulin, tho' he himſelf had ſtirred up the other kings againſt that monarch, becauſe of his ambition. Thus, men, generally, condemn in others what they approve in themſelves. Ethelbert thought he had a right as monarch, or as a deſcendent from Hengiſt, to ſucceed all the thrones vacant in the heptarchy; for, when fortune ſmiles, it is eaſy for a man to find plauſible reaſons, to ſupport the moſt exorbitant pretenſions. However, the Saxon princes, alarmed at this open uſurpation, began to think of meaſures to reſtrain his power within due bounds. Ethelbert, apprehenſive that they would all enter into a confederacy againſt him, and treat him as they had done Keaulin, judg'd it neceſſary for him to prevent ſo great a danger. Accordingly, to make them eaſy, he reſtor'd the kingdom of Mercia to Wibba the ſon of Crida, reſerving, at the ſame time, ſuch an authority over him, as that he ſhould not undertake any thing, without his order or conſent. Pleas'd with this, they laid aſide all thoughts of a war, to which they were driven by mere neceſſity.

Nothing very material fell out in the remainder of Ethelbert's reign, except what related to religion, of which I ſhall ſpeak in the hiſtory of the church. He had two wives; Bertha of France his firſt, by whom he had Edbald who ſucceeded him, and Ethelburga who was married to Edwin king of Northumberland; but the name of his ſecond wife is unknown. He died in 616, after a reign of 52 years.

EDBALD. 616. Edbald, who was very unlike his father, as ſoon as he became his own maſter, turn'd heathen; and he is ſaid to have married the queen his mother-in-law. As his vices render'd him ſlothful and unactive, the other kings ſhook off the yoke they had ſubmitted to, during Ethelbert's life. The king of Mercia, in particular, having aſſerted his liberty, Edbald had neither the power nor reſolution to ſecure what the king, his father, imagin'd he had ſo firmly eſtabliſh'd. Perhaps, the hiſtorians are agreed to give this prince a very infamous character, to repreſent his converſion in a ſtronger light; but, however, they tell us, that, by the miniſtry of Laurentius, archbiſhop of Canterbury, he return'd to the profeſſion of chriſtianity, and ſpent the remainder of his life in conformity to the precepts of the goſpel. He left behind him two ſons, Ermenfred and Ercombert, the laſt of which ſucceeded him, and a daughter named Enſwith, who founded the abbey of Folk-ſtone.

ERCOMBERT. 640. Ercombert, tho' the youngeſt of Edbald's ſons, mounted the throne, to the prejudice of his elder brother; he order'd the pagan temples to be levell'd to the ground, and the idols to be broken in pieces, leſt they ſhould enſnare the people. Ermenfred being ſeized with a mortal diſtemper, Edbald promis'd him, that he would leave the crown, which properly was his right, to his children; but he was not punctual in the performance, and, perhaps, he had not time to perform it, as he died in the year 644. He left behind him

two ſons, Egbert and Lothair, and two daughters; Ermenilda, the eldeſt, was married to Wulfer king of Mercia, and the other was a nun.

EGBERT. 664. Egbert, immediately after he came to the crown, took away the lives of Ercombert's two ſons, leſt they ſhould interrupt him in the poſſeſſion of the regal dignity. He preſented their ſiſter Domnena, with ſome lands in the iſle of Thanet, where ſhe founded a monaſtery; and he died in 673, leaving two ſons, Edrick and Widred, who did not directly ſucceed him, the crown being ſeized by

LOTHAIR 673. Lothair their Uncle, who, to ſecure the ſucceſſion in his family, made his ſon Richard partner with him in the government, after a reign of 10 years, without interruption. This proceeding obliged Edrick to retire from court, and apply to Adelwalch, king of Suſſex, for aſſiſtance, who ſupplied him with an army; and, by this aid, entering Kent, he de-

685. feated Lothair, who died of the wounds he received in battle. Upon this, Edrick was crowned, without reſiſtance; and Richard fled into Germany, where Boniface, archbiſhop of Mentz, his countryman, gave him his ſiſter in marriage, getting him to be elected king of Swabia, as ſome writers inform us. I cannot account for his dying in Tuſcany, where his tomb is ſtill to be ſeen; and they call him king of England, whereas, at moſt, he was no more than king of Kent.

EDRICK. 685. Edrick reigned but two years; and, dying without iſſue, he left the crown to

WIDRED, and SWABERT. 686. Widred his brother, who was obliged to make Swabert his partner. Upon Edrick's death, commotions aroſe, occaſion'd by the ambition of ſome of the grandees, who refuſed to acknowledge Widred for their king. In all likelihood, Swabert was one of the chief of the rebels, ſince he was admitted a partner in the government; and it is unknown, whether he belonged to the royal family.

687. In the reign of thoſe kings, Cedwalla king of the Weſt-Saxons, fancying that the inteſtine jars in Kent would render that kingdom an eaſy conqueſt, ſent an army thither, under Mollon his brother, who over-ran a great part of the country; but the two kings, at length, joining their forces, defeated him. Mollon, finding that he was cloſely purſued, took ſanctuary, with 12 others, in a houſe which they bravely defended; but, the Kentiſh ſoldiers ſetting it on fire, they all miſerably periſhed in the flames. Cedwalla ſpeedily revenged his brother's death, as he moſt tenderly loved him; for he enter'd Kent with a formidable army, and deſtroyed the whole country with fire and ſword. This invaſion reduced Kent ſo low, that it never, after this, made any figure in the heptarchy.

The two kings did not enjoy any quiet, till the year 691; which, perhaps, was the occaſion, that Bede placed the beginning of Widred's reign in this year, tho' he received the crown five years before. Swabert died in 695, and

WIDRED alone. 695. Widred, remaining ſole king of Kent, reigned 12 years longer, and died in 725, leaving behind him three ſons, Ethelbert, Edbert, and Aldrick. He was ſucceeded by the two eldeſt,

ETHELBERT. 748. Ethelbert and Edbert, who reigned jointly to the year 748, and then, Edbert dying, Ethelbert alone reigned 10 or 12 years, leaving his crown, after he had reigned, in all, 36 years, to

ALDRICK 760. Aldrick his brother; he made his ſon Aldulph partner, who died before him. The neighbouring princes, ſeeing the weak condition of Kent, often attacked Aldrick; eſpecially, Offa king of Mercia, who, by a victory over him, brought him to the very brink of ruin. However, the other kings would not ſuffer Offa to be maſter of the kingdom; and he was, moreover, diverted from this war by the Welch, who invaded Mercia, as I have, above, related. Were it not for this, in all probability, he would have united Kent to Mercia.

Aldrick dying without iſſue, the race of Hengiſt became extinct. He was ſucceeded by

EDBERT PREN. 794. Edbert, ſirnamed Pren. Cenulph, king of Mercia, taking advantage of his weakneſs, made devaſtations in every part of Kent; and, at length, having taken him priſoner, carried him into Mercia, where he order'd his eyes to be put out. After this, he gave the crown to 798.

CUDRED. 798. Cudred, who reigned 8 years, as his tributary and vaſſal. Upon his deceaſe, Cenulph permitted

BALRED. Baldred his ſon to ſucceed him, in whoſe reign the heptarchy was diſſolved, which began with the conqueſt of Kent by Egbert king of the Weſt-Saxons, as we ſhall learn hereafter.

The hiſtory of the kingdom of SUSSEX.

The kingdom of Suſſex.

THE kingdom of Suſſex was one of the moſt inconſiderable of the heptarchy; it contained only the two counties of Suſſex and Surrey, the moſt part of which conſiſted of the large foreſt of Andreds-wald, ſo term'd by the Saxons, from its Roman name, Anderida. As this foreſt was untouch'd, when Ella ſubdued Suſſex, we may ſuppoſe that it was ſtubb'd up by degrees. This kingdom was not above 50 miles long and 40 broad; it was bounded, on the north, by the Thames; on the ſouth, by the ſea; on the eaſt, by the kingdom of Kent; and, on the weſt, by Weſſex. Chicheſter was the capital city, built by

by Ciſſa the ſecond king of Suſſex; he built alſo Ciſsbury, the ruins of which are ſtill to be ſeen.

Ella. 491. Ella came into Britain in 476, and was crown'd king of Suſſex in 491. Such was his reputation among the Saxons, that they elected him to ſucceed Hengiſt, as their monarch. He met with ſome difficulties, from the oppoſition of Arthur, who was a general of great valour and conduct; but, however, he ſettled, at length, in that part of the iſland where he firſt landed, and founded there the kingdom of Suſſex or of the South-Saxons. I have already given a large account of Baldulph and Golgrin his ſon, who were ſlain at the battle of Badon. Ella, dying in 514, left the crown to his only ſurviving ſon,

Ciſſa. 514. Ciſſa, who was remarkable for nothing, except his great age and a long reign of 76 years. If we ſuppoſe him but a year or two old, when his father brought him over in 476, he muſt have been 115 or 116 years of age, when he died in 590; but it is very improbable, that Ella ſhould bring over with him a child ſo young.

590. Ciſſa dying without an heir, Keaulin, king of Weſſex and monarch of the Anglo-Saxons, took poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Suſſex, which occaſioned the league the other princes enter'd into againſt him; but, tho' Keaulin was defeated, Ceolrick, his nephew, and ſucceſſor, remained maſter of Suſſex.

From this time, the South-Saxons made ſeveral attempts to ſhake off the yoke of the kings of Weſſex. In 607, they revolted againſt Cleolulph, but were reduced to obedience; and, in 648, in another ſtruggle, they had the ſame ill ſucceſs. Cenowalch, king of Weſſex, continuing in Eaſt-Anglia, and Penda, king of Mercia, being maſter of Weſſex, the South-Saxons plac'd on the throne

Adelwalch. 684. Adelwalch, whom Cenowalch was not in a condition to dethrone, on the account of Penda's invaſion, who had ſeized on his kingdom, and kept poſſeſſion of it for three years.

685. However, Wulfer king of Mercia, having attack'd Cenowalch and vanquiſh'd him in ſeveral encounters, penetrated as far as Suſſex; where, having defeated Adelwalch, he took him priſoner, and ſubdued his kingdom, with the iſle of Wight. Adelwalch having embraced chriſtianity, during his impriſonment, Wulfer enlarged him, making him a preſent of the iſle of Wight.

It is highly probable, that Adelwalch, after Wulfer's death, recover'd the kingdom of Suſſex, ſince the Saxon annals aſſure us, that he was on the throne in 686.

The ſame year, Cedwalla, a Weſt-Saxon prince, being forced from his own country, enter'd Suſſex with an army; and Adelwalch, attempting to expel him, was ſlain in battle. 686.

Upon this, Cedwalla reſolved to make himſelf maſter of Suſſex; but he was oppoſed by Authun and Berthun, who were return'd with an army from an expedition againſt Kent. At the ſame time, Cedwalla, hearing of the death of the king of Weſſex, who had obliged him to quit his dominions, return'd home, and was made king of the Weſt-Saxons. In the interim,

Authun and Berthun were crowned kings of Suſſex. Some authors ſay, that they were Adelwalch's ſons; and others tell us, they were only his generals. Cedwalla, making war againſt them, they were defeated; and Berthun was ſlain in battle. Authun and Berthun. 688.

In all likelihood, Authun, ſtill enjoying the crown, was a vaſſal to the king of Weſſex, who, upon Authun's death, would not permit the vacant throne to be filled. Authun alone.

The South-Saxons made ſeveral efforts to recover their liberty, and they took up arms in the year 722; but, failing in their meaſures, Ina, king of Weſſex, reduced them to obedience. 722.

Three years after, taking the advantage of ſome troubles in Weſſex, they placed Albert on the throne; but Ina, having vanquiſh'd and ſlain this new king, united their kingdom to his own. 725.

However, in 754, Sigebert being then king of Weſſex, who was afterwards depos'd, they revolted again, chuſing Oſmond for their king; but, in all probability, Cenulph, Sibert's ſucceſſor, brought them back to their former ſubjection. After this, it does not appear that they made any attempts to recover their liberty, their country being, from this time, always conſider'd as a province of Weſſex. 754.

The hiſtory of the kingdom of WESSEX.

The kingdom of Weſſex.

THere were in the heptarchy three kingdoms, two of Angles, viz. Northumberland and Mercia, and one of the Saxons and Juttes, namely, Weſſex, which were vaſtly ſuperior to the others, in grandeur and power. Weſſex lay ſouth of the Thames, being about 70 miles broad, from the Thames to the Britiſh channel, and 150 long, from the frontiers of Suſſex to the river Tamer, which parted it from Cornwall. The chief cities were Winchester the capital, Southampton, Portſmouth, Salisbury, Dorcheſter, Sherborne, and Exeter, where a great number of Britons were intermix'd with the Saxons; the iſle of Wight alſo, inhabited by Juttes, was ſubject to the king of Weſſex.

The kingdom of Weſſex or of the Weſt-Saxons was ſo named, becauſe it lay weſt of Suſſex, Kent, and Eſſex. This kingdom was very conſiderable, not only for its extent, but its

its ſituation alſo, being ſecured, on the north, by the Thames, and, on the ſouth, by the ſea; on the eaſt, it was bounded by the little kingdom of Suſſex, and, on the weſt, by the Britons of Cornwall, who were ſo divided from their countrymen the Welch, by the mouth of the Severn, that it was ſcarce poſſible for them to give each other any aſſiſtance.

CRIDA. 519. Crida arrived in Britain in 495. He was, firſt, crowned king of the Weſt-Saxons in 519, upon Arthur's ſurrender of the two counties of Hampſhire and Somerſetſhire, the whole then of his kingdom. He was crowned, a ſecond time, at Wincheſter in 532 or 533, upon the delivery of Berkſhire, Wiltſhire, Devonſhire, and Dorſetſhire by Modred. He, dying in 534, left the crown to

KENRICK 534. Kenrick his ſon, who, whilſt his father lived, was famous for his valour and conduct; but, being on the throne, he preferred a peaceable and quiet life to the noiſe and hurry of arms. He did nothing remarkable, during his reign, except his defeating the Britons, who attacked him in 552. He died in 560, and was ſucceeded by

KEAULIN 560. Keaulin his eldeſt ſon, who being choſen monarch alſo, upon his father's deceaſe, exceedingly enlarged the prerogatives of that dignity. Having obliged the neighbouring princes to ſubmit to his authority, by his ſeizing on the kingdom of Suſſex, after Ciſſa's death, he gave them occaſion to fear, that he deſigned to reduce all England into one kingdom. To ſecure Suſſex, he kept his court at Chicheſter, leaving the government of Weſſex to Ceolrick his nephew, whom he 592. deſigned for his ſucceſſor. All the other kings, and even Ceolrick himſelf, entered into a league againſt him, on the account of his ambition; and, being vanquiſhed by the king of Kent, who commanded the confederate army, Keaulin was forced to retire into ſome unknown corner, where he died ſoon after. His wars with the Britons and Aidan king of Scotland I have already related.

CEOLRICK. 594. Ceolrick, who ſucceeded his uncle, did nothing remarkable. He died in 598, and had for his ſucceſſor

CLEOLWULPH. 598. Cleolwulph his brother, who, in 607, reduced to their allegiance the South-Saxons, who had revolted. He died in 611, being ſucceeded by

CINIGISIL. 611. Cinigiſil his nephew, the ſon of Ceolrick, who, a year after he was crowned, made

QUICELM 612. Quicelm his brother his partner in the government, or rather divided the kingdom between them. The two brothers obtained, in

614. 614, a ſignal victory over the Britons. I have, above, given an account of Quicelm's wars with Edwin king of Northumberland; and I ſhall have occaſion to take farther notice of him, in the hiſtory of the church. He em-

635. braced the chriſtian faith, a little before his death, which happened in 636.

Cinigiſil alone. 636. Cinigiſil, who was converted to chriſtianity, before his brother, in 635, reigned alone till his death. He left the crown to

CENOWALCH. Cenowalch his ſon, whoſe reign was exceedingly perplexed with war by the kings of 643. Mercia. Penda, whoſe ſiſter he had married and divorced, ſuddenly attacking him, forced 645. him to abandon his kingdom, and fly for protection to Annas king of the Eaſt-Angles, 646. where he continued, the three years that Penda was poſſeſſed of Weſſex. Cenowalch turned chriſtian in Eaſt-Anglia, and, at laſt, 648. was, by the aſſiſtance of Annas, reſtored to his kingdom.

In 652, he ſignally defeated the Welch; 652. he obtained another victory over them in 658.

Some years after, he was engaged in a war 661. with Wulfer, Penda's ſucceſſor; but we know neither the occaſion nor the ſucceſs of it. Some ſay, Wulfer was vanquiſhed and taken priſoner; whilſt others tell us, he was victorious, which I take to be the moſt probable opinion. It is evident, that Wulfer ſubdued Suſſex and the iſle of Wight, which he could not have effected, if Cenowalch had been able to oppoſe him. However, Cenowalch, dying in 662, left his crown to

SEXBURGE. 627. Sexburge his wife, a princeſs of great valour, of an exalted and extenſive genius, having all the qualifications neceſſary for a queen. She reigned but one year, and then died, according to ſome; but others ſay, ſhe was depoſed by the Weſt-Saxons, who thought it a diſhonour to be governed by a woman.

After her death or expulſion, the kingdom was divided among ſeveral of the grandees, of whom Cenfus, a prince of the blood-royal, and ſprung from Cerdick, was the chief. We are at a loſs about the particulars, relating to the cantoning out the kingdom; which, however, was united again into one body, after theſe petty tyrants were either dead or expelled.

CENFUS. 674. Cenfus, in 674, made his ſon Eſcwin partner with him, and, in all likelihood, was obliged to let Centwin, brother to the late king Cenowalch, reign alſo in ſome part of the kingdom.

The year enſuing, Wulfer attack'd the kings of Weſſex, whoſe army was under the command of Eſcwin; and a bloody battle was fought, in which Wulfer had the advantage, tho' the loſs, on both ſides, was very conſiderable.

Cenfus died two years after, and Eſcwin his ſon did not long ſurvive him; ſo that Centwin became ſole king of Weſſex.

CENTWIN alone. 676. Centwin, in 628, gaining a ſignal victory over the Welch, Cadwalladar, their king, was forced to apply to the king of Armorica for aſſiſtance. Cadwalladar afterwards took a journey to Rome, where he died.

Towards the end of this reign, Cedwalla, a prince of the royal family of Weſſex, became ſo popular, that Centwin, being jealous of him, order'd him to depart the kingdom. Cedwalla retir'd into Suſſex; and, as he was well beloved, a great number of young perſons attended him, reſolved to follow his fortunes. Adelwalch, then king of Suſſex, incenſed at Cedwalla's entering his kingdom, with a ſort of an army, without his leave,

leave, would have forced him thence, but was ſlain in the attempt. Upon this, Cedwalla would have ſeized the kingdom; but Authun and Berthun prevented him, as I have, above, related. In the mean time, Centwin dying, Cedwalla, returning to Weſſex, received the crown.

CEDWALLA. 685. Cedwalla was alſo monarch of the Anglo-Saxons; and his firſt war was againſt Authun and Berthun.

He turned his arms, next, againſt Kent, carrying off a conſiderable booty. Then he attacked the iſle of Wight, which, from the time of Wulfer's giving it to Adelwalch, had belonged to the king of Suſſex. Arwald Authun's brother, being governor of the iſle, undertook to defend it; but, Cedwalla's forces being vaſtly ſuperior to his, in number, he was obliged, at laſt, to abandon the iſle to the mercy of the conqueror. As the inhabitants were all idolaters, Cedwalla, from a falſe zeal for religion, reſolved to extirpate them, and people the place with chriſtians; and he would have executed his cruel deſign, had not Wilfrid, formerly biſhop of York, and then biſhop of Selſey in Suſſex, repreſented to him, that it would be much better for him to attempt their converſion. Cedwalla, upon this, was diverted from his inhuman purpoſe, but on condition that they would all immediately receive baptiſm. The miſerable inhabitants, who had no leiſure for deliberation, embraced chriſtianity, at the firſt preaching of Birwin a prieſt, Wilfrid's nephew, who was employed to convert them, if the bare declaration of people, extorted by the fear of death, may be called by that name.

687. Some time after, Cedwalla ſent his brother Mollon, with an army, into Kent, an account of which I have already given, in the hiſtory of that kingdom.

In 688, Cedwalla went to Rome, to be baptized by the pope; for, tho' he was a great zealot for the chriſtian faith, he had not, hitherto, received baptiſm. As he paſs'd thro' France and Lombardy, he was in all places treated with honour and reſpect; and Cunibert, king of the Lombards, in particular, entertained him in a noble and grand manner. When he came to Rome, he was baptized by
688. pope Sergius II. by the name of Peter. He had, all along, wiſhed to die ſoon after his baptiſm; and, accordingly, he died a few weeks after it at Rome. He was buried in St. Peter's church, where a magnificent tomb was erected to his memory, with an epitaph ſhewing his name, quality, age, and the time of his death *. He left behind him two ſons, which he had by Cendrith his queen; but, on the account of their minority, they did not ſucceed him. Ina his relation received the crown.

INA. 888. Ina was one of the moſt renowned and illuſtrious kings, that reigned in England, during the heptarchy; and, the very firſt year of his reign, he was declared monarch of the Anglo-Saxons, in a general aſſembly, wherein Sebba, king of Eſſex, ſerved him effectually.

Ina's wars with the Britons in Cornwall, the kings of Kent, the South-Saxons, and the king of Mercia rendered him ſtill more famous; but, as the hiſtorians have only told us the ſucceſs, with out letting us into the motives of theſe wars, we cannot be very particular, in our account of them. They inform us, that in Kent they were forced to purchaſe 694.
a peace with a ſum of money; that, in 710, he ſubdued part of Cornwall; that, in 715, Ina and Ceolred fought a bloody battle at Wodensburg in Wiltſhire, where the loſs was equal on both ſides; and, that, laſtly, he reduced the South-Saxons to their allegiance, 722.
and placed one Albert on the throne.

Theſe exploits procured Ina a great reputation for war; but the panegyricks, beſtowed on him by the hiſtorians, were chiefly owing to the four following particulars. (1.) He rebuilt Glaſſenbury monaſtery, vaſtly augmenting its privileges and revenues. (2.) He publiſhed a body of laws, entitled Weſt-Saxon Leaga, i. e. laws of the Weſt-Saxons, which ſerved for a pattern to Alfred the great, his ſucceſſor. (3.) He quitted his crown and embraced the monaſtick life, which was, in thoſe days, taken to be an undoubted mark of religion. This he did, by the perſuaſion of Ethelburga his queen, who often repreſented to him the examples of the kings his predeceſſors, who had turned monks, and, on that account, were honoured as ſaints. (4.) Which moſt of all redounded to his fame: When at Rome, after he had conferred with pope Gregory II. about it, he built a large college, 727.
for the education of the Engliſh eccleſiaſticks that ſhould come to ſtudy at Rome, and for the reception and entertainment of ſuch Engliſh kings and princes, as ſhould, hereafter, make a viſit to the tombs of the apoſtles. Cloſe to the college, he built alſo a ſtately church, appointing a certain number of prieſts to officiate in it. Beſides the charge of thoſe ſtructures, the ornaments of the church, and the neceſſaries of the college, there was an abſolute occaſion for a ſtanding fund for their ſupport, according to the intent of the founder. With this view, Ina laid the tax of a penny, called Romeſcot, on every family in the kingdoms of Weſſex and Suſſex; and, ſome time after, Offa, king of Mercia, laid the ſame tax on the kingdoms of Mercia and Eaſt-Anglia, terming it Peter-pence. Some ſay, Ina returned to England, to have this tax ſettled by the general aſſembly or parliament of Weſſex, and to get the charter ſigned by all the nobility of the kingdom; and that, having done this, he went back again to Rome, where he took up the monkiſh habit. Ethelburga, who adviſed him to it, became a nun herſelf, putting on the veil in the monaſtery of Barking.

* Hic depoſitus Cedwalla, qui & Petrus, rex Saxonum. Sub xii. cal. Maij indictione ſecunda qui vixit annos plus minus triginta, imperante domino Juſtiniano piiſſimo Auguſto, anno ejus conſulatus quarto, pontificante apoſtolico viro Sergio papa ſecundo.

Malmsbury is miſtaken, when he ſays, that Ina was 62 years on the throne of Weſſex, ſince it is evident he reigned but 37, or, at moſt, but 39 years, when he reſigned his crown to Adelard his couſin.

ADELARD 717. Tho' Adelard was placed on the throne, with the conſent of the aſſembly-general, Oſmond, one of the royal family, diſputed his right. Their quarrel was decided by a battle, wherein the king defeated his rival, whoſe death, which happened ſoon after, reſtored peace and tranquillity to the kingdom. Adelard died in 740, and had for his ſucceſſor

CUDRED. 740. Cudred his brother or couſin, of whom we have the following account.

743. In 743, he obtained a remarkable victory over the Corniſhmen. Two years after, Ethelun, a Weſt-Saxon lord, fomented a ſedition among the ſoldiers, in which Kenrick, the ſon of Cudred, was ſlain. This was followed by a civil war, which laſted for ſome time.

750. Ethelun, heading the rebels, ventured to give his ſovereign battle, wherein the king, tho' with great difficulty, was victorious. During the engagement, Ethelun gave ſuch convincing proofs of his courage and conduct, that the king was pleaſed to receive him into favour.

752. It was the ſame Ethelun, that, in 752, vanquiſhed Ethelbald king of Mercia, in a battle taken notice of in the hiſtory of that kingdom.

753. Cudred, turning his troops againſt the Britons of Cornwall, ſubdued part of their country, which he united to Weſſex. He, dying a little after, left his crown to

SIGEBERT. 754. Sigebert his nephew, who, by his vices and cruelties, occaſioned the hatred and contempt of his ſubjects. A certain count, having expoſtulated with him about his conduct, was put to death in his preſence. Upon this, the Weſt-Saxons, loſing all patience, publickly depoſed him, and placed Cenulph, the ſon of Adelard, on the throne. Sigebert was forced to acquieſce in the ſentence of the ſtates, retiring to a foreſt, where he was killed by a ſwineherd.

CENULPH 754. Cenulph was very famous, for his many victories over the Britons.

After a reign of 30 years, he was jealous of Cunehard, Sigebert's brother, and, perhaps, not without reaſon. Cunehard, finding that the king was reſolved to diſpatch him, determined to prevent his deſign. Viewing, him, therefore, one day, as he went alone to viſit a certain lady his ſpecial favourite, he purſued him, with ſome of his friends, into the houſe and attacked him. Cenulph defended himſelf bravely, and even wounded his enemy; but, at laſt, being overpowered with numbers, died of his wounds. The king's officers and domeſticks ruſhing in at the noiſe, and finding him dead, ſlew Cunehard, deſpiſing the vaſt offers he made them, if they would ſpare his life and place him on the throne. Brithrick, Cenulph's ſon, ſucceeded his father.

BRITHRICK. Brithrick, three years after he received the crown, married Edburga, the daughter of Offa king of Mercia, and, about the ſame time, baniſhed Egbert. Egbert, who was a prince of the blood-royal, by his noble qualities, had ſo captivated the affections of the Weſt-Saxons, that the king, for his own quiet, ſent him out of the way. Egbert repaired, at firſt, to the court of Offa king of Mercia; but Offa was unwilling to affront Brithrick, his ſon-in-law, by harbouring a prince whom he deteſted. Upon this, Egbert went to France, where he was very honourably received by Charles the great. During his reſidence at this court, for 12 years, he made great improvement in his natural abilities, being rendered capable of carrying on his grand deſign of uniting the ſeven kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons into one monarchy, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. 784. 787.

During Brithrick's reign, the Danes, firſt, invaded the kingdom of Weſſex, being, at this time, dreaded not only at ſea, but on the coaſts of ſeveral European kingdoms. As the Engliſh ſuſtained incredible damage by them, it is no wonder, that the hiſtorians have exactly noted the time of their firſt deſcent upon England.

Brithrick, in 799, being poiſon'd by Edburga his wife, the Weſt-Saxons ſo reſented this action, that, before they choſe a new king, they made a law, prohibiting the wives of their future kings from aſſuming the title of queens, or ſitting on the throne with their husbands; and, leſt the complaiſance of the kings to their wives ſhould occaſion the violation of this law, it was farther enacted, that, if any king, hereafter, ſhould diſpenſe with the obſervance of it, he ſhould be, ipſo facto, deprived of his regal dignity, and his ſubjects be abſolved from their oaths of allegiance. 799. or, 800.

Upon this, ambaſſadors were ſent by the Weſt-Saxons to Egbert, to offer him the crown. Egbert was then at Rome with Charles the great, who was inveſted there, ſoon after, with the imperial crown. Here he took his leave of that great prince, who had been a father to him, and, at his departure, gave him freſh proofs of his affection.

Queen Edburga fled alſo, for protection, to Charles the great, who, becauſe of the friendſhip between him and her father Offa, gave her a rich abbey, where ſhe might have quietly ſpent the remainder of her days; but, that way of life not agreeing with her conſtitution, being detected of an amour with a young Engliſh gentleman, the emperor was obliged to diſcard her. After ſhe had wander'd about, for ſome time, ſhe, at laſt, died at Pavia in great want and miſery.

EGBERT. 800. Egbert, beſides the valour which was natural to all the Saxon princes, excelled all the other kings, his cotemporaries, in his vaſt knowledge in politicks, acquir'd during his reſidence at the court of Charles the great. He no ſooner received the crown of Weſſex, than he was reſolved to make the beſt uſe of this advantage; but, like a skilful politician, the more effectually to accompliſh his deſigns, he judged it neceſſary to proceed leiſurely and with

with deliberation, He, therefore, employ'd the firſt ſeven years of his reign, in gaining the affection and eſteem of his own ſubjects, in which he was as ſucceſsful as he could have wiſh'd.

The kingdom of Weſſex being bounded, on the ſouth, by the ſea, and, on the north by the Thames, it was very natural for Egbert to enlarge his bounds, either eaſtward or weſtward. To the eaſt, lay the kingdom of Kent, which would have been very convenient for him, were it not, at that time, ſubject to Cenulph king of Mercia, a prince of uncommon worth and monarch of the Anglo-Saxons. Waiting, therefore, for a more favourable juncture, Egbert turn'd his arms, firſt, weſtward, againſt the Britons of Cornwall; and with ſuch ſucceſs, that, in a war commenced in 809, in a ſingle campaign, he
809. reduced all Cornwall to obedience.
810. The Welch having deſigned to aſſiſt their countrymen in Cornwall, Egbert made this a handle to attack them the following year. He frequently defeated them, and, at laſt, ſubdued the kingdom of Venedotia *, one of
* In Britiſh Gwenydh. the three into which Wales was then divided; and, the more the Welch attempted to
811. ſhake off their yoke, it became ſo much the
812. heavier; for Egbert, returning again, deſtroy-
813. ed all before him with fire and ſword, which made them cautious, how they provok'd him to come, a third time, among them.

819. At length, Cenulph's death gave Egbert occaſion to think of putting his deſigns in execution. He was immediately elected monarch, to which dignity he had the faireſt pretenſions; his kingdom was in a flouriſhing ſtate, whilſt the others were weaken'd by inteſtine diviſions; and the heptarchy was reduced to five kingdoms, of which his was the chief. In the reſt, the race of their antient kings being extinct, there were perpetual jars and animoſities among the grandees, who all imagined they had a right to aſpire to the crown; and, therefore, they regarded nothing but their own private intereſts, as they were always forming parties and cabals to promote them. On the other hand, the kingdom of Weſſex daily increas'd in power, by the wiſe adminiſtration of the king, whoſe valour was equal to his judgment and ſagacity in the moſt refined politicks. Moſt of the preceding monarchs, as well as Egbert, had projected the reduction of the heptarchy into one kingdom, and their deſign proved abortive, merely, becauſe it was not well-tim'd; but every circumſtance was favourable to the king of Weſſex. Northumberland had, long ago, been torn in pieces by two factions, who, not minding what was tranſacted abroad, were attentive only, how they might ſupplant each other. Mercia was in the ſame condition. Bernulph, who had depos'd Ceolwulph, reigned only by the ſupport of a powerful party, who had placed him on the throne, but could ſcarce ſecure it to him, ſo great was the diſcontent and envy of the nobility; and, on this account, tho' that kingdom was enlarg'd by the acquiſition of Eaſt-Anglia, and Kent was dependent on it, yet it was vaſtly inferior, in power, to that of Weſſex. The Eaſt-Angles, not being thoroughly inur'd to the Mercian yoke, wanted only a proper opportunity to throw it off; and the wars, the kings of Kent were engaged in againſt the Weſt-Saxons and Mercians, had reduced them ſo low, that they became tributary to the Mercians, and were, therefore, unable to ſtand againſt Egbert. As for Eſſex, there is reaſon to preſume, that it was ſubject to Mercia, and it had been, for many years, very inconſiderable; beſides, if Smithred was ſtill on the throne of Eſſex, which is uncertain, he muſt have been of an extreme old age.

Theſe conſiderations inflamed Egbert's ambition, who began his preparations; and the king of Mercia, jealous of him, determin'd immediately to provide for his own ſecurity. Tho' he did not apprehend that Egbert had the conqueſt of all England in his view; yet he was perſuaded, that he deſigned to enlarge his dominions, at the expence of his neighbours; and, dreading the impending ſtorm, he judg'd it adviſable to attack Egbert, before he was in readineſs, expecting that, by this means, he ſhould diſconcert his meaſures. To this end, he marched his army as far as Ellandunum or Wilton near Salisbury, where he met the enemy, whom he thought to have ſurprized. The two armies coming to an engagement, the Mercians were entirely routed, with ſo great loſs, that Bernulph could never afterwards retrieve it.

This victory was of vaſt conſequence to Egbert; firſt, as it exceedingly weaken'd the king of Mercia, who alone was able to oppoſe him; and, ſecondly, as it pav'd the way for the conqueſt of Kent, to which Bernulph, by attacking him firſt, had given a handle. This conqueſt was abſolutely neceſſary, in order to his becoming maſter of all the country between the Thames and the ſea; and, beſides, by beginning with Kent, he was in no danger of alarming the Northumbrians, who were too far diſtant to be much concerned about what was tranſacted, ſouth of the Thames.

Egbert, therefore, ſent Ethelwolph his ſon with a powerful army into Kent. Baldred, not prepared againſt an invaſion, to no purpoſe, intreated the king of Mercia to aſſiſt him. Bernulph's late defeat render'd him incapable of bringing an army, ſo ſoon after it into the field. Beſides, Egbert was ſo advantageouſly poſted, that he could not ſend any ſuccours into Kent, without marching them through the very heart of his army; which he not being in a condition to attempt, Baldred was forced to bear the burthen of the war alone. However, he hazarded a battle; but, being defeated, he retir'd into Mercia, abandoning his kingdom to Ethelwolph, who ſoon ſubdued it. Thus, the kingdom of Kent was united to thoſe of Weſſex and Suſſex, and Egbert got poſſeſſion of the whole country lying ſouth of the Thames.

• After this, he made a conqueſt of Eſſex; but the hiſtorians have not given us one particular concerning it, ſo defective is the hiſtory

ſtory of that kingdom. Tho' the ſubduing theſe two kingdoms was a great ſtep towards the conqueſt of the reſt; yet he found the conqueſt of Northumberland, Mercia, and Eaſt-Anglia to be the moſt difficult task. Had theſe three kingdoms been in their former ſplendor, each of them, ſingly, would have been a match for Egbert; or, had they enter'd into a ſtrict alliance, for their common defence, they might, perhaps, have made him deſpair of ſubduing them; but their inteſtine diſcords prevented ſuch a neceſſary union. The Eaſt-Angles only waited for an opportunity to revolt againſt the king of Mercia. The Northumbrians had, for ſome time, lived in a ſort of anarchy, ſo that they were intent upon nothing elſe but the ruin of one another, in which they had only too much ſucceſs. Mercia, indeed, ſeem'd ſtill to have ſufficient power; but they were divided among themſelves, as well as the Northumbrians, and the battle of Ellandunum had conſiderably weaken'd them; whereas the ſtrength of Weſſex was increaſed, by the conqueſt of two kingdoms.

Egbert, pleas'd to find all things conſpire, in favour of his deſigns, firſt, invaded Mercia, evidently foreſeeing, that the conqueſt of the others would naturally follow the ſubduing that kingdom. Mercia and Eaſt-Anglia made but one body, ever ſince Offa had united them; but, as this union was not cemented by the mutual affection of both nations, it was rather deſtructive than advantageous to the ſtate. The Eaſt-Anglians conſider'd the Mercians, as their deteſtable maſters; whilſt they, on the contrary, treated the Eaſt-Angles, as their ſlaves and vaſſals. This being the caſe, it was much eaſier for Egbert to foment their inteſtine animoſities, than for them to reap the benefit of their union. Egbert, therefore, exerted all his art and skill to widen their diviſions, being confident, that, could he once bring them to an open rupture, they would render themſelves incapable of reſiſting him, for the future. It is very ſurprizing, ſince this maxim, We muſt divide thoſe whom we would deſtroy, is ſo very notorious, that the truth of it ſhould be ſo little conſider'd by thoſe, againſt whom it is put in practice. The Eaſt-Angles, extremely deſirous of ſhaking off the Mercian yoke, blindly fell in with the advice Egbert ſecretly gave them, viz. to take up arms, for the recovery of their freedom. As they conſulted only their intereſt, for the preſent, they did not reflect, that, when they had ſerved Egbert's turn, they would be leſs able to defend themſelves againſt him, than againſt the Mercians. Egbert, indeed, pretended that he had nothing but their intereſt in view; and he laid before them the moſt plauſible motives, to excite them to a revolt. He repreſented to them, by his emiſſaries, that they could never have a fairer opportunity for regaining their liberty; that the Mercians were ſo weaken'd, by their defeat at Ellandunum, that they were in no condition to tyrannize any longer over the Eaſt-Angles; that he himſelf was ſo incenſed againſt Bernulph, that he would not fail to aſſiſt them, having made publick declarations to this purpoſe. This was ſufficient to work upon the Eaſt-Angles; for the pleaſing proſpect, of being freed from the Mercians, baniſh'd from their thoughts the fear of becoming ſubject to the Weſt-Saxons. Thus reſolved, they took up arms; but Bernulph, alarmed at their proceedings, attempted, with all expedition, to checque an evil he apprehended to be of dangerous conſequence. With the very firſt troops he could muſter together, he marched againſt them; but, inſtead of chaſtiſing them, he was defeated and ſlain.

The Eaſt-Angles were exceedingly animated by this auſpicious beginning. However, the Mercians, not at all diſcouraged, immediately elected a king, named Ludican, who was intent upon carrying on the war; whilſt the Eaſt-Angles were making preparations to receive him, expecting that the king of Weſſex would aſſiſt them, as occaſion offered, according to his promiſe. Ludican actually entered Eaſt-Anglia, with a powerful army; but death prevented him from making any progreſs. Some affirm, he was ſlain in battle; and others ſay, that the Eaſt-Angles, dreading him, found the means to have him aſſaſſinated.

Whether the Mercians diſcovered, that Egbert privately aſſiſted the Eaſt-Angles, or whether that prince's conqueſts had opened their eyes, they became ſenſible, at length, that the maintaining their authority over Eaſt-Anglia was not ſo much the buſineſs of the preſent war, as the preſervation of their liberties. Reſolving, therefore, to exert their utmoſt, they choſe for their king Witglaph, a lord of ſingular merit, whoſe ſon had married a daughter of king Cenulph. If this prince had been engaged with the Eaſt-Anglians only, in all probability, he would have ſpeedily put an end to the war; but, as things ſtood, he was ſo far from being able to reduce Eaſt-Anglia, that the defence of his own dominions ſufficiently employed him. Egbert, fearing the election of a king, of known valour, would give a new turn to affairs, openly declared for the Eaſt-Anglians. He had hitherto aſſiſted them only underhand, at leaſt, he had not made himſelf a party in the war; but, now, he publickly declared war againſt the Mercians. Witglaph did all that was poſſible to withſtand the united forces of the Eaſt-Angles and Weſt-Saxons, frequently trying his fortune in little skirmiſhes and encounters, but always with ill ſucceſs. At laſt, being defeated in a great battle, and finding his condition deſperate, he fled to the abbey of Croyland, where he lay concealed three months. Egbert, purſuing his victory, ſubdued Mercia, without any farther reſiſtance. He deſigned to have united it to his other dominions; but, by the mediation of Siward

abbot

abbot of Croyland, Witglaph was reſtored to his kingdom, upon his paying homage and becoming tributary to the conqueror.

The Eaſt-Angles alſo, tho' they had been ſo ſubſervient to Egbert's deſigns, were glad to be received into his protection, on almoſt the ſame terms with the Mercians, gaining no more by this war, than the change of one maſter for another.

Northumberland alone remained unconquered; but that kingdom was not in a condition to hold out long againſt the king of Weſſex. Andred, who was then on the throne, was no more than a titular king, his faction having raiſed him, not that he, but that they, through him, might reign. Beſides, Northumberland was continually diſtracted by parties; and the Scots, who often invaded it, had over-run a great part of the kingdom. Accordingly, no ſooner did Egbert approach with an army, that had already ſubdued four kingdoms, than Andred and the Northumbrians, in a great conſternation, ſubmitted themſelves, on the terms granted to the Mercians and the Eaſt-Anglians.

Thus, ended the heptarchy of the Anglo-Saxons, all the ſeven kingdoms being reduced under the dominion of the king of Weſſex. Indeed, Mercia, Eaſt-Anglia, and Northumberland preſerved ſtill the ſhadow of liberty; but it is highly probable, that Egbert would not have ſuffer'd other kings to be choſen, after the death of thoſe then reigning, if the Danes, who ſoon after began their invaſions, would have allowed him leiſure to take other meaſures.

The heptarchy, from the founding of Mercia, the laſt of the ſeven kingdoms, continued 243 years; but, if we date it from Hengiſt's arrival, it laſted 378.

The cauſes of its diſſolution are very obvious. One of the principal reaſons was, the vaſt inequality among the ſeven kingdoms, three of which exceedingly ſurpaſs'd the others, in extent and power. Scarce was the heptarchy founded, before the kings of Weſſex look'd upon Suſſex and Kent as extremely convenient for them; and the kings of Mercia were continually intent upon the kingdom of Eſſex. Nay, it appears the Mercians were maſters of it for ſome time; and, in all probability, it was entirely free, when Egbert, ſubdued, and united it to his other dominions. Eaſt-Anglia was, all along, coveted by the Mercians and Northumbrians, and the former, at length, made a conqueſt of it. Another reaſon of the diſſolution of the heptarchy was, the default of male-heirs in the royal-families of all the kingdoms, Weſſex excepted; for, from this cauſe, proceeded thoſe frequent diſſentions among the grandees, which very much weakened their reſpective ſtates. To this may be added, as another reaſon, the concurrence of ſo many various circumſtances, which never happen'd, but in the reign of Egbert; but we muſt chiefly aſcribe this great revolution to the providence of God, who was pleas'd to raiſe England by degrees, and, after ſeveral changes, to that height of grandeur and power it is at preſent poſſeſs'd of.

I come, now, to treat of the converſion of the Anglo-Saxons to the chriſtian faith, and give an account of the church of England, in her primitive ſtate, the principal part of the Engliſh hiſtory, during the heptarchy.

The ſtate of the church of England, from the converſion of the Engliſh, to the diſſolution of the heptarchy.

IN order to have a clear knowledge of the converſion of the Anglo-Saxons, England muſt be conſider'd, as divided into ſeven diſtinct kingdoms; and, as they did not all of them receive the chriſtian faith at one time, it will be neceſſary to treat concerning each of them ſeparately. I ſhall, accordingly, proceed to relate what remarkable events, as to religion, happened in each kingdom, from the founding of their churches, to the diſſolution of the heptarchy, in the reign of Egbert the firſt ſole monarch of England.

The ſtate of the CHURCH of KENT.

The ſtate of the church of Kent.

I ſhall begin with the kingdom of Kent, as it was the firſt that embraced chriſtianity; but, ſeveral circumſtances concurring to produce this event, I ſhall mention them all in this place.

I have already taken notice of Ethelbert's power over the other kings of the heptarchy; and that his alliance with France did not a little contribute towards it. It was with this view, that he demanded in marriage the daughter of Cherebert king of Paris, tho' this affair, at firſt, met with ſome difficulties. Chilperic, who, ſince his brother Cherebert's death, had been as a father to this princeſs, by reaſon of Ethelbert's being an idolater, could not be prevailed upon, for ſome time, to conſent to this match; but, Ethelbert having promis'd to let Bertha have the free exerciſe of her

religion, and granted her the liberty to bring over with her a certain number of eccleſiaſticks, he, at length, received her in marriage. Chilperic formed hopes, that, as ſhe was thoroughly grounded in her religion, ſhe would not only adhere to it herſelf, but would be a means of converting the Engliſh monarch; and, in this, his expectation was fully anſwered. As ſoon as they came together, ſhe did all that was poſſible, by her affability and condeſcention, to gain the affection of her husband; and Ethelbert, charmed with the agreeable qualities of his ſpouſe, had all the eſteem and love for her ſhe could have wiſh'd. Bertha, upon this, hoping, in time, to make him a convert, took all opportunities of repreſenting to him the truths of the goſpel in the ſtrongeſt light; and Luidhard biſhop of Soiſſons, who came over with the queen, by his occaſional interviews with Ethelbert, very much promoted her deſign. The king, in a ſhort time, was ſo far wrought upon, that if he did not, as yet, embrace chriſtianity, he entertain'd a favourable opinion both of it and its profeſſors.

526. At this juncture, pope Gregory I. ſent miſſionaries into England, to inſtruct the Engliſh in the knowledge of the goſpel. Gildas and Bede ſharply inveigh againſt the Britons, for permitting their neighbours to live ſo long in paganiſm; but theſe invectives are groundleſs. It is obvious, that, whilſt the Saxons treated the natives with all imaginable cruelties, they were very unfit inſtruments to convert their oppreſſors. Beſides, their continual wars gave the Saxons no leiſure to apply their thoughts to religious affairs; but, as ſoon as they were ſettled, aſſiſtance was not wanting; and though it came from abroad, it was as effectual as if it had been given by their neighbours. This being a very remarkable epocha in the Engliſh hiſtory, I ſhall ſhew the methods of divine providence, in bringing about its deſigns, in favour of this nation; and, to this purpoſe, it will be neceſſary to take a view of what happened a little before.

About 18 or 20 years before the arrival of the miſſionaries from Rome, in the reign of Alla king of Deira, ſome young children were ſent from England to Rome, in order to be ſold; for the Engliſh made no ſcruple of ſelling their children, when they were overſtock'd, this being then a common practice among them. Theſe young children, being expos'd in the publick market, attracted the eyes of vaſt numbers of ſpectators, who could not ſufficiently admire them. Among the reſt, Gregory, archdeacon of Rome, very attentively beheld them, who enquir'd particularly after the place of their nativity, and the religion there profeſſed; and finding they were Engliſh, and born of idolatrous parents, he determin'd upon going, in perſon, to preach the goſpel to that nation; and, having obtain'd the pope's licence, he made preparations for his journey. However, the Romans petitioning the pope not to deprive them of ſo neceſſary a paſtor, for whom they had a profound veneration, and, the pope complying with their requeſt, Gregory could not put his deſign in execution; and, in all likelihood, Gregory's undertaking would have, at that time, met with great difficulties. All England was embroiled with wars and commotions; Ethelbert was not, as yet, married to Bertha; his mind was unprepared for the reception of the goſpel, and, being a vaſſal to Keaulin, he was in no condition to encourage Gregory's deſign; but, in proceſs of time, every thing concurred to bring it about. Gregory, now biſhop of Rome, revived his former deſign of converting the Engliſh; and tho', on account of his dignity, he was obliged to reſide at Rome, and could not go himſelf, he ſent thoſe whom he thought qualified to inſpire them with a regard for the goſpel. He appointed, for this miſſion, 40 benedictin monks, with Auſtin at their head, in the quality of abbot *. It is highly probable, that Bertha had informed the pope, how well affected her husband was, with reſpect to religion, ſince they had orders to land in Kent. Auſtin and his companions, being, in their paſſage thro' France, ſupplied with interpreters, arrived at the iſle of Thanet in 597. As ſoon as they were landed, Auſtin acquainted the king, that he was come into his dominions, accompanied by ſome very honeſt men, with a meſſage of the laſt importance, to ſhew him the way to everlaſting happineſs. Upon this, Ethelbert order'd them to remain where they were, deſigning to come himſelf, to hear, from their own mouths, the occaſion of their journey. A few days after, he went in company with the queen; and being apprehenſive, as Bede tells us, of charms or ſpells, he ſeated himſelf in the open air, believing that, in ſuch a ſituation, they could have no power over him. Having given orders for the ſtrangers to be called before him, he enquir'd into their propoſals. Auſtin, as the repreſentative of the reſt, made a long harangue, preaching the goſpel in a moving and zealous manner, ſays the ſame hiſtorian, tho' he does not give us a word of his ſermon. Ethelbert, learning from the interpreters what Auſtin ſaid, made him the following reply: "Your "propoſals are noble, and your promiſes in- "viting; but I cannot think of quitting the "religion of my anceſtors, for one that ſeems "to be ſupported by the teſtimony of per- "ſons that are entire ſtrangers to me. How- "ever, ſince you have undertaken ſo long a "journey, on purpoſe to impart what you "apprehend to be of the greateſt importance, "you ſhall not be ſent away, without ſome "ſatisfaction. You ſhall be treated with ci- "vility in my dominions, and ſupplied with "all things neceſſary and convenient; and if "any of my ſubjects, convinced by your "doctrine, ſhall embrace your religion, I "ſhall not oppoſe it."

597.

The firſt ſtep being taken, the queen obtain'd leave for the miſſionaries to ſettle at

* He was then abbot of St. Andrew's, at Rome.

Canter-

Canterbury, the capital of Kent, where ſhe provided them with lodgings, and procured them the liberty to preach to as many as had the curioſity to hear them; and they made ſuch an uſe of this opportunity, that, in a ſhort time, ſeveral of the principal Saxons embraced the chriſtian faith. The ſwift progreſs of the goſpel, at Canterbury, excited in the king an inclination to be more particularly inſtructed, in the nature of the religion thoſe ſtrangers preached; and, at length, by
598. the queen's perſuaſions and his frequent conferences with Auſtin, he received baptiſm, about a year after the arrival of the miſſionaries. The converſion of the king being followed by that of great numbers of his ſubjects, the queen's chapel, which was without the city *, ſoon became too little to contain them; and, therefore, they turned one of the heathen temples into a church, which was dedicated to St. Pancrace. Soon after, ſeveral other temples, by Ethelbert's order, were uſed in the ſame manner; and the foundations of Canterbury cathedral were laid, which was dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, tho' afterwards it had the name of St. Thomas. Auſtin alſo founded a monaſtery, which he had not the ſatisfaction to finiſh. Peter, one of his companions, was the firſt abbot; and it was named from St. Auguſtin its founder. Ethelbert, at length, leaving Canterbury to the Italian monks, kept his court at Reculver.

Thus, began the converſion of the Saxons in England. Auſtin and his companions were inſtruments, made uſe of by divine providence, to turn them from their pagan ſuperſtitions to the light of the goſpel; a bleſſing their brethren in Germany did not enjoy, for 200 years after, till the reign of Charles the great. Ethelbert was very active in promoting the converſion of his ſubjects, but by no violent or compulſive methods, having been taught by his inſtructors, as Bede expreſsly obſerves, that God requires none to be his ſervants, but thoſe who ſerve him with a willing mind. It would be well, if all chriſtian princes were of the ſame opinion! The Saxons were ſo deſirous of embracing chriſtianity, that the hiſtorians tell us, Auſtin, in one day, baptized 10,000 in the river Swale, which runs into the Thames.

Auſtin's ſucceſs in Kent, leading him to expect the ſame every where, he look'd upon all England, as already converted. Full of this notion, he haſten'd to Arles, to be conſecrated archbiſhop of the Saxons by Etherius, or Vigilius, then archbiſhop of that place. One would not have wonder'd at it, had he been ſatisfied with the bare title of biſhop; but it is, indeed, ſurprizing, that he ſhould aſpire to the archiepiſcopal dignity, when he had not a biſhop under his juriſdiction. It is certain, the pope promis'd to make him an archbiſhop, provided his miſſion was ſucceſsful; but, in all likelihood, by theſe words, Gregory meant the converſion of the Engliſh nation in general, and not of a part only of one of the leaſt kingdoms of the heptarchy. How great ſoever Auſtin's progreſs was, for the time he had been in England, it was nothing, in compariſon of what remained to be done. His eagerneſs, therefore, to be made archbiſhop and primate of England, when there was but a ſingle church in it, does not redound much to his reputation. All that can be advanced in his favour is, that the progreſs of the goſpel, at Canterbury, led him to imagine, that the converſion of all England was at hand; and, indeed, ſoon after his return from Arles, he erected an epiſcopal ſee at Rocheſter, of which Juſtus, one of his fellow-labourers, was the firſt biſhop. 603.
Hence it is evident, the goſpel had been alſo preached in that city, and with ſome ſucceſs.

It is plain, that Auſtin entertained great hopes of his miſſion, ſince, fearing he ſhould ſtand in need of more labourers in the harveſt, he ſent Peter and Laurence, with two others of his companions, to acquaint the pope with his wants. He made uſe of this opportunity alſo to deſire the pope's reſolution of certain queſtions, which he apprehended to be difficult, and which, he foreſaw, might perplex him, in the government of the new church.

Auſtin's letters, and the accounts he ſent him of his progreſs, inſpired him with ſuch a high conceit of his miſſion, that, regarding the converſion of the Engliſh, as a thing already done, though it was but juſt begun, he ſent the pall † to Auſtin, as a mark of diſtinction to this new apoſtle. He ordered him alſo to erect biſhops ſees in ſeveral places, particularly at York, where was to be placed a metropolitan with 12 ſuffragans; and, upon the death of one of the two archbiſhops, the ſurvivor was to conſecrate another in his room, and have the precedence of him. The reaſon of this preference, with reſpect to York, was, becauſe it had formerly, under the Romans, been an archbiſhoprick as well as London and Caerleon. As for the laſt, as it was poſſeſſed by the Britons, and already an archbiſhop's ſee, tho' not under the juriſdiction of the pope, there was no occaſion to mention it. Gregory's deſign, therefore, in making London an archbiſhoprick, was to reſtore things to their primitive ſtate; tho' he afterwards altered his meaſures, at the inſtance of Auſtin, who was deſirous of obtaining that honour for Canterbury, the metropolis of Kent, where he firſt exerciſed his mi-

* It was dedicated to St. Martin, and had been a church, in the time of the Romans. Bede, l. 1. c. 26.

† The pall is a white piece of woollen cloth, of the breadth of a border, made round and thrown over the ſhoulders. Upon this are two others of the ſame ſort, one falling down on the breaſt, and the other on the back, with each of them a red croſs, ſeveral croſſes of the ſame colour being on the upper part of it, about the ſhoulders. This pall is laid upon St. Peter's tomb by the pope, and then ſent away to the reſpective metropolitans; without which, they cannot call a council, bleſs the chriſm, conſecrate churches, &c. At the delivery of it, they ſwore fealty to the pope. The antient pall, from the Latin, pallium, was an entire magnificent habit, to remind the biſhop, that his life ſhould be anſwerable to the dignity of its appearance.

niſterial

niſterial functions. The pope's intent, then, was only to put things on their antient footing, when, in his anſwer to Auſtin, he told him it was his meaning, that the archbiſhops of London and York ſhould be independent of each other, tho' he granted to Auſtin, during his life, a juriſdiction, as well over them as all the other biſhops of Great-Britain.

But Gregory's pains were, for the preſent, needleſs, ſince chriſtianity was, as yet, far enough from extending to Northumberland. However, the rais'd hopes the pope had conceived, from Auſtin's letters and meſſages, led him to give directions about the Engliſh churches, as if they had been really founded. Beſides theſe general orders, he exhorted Auſtin not to be elated at his having received the gift of miracles; from whence it appears, he had been informed, that ſeveral miraculous works had been performed by him. He charged him alſo, not to pull down ſuch idolatrous temples as were fit to be made churches, but to conſecrate them, by ſprinkling holy-water and placing reliques under the altars; and, as the Saxons had been accuſtomed to offer ſacrifices to their gods, on their feſtival-days, he directed, that, upon the anniverſaries of the ſaints, whoſe reliques were preſerved there, or on the day of the church's conſecration, they ſhould kill ſome cattle and provide an entertainment, to which the poor were to be invited. At the ſame time, he wrote to Ethelbert and Bertha, exhorting them to perſeverance in the true religion, and to zeal and diligence in promoting the great work Auſtin had undertaken. Peter and Laurence, with Mellitus, Paulinus, Ruffinianus, and ſome other new miſſionaries, brought theſe letters, together with ſacred veſſels, ornaments for the altars, veſtments for the prieſts, reliques, books, and other neceſſaries for the celebration of divine ſervice. Auſtin received alſo the reſolution of the queſtions he had ſent to the pope; which, with their anſwers, I ſhall briefly relate.

I. Queſtion. How biſhops ought to behave towards their clergy? Into how many portions ſhould the offerings at the altar be divided? And how are biſhops to act in the church?

As to the firſt point, the pope refers him to St. Paul's epiſtles to Timothy. To the ſecond, he replies, that it was the cuſtom of the church to divide the offerings into four parts; one for the biſhop, another for the clergy, a third for the poor, and the fourth for the repairs of the churches. As to the laſt article, which was very obſcure, before the pope cleared it up, in his anſwer, he replies, that Auſtin, being a monk, ought not to live apart from the reſt of the clergy, but, according to the practice of the primitive chriſtians, ſhould have all things in common *. He adds, that ſuch clerks, as could not live continently, ſhould marry, and receive their ſtipends at their own houſes, in conformity to thoſe words of ſcripture, Diſtribution was made to each of them according to their wants. As for other chriſtians, he judged it unneceſſary to preſcribe any rules, in reference to their alms-giving, ſince our Saviour himſelf had ſaid, Give alms of ſuch things as you have, and behold all things are clean unto you.

* Acts iv. 32.

II. Queſt. Since the cuſtoms of the Gallican and Roman churches differ, how ought he to manage?

The pope adviſes him to ſelect, from each church, what he thought moſt convenient for the church of England.

III. Queſt. What puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on him that is guilty of ſacrilege?

Gregory anſwers, It muſt be conſidered, whether the theft was done out of neceſſity or covetouſneſs; and the puniſhment muſt be proportioned accordingly, with charity and moderation. As for reſtitution, God forbid, the church ſhould inſiſt on more than ſhe loſt.

IV. Queſt. Whether two brothers may marry two ſiſters, that are no way related to them?

The pope anſwers, They may very lawfully.

V. Queſt. To what degree of conſanguinity are marriages prohibited?

Gregory replies, To the ſecond degree incluſively, and no farther. He would not, however, have thoſe divorced, who had married within the prohibited degrees, before their converſion, becauſe they did it ignorantly; but he would have all the new converts ſtrictly charged not to do ſo, and, on their preſuming to do it, to be debarred the communion.

VI. Queſt. Whether a ſingle biſhop may ordain another, when the length of the journey renders it inconvenient for other biſhops to come to his aſſiſtance?

The pope anſwers, that as Auſtin was now the only biſhop in England, he might, alone, conſecrate others; but, to prevent this inconvenience hereafter, he adviſed him to place biſhops in ſuch a ſituation, that they might not be at too great a diſtance from one another.

VII. Queſt. How ought I to behave towards the biſhops of Gaul?

Gregory replies, that he does not allow him any juriſdiction over them, being unwilling to deprive the archbiſhop of Arles of his authority.

VIII. Queſt. Whether a woman with child ought to be baptized?

The pope tells him, He thought it very convenient.

IX. Queſt. How long after her lying-in, ought a woman to come into the church?

Anſw. If ſhe does ſo, the minute after her delivery, ſhe ſins not.

X. Queſt. How long after the birth, ſhould the baptiſm of an infant be deferred?

Anſw. A child may be baptized, as ſoon as he is born.

XI. Queſt. How long, after a lying-in, muſt it be, before a man and his wife may come together again?

Gregory, in his anſwer which is very large, blames mothers for not ſuckling their own children,

children, aſcribing the riſe of this ill cuſtom to their incontinency; and, therefore, he decides, that the husband ought not to have carnal copulation with his wife, till the child is weaned *.

XII. Queſt. May a woman, during ſome certain times, come into the church?

The pope enlarges on this head, and, at length, concludes, that womens infirmities ought not to hinder their coming to church.

XIII. Queſt. May a man, that has lain with his wife, come into the church, or receive the ſacrament, before he has waſh'd himſelf?

Gregory having, as uſual, made uſe of a great number of diſtinctions, concludes, that it is better for ſuch a man to abſtain from both, for ſome time.

XIV. May a man, after an impure dream, receive the communion, or, if a prieſt, adminiſter it?

The pope, at laſt, concludes, a man, in the caſe mention'd, ought not to communicate; but he allows a prieſt, in the ſame caſe, to adminiſter the ſacrament, if there is no other in the way to officiate for him.

Theſe difficulties, propos'd by Auſtin, do not convey to us any great idea of his parts and abilities; however, Gregory reſolved them fully and diſtinctly, as if they had been of the laſt importance. So deeply was he concerned for the converſion of the Engliſh, that, inſtead of giving Auſtin the leaſt diſcouragement, he highly extolled him.

Auſtin's zeal was not confined to the converſion of the Saxons; for he undertook alſo to bring the Welch and Britiſh biſhops to acknowledge the pope's juriſdiction, which was not an eaſy task. The Britons thought it their duty to adhere to the rites and cuſtoms they had practis'd, ever ſince the goſpel was planted among them; neither could they conceive any reaſons for their conformity to the church of Rome, at ſo great a diſtance from them; nor could they ſee, that their owning the pope's authority would tend to their advantage. Auſtin, however, purſued his deſign; for, beſides his attachment to the ſee of Rome, he had a claim to the primacy of all Britain, by virtue of the pope's grant, to excite him to this undertaking. On this account, he exerted himſelf to accompliſh this enterprize, which coſt him more labour and trouble, than the converſion of the Saxons, tho' he was, after all, diſappointed.

The goſpel, as I above obſerved, was firſt preached in Britain, either by the apoſtles themſelves, or by ſome of their diſciples. From that time, the Britons had conſtantly adhered to the cuſtoms and rules preſcribed to them by their firſt inſtructors; but the church of Rome had made ſeveral innovations, in the celebration of divine ſervice, to which they would have obliged all churches to conform. Tho' the biſhops of Rome, every where, met with oppoſition, they would not quit their pretenſions. This difference, indeed, was of no great importance; yet, towards the end of the ſecond century, it caus'd a moſt ſcandalous quarrel between pope Victor I. and the churches of Aſia; which roſe to ſuch an height, that the pope, on that very account, excommunicated them all. Tho' this affair had never been legally determin'd, the biſhops of Rome, inſiſting on their claims, did their utmoſt to bring about their deſigns. The weſtern churches, being neareſt to Rome, ſoon fell in with them, almoſt all, except the churches of Gaul and Milan, conforming, at length, to the Roman ritual; but Britain, which was, as it were out of the world, ſince the ambaſſy of Lucius to pope Eleutherius, held very little correſpondence with the biſhops of Rome. The Britons regarded them only, as biſhops of a particular dioceſe, or, at moſt, but as patriarchs, on whom their churches had not the leaſt dependence; and ſo far were they from acknowledging the pope's authority, that they were even ſtrangers to his pretenſions to any over them. Auſtin, however, undertook to bring them to own the pope, as head of the church in general. It is no eaſy matter to know the extent of Auſtin's deſigns, ſince it does not appear, that he had any inſtructions from Gregory I. who did not aſpire after ſuch an exorbitant power, as was attributed to his ſucceſſors. It muſt, however, be granted, that Gregory claimed a ſuperiority over the Britiſh churches, ſince, in his letter to Auſtin, he put the whole iſland under his juriſdiction; and, indeed, it is not to be imagined Auſtin would have purſued this point ſo far, had he not been aſſured of being ſupported in it; but, be this as it will, he left no means unattempted to accompliſh his deſign.

With this view, he prevailed on the Britiſh biſhops to meet him in a ſynod, to debate upon his propoſals; but neither promiſes nor threatenings could work upon them, to admit of the leaſt alteration in their antient cuſtoms. Bede affirms, that Auſtin, finding his arguments ineffectual, cauſed a blind man to be brought into the aſſembly; and, when the Britons had tried, in vain, to cure him, he reſtored him to his ſight, by his prayers. But, whether the miracle might not be called in queſtion, becauſe the blind man was a Saxon, or, whether Bede, who lived not till long after, might be impos'd upon in his information, the Britons were not convinced by this evidence. Auſtin could obtain no farther ſatisfaction from them, but that they would meet again, to determine the affair in a more numerous ſynod †. Seven Britiſh biſhops were preſent at this ſecond council, accompanied by Dinoth, abbot of Bangor, who brought ſeveral of his monks along with him. Before they came to the ſynod, they

* He allows thoſe, that do not ſuckle their children, to come together, after the uſual time of purgation.

† This ſynod was held at Auguſtin's Ac or oak, on the frontiers of the Weſt-Saxons, very probably in Worceſterſhire. Bede, l. 2. c. 2.

advis'd with a hermit of great repute among them, how they ſhould behave on this occaſion. The good old man told them, he ſaw no reaſon they had to admit of any change in their divine ſervice, on the bare requeſt of a man that was an entire ſtranger to them; but, as the eſſence of religion conſiſted in union and charity, it would not be amiſs to comply in ſome meaſure with Auſtin, provided he was a holy man, and one ſent from God. They farther enquir'd, how they ſhould know, whether he was ſuch a perſon or not? He anſwered, they might know it by his humility, the moſt unerring mark of a true chriſtian; and they would ſee, whether he was adorn'd with this virtue, by his riſing up to ſalute them, at their coming into the council-room; for, if he fail'd in that inſtance of reſpect, it would be an undoubted token of his pride. Accordingly, they, on purpoſe, came laſt into the place; and, Auſtin not riſing to ſalute them, they entertain'd an invincible prejudice againſt him. Thus, for a failure in good manners, Auſtin's ſcheme, which coſt him ſo much pains and trouble, proved abortive.

As Auſtin, in the ſynod, was very actively engaged, in urging the Britons to ſubmit to the pope's authority, Dinoth, abbot of Bangor, made him the following anſwer: "You "propoſe to us obedience to the church of "Rome; are you not ſenſible, that we al- "ready owe a deference of love and charity "to the church of God, the biſhop of Rome, "and to all chriſtians; which obliges us, by "all poſſible means, to do them all the good "we can? Other obedience, than this, to "him whom you call pope, we are ignorant "of; and this we are always ready to pay. "But, for a ſuperior, we have no occaſion "to go ſo far as Rome, when we are go- "verned, under God, by the biſhop of Caer- "leon, who hath authority to take care of "our churches and ſpiritual affairs?" It is ſaid, that Auſtin, after a long diſpute, deſpairing to convince them, cried out, full of indignation, "Since you reject peace from "your brethren, you ſhall have war from "your enemies; and, ſeeing you will not aſ- "ſiſt us, in preaching the word of eternal "life to your neighbours, you ſhall receive "death at their hands." From this it appears, that Auſtin reproached the Britons, for their negligence and want of zeal, in not promoting the converſion of the Saxons; and, perhaps, he deſigned to intimate to them, that their not complying with his propoſals was the only bar to the converſion of all England. However, Auſtin's words were look'd upon, as a prediction of the dreadful maſſacre of the monks of Bangor, mentioned in the hiſtory of Northumberland; but I ſubmit it to the reader's judgment, whether the abbot of Bangor's refuſal of Auſtin's propoſals was a crime, that deſerved ſo ſevere a puniſhment.

Dinoth's ſpeech.

Auſtin, not meeting with the ſucceſs he expected, in this undertaking, confin'd himſelf within the bounds of his miſſion, appointing Mellitus, one of the miſſionaries ſent him by the pope, to preach the goſpel to the Eaſt-Saxons; but I ſhall ſpeak, more particularly, concerning him, in my account of the converſion of that nation. 604.

Theſe are the tranſactions of Auſtin, commonly ſtiled the apoſtle of the Engliſh, during the eight years he reſided in England. He arrived in 597, and died in 605, according to the received opinion. Some ſay, he died ſooner; and others, tho' without grounds, bring his death down to 613. He was buried at Canterbury, near the cathedral, which was not then finiſhed, with this inſcription on his tomb:

"Here lies Auguſtin, the firſt archbiſhop "of Dorobern, who, being ſent hither "by Gregory, pontiff of Rome, and ſup- "ported by the co-operation of God "with miracles, converted king Ethel- "bert and his nation to the faith; and, "having accompliſhed the days of his "miniſtry, departed this life the 7th "of the calends of June, in the reign "of the ſaid king."

Auſtin had Laurentius for his ſucceſſor, who was equally ſollicitous to reduce the Britons to the obedience of the pope, and a conformity to the church of Rome, in the celebration of eaſter. In his letters, he upbraided them, for their obſtinacy, ſharply inveighing againſt Dagham, a Scotch biſhop, who, paſſing thro' Canterbury, had refuſed to eat with him, on account of their difference in opinion; but his letters were ineffectual.

Gregory I. did not pretend to a juriſdiction over the Britiſh churches, as univerſal biſhop; a title which he declaim'd againſt, with great diſlike. However, in all likelihood, he thought he might, as patriarch of the weſt, claim the homage of the Britiſh, as well as Engliſh biſhops, to his ſpiritual jurisdiction; but Boniface IV. who was, ſoon after, pope, being ſupported by the emperor Phocas, aſſum'd the title of univerſal biſhop. This induced the miſſionaries in England to renew their attempts, to bring the Britons to own his authority, tho' all to no purpoſe; and, for this reaſon, Mellitus was ſent to Rome, to receive inſtructions from the pope, about this affair. But Ethelbert's death * put a ſtop to it, and reduced the chriſtians to a deplorable condition; for Ebald, his ſon and ſucceſſor, revolting to paganiſm, the miſſionaries were deprived of the protection they had, hitherto, enjoyed. To compleat their miſery, Sabert king of Eſſex, converted by Mellitus, dying ſoon after, his three ſons, who jointly ſucceeded him, turning idolaters again, would not ſuffer Mellitus, on his return from Rome, to remain in their dominions. He fled to Laurentius, archbiſhop of Canterbury, as did alſo Juſtus biſhop of Rocheſter, the inhabitants of that place having, in all probability, renounced the faith. Theſe three prelates reſolved to go to France, and abandon the renegado

609.

610.

* Thoyras places Ethelbert's death, ſome years ſooner here, than he had done before, in the hiſtory of Kent.

renegado Saxons; from whence it appears, either that the inhabitants of Kent and Eſſex became apoſtates from chriſtianity, or that there were not ſo many converts, as Gregory imagined. Mellitus and Juſtus departed, purſuant to their reſolution; but Laurence continued in England, tho' with a deſign of following them in a ſhort time. It is ſaid, that, being ready to depart, as he lay one night in his church, St. Peter appeared to him and ſeverely ſcourged him, for propoſing to abandon his miſſion. The day after, ſhewing Ebald the marks of the ſcourge, he converted him, perſuading him alſo to diſengage from his unlawful marriage, being eſpouſed to his father's widow. As to Ebald's converſion, it is aſſerted by all the hiſtorians; but I cannot warrant the truth of St. Peter's apparition. Ebald, upon this, recalled Juſtus and Mellitus, reſtoring them to their reſpective ſees of Rocheſter and London; but the Eaſt-Saxons, at London, rejecting Mellitus, he returned to Kent, and, ſoon after, ſucceeded Laurentius, in the archbiſhoprick of Canterbury. It is 619. reported, that, by his prayers, he put a ſtop to a great fire, which, in all likelihood, would have reduced the city to aſhes, and that he wrought ſeveral other miracles.

Mellitus was ſucceeded by Juſtus biſhop of 624. Rocheſter, to whom the pope ſent the pall. After him came Honorius, whoſe ſucceſſor was Deuſdedit, upon whoſe death, there was a vacancy, for four years. Egbert and Oſwy, kings of Kent and Northumberland, having held a conference, about the affairs of the church, reſolved to ſend Wighard, a Kentiſh prieſt, to be conſecrated archbiſhop of Canterbury at Rome. Wighard dying there, Vitalian the pope offered it to Adrian and Andrew, two monks, who refuſed the archbiſhoprick, thinking it too great a burthen for them; but Theodorus a Greek monk, a 668. native of Tarſus in Cilicia, being not ſo ſcrupulous, was conſecrated at Rome, and ſet out for England. The pope ordered Adrian to go with him, leſt Theodorus, who was a Greek, ſhould introduce cuſtoms in Britain contrary to thoſe of the church of Rome. As Theodorus was the moſt famous prelate, that, in thoſe times, poſſeſſed the ſee of Canterbury, I ſhall be more particular, in my account concerning him.

Theodorus was diſtinguiſhed, not only for his learning, but for the greatneſs of his mind and the ſolidity of his judgment; tho' he was of a warm and imperious temper, fond of power, and could not bear any oppoſition to his will. Whilſt he was archbiſhop of Canterbury, he laid hold on every opportunity of extending his juriſdiction over all England, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. I ſhall only obſerve in this place, that, during his life, he alone exerciſed the archiepiſcopal functions, making incroachments on the rights of the ſee of York; tho' Gregory I. had ordered, that, after Auſtin's death, the two archbiſhopricks ſhould be independent of each other. As ſoon as he 669. came into England, he made a viſitation of all the churches in his juriſdiction, and brought them to an entire conformity to the uſages of the church of Rome.

The Engliſh being ſtill very ignorant, Theodorus erected a ſchool or ſeminary at Crecklade *, where he and Adrian, beſides divinity, taught arithmetick, muſick, aſtronomy, Greek and Latin. Bede affirms, that he knew ſeveral of their ſcholars, that could expreſs themſelves as readily in Greek and Latin, as in their own language. Theodorus did not only excite in the Engliſh a love of learning, by exhortations and inſtructions, but alſo by the books he put into their hands; ſome of theſe are ſtill extant in manuſcript, as David's pſalms, St. Chryſoſtom's homilies, and Homer, all beautifully written. He compoſed a large work himſelf, entitled pœnitentiale, which, not long ſince, remained entire at Cambridge †, but is not to be found there now. In 1677, extracts of it, with ſome other Journ. des Scav. of his treatiſes, were publiſhed at Paris, with 1678. notes by Jacobus Petitus.

Theodorus died in 690; but the vacancy 692. was not filled, till two years after, by Berthwald abbot of Reculver, who, having been archbiſhop 38 years, was, upon his death, ſucceeded by Tatwine, a perſon eminent for 731. learning and probity. He performed the archiepiſcopal functions, near two years, before he received the pall; which evidently ſhews, he did not believe it to be abſolutely neceſſary to qualify him to act, as an archbiſhop. Tatwine, dying in 735, had No- 735. thelm, a prieſt of the dioceſe of London, for his ſucceſſor, who went to receive the pall at Rome, where he was conſecrated by Gregory III. He died in 741, and, the year en- 742. ſuing, Cuthbert, biſhop of Hereford, was elected in his room. To him ſucceeded Bregwin, of a noble family in Germany. This 759. prelate was remarkable, for a religious and exemplary life, during the two years he held the ſee. Jambert or Lambert, abbot of St. Auſtin's, was his ſucceſſor. In his time, 761. the churches of Mercia and Eaſt-Anglia were wreſted from his juriſdiction, Litchfield being erected into an archbiſhoprick, in the reign 765. of Offa; and, tho' he made uſe of his utmoſt endeavours, he could neither prevent it, nor recover his rights. Athelard, who ſucceeded him, was more fortunate; for he obtained, that the churches of Mercia and Eaſt-Anglia ſhould be, as formerly, ſubject to the ſee of Canterbury. Wulfrid, his ſucceſſor in 804, was alive, when the heptarchy was reduced to a monarchy.

Before I proceed to the church of Northumberland, I ſhall enquire into the reaſons, why Gregory's order, that the archbiſhopricks of Canterbury and York ſhould be independent of each other, was not put in execution. Firſt, the Northumbrians were not converted, ſo ſoon as that pope expected; ſecondly, they

* In Wiltſhire, about 20 miles from Oxford; from whence that univerſity might afterwards be ſupplied.
† In Bennet-College-Library, in Sir Henry Spelman's time.

all

all apoſtatized from the faith, upon the retreat of Paulinus, who received the pall; and, laſtly, the continual troubles in Northumberland hinder'd the firſt biſhops of York, from taking the advantage of Gregory's regulation, which was not much regarded. This gave occaſion to Theodorus, to ſeize on all the juriſdiction, as well over the northern as ſouthern churches; and his ſucceſſors, treading in his ſteps, claimed the primacy of all England, excluſive of the archbiſhops of York; which afterwards cauſed great diſputes.

The CHURCH of NORTHUMBERLAND.

HAving already related Edwin's marriage with Ethelburga of Kent, I ſhall only add, that Paulinus, who came with her into Northumberland, in the quality of biſhop of the Northumbrians, ſpent a whole year at Edwin's court, to very little purpoſe; but, at length, ſeveral circumſtances concurred to favour his deſign, of which I ſhall give a particular account.

Quicelm, king of Weſſex, being vaſtly impatient under Edwin's yoke, reſolved to ſhake it off, by the means of an aſſaſin, whom he ſent to him, on ſome pretence, privately armed with a dagger. The ruffian, being introduced into the king's preſence, made ſuch a furious paſs at him, that he was wounded thro' the body of Lilla, his favourite, who had interpoſed and received the blow. Paulinus, hearing of this accident, haſtily ran into the room, and obſerving the king to be highly enraged againſt the king of Weſſex, told him, God, who deteſted ſuch wretches, would certainly puniſh ſo horrid a villany. It is reported, that Edwin promiſed, at the ſame time, to renounce paganiſm, if the God of the chriſtians would revenge him on his enemy. At this very inſtant, he received the news, that the queen, after a hard labour, was delivered of a princeſs, for which he returned thanks to his gods. Paulinus, for his part, having been in great perplexity about the queen, on his knees, thanked God for her deliverance. The biſhop's zeal immediately begat in the king ſo favourable an opinion of the chriſtian religion, that he gave his conſent, that Paulinus ſhould baptize the new-born infant, being the firſt that was baptized in Northumberland. Edwin, in the interim, marched with an army into the dominions of the king of Weſſex; and, after ſeveral defeats, obliged him to ſue for peace, and give him ample ſatisfaction for his late perfidiouſneſs; but, tho' he returned home victorious, he did not embrace chriſtianity, according to his promiſe. When the queen and Paulinus preſs'd him concerning it, he told them, that the quitting his religion appeared to him to be a thing of ſuch conſequence, that he could not reſolve upon it, without a thorough examination of matters; and, indeed, he ſet about it, in good earneſt, frequently conferring with Coifi the pagan high-prieſt, on Paulinus's arguments for chriſtianity. Coifi, finding that the king was almoſt a chriſtian, determined to make his court to him betimes, by conforming to his will. It would not, perhaps, be impoſſible, in the like caſe, to diſcover ſome of this ſtamp among the chriſtian clergy.

In the mean time, the queen and Paulinus continued their ſollicitations, and, to enforce them, prevailed on the pope to write a letter to Edwin; but he ſtill demurred. At laſt, the circumſtances of the viſion, he had formerly ſeen in Redowald's garden, being, as is ſaid, revealed to Paulinus, his converſion was accompliſhed in an extraordinary way. Bede tells us, that, the king being, one day, ſurrounded with a crowd of courtiers, Paulinus came in abruptly; and, laying his hand on his head, asked him, whether he apprehended the meaning of that token? Edwin, at theſe words, recollecting what had paſſed between him and the ſtranger in Redowald's garden, threw himſelf at Paulinus's feet, who, with an air of authority, ſpoke to him as follows: "My lord, you have been delivered from "your enemies, and are become a great king. "Every thing, that was predicted concern-"ing you, is compleated; and, therefore, you "ſhould perform your promiſe." Upon this, we are told, that Edwin, being entirely ſatisfied, embraced the chriſtian faith. From this time, he not only endeavoured after a more perfect knowledge of the goſpel himſelf, but was active in bringing over his ſubjects to the profeſſion of it; but, before he declared himſelf, he prevailed on ſome of his chief courtiers, whoſe examples, he did not queſtion, would have a mighty influence on the people. 626.

He expected the greateſt oppoſition from Coifi, whoſe intereſt it was that the people ſhould continue idolaters; but he was agreeably ſurprized to find, that he was diſpos'd to comply with his deſire. As he was diſcourſing with him, one day, on this ſubject, the high-prieſt, like a true courtier, told him: "I have, for a long time, ſeriouſly employ'd "my thoughts on our religion, and on the "nature of our gods; and I muſt own, I can-"not forbear calling in queſtion their good-"neſs, juſtice, and power. Never, perhaps, "did any perſon ſerve them with greater "zeal, devotion, and aſſiduity than myſelf. "You, ſir, have been a witneſs, how punctual "I have been in the diſcharge of my office; "and yet I never reaped any advantage by "it, nor is there a man in your court, that "has not been better rewarded than I. Now, "is it not a plain caſe, that, ſince our gods "take ſo little notice of their moſt ſincere "and devout ſervants, they muſt be either "unjuſt, or weak, or rather no gods at all."

Edwin, pleas'd with this anſwer, had the curioſity to ſound the ſentiments of another prieſt, next in dignity to Coifi; who, encouraged by the high-prieſt's example, told the king: "Sir, the more we enquire into "the

" the nature of the ſoul, the more we are in " the dark about it. It is with our ſoul, as " with the little bird that came in, the other " day, at one of the windows of the room, " where you ſat at dinner, and flew out im- " mediately at the other; whilſt it was in the " room, we knew ſomething of it; but, as " ſoon as it was gone, we could not tell, " whence it came, or whither it was flown. " Thus, whilſt the ſoul animates the body, " we may come to the knowledge of ſome of " its properties; but, in a ſeparate ſtate, we " are ignorant, whither it goes, or whence " it came. Since, then, Paulinus propoſes to " give us clearer notions in theſe points, it is " my opinion, that we ſhould hearken to his " propoſals; and, laying aſide all paſſion and " prejudice, we ſhould embrace that which is " moſt agreeable to the dictates of right " reaſon."

Upon this, the king reſolved, that Paulinus ſhould explain himſelf on the ſubject of religion, in the preſence of the pontiff and other prieſts. Paulinus had no ſooner ended his diſcourſe, than Coifi loudly declared, that he could ſee no reaſon to doubt of the truth of the chriſtian religion. Edwin, having thus brought over the high-prieſt and ſome of his principal courtiers, he called a Wittenagemot or parliament, to debate, whether chriſtianity ſhould be received or not; but it paſs'd in the affirmative, without any oppoſition. Coifi was the moſt forward of any to attack the idol-worſhip; and, to demonſtrate the ſincerity of his converſion, marching, at the head of the other prieſts, towards the pagan temple,
627. he darted his javelin againſt the idol; which was broken in pieces, by the king's order, and the temple conſumed to aſhes *. The ſame day, Edwin was baptized, with his niece Hilda †, afterwards abbeſs of Whitby.

The Northumbrians copying after the example of their king, Paulinus, on a ſudden, was fully employed, by the vaſt crouds of people, that daily came to be taught and baptized; but if, as ſome affirm, he baptized in one day 10,000, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that he could be very particular in his inſtructions ‡. A church of wood was run up in all haſte, for the new converts; and, ſoon after, Edwin laid the foundation of another of free-ſtone
628. round the former, which ſtood, till the latter was built. He did not live to finiſh this church, which was effected by Oſwald his ſucceſſor. It is ſaid, that Paulinus preached alſo at Lincoln, and converted there Blecca the Saxon governor.

633. In proceſs of time, Edwin being ſlain in battle, ſuch a deſolation followed, that Paulinus was forced to leave the kingdom, and the Northumbrians relapſed to idolatry. Anfred and Oſrick, kings of Deira and Bernicia, became apoſtates from chriſtianity, as well as their ſubjects, tho' they were both converted in Scotland, where they had lived in exile. The revolt of theſe princes and Cadwallo's barbarity, after their death, almoſt quite extirpated chriſtianity in Northumberland. In theſe calamitous times, neither prieſt nor monk had the courage to attempt the recovery of the Northumbrians to the chriſtian faith; and James the deacon, whom Paulinus left at York, was unable, without aſſiſtance, to put a ſtop to this general apoſtacy. Things 634.
continued in this condition, till Oſwald aſcended the throne, who no ſooner had reſtored peace and tranquillity, than he exerted all his power to revive religion. With this view, he deſired the king of Scotland to ſend him ſome perſons of learning to inſtruct his ſubjects. Accordingly, Corman, a monk of Jona, was diſpatched into England; but, being diſliked by the Engliſh, on account of his imperious temper, he returned to his monaſtery. Corman making a report of his miſſion in a full chapter, Aidan, one of the brotherhood, found, from his own words, that he had not treated the Engliſh with that condeſcenſion their circumſtances required, and, therefore, told him: " In my opinion, brother, you have been " ſomewhat too rough and ſevere in your car- " riage to thoſe, whom you deſigned to con- " vert; not conſidering, that the chriſtian re- " ligion is to be propagated by mild and " gentle, not by compulſive methods." Upon this, the monks unanimouſly declared, that Aidan was the fitteſt perſon to undertake the converſion of the Northumbrians; and, being, firſt, conſecrated a biſhop, he began his journey. Bede tells us, that he was a pious and 635.
religious man; but that his zeal was without knowledge, becauſe he did not obſerve the cuſtom of the church of Rome, in the celebration of eaſter, keeping it after the manner of the eaſtern chriſtians. However, as much a ſchiſmatick as he was, nothing can be added to the character given him by Bede. He ſays, that Aidan not only inſtructed chriſtians in their duty, but alſo, by his piety and fervent charity, charmed the very pagans, converting them to the chriſtian faith. Such was his ſucceſs among the Northumbrians, that they returned, in ſwarms, to the profeſſion of chriſtianity. Oſwald was ſo zealous in this work, that he vouchſafed to be Aidan's interpreter, to explain his diſcourſe to the people. It may, perhaps, ſeem ſtrange, that Oſwald did not recall Paulinus, who was then biſhop of Rocheſter, or employ James, who was ſtill in Northumberland. But Oſwald, being inſtructed in the chriſtian religion in Scotland, had an averſion to the Roman miſſionaries, by reaſon of the difference between the Romaniſts and Scots, about eaſter and the eccleſiaſtical tonſure. Aidan dying, after he had 652.
governed the church of Northumberland 17 years, Finan, another monk of Jona, was ſent to ſucceed him. He fixed the epiſcopal ſee,

* This temple, which was very famous, ſtood at Godmanham, i. e. a receptacle for gods, in Yorkſhire, near Wighton, i. e. a place for idols.

† She was daughter to Hereric, Edwin's nephew. Bede.

‡ The ſame was ſaid of Auſtin; and both the rivers are called Swale.

in the little iſland of Lindisfarn *, tho' Gregory had order'd, that York ſhould be the principal ſee, for the northern parts.

* Or Holy Iſland, on the coaſt of Northumberland.

Finan and the Scotch eccleſiaſticks, in other inſtances, declared their independence on the church of Rome. Their obſtinate refuſal, to comply with the Roman cuſtom of keeping eaſter, was an article of much greater importance; at leaſt, it appear'd to be ſo to the Italian prieſts. England was, at this time, divided into two ſects or parties, who tenaciouſly adhered to their reſpective opinions. The Scotch prieſts and monks followed the eaſtern churches; but the French and Italian eccleſiaſticks, in this and all other points, conformed to the church of Rome, treating as ſchiſmaticks thoſe who were of different ſentiments. They, accordingly, exerted themſelves to bring the Engliſh churches to a conformity with them; and they imagin'd, it might eaſily be accompliſh'd, if they could once gain Finan over to their party. With this view, they ſent a Scotch prieſt to him, who had his education in France, to repreſent to him the reaſons alledged by the church of Rome, on this article; but he was ſo far from being able to convince him, that Finan became a more open and avowed oppoſer of the Roman cuſtoms.

This diſpute was carried on with great warmth, not only among the clergy, but the moſt ignorant of the laity too, as it commonly happens in religious differences. Whilſt Aidan and Finan lived, the Romaniſts, who had a veneration for theſe holy biſhops, bore, with ſome patience, this diverſity of opinions; but when Colman, another Scotch
661. monk, ſucceeded Finan, in the reign of Oſwy, the diſpute was renew'd with greater vehemence than ever. The Romaniſts, at length, prevailed on Oſwy to call a ſynod, in the nunnery of Hilda, at Streanes-halh or Whit-
664. by, to decide this affair. In this ſynod, each party procured as many voices as they could; but, hiſtorians tell us, the Romaniſts exceeded the others in zeal and activity. At the head of the Scotch party, were king Oſwy, Colman biſhop of the Northumbrians, and the other Scotch prieſts and monks, with all that had received their ordination from them. On the contrary ſide, appeared Anfleda Oſwy's queen, Alfred king of Deira, Oſwy's natural ſon, Wilfrid a prieſt, his preceptor, who had ſtudied at Rome, Agilbert biſhop of Paris, who had been biſhop of the Weſt-Saxons, Agathon a prieſt of the ſame church, Ronan a Scotch prieſt, James the deacon, and all who had been diſciples of the Italian prieſts and monks.

The zeal and warmth, with which this diſpute was managed, would lead one to think, that the very eſſence of religion was concern'd in it; and, indeed, that the Romaniſts were of this opinion, appears from what Bede ſays, on this occaſion: "It was not without rea-
" ſon, that this queſtion diſturbed the minds
" of many chriſtians, who were apprehenſive,
" leſt, after they had begun the race of ſal-
" vation, they ſhould be found to have run
" in vain." However, tho' Bede was of opinion, that all they, who did not conform to the church of Rome, run in vain; yet he gives Aidan and Finan the higheſt encomiums, for the ſanctity of their lives. He tells us, they had the gift of miracles, which evidently proves, that he regarded them as ſaints, tho' they were, according to his notion, actually ſchiſmaticks. Baronius alſo, when he ſpeaks of the Scots and Britons of thoſe times, repreſents them as guilty of ſchiſm, for refuſing obedience to the pope; but yet he makes no ſcruple of ſainting Aidan and Finan, who ſtrongly aſſerted the independency of their churches. Hence it follows, that either theſe biſhops were not, in reality, ſchiſmaticks, or that their ſchiſm did not prevent their being eminent ſaints, their having the aſſiſtance of God in working miracles and converting nations. But to return the ſynod of Whitby; and, as the diſpute about eaſter was the occaſion of it, and the cauſe of great commotions in England, I ſhall give a brief account of its firſt riſe and original.

Towards the end of the ſecond century, a controverſy aroſe in the church, about the day on which the feſtival of eaſter ſhould be obſerved. The churches of Aſia kept it on the 14th day of the moon, on whatſoever day of the week it happened, according to the cuſtom of the Jews; but the weſtern churches put it off, till the Sunday after the 14th day, becauſe that was the day of our Saviour's reſurrection. Several councils were called, in the eaſt as well as weſt, to determine this affair; but both parties ſtifly adhered to their opinions, each of them pretending to apoſtolical tradition, the eaſtern biſhops from St. John, and the weſtern from St. Peter and St. Paul. If we admit both theſe traditions to be true, it evidently follows, that it is not very material, which of them be obſerved, ſince the apoſtles had not ſettled this point among themſelves; and, indeed, notwithſtanding this diverſity of cuſtom, both parties held communion with one another, till the time of pope Victor I. who excommunicated the quartodecimans, or thoſe that kept eaſter on the 14th day of the moon. Irenæus, biſhop of Lyons, tho' of the ſame opinion with Victor, ſeverely reprimanded him, for uncharitably making a rupture, on the account of a thing ſo trivial. He reminds him of Anicetus, Pius, Hyginus, Teleſphorus, and Xiſtus, his predeceſſors, who held communion with the churches of Aſia; and he farther tells him, that it would have been more to his credit, if he had copied after the example of Anicetus, who gave the euchariſt with his own hand to Polycarp biſhop of Smyrna, tho' of different ſentiments from him, in this very matter.

Victor's imperious treatment of the churches of Aſia only made them more tenaciouſly adhere to their opinion; and they believed they were the leſs obliged to conform to the practice

practice of the church of Rome, as the pope, in the main, could not produce any authentick proofs of their tradition from St. Peter and St. Paul, tho' the Aſiaticks would have been equally perplex'd to make out theirs from St. John. Socrates the hiſtorian has a remarkable paſſage to this purpoſe: "Neither Chriſt nor his apoſtles, ſays he, have "given any orders concerning the paſchal "feaſt, as Moſes did to the Jews, it not being their deſign to determine circumſtances "about holy-days, but to inſtruct chriſtians "in the precepts of piety and a holy life. It "is my opinion, therefore, that, as certain "cuſtoms have been introduced in each country, this of the paſchal ſolemnity was one a-"mong the reſt, and not built upon the au-"thority of the apoſtles. The quartodeci-"mans affirm, that the 14th day was inſti-"tuted by St. John. The Romaniſts tell us, "they had their practice from St. Peter and "St. Paul. But, as neither of them have "proved their aſſertion, by any authentick "record, it is evident, the feſtival of eaſter "may be kept in every place, according to "the cuſtom firſt introduced there."

Hence it appears, that they, who were not fond of wrangling, did not apprehend this controverſy to be of any importance to religion. However, for the ſake of uniformity, even in the ſmalleſt matters, the council of Arles, in 314, determin'd, that eaſter ſhould, in all places, be celebrated on the Sunday after the 14th day of the moon, which happen'd next after the vernal equinox or 21ſt of March. This canon was ratify'd by the council of Nice, in 325; and the emperor iſſued orders throughout the whole Roman empire, to have it put in execution. His letter to the governors and other magiſtrates declared, that the council came to this reſolution, becauſe the quartodecimans were feweſt in number, and too nearly followed the cuſtom of the Jews. For theſe reaſons it was, that the council order'd, that eaſter ſhould be kept on the Sunday after the full moon in March; but it is uncertain, whether it was meant, that the people ſhould reckon from the beginning of the 14th of the moon, or from the evening and beginning of the 15th*. Purſuant to this decree, all the churches obſerved eaſter-day on a Sunday. One circumſtance, however, viz. what was to be done, when the full moon fell out on a Sunday, not being thoroughly ſettled, was the occaſion of a diverſity; for ſome churches, the Scotch in particular, began their eaſter on that very day, and, conſequently, at the ſame time with the Jews, tho' the church of Rome put it off to the Sunday following. Since that time, ſome alterations have been made, which introduced different cuſtoms. Whereas, for a long time, a cycle of 84 years was every where made uſe of, to diſcover the preciſe time of eaſter, the church of Rome invented, for that purpoſe, a vaſtly more convenient cycle of 19 years, obliging all the churches, under her juriſdiction, to a conformity to it. Tho', doubtleſs, this cycle was calculated neareſt the truth; yet as it was unknown to the Britons and Scots, who had held but little correſpondence with Rome, they adhered to their old method.

Eaſter being, thus, celebrated at different times, it ſometimes happen'd in Oſwy's court, that, whilſt the king kept the paſchal-feaſt, the queen, who obſerved the cuſtom of the Romaniſts, was advanced no farther in lent than Palm-Sunday. Oſwy was, therefore, deſirous of fixing eaſter-day, that all might keep it, at the ſame time. Having made a ſhort ſpeech, to open the council, he ordered Colman to produce his arguments, in vindication of the cuſtom of the church of Scotland. Colman alledged, that it had been the conſtant practice of his predeceſſors, and of thoſe from whom he received his conſecration; that Columba, Aidan, and Finan had always obſerved it; and that, farther to confirm this point, he could advance the authority of St. John the beloved apoſtle. Having, at large, inſiſted on this argument, Agilbert, biſhop of Paris, was deſired to make a reply to what Colman had aſſerted; but he, having excuſed himſelf, becauſe of his want of skill in the Engliſh language, requeſted, that Wilfrid might have leave to ſpeak the ſenſe of the Romaniſts. Wilfrid, obtaining the king's permiſſion, anſwered Colman very warmly. He explained the method of fixing Eaſter made uſe of by the church of Rome, and aſſerted, that all the churches in the world conformed to it, except the Scots, Picts, and Britons, who perſiſted in their fooliſh obſtinacy. Colman replied, that Wilfrid's manner of ſpeaking highly reflected on St. John's memory, who never would have eſtabliſhed a fooliſh cuſtom. Wilfrid, conſcious that he had expreſſed himſelf ſomewhat too freely, to juſtify St. John, ſaid, that he could not, at once, throw off all the Jewiſh ceremonies, leſt he ſhould offend the Aſiatick Jews, as St. Paul, for the ſame reaſon, had circumciſed Timothy; and, in the laſt place, he alledged, that the Romaniſts exactly followed, in this particular, what was preſcribed by St. Peter and St. Paul.

The paſſage I cited from Socrates ſhews, that it was as difficult to prove, that the cuſtom of the Romiſh church had its riſe from St. Peter, as that the practice of the Scotch church was derived from St. John. Beſides, the cycle of 19 years, then, uſed by the Romaniſts, was, doubtleſs, invented, after the time of St. Peter; but, as Colman and his party were but little acquainted with what was tranſacted abroad, and did not ſo much propoſe to prevail on the Romans to obſerve their cuſtoms, as to perſuade them to let them continue their own ancient practice, without interruption, they ſtill appealed to the authority of St. John and Columba. Wilfrid, however, demanded of Colman, with an air of triumph, whether he pretended to put Columba in the balance againſt St. Peter

* An eccleſiaſtical day commences from ſix o'clock, the preceding evening.

the

the prince of the apoſtles, to whom our Saviour ſaid, " Thou art Peter, and upon this " rock will I build my church." We are not told, what anſwer Colman returned; for it muſt be remarked, that all the account, we have of this council, is given us by the partiſans of Rome. However, it appears, Oſwy was convinced, that St. Peter had a prerogative above the other apoſtles, ſince he declared, at laſt, for the cuſtom he had eſtabliſh'd at Rome, in preference to that of St. John. Bede tells us, the king was brought to this conviction, by being told, that, as St. Peter had the keys of heaven, he would deny him entrance, if he obſtinately oppoſed his own inſtitution; and Oſwy's declaration, inſtantly, drew over a majority of votes for the Romaniſts.

In this ſynod, the controverſy, about the eccleſiaſtical tonſure, was alſo debated. The Romaniſts aſſerted, that the head ought to be ſhaved round, exactly in the place where our Saviour wore the crown of thorns, of which it was an emblem; but the Scotch prieſts ſhaved the fore-part of the head, from ear to ear. Bede does not relate the iſſue of this debate; but, in all likelihood, it was determined, in favour of the Romaniſts.

The affair of eaſter being decided againſt the Scots, Colman and his party retired into Scotland, as they could not think of ſubmitting to a deciſion, that ſeemed to them ſo unreaſonable. Thus, it is in matters of religion, things, at firſt, altogether indifferent become, at laſt, of the greateſt importance, by the pride and uncharitableneſs of the clergy. Cedd biſhop of the Eaſt-Angles, who had been interpreter to both parties in the ſynod, was the only one of Colman's adherents, that thought it his duty not to forſake his flock, for a thing ſo trifling, tho' he was of a different opinion from the Romaniſts. Tuda was Colman's ſucceſſor; and Eatta was made abbot of Lindisfarn, in the room of him that went off with Colman.

Thus, the ſtorm, this diſpute had raiſed, was allayed, to the great ſatisfaction of the Romaniſts, who foreſaw, that their ſucceſs, in this affair, would very much contribute to the eſtabliſhment of the pope's authority over the northern churches, as, in fact, it did. The church of Northumberland had been governed, for 30 years, by Aidan, Finan, and Colman, whom their adverſaries could charge with nothing, but their ſteddy adherence to the cuſtoms of their anceſtors, in the affair of eaſter. Upon Colman's retiring into Scotland, the government of the church of Northumberland was always committed either to Saxons, or foreigners trained up in the principles of the church of Rome, the Scotch being entirely excluded.

Tuda dying ſoon after, Alfred king of Deira, deſirous that Wilfrid, his preceptor, ſhould be made biſhop of York, the ſee whereof was then at Lindisfarn, ſent him into France, to be conſecrated by Agilbert biſhop of Paris; but, Wilfrid continuing a long time in France, Chad, then abbot of Leſtingham, was made biſhop of the Northumbrians. Chad went to Kent, to be conſecrated by Deuſdedit archbiſhop of Canterbury; but, finding he was lately deceaſed, he applied for conſecration to Wine biſhop of Wincheſter, and then returned into Northumberland. Bede ſays, he was a very holy man, free from pride or ambition, and that he accepted of his epiſcopal dignity, merely in obedience to the king's authority.

In the mean time, Wilfrid, returning into England, reſided a few months at Canterbury, to take care of that dioceſe, till Theodorus's arrival, and then proceeded to Northumberland. Finding that Chad was biſhop of Lindisfarn, and not daring to complain of Alfred's inconſtancy, he retired to his monaſtery at Rippon. In proceſs of time, Theodorus, in his viſitation of all the churches in England, coming to York, ſharply rebuked Chad, for his receiving conſecration from the biſhop of Wincheſter. Chad ſubmitted to his cenſure; and, without offering any thing in his own vindication, humbly complied with all his demands. The archbiſhop, charmed with his modeſt carriage, conſecrated him a-new; but he commanded him to return to his monaſtery, to make way for Wilfrid, whom the two kings of Northumberland had deſigned for the biſhoprick of York or Lindisfarn. Tho' Bede does not tell us, why Chad was ſent back to his monaſtery, after his ſecond conſecration; it is evident, Theodorus was gained over by the two kings, who were in Wilfrid's intereſt; and indeed, there does not appear to be any reaſon for depoſing Chad, ſince all defects, if there had been any, were taken off, by his conſecrating him again.

Wilfrid was very proud and imperious, one of theſe that are for lording it, wherever they come, tho' they expect condeſcenſion from all the world. His pride was, for ſome time, ſupported by the two kings of Northumberland; but, at length, Oſwy being dead, Alfred depoſed, and Egfrid on the throne, who had no regard for this prelate, Wilfrid did not meet with the reſpect, that was ſhewn him, in the reign of Oſwy. He was ſo mortified, on this account, that he could not ſmother his uneaſineſs; and, perhaps, he expreſſed it in ſuch an inſolent manner, that he incurred the king's diſpleaſure. Some time after, Theodorus coming again into Northumberland, Egfrid gave him to underſtand, that Wilfrid neglecting the duties of his function, by his arrogance, brought a great ſcandal on religion. The king's complaint was not groundleſs; for all hiſtorians are agreed, that he was extremely proud; that he affected to live in a royal manner; that he never appeared abroad without a pompous retinue; and that he was ſerved in gold. Theodorus, finding this a fair opportunity for enlarging the rights of his ſee, and leſſening thoſe of York, which had been an archbiſhoprick, in the time of Paulinus, was reſolved to embrace it; and, therefore, without hearing what

Wilfrid

Wilfrid had to ſay, in his own defence, depos'd him, obtaining the king's leave to divide Northumberland into two dioceſes. Boſa, who lived at York, was biſhop of the firſt, which contained the churches of Deira. Eatta was placed over the other ſee, which was ſtill fixed at Lindisfarn, conſiſting of the churches of Bernicia. Egfrid alſo made Lincolnſhire, which he had taken from the king of Mercia, a third biſhoprick, of which Ethedus was the firſt biſhop.

Wilfrid, incenſed at this diſgrace, directly ſet out for Rome, to lay his caſe before the pope; but Theodorus diſpatched a monk to inform the pope of the reaſons, why he degraded him. However, fearing Wilfrid might bring the pope over to his intereſt, becauſe of the ſervice he did the church of Rome, at the council of Whitby, he wrote to Ebroine, mayor of the palace to the king of France, to ſtop him on his journey. Wilfrid, being inform'd of this, determin'd to go, by the way of Frieſland *, where Adalgiſus the king hoſpitably received him, acquainting him, how Ebroine had requeſted him to detain or murder him. During his ſtay in Frieſland, we are told, he converted a great number to chriſtianity; and, at length, he departed to Strasbourg, from whence he was conducted in ſafety to Rome by the king of Auſtraſia.

Agatho, who was then pope, having heard Wilfrid's complaints, held a ſynod about them, who unanimouſly declared, that Wilfrid ſhould be reſtored to his biſhoprick. Wilfrid, upon this, returned home, and preſented to the king the ſentence of the ſynod at Rome, with a letter from the pope; but Egfrid had ſo little reſpect for either of them, that, after he had upbraided the biſhop, for obtaining them by bribery, he put him in priſon, where he kept him a whole year, and would not, then, have enlarged him, were it not for the importunate interceſſion of his aunt Æbba, and on condition that he would never, for the future, come into Northumberland.

Wilfrid, under all theſe diſcouragements, retir'd to the monaſtery of Glaſſenbury, where Bertwald, the abbot, allowed him a ſafe retreat; but Ethelred, king of Mercia and uncle to Bertwald, ſoon deſir'd him to diſmiſs him, on the account of Egfrid. In this extremity, Wilfrid fled for ſanctuary to Adelwalch king of Suſſex, who was converted, during his impriſonment in Mercia, tho' his ſubjects were ſtill idolaters. This prince, who protected him, requeſted him to attempt their converſion; and, in a ſhort time, by Wilfrid's miniſtry, the South-Saxons, as well as the inhabitants of the iſle of Wight, embraced the chriſtian faith. At leaſt, this is related by Eddius. the writer of his life, though, to ſpeak the truth, it is ſcarce poſſible to clear up the chronology of theſe facts. Wilfrid continued ſome years in Suſſex, where he was made biſhop of Selſey, as the ſequel will inform us.

In the mean time, Theodorus, having come, a third time, into Northumberland, erected a new biſhoprick at Hagulſtad or Hexham, of which Thumbert was the firſt biſhop, to make amends for Lincoln, now poſſeſs'd by the Mercians. Some time after, Theodorus coming thither, a fourth time, he called a council, in which Thumbert was depos'd, for preſuming to take it ill, that the archbiſhop of Canterbury ſhould exerciſe his juriſdiction over the northern churches. It was, indeed, contrary to the regulation of Gregory I. and the pall, ſent to Paulinus the firſt biſhop of the Northumbrians, evidently proves it was not the deſign of the court of Rome, that the churches of the north ſhould have any dependence on Canterbury; but Aidan, Finan, and Colman not having demanded the pall from the pope, York or Lindisfarn had only the bare title of a biſhoprick, which did not give theſe Scotch prelates the leaſt diſturbance, domineering over the church being a thing that was fartheſt from their thoughts. Theodorus, however, being the ſole archbiſhop in England, took hold of this opportunity to extend his juriſdiction over the north. With this view, in all probability, he degraded Wilfrid, divided York into three biſhopricks, and, laſtly, depoſed Thumbert, who had openly cenſured his uſurpations.

The council, that depoſed Thumbert, choſe Cuthbert, a monk of Lindisfarn, to ſucceed 685. him, who was the only one, that oppos'd his own election, thro' an exceſs of modeſty. The biſhops, who all thought him worthy of the epiſcopal dignity, with difficulty, brought him to a compliance, being, at laſt, obliged to conſent, that he ſhould continue at Lindisfarn, where he had long reſided, and, on this account, Eatta was tranſlated to Hagulſtad.

Some time after, Theodorus, being of a very advanced age, was touch'd with remorſe, for what he had done againſt Wilfrid; and, deſirous of a reconciliation, he ſo preſſingly interceded for him with Alfred, Egfrid's ſucceſſor, that he was recalled. The biſhoprick of Lindisfarn being then vacant, by the voluntary reſignation of Cuthbert, 686. Boſa was tranſlated thither, and Wilfrid reſtor'd to York.

Cuthbert return'd to his monaſtery at Lin- 687. disfarn, and died ſoon after. In proceſs of time, his body being removed to Durham, he became ſo famous for miracles, that, of all the Engliſh ſaints, he had the greateſt veneration paid to his memory.

Wilfrid was no ſooner fixed in his ſee, than he diſannull'd all that had been acted, during his diſgrace. He endeavour'd to re-unite York and Hagulſtad, claiming the revenues, that were appropriated to that biſhoprick. In a word, he made null and void all the regulations of Theodorus, and, perhaps, with reaſon; but, becauſe of his imperious conduct, he met with oppoſition from all quarters; and Alfred himſelf, his pupil and ſovereign, unable to bear any longer his inſolent

* Eddius ſays, he went firſt into France, where he was way-laid, and had his retinue and equipage plunder'd.

703. carriage, forced him once more from his church. This reſtleſs prelate was obliged to fly for ſhelter to Ethelred king of Mercia, formerly his enemy, but now his friend. Leiceſter, one of the four biſhopricks of Mercia, being vacant, Ethelred placed Wilfrid in that ſee, which, however, he did not long enjoy; for his haughty temper ſo diſpleaſed the king of Mercia, that he deprived him of it, in a few months. He took occaſion alſo to fall out with Berthwald archbiſhop of Canterbury, and forfeited his protection, which he ſo much wanted. Alfred and Ethelred, both now his enemies, having ſo good an opportunity to mortify his pride, deſired Berthwald to call a council, to enquire into Wilfrid's life and actions. The archbiſhop readily complying with their requeſt, a council was held at Oneſtresfield in Northumberland; and Wilfrid, being obliged to appear, was charged with crimes, for which he deſerved to be degraded. However, the biſhops rather choſe, by intreaties and threatenings, to bring him, if poſſible, to a voluntary reſignation of his biſhoprick, but to no purpoſe; for he told them, that their uſage of him was highly ungrateful, after all the ſervices he had done the Engliſh church. He boaſted, that he had contributed moſt of any to the fixing eaſter-day, according to the cuſtom of Rome, that he introduced the Roman ritual into the churches of the north, and that he prevailed on the Scots to conform to the rules of the order of St. Benedict. "For "theſe reaſons, ſaid he, ye ought rather to "reward me, than threaten to depoſe me "for imaginary crimes; but, if you will dare "to proceed, I will appeal to the pope. No "other has power to condemn me, and him "alone I acknowledge to be my judge." The council, however, unanimouſly depos'd him; but Wilfrid, tho' 70 years of age, reſolv'd upon a journey to Rome, for redreſs. The pope, always favourable to thoſe that appealed to him, call'd a ſynod of the neighbouring biſhops, wherein Wilfrid, upon his ſingle repreſentation of the caſe, was fully acquitted. After this, the pope gave him letters to Berthwald and the kings of Mercia and Northumberland, requiring them to reſtore Wilfrid, purſuant to the decree of the ſynod.

No ſooner was Wilfrid returned, than he went to the archbiſhop, who, finding he came with the pope's recommendation, promis'd him his friendſhip. Ethelred alſo, who had taken up the monkiſh habit, made interceſſion for him; but Alfred, at firſt, ſeem'd inflexible. He ſaid, he could ſee no reaſon, upon the pope's letter, and the ſentence of a foreign council that knew little of the affair, to reſtore a man that, having been baniſh'd ſeveral times, was, at length, lawfully depos'd by a ſynod; but he ſoon alter'd his mind. Eddius affirms, that, falling ſick, it was told him, that his diſtemper was a puniſhment ſent from God, for his diſobedience to the pope's orders; and that he, thereupon, made a vow to reſtore Wilfrid, provided he recover'd. Tho' death prevented him from performing his vow, he gave orders to Brithrick, whom he left guardian to his ſon Oſred, to put it in execution immediately.

The civil war raiſed by Edulph, who had uſurped the crown, for the preſent, prevented the reſtoration of Wilfrid, whoſe behaviour, at this juncture, ſeem'd to deprive him of all hopes of being ever reſtored. As he did not queſtion but Edulph, who was then beſieging the king and Brithrick in Bamborough-caſtle, would get the better, he made his court to him betimes, to ſecure his friendſhip, which had like to have proved his ruin; for Edulph, to gratify the Northumbrians, who, he was ſenſible, abhorred Wilfrid, forbade him his preſence. On the other hand, Brithrick, on the account of his conduct, no longer had any kindneſs for him; tho' upon the uſurper's death, not without ſome difficulty, he conſented, that Wilfrid ſhould be reſtor'd. To this purpoſe, a council was held near the river Nydd, which determined, that Wilfrid ſhould be biſhop of Hagulſtad, with which he was obliged to take up; and John, then 708.
biſhop of Hagulſtad, was tranſlated to York, vacant by the death of Boſa.

John, in 721, reſign'd his biſhoprick, retiring to the monaſtery of Beverly, of which he was abbot. He was canonized, after his death, and became very famous, by the name of St. John of Beverly. Wilfrid the younger, his chaplain, ſucceeded him, in the ſee of York; and to Wilfrid the elder ſucceeded Acca, one of the prieſts that attended him in his journey to Rome, where he made great proficiency in church-muſick, which, Bede tells us, it was impracticable for him to attain in his own country. Wilfrid the younger had for his ſucceſſor in the ſee of York Egbert, brother to Edbert king of Northumberland.

It was neceſſary to give a particular account of the northern biſhopricks, the ſucceſſions of the firſt biſhops, and the alterations occaſioned by Wilfrid, that we might be able to form a diſtinct notion of the churches of Northumberland. From this, we may alſo learn, how the archbiſhop of Canterbury had an opportunity of exerciſing his juriſdiction over all England, contrary to the regulation of Gregory I. to which Theodorus's enterprizing genius and the depoſing of Wilfrid did not a little contribute; for, if Wilfrid had continued in the ſee of York, he would certainly have obtain'd the pall, and thereby diſconcerted all Theodorus's meaſures.

The dignity of archbiſhop of York and metropolitan of the north vaniſhed with Paulinus. Upon that prelate's departure, the Northumbrians revolted from the faith; and the monks, Oſwald ſent for from Scotland, to recover them to chriſtianity, were ſatisfied with the bare title of biſhop, never applying to the pope for the pall, whoſe authority they did not acknowledge. Wilfrid, Colman's ſucceſſor, being degraded, the biſhoprick of the Northumbrians was divided into four, viz. York,

York, Whithern, Lindisfarn, and Hagulſtad, which was an obſtacle to the biſhop of York's requeſting the pall; beſides, Boſa, John, and Wilfrid the younger, who were ſucceſſively biſhops of that ſee, were men of religion and integrity, who did not, in the leaſt, aſpire after more honourable titles. But Egbert, being biſhop of York, and his brother on the throne of Northumberland, took the advan-
744. tage of the reſpect they had for him at Rome, on account of his birth, and procured the pall with the archiepiſcopal dignity; and, thus, he obtained a juriſdiction over the three other northern biſhops, who became his ſuffragans. From this time, the archbiſhops of York inſiſted on Gregory's regulation, who gave orders, that the two archbiſhopricks ſhould be upon a level and entirely independent. On the contrary, the archbiſhops of Canterbury pleaded the juriſdiction Theodorus exerciſed over all England, which occaſioned a conteſt between the two metropolitans, that was not decided, for many ages after. Alcuinus repreſents Egbert, whom he ſtiles his maſter, as an able and learned prelate, and ſays, that he built a library at York, furniſhing it with an excellent collection of books. Eanbald, his ſucceſſor, lived to the time of the diſſolution of the heptarchy.

The CHURCH of WESSEX.

WE do not find, that Auſtin ſent any of his companions to preach to the kingdom of Weſſex; for they were not converted, till 40 years after his arrival in Britain, by the
634. miniſtry of Birinus. This prieſt, being zealous for the advancement of chriſtianity, deſired pope Honorius, that he would ſend him into England. Being conſecrated a biſhop, he ſet out on his journey, and accidentally ar-
635. rived in the kingdom of Weſſex. As the inhabitants were idolaters, he determined to
636. continue among them, to attempt their converſion; and, in proceſs of time, he had the ſatisfaction to baptize Cinigiſil king of Weſſex and Quicelm his brother. Soon after, Birinus found, that his audience increaſed, multitudes following the examples of their kings. He remained, for 14 years, to edify his new converts, by his life and doctrine; and, having made a conſiderable progreſs, he died at Dorcheſter, where he had built a church and fixed his epiſcopal ſee.

Upon Birinus's death, Cenowalch, ſucceſſor to Cinigiſil his father, being ſtill a pagan, was no friend to the chriſtians; and, what was worſe, Penda, an idolater alſo, obliged Adelwalch to fly for refuge into Eaſt-Anglia, and kept Weſſex in his poſſeſſion, for three years; ſo that it is not to be ſuppoſed, that the goſpel could make any great progreſs, during
646. this interval, in the midſt of wars and commotions. Cenowalch, however, being converted in Eaſt-Anglia, and afterwards reſtored to his dominions, was the means of reviving religion in his kingdom, where, ſince Birinus's deceaſe, none had been very active in
650. eſtabliſhing the new converts. In the mean time, Agilbert, a Frenchman, juſt arrived from his ſtudies in Ireland, paſſing thro' Wincheſter, in his way to France, Cenowalch invited him to ſtay with him, to inſtruct his ſubjects. Agilbert complying being conſecrated a biſhop, went and reſided at Dorcheſter; but, not having the gift of languages, he made but ſmall proficiency. Cenowalch, finding that he could not learn Engliſh, and that it was to no purpoſe to preach to his people, in a foreign language, grew weary of Agilbert. At length, he divided his kingdom into two dioceſes; and, leaving Agilbert 660.
at Dorcheſter, he made Wina a Saxon, who had been trained up and conſecrated in France, biſhop of Wincheſter. Agilbert, extremely uneaſy that the king ſhould make this diviſion, without conſulting him, and, eſpecially, that the new biſhop ſhould be placed in the capital, having obſerved, that no notice was taken of his complaints, retired into France, where he was made biſhop of Paris. He returned into England, to aſſiſt at the ſynod of Whitby; and, in the interim, Cenowalch, falling 666.
out with Wina, forced him away alſo.

Weſſex being now without a biſhop, and eccleſiaſticks qualified for ſuch an office not very common in England, Cenowalch thought fit to recall Agilbert, who would not quit Paris for Wincheſter. However, he recommended to the king his nephew Eleutherius, a prieſt; who, being accepted of and conſe-
670. crated by Theodorus, became ſole biſhop of the Weſt-Saxons.

Cenowalch dying, Weſſex was infeſted with civil wars, for 10 years. Eleutherius, in the mean time, died, and had Heda for his ſucceſſor. After Heda's death, the number of chriſtians being vaſtly increaſed, Weſſex was again divided into two dioceſes, the ſees whereof were fixed at Wincheſter and Sherborn. Daniel was placed in the former; and Aldhelm, nephew to king Ina, the firſt Engliſhman that wrote in Latin, underſtanding it better than any of his countrymen before him, was made biſhop of the latter. When he was, thus, promoted, he was abbot of Malmsbury monaſtery, ſo called from Maidulph a Scotchman, the firſt abbot, and Aldhelm his ſucceſſor *. Forthere, according to Bede, well verſed in the ſcriptures, was biſhop of Sherborn after Aldhelm; and Almund was Daniel's ſucceſſor, in the ſee of Wincheſter. From this time, to the diſſolution of the heptarchy, I meet with nothing remarkable, in the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of Weſſex.

* Maidulph-Aldhelm-bury, contracted into Malmsbury, i. e. the tomb of Maidulph and Aldhelm. Aldhelm was living in Bede's time, l. 5. c. 10.

The

The CHURCH of MERCIA.

THE Mercians did not embrace chriſtianity, till 50 years after the converſion of Kent. Penda, who reigned above 30 years, was of too proud and turbulent ſpirit to fall in with a religion ſo contrary to his temper; yet providence ſo ordered affairs, that, tho' he did not profeſs, he at, leaſt, tolerated the chriſtian religion in his dominions. Peda his eldeſt ſon, whom he had made king of Leiceſter, who went into Northumberland, to demand Anfleda, king Oſwy's daughter, in marriage, could obtain her on no other terms, but his becoming a chriſtian. Whether Peda apprehended, that, in the like caſe, he ſhould meet with the ſame obſtruction, in all the other kingdoms, already converted, or, whether he had a favourable opinion of chriſtianity, he received baptiſm, before he left Northumber-
643. land. At his return, he brought with him four prieſts, Cedda, Adda, Beti, and Diuma, to inſtruct the Mercians in the chriſtian faith; which, whether it was out of complaiſance to his ſon, or becauſe all religions were indifferent to him, the king his father did not oppoſe. Diuma a Scotchman, who was the only biſhop of the four, governed the church of Mercia proſperouſly, for ſome years, he and his fellow-labourers having met with a plentiful harveſt in this kingdom, the largeſt of the ſeven, and the laſt that was converted. Cellach ſucceeded Diuma.

Upon Penda's death, Mercia was, three years, ſubject to Oſwy king of Northumber-
659. land; but, he being a chriſtian, religion received no damage from this revolution. However, Wulfer, who was ſtill a pagan, aſcending the throne, thro' a blind zeal, perſecuted his chriſtian ſubjects, and even put to death two of his own ſons, who refuſed to renounce their faith, if we can believe thoſe who relate this fact, which ſeems to have no foundation. Happily for the chriſtians, this ſtorm was of
Rob. de Swapham. a ſhort continuance, Wulfer being converted ſoon after.

During this perſecution, Cellach retreated into Scotland; ſo that, when Wulfer embraced chriſtianity, he ſent for Trumhere, an Engliſh prieſt, educated in Scotland, and had him conſecrated biſhop of Mercia. To him ſucceeded Jaruman, who replanted the chri-
664. ſtian religion in Eſſex, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. Upon Jaruman's death, Wulfer requeſted Theodorus to ſend him a biſhop, who re-
* Or Ceada. joiced at this opportunity of promoting Chad*, whom he deprived of the ſee of York, as was, above, related, in the hiſtory of Northumberland. Chad, coming to Mercia, fixed his ſee at Litchfield, where he died, after he
669. had governed the church, with prudence and ſucceſs, for many years. I am perſuaded, it will not give offence, that I refer thoſe to Bede's eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, who have the curioſity to ſee a liſt of Chad's miracles, and the hymns the angels ſang in the air, over his houſe, when he lay on his death-bed.

Upon this Theodorus, advanced Winfrid, a prieſt, to the biſhoprick of Litchfield, whom 675.
he degraded ſoon after, for daring to expoſtulate with him, on the account of the authority he aſſumed over the other biſhops; * Now Peterborow.
and Saxulph, abbot of Medes-hamſted *, ſucceeded Winfrid. The number of chriſtians in Mercia being daily increaſed, Ethelred, Wulfer's ſucceſſor, divided his kingdom into four dioceſes, Litchfield, Worceſter, Hereford, and Leiceſter. Saxulph remained at Litchfield. Faddrick was ſent to Worceſter; 680.
but dying, before his conſecration, Boſelus was placed in his room. Cuthwin had the ſee of Leiceſter, and Putta was biſhop of Hereford. Upon Cuthwin's death, Leiceſter was united to Litchfield; but they were, in proceſs of time, ſeparated again, on Wilfrid's account, who was depoſed from York, and did not hold this ſee long †. Heda was ſucceſſor † Vid. church of Northum.
to Saxulph, in the biſhoprick of Litchfield.

I ſhall overlook the particulars relating to the Mercian churches, that are of no conſequence, with the ſucceſſion of their biſhops, to come at the revolution that fell out in the reign of Offa, by the erecting of Litchfield into an archbiſhoprick. Offa, jealous of the archbiſhop of Canterbury's juriſdiction over the churches of Mercia, and eſpecially having had a quarrel with Lambert, who then filled the archiepiſcopal ſee, reſolved to withdraw the churches of Mercia from their ſubjection to his authority. With this view, he ſecretly ſollicited pope Adrian I. to make the biſhop of Litchfield an archbiſhop, and the biſhops of Mercia and Eaſt-Anglia his ſuffragans. The pope willingly gave his conſent, hoping, by obliging this prince, to have an opportunity of extending his juriſdiction over the church of England, which was not, hitherto, ſo thoroughly ſubmitted to, at leaſt, not ſo much as he could have wiſh'd. To this end, he ſent Gregory biſhop of Oſtia, 784.
and Theophylact biſhop of Todi, as his legates, to negotiate this affair. To amuſe Lambert, they came under the pretence of calling ſynods in England, for the confirmation of the churches in the chriſtian faith, Upon their arrival, Theophylact continued, ſome time, with Offa, to concert meaſures to bring about their deſign; whilſt Gregory proceeded to Northumberland, where he held a ſynod, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. Up- 785.
on his return to Mercia, the two legates convened a national council of the ſeven kingdoms at Calcuith, where king Offa was preſent. Having ratified the canons of the Northumberland-ſynod, the erecting of Litchfield into an archbiſhoprick was propoſed. Lambert oppoſed it, to the utmoſt of his power, tho' to no purpoſe; for, this affair having been previouſly ſettled, the authority of Offa and the legates bore down all oppoſition. Higbert, then biſhop of Litchfield, was declared an archbiſhop; and the biſhops

of

of Mercia and East-Anglia were made his ſuffragans. He died, before he received the pall; but Adulph, who ſucceeded him, had that honour from the pope, who ratify'd what the council had determin'd. Some think, Offa purchas'd this favour with the tax of Peter-pence levied on Mercia and East-Anglia; but this is downright conjecture. Litchfield did not enjoy the title of an archbiſhoprick, above 14 years. Offa and Egfrid his ſon being deceaſed, Cenulph was ſo far prevailed on by the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, who repreſented to him the regulation of Gregory I. according to which there ought to be no more than two archbiſhops in England, that he himſelf wrote to the pope, to deſire him to reſtore things to their primitive ſtate. Adelard, archbiſhop of Canterbury, tranſacted this affair at Rome; and, at length, after a nine years ſollicitation, he obtain'd an order from pope Leo III. that Mercia and East-Anglia ſhould again be under the juriſdiction of the ſee of Canterbury. From this time to the reign of Egbert, nothing remarkable occur'd in the church of Mercia, except the councils, which I ſhall take notice of in another place. 800.

The Church of ESSEX.

604. THE goſpel was, firſt, preached to the East-Saxons by Mellitus, one of the miſſionaries ſent over to Auſtin; but all the ſucceſs he met with was, in all probability, 614. owing to the authority of Sabert king of Eſſex and Ethelbert king of Kent, ſince, upon their deaths, all the East-Saxon converts revolted to paganiſm, and expell'd Mellitus, never admitting him to return. The converſion of the East-Saxons, then, is not to be dated from this time, but rather from the reign of Sigebert the good. This prince preſerving an uninterrupted friendſhip with Oſwy king of Northumberland, and making him frequent viſits, was inſtructed in the chriſtian religion at his court, and received baptiſm there. Returning, he brought with him Cedd a Northumbrian prieſt, who, being alſo a biſhop, attempted the converſion of the East-Saxons, and with remarkable ſucceſs. He was the only Scotchman, that, after the ſynod of Whitby, remained with his flock, tho' the controverſy, about eaſter, was decided, contrary to his opinion; and he even cenſur'd Colman and his adherents, for leaving their flocks, on the account of a thing of ſo little importance. His ſtrict regard to eccleſiaſtical diſcipline occaſion'd Sigebert's death, or, at leaſt, it was ſo repreſented, as we have obſerved, in the hiſtory of Northumberland. As Cedd often viſited Northumberland, where he had ſpent a conſiderable part of his life, Adelwalt, king of Deira, gave him certain lands near Leſtingham, where he founded a monaſtery. Thither he uſually retir'd to practiſe the greateſt auſterities; and there alſo he died of the plague, after he had governed the church of Eſſex ſeveral years. Bede, who gives him great encomiums, mentioning his auſtere way of living, takes occaſion to tell us, that faſting was religiouſly put in practice by all who pretended to a regular life, and that ſome faſted every Wedneſday and Friday, till 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The Saxon homilies alſo are very particular on this article, tho' they rationally caution againſt exceſſive faſtings.

Upon the deaths of Sigebert the good and Swithelm his brother, in the reign of Sebba and Siger, the plague raged terribly in Eſſex, eſpecially, at London. Siger, believing that it was ſent among the East-Saxons, as a puniſhment from the gods, for deſerting the religion of their anceſtors, revolted to paganiſm, and his ſubjects, who were not, hitherto, thoroughly converted, followed his example; but Sebba continued ſtedfaſt in the profeſſion of chriſtianity. Wulfer, king of Mercia, to whom theſe princes were, at that time, ſubject, on this occaſion, ſent Jaruman his biſhop, to attempt the recovery of the East-Anglians to the chriſtian faith; and his labours were crown'd with abundant ſucceſs. Soon after, Wulfer, who was abſolute in the kingdom of Eſſex, exhibited the firſt inſtance of ſimony in England, by ſelling the biſhoprick of London to Wina, who had been expelled from Wincheſter; and he governed the church of Eſſex, till his death, in 675. Erkenwald ſucceeded him, famous for his ſingular affection to the city of London, as well as for the ſanctity of his life, on account of which he was enrolled in the catalogue of the ſaints. Erkenwald dying, a warm conteſt aroſe, between the canons of St. Paul's at London and the monks of Bangor, who ſhould bury him; but the former, carrying their point, interr'd him in their cathedral. I ſhall proceed no farther, in the ſucceſſion of the biſhops of London, as nothing remarkable happened, from this time, to the diſſolution of the heptarchy. 664. 666.

The Church of EAST-ANGLIA.

THE firſt converſion of the East-Angles is dated from the reign of Redowald; but it is not known, by whom they were converted. It is probable, that, whilſt this prince lived, chriſtianity made no great progreſs in East-Anglia. The moſt plauſible conjecture is, that Redowald having a reſpect for Ethelbert king of Kent, at whoſe court, ſome affirm, he was baptized, permitted ſome of Auſtin's companions to preach in his dominions, and did not perſecute thoſe who were inclin'd to embrace the goſpel. What is

related, concerning his ſuffering the true God and the pagan idols to be worſhipp'd in the ſame temple, ſeems to prove, that he was not himſelf a chriſtian, and that the number of converts in Eaſt-Anglia was very inconſiderable. However, it is certain, that chriſtianity did not flouriſh in this kingdom, either in his or his ſon Erpwald's reign; and, therefore, it cannot be a great miſtake, if we place the converſion of the Eaſt-Angles, in the reign of Sigebert, Erpwald's ſucceſſor.

This prince, who had been long in France, where he received baptiſm, was thoroughly inſtructed in the chriſtian religion. Returning home, to take poſſeſſion of the crown, he brought with him Felix, a Burgundian prieſt, and had him conſecrated a biſhop at Canterbury. Felix, upon his arrival in Eaſt-Anglia, was very induſtrious, in reclaiming thoſe who had renounced the faith, and in converting thoſe who never had embraced chriſtianity; and ſuch was his ſucceſs, that the Eaſt-Angles came, in ſwarms, to be baptized. In the interim, that they might have continual inſtructions, to confirm them in the belief of chriſtianity, Sigebert erected ſchools, like thoſe he had ſeen in France. Some aſſert, * that the univerſity of Cambridge owes its original to theſe ſchools; but this opinion ſeems to be groundleſs.

In the mean time, Sigebert received farther aſſiſtance from Furſeus an Iriſh monk, whoſe labours, among the Eaſt-Angles, were very ſucceſsful. Bede gives him an extraordinary character, attributing to him ſeveral miracles; nay, he aſſures us, that, like St. Paul, he was rapt up into heaven. Furſeus built a monaſtery at Cnobersburgh †, which was largely endowed, at ſeveral times, by the kings of Eaſt-Anglia. The commotions that aroſe, upon Sigebert's reſigning the crown, obliged Furſeus to retire into France, where he founded the monaſtery of Lagny, in the juriſdiction of Meaux.

Felix was biſhop of the Eaſt-Angles 17 years, his ſee being fixed at Dummoc, now Dunwich *, a little town by the ſea-ſide. Here it was, that he converted and baptized Cenowalch king of Weſſex, who had retreated into Eaſt-Anglia. Felix had, for his ſucceſſor, Thomas, a deacon of that church. To him ſucceeded Berchtgiſlus, ſirnamed Boniface; and, after him, came Biſus. Biſus being ſuperannuated, Becca and Badwin were made his aſſiſtants, and Eaſt-Anglia was divided into two dioceſes. Becca reſided at Dummoc, and Badwin at Elmham, now a poor village in Norfolk. Both theſe biſhopricks were in being, till, the Danes becoming maſters of Eaſt-Anglia, they lay vacant, for above 100 years; and, after this, the dioceſe of Dummoc was re-united to Elmham. From hence, the epiſcopal ſee was removed to Thetford ‡, and afterwards to Norwich **, where it continues to this day.

* In Suffolk. It is reported to have had 50 churches.

The CHURCH of SUSSEX.

IT is no wonder, the kingdom of Suſſex continued pagan, ſo long after the reſt, as it was ſubject to Weſſex, where the goſpel was not preached, till 40 years after Auſtin's arrival. If we may give credit to Eddius, who wrote the life of Wilfrid biſhop of York, this prelate converted the South-Saxons, having, upon his diſgrace, fled for refuge into Suſſex. King Adelwalch, who protected him, had already attempted the converſion of his ſubjects, by founding a monaſtery in his kingdom ††, but to very little purpoſe; and, perhaps, Wilfrid would have met with no better ſucceſs, were it not for a favourable juncture, that unexpectedly happen'd. Soon after his arrival, their country being miſerably diſtreſs'd, for want of proviſions, he taught the South-Saxons the art of fiſhing in the ſea, their skill before reaching no farther than the catching of eels. This improvement, as it greatly relieved them, made ſo deep an impreſſion on their minds, that they liſten'd with the ſame attention to his inſtructions about their ſpiritual, as they had before to thoſe about their bodily wants; and, beſides, ſeaſonable ſhowers, after a three years drought, reſtoring the earth to its former fruitfulneſs, they were fully convinced, according to Eddius, that Wilfrid was an extraordinary perſon, ſignally favour'd by heaven. Wilfrid, finding that the chriſtians became daily more numerous, fixed his epiſcopal ſee at *† Selſey, a ſmall peninſula given him by Adelwalch. Here alſo he founded a monaſtery, which he furniſh'd with the monks he brought with him from Northumberland; and in this place he uſually reſided, during the time of his exile. Wilfrid being, at length, recalled, Selſey was, a long while, without a biſhop, the South-Saxons, after their ſubjection to the kings of Weſſex, being placed under the juriſdiction of the biſhop of the Weſt-Saxons. In proceſs of time, Weſſex being divided into two dioceſes, Suſſex was annexed to the ſee of Wincheſter; till a ſynod held in Weſſex, in the time of Daniel, decreed, that Suſſex ſhould be a diſtinct dioceſe, and the ſee fixed at Selſey, as formerly. Edbert was the firſt biſhop; and his ſucceſſors reſided at the ſame place, to the year 1070, when the

Bede, l. 4. c. 13.

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* Namely Polydore Virgil, Leland, Bale, &c. but Bede, Florence of Worceſter, Malmsbury, and Huntingdon make no mention of Cambridge.

† Now Bury-Caſtle in Suffolk. ‡ Theodford, i. e. the ford of the people, in Norfolk.

** Norwich, i. e. the north-caſtle.

†† At Boſenham, where, Bede tells us, Dicul, a Scotchman, with five or ſix monks, reſided; but they could not convert the South-Saxons.

*† i. e. Seals. The ruins of this city may ſtill be ſeen, at low-water.

ſee was removed to Chicheſter *, where it now remains.

The iſle of Wight, which was converted by the furious zeal of Cedwalla, continued, all along, under the juriſdiction of the biſhop of Wincheſter.

Having given an account of the principal particulars, relating to the converſion of the ſeven kingdoms, it will be requiſite to take a general view of the councils held in England, during thoſe early times of the church.

The COUNCILS, during the HEPTARCHY.

I Have already mentioned the two ſynods convened, at the requeſt of Auſtin, to bring over the Britons to ſubmit to the pope's authority; and, tho' theſe were rather Britiſh than Engliſh councils, I cannot paſs them over, without the following remark. Bede affirms, that Auſtin demanded of the Britons, that they would celebrate Eaſter the ſame day with the Romaniſts; that they would conform to the ceremonies uſed by the church of Rome, in the adminiſtration of baptiſm; that they would aſſiſt the Roman miſſionaries, in converting the Saxons; and that they would ſubmit to the papal authority. Had Auſtin laid the ſame ſtreſs on each of theſe four articles, Bede would, doubtleſs, have given us the ſentiments of the Britiſh biſhops, about the three firſt, tho' he ſpeaks only of the laſt; from whence it appears, that it was the point Auſtin chiefly inſiſted on, and, accordingly, the abbot of Bangor, in his anſwer, takes no notice of any of the other articles.

I have, above, ſaid what is ſufficient, concerning the council of Whitby and the other ſynods, called on the account of Wilfrid.

The council of Hertford. 673.

In 673, Theodorus, archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſummoned a national ſynod at Hertford, at which were preſent all the Engliſh biſhops, with a vaſt number of other eccleſiaſticks. The archbiſhop, being preſident, put the queſtion to the biſhops, Whether they were willing, the church of England ſhould be governed by the canons of the antient councils? They all agreeing, he produced a liſt of the canons; and, pitching upon ten, he ordered them to be read before the council, asking their conſent to each of them.

I. That Eaſter might be kept, in all the Engliſh churches, on the firſt Sunday after the full moon in March.

II. That no biſhop ſhould incroach on the juriſdiction of another.

III. That no monk ſhould quit his monaſtery, without leave from the abbot.

IV. That biſhops ſhould not meddle with the temporal concerns of the monaſteries.

V. That none of the clergy ſhould abandon their dioceſes, without the biſhop's leave; and that they ſhould not be received into another dioceſe, without a certificate under the biſhop's own hand.

VI. That biſhops, out of their dioceſe, ought not to exerciſe any part of their function, but be contented with an hoſpitable reception.

VII. That a ſynod ſhould be held twice a year. But this canon was alter'd to once a year.

VIII. That new ſees be erected, as the number of chriſtians increaſed. This was rejected.

IX. That the biſhops ſhould take their places at councils, according to their ſeniority.

X. That no marriage ſhould be diſannull'd, except for adultery; and that, if a man put away his wife, he ought either to be reconciled, or live ſingle.

Nine of theſe canons being approved of, the council denounced excommunication and degradation againſt all that ſhould make any infraction upon them, and ſo broke up.

Baronius pretends, this council was called, by the pope's order, and that Theodorus preſided, as legate of the holy ſee; but the cardinal advances nothing to ſupport his aſſertion, but the words of Theodorus, in his harangue, at the opening of the council, viz. that he was conſecrated by the pope, as if that were equivalent to his being made a legate. Bede, Malmsbury, and Florence of Worceſter, who take notice of this council, do not give the leaſt countenance to Baronius's notion.

The council of Hatfield. 680.

Theodorus convened another council at Hatfield †, upon the pope's requeſt, who was deſirous of knowing the ſentiments of the church of England, in reference to the hereſy of the Monothelites ‡, which then made a great noiſe in the world. The pope had all the ſatisfaction he deſired, the Engliſh being entirely free from that error. This ſynod received the five firſt general councils **, and alſo the council held a little before at Rome, againſt the Monothelites.

The council of Becanceld. 694.

The next council met at Becanceld, in 694, being called by Withred king of Kent, who preſided himſelf, the council conſiſting of the clergy and nobility. All the conſtitutions were drawn up, in the form of a charter, wherein the king granted ſeveral immunities to the church, particularly, an exemption from the payment of taxes and other incumbrances incident to a lay-fee. He declares

* Ciſſanceſter, i. e. the city of Ciſſa, the ſon of Ella, who was the firſt king of Suſſex.

† Now Biſhop's-Hatfield in Hertfordſhire. ‡ They maintained, that Chriſt had but one will.

** The council of Nice in 325, of Conſtantinople in 381, of Epheſus in 431, of Chalcedon in 451, and of Conſtantinople in 553.

alſo,

alſo, that the church has a power to govern her own body, the prerogative royal not extending to religious affairs. This article has led ſome to think, that this council was not genuine *. They object, for inſtance, that the five abbeſſes, who ſubſcribed this charter, not only ſigned before all the prieſts, but even before Botred a biſhop, contrary to all precedent. Others †, on the other hand, as zealouſly defend it, as making for the independency of the church. It would be too great a digreſſion from my preſent deſign, to examine the reaſons pro and con; it is ſufficient to acquaint the reader, that there is ſuch a diſpute.

The council of Berkhamſtead. 697.

The enſuing year, the ſynod of Berkhamſtead * was held in the ſame reign; and, like the former, was compoſed of clergy and laity. Its canons chiefly related to the ſin of adultery, and the privileges of the clergy. As for adultery, it was decreed, that the guilty perſon ſhould undergo penance, and that, upon his refuſal, he ſhould be excommunicated; but, if a ſtranger, he was to forfeit 100 ſhillings.

* In Hertfordſhire.

As for the clergy, it was enacted, that the church ſhould be free and enjoy all her privileges.

That the breach of the church's peace ſhould be puniſhed with a fine of 50 ſhillings.

That the affirmation of a king, or a biſhop, ſhould be equivalent to an oath.

That if a biſhop, or an abbot, being accus'd of any crime, declares ſolemnly at the altar, that he ſpeaks the truth, this declaration ſhall be equal to his oath.

That, if any clergyman ſhould be proſecuted, the cognizance of the cauſe belongs to the church.

Thus, by degrees, the clergy obtain'd their privileges, which they have too often abus'd.

† In Northumberland.

The two councils of Londone and Alne †, in 714, being look'd upon by the beſt authors, as ſpurious, it would be a loſs of time, to ſay any thing about them.

The ſynod of Cloveſhoo. 747.

In 747, a national ſynod was held at Cloveſhoo or Cliff ‡ in the kingdom of Kent, at which Ethelbald, king of Mercia, was preſent, with 12 biſhops and many of the nobility. Cuthbert archbiſhop of Canterbury, who preſided, read pope Zachary's letter, wherein the pope admoniſh'd the Engliſh to reform their lives, threatening thoſe with excommunication, that perſiſted in their wicked courſes. They drew up a body of 28 canons, chiefly relating to the eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, the government of monaſteries, the duties of biſhops and other clergymen, the publick ſervice, ſinging of pſalms, keeping the ſabbath, and other holidays. I ſhall take notice of three of them, as containing ſomething particular in them.

The Xth orders the prieſts to be thoroughly acquainted with the doctrines of chriſtianity, and to teach the people the apoſtles creed and the Lord's prayer in Engliſh. Accordingly, Bede, in his letter to Egbert archbiſhop of York, tells him, that it was abſolutely neceſſary chriſtians ſhould know what they ſaid, when they prayed to God; and that, therefore, he had himſelf tranſlated the creed and the Lord's prayer into Engliſh, for the uſe of thoſe that did not underſtand Latin.

The XXVIth cautions chriſtians againſt the vain opinion, that, by giving alms, they could compound for their ſins, or diſpenſe with the diſcipline of the church.

The XXVIIth was enacted, by reaſon of a wealthy layman, who, being excommunicated, requeſted to be reſtored to the communion of the church, on his having procured ſeveral perſons to faſt in his ſtead; alledging that their penance, on his account, was more than he could have done for himſelf in 300 years. The canon declaims very ſharply againſt this intolerable preſumption, ſince, at that rate, the rich might more eaſily attain heaven, than the poor, contrary to the expreſs declaration of our Saviour.

In this canon, we have the form of a prayer for the dead, as follows: "O Lord, "we beſeech thee, grant that the ſoul of ſuch "a perſon may be ſecured in a ſtate of re- "poſe, and admitted, with the reſt of thy "ſaints, into the regions of light and bliſs."

The council of Calcuith. 783.

The council of Calcuith or Calchite, held in 783, or, as others think, in 787, in order to erect Litchfield into an archbiſhoprick, ratify'd the canons of the ſynod, that had been called juſt before in Northumberland. Gregory and Theophylact, who preſided, as the pope's legates, acknowledged, in their letter to the pope, that they were the firſt, that had been ſent into England with that character. The following canons of this ſynod were ratify'd by the council of Calcuith.

I. That all clergymen ſhould ſtrictly adhere to the council of Nice.

II. That baptiſm is only to be adminiſter'd at eaſter and whitſontide, unleſs in caſes of neceſſity; and that god-fathers ought to teach their god-children the creed and the Lord's prayer, both which all chriſtians are obliged to have by heart.

VIII. The antient privileges of the church muſt be carefully obſerved.

This was a ſtanding canon in all the councils.

IX. The prieſts ought not to eat alone, unleſs indiſpos'd. This ſeems to intimate, that the clergy were not diſpers'd in pariſhes, but lived all in the capital of the dioceſe in common.

The Xth forbids the clergy to celebrate divine ſervice, without ſtockins, and to make uſe of a chalice or patin of horn.

The XIth exhorts princes to govern their

* Dr. Wake, the preſent archbiſhop of Canterbury, has wrote againſt it. State of the church, &c. p. 140.

† Collier, eccl. hiſt. p. 114.

‡ Cliff at Hoo is a town on a rock near Rocheſter, but, as the king of Mercia was preſent at this and other councils held at Cloveſhoo, it is conjectur'd to be the ſame with Abingdon in Berkſhire, which was antiently written Shoveſham, by miſtake for Cloveſham or Cloveſhoo.

kingdoms,

kingdoms, by the direction of the biſhops, to whom the power of binding and looſing is committed.

The XIIth excludes baſtards from the ſucceſſion to the crown.

The XVth condemns marriages within the prohibited degrees.

The XVIth makes baſtards, eſpecially the children of nuns, incapable of inheriting.

The XVIIth enforceth the payment of tithes, from the authority of the law of Moſes.

The XVIIIth urges a ſtrict performance of vows.

Some irregularities in the ſubſcription-liſt, in the ſeveral copies of the canons of this council, have led ſome to queſtion the matter of fact; but, perhaps, they are not ſufficient to render the whole doubtful *.

The ſynod of Finchale. 798.

In 798, Eanbald, archbiſhop of York, held a ſynod at Finchale in Northumberland, to make ſome regulations about diſcipline; but he took occaſion alſo to order the canons of the firſt five general councils to be read, which were unanimouſly received.

The council of Cloveſhoo. 800. Another there. 803.

The council of Cloveſhoo, in 800, was called by Adelard archbiſhop of Canterbury, for the recovery of certain church-lands uſurped by the kings of Mercia.

Three years after, another ſynod was held at the ſame place, wherein, according to pope Leo's conſtitution, and by the conſent of Cenulph king of Mercia, Litchfield was reduced to a biſhoprick, as formerly.

The council of Calcuith. 816.

In 816, Wilfrid, archbiſhop of Canterbury, held a council at Calcuith, at which Cenulph, king of Mercia, was preſent, with all the Engliſh biſhops, thoſe of Northumberland excepted. This ſynod drew up eleven canons; but the IId and Vth are the moſt remarkable.

The IId orders all churches to be conſecrated by the biſhop of the dioceſe, with the following formalities. The biſhop ſhall bleſs the holy-water, and ſprinkle the church with it, as the ritual directs. Having conſecrated the euchariſt, he muſt put it in a box, with ſome reliques, to be laid up in the church; and, if there are no reliques, the conſecrated elements, being the body and blood of our Lord, ſhall be ſufficient. Every biſhop ought to have drawn upon the altar, or the wall, the image of the ſaint, to whom the church is dedicated.

The Vth declares, that no Scotchman ſhould baptize or read divine ſervice in England.

There is mention made of two other councils in Mercia, in the reign of Bernulph, one in 822, and the other in 824; but, in all probability, the firſt is a mere fiction, and they are neither of them worth notice.

REFLECTIONS on the primitive ſtate of the Engliſh CHURCH.

I Shall conclude my account of the primitive ſtate of the Engliſh church, with a few reflections, that may be of uſe to give us a juſt idea of the thing itſelf. We are not to imagine, that the primitive church of England exactly reſembled that founded by the apoſtles, immediately after our Saviour's death. The chriſtian church, in her infancy, was perfect and ſpotleſs; but, in proceſs of time, ſhe loſt, by degrees, her original purity. From the days of the apoſtles to the VIIth century, ſeveral errors and abuſes had crept in, which ſtrangely deformed her; and, as theſe corruptions increaſed in the VIIIth and IXth centuries, true religion, at length, degenerated into ſuperſtition. Our notion, then, of the primitive church of England muſt correſpond with the ſtate of the chriſtian church, at that time. Without pointing out the ſeveral innovations in the doctrines and ſervice of the church, I ſhall only obſerve, that the chriſtian church, at the time of the converſion of the Engliſh, was very much corrupted. For inſtance, how many religious cuſtoms were introduced by the monks, who were become exceedingly numerous all over Chriſtendom, that were not of divine or apoſtolical inſtitution; as if our Saviour and his apoſtles had not given ſufficient inſtructions in theſe matters. Theſe voluntary acts of devotion, tho' introduced with a pious deſign, were already regarded by the generality of chriſtians, as the life and ſoul of religion. I will not enlarge on this ſubject, ſince I do not propoſe to enter into the controverſy; but ſhall content myſelf with this remark, that the Engliſh, converted in the VIIth century, are to be conſidered as in the ſame ſtate with the reſt of the chriſtian world in thoſe days, as it was impoſſible for them to know more than their maſters taught them.

Auſtin and his companions were the firſt, that preached the goſpel to the Anglo-Saxons, tho' the honour of their converſion is not entirely due to them; for the Scotch monks of St. Columba had, at leaſt, as great a ſhare in it as the Italians, as they recovered thoſe that relapſed into idolatry, or rather converted them a-new. This was the caſe in Eſſex, Northumberland, and Eaſt-Anglia, as I have, above, related; and the Italian miſſionaries had no concern at all, in the converſion of the Mercians. Auſtin, indeed, aſſumed the honour of converting the Engliſh, though the progreſs he made was not ſo very conſiderable. It is certain, he preached to the Saxons of Kent, as Mellitus did to thoſe of Eſſex, and with ſucceſs too; but it is highly probable,

* Dilberch biſhop Auguſtadenſis, or Hagulſtalenſis, eccleſiæ, ſigns before Eanbald his metropolitan.

this work was begun, and in great forwardneſs, when Auſtin arrived in England. It is not eaſy to conceive, how theſe monks, who made uſe of interpreters, could have converted ſuch a vaſt number of pagans, even to the baptizing 10,000 in one day, in a few months after their coming, if the Saxons had not been already prepared. This conjecture receives farther confirmation, from the letters of Gregory I. to Theodorick king of Auſtraſia, to Theodbert his brother, and to queen Brunichild, to deſire them to aſſiſt Auſtin in his journey to England; for the pope aſſures them, he was credibly informed, that the Engliſh were earneſtly deſirous of becoming chriſtians; which evidently proves, that they were, in a manner, half-converted. It may very reaſonably be preſumed, that king Ethelbert had a favourable opinion of chriſtianity, by the means of his queen, and eſpecially Luidhard biſhop of Soiſſons, who attended her into England. This is poſitively aſſerted by the author of the hiſtory of St. Auſtin's monaſtery; and Malmsbury tells us, that Ethelbert was very deſirous to hear Auſtin's propoſals. Beſides, Auſtin's perſon, character, and conduct will not allow us to believe, that his progreſs was ſo great, as it is repreſented. Bede himſelf, who does not ſeem willing, in the leaſt, to leſſen his reputation, ſays nothing, that can give us a very great idea of his preaching. Inſtead of embelliſhing his hiſtory with the principal heads of Auſtin's firſt diſcourſe before Ethelbert, he only relates the king's anſwer; which renders it ſhrewdly to be ſuſpected, that he had no great opinion of this harangue. Moreover, Auſtin's queſtions, which he propoſed to the pope, do not convey to us a raiſed notion of his parts; and, doubtleſs, for this very reaſon, Bede abridged them as much as poſſible, even to make them ſometimes ſo obſcure, that their meaning is not to be apprehended, but by the anſwer.

It may be farther added, that Auſtin, in the height of his ſucceſs, for which he is ſo famous, ſettled no more than two biſhops, Juſtus at Rocheſter and Mellitus at London, tho' the pope had expreſly ordered him to eſtabliſh biſhops, wherever there was occaſion for them; a convincing proof, that his progreſs was not ſo conſiderable as Gregory imagined. But what can we think of this miſſionary, who, the very firſt year, deſerts his miſſion, and goes to Arles, to be conſecrated an archbiſhop, when, as yet, there was but a handful of chriſtians in England, or rather in the ſingle kingdom of Kent? Of what uſe was the title of archbiſhop and primate, when there was not a biſhop in being? Beſides, what conſtruction can we put upon the pope's anſwer to him, concerning the biſhops of Gaul, that he allows him no manner of juriſdiction over them? May it not be preſumed, that Auſtin, not ſatisfy'd with the primacy of Great-Britain, with which the pope honoured him, wanted to extend his juriſdiction over Gaul too? In a word, what can we think of Gregory's letter to him, wherein he exhorts him not to be elated at the gift of miracles, which God had beſtowed on him, unleſs Auſtin had inform'd him, that he had wrought ſeveral? But what were theſe miracles? Surely, Bede, who has particularly related thoſe of Aidan, Finan, Furſeus, and the other Scotch monks, whom he regarded as ſchiſmaticks, would not have omitted Auſtin's? And yet he gives us but one, of a later date than Gregory's letter, the moſt ſuſpicious that ever was; ſince, by his own confeſſion, it was wrought, to bring over the Britons to ſubmit to the pope's authority. What opinion can we have of Auſtin's zeal to reduce the Britons under the papal juriſdiction, whilſt five Saxon kingdoms were ſuffer'd to remain in darkneſs and idolatry? Why did he complain to the pope, that he wanted labourers in ſo plentiful a harveſt, when he did not employ thoſe he already had? If he did employ them, where are the fruits of their labours? What were their names? Where did they preach the goſpel. Hiſtorians are entirely ſilent, as to theſe things; and, except Juſtus and Mellitus, who preached at Rocheſter and London, they do not tell us, where he ſent his companions, who, according to the received opinion, were 40 in number.

Beſides, the converts, made by theſe Italian monks, were not, it is to be ſuſpected, well grounded in their religion; as evidently appears from the revolt of the people of Eſſex, Eaſt-Anglia, Northumberland, and Kent too, at a juncture, when, had they been true chriſtians, they would have given proofs of the greateſt zeal. Their converſion, therefore, ſeems to have been brought about, without any previous inſtruction, and rather the effect of their fear of, or complaiſance to their kings, than of a thorough conviction of the truth. It is, therefore, ſurprizing, that the converſion of the Engliſh ſhould be attributed to Auſtin, rather than to Aidan, Finan, Colman, Cedd, Diuma, and the other Scotch monks, who, doubtleſs, labour'd much more abundantly than he did. But, as theſe had not their orders from Rome, we cannot bring ourſelves to allow them any part of the glory of this work.

Let us, now, make ſome reflections on the manner of the converſion of the Engliſh. In the beginning of chriſtianity, and even for 300 years, the firſt converts were generally perſons of the loweſt rank; and we hear of nothing but perſecution and death, from the princes and magiſtrates. However, in England, the kings were the firſt that embraced the goſpel, who, by their authority and example, converted their ſubjects; and we meet with no martyrs, in thoſe primitive days of the church of England, except the two ſons of Wulfer king of Mercia, whoſe ſtory is very doubtful. How came this difference between the churches founded by the apoſtles themſelves, in ſo many parts of the world, and that planted in England in the VIIth century?

ry? Why was the devil leſs active, in obſtructing the converſion of the Engliſh, than that of ſo many other nations, during the life and after the death of the apoſtles? Theſe things afford matter for many remarks; but I ſhall leave them to the conſideration of the reader. I ſhall only obſerve, that the eaſy manner of the converſion of the Engliſh takes off the force of the argument, in favour of the chriſtian religion, drawn from the perſecutions of the Roman emperors.

Perſ. de Paſch. "Let a man conſider, ſays a famous author, the eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity; that "a religion, ſo contrary to nature*, ſhould "prevail in the world without any violent "or compulſive methods, and yet ſhould be "ſo firmly rooted, that the moſt cruel tor-"ments could not oblige the martyrs to re-"nounce the faith; and that all this ſhould "be done, not only without the aſſiſtance of "any prince, but in direct oppoſition to all "the kings of the earth, &c." This argument loſes much of its force, when applied to the converſion of the Engliſh.

Moreover, the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory mentions ſeveral ſaints in different parts of the world, but it alſo aſſures us, that ſcarce one of them eſcaped a terrible perſecution, or death itſelf, for the cauſe of the goſpel; whereas, in England alone, we find, in the ſpace of 200 years, an incredible number of male and female ſaints, who never underſtood the meaning of perſecution. Beſides, if we can believe the hiſtorians, theſe ſaints, for the moſt part, were endued with the gift of miracles, tho' the ſwift progreſs of the goſpel ſeems to render them uſeleſs; and many of theſe ſaints were kings, queens, or perſons of the higheſt birth and ſtations. We have, in this period, ſeven kings and as many queens, with eight princes and 16 princeſſes, diſtinguiſh'd by the title of ſaints; and the 10 kings and 11 queens, who reſign'd their crowns, for the ſake of a monaſtick life, might well be enrolled in the catalogue of ſaints. If it be enquir'd, why it was ſo eaſy, in the VIIth and VIIIth centuries, for the great to procure a ſaintſhip, I can aſſign no other reaſon, but that ſanctity conſiſted, then, in enriching the churches and monaſteries, which the rich were far more able to do, than the poor.

The Engliſh were no ſooner converted, but innumerable miracles were wrought among them. Bede's eccleſiaſtical hiſtory abounds with them; for he was very credulous, in theſe matters, as well as Gregory I. whoſe foible, in this reſpect, is viſible in all his works. It is no wonder, then, that his miſſionaries ſhould copy after him, or that the Engliſh ſhould be as eaſy of belief as their teachers. The benedictin monks, firſt, introduced miracles and brought them into vogue, ſome out of pure ſimplicity, and others with a view of attracting the veneration and bounty of all ranks of perſons to monaſteries. The monks of St. Columba, regardleſs of their temporal intereſt, conſcientiouſly attended on the ſervice of God, in the places where they lived in common; but the benedictins were never ſatisfied, till they obtained a vaſt number of monaſteries with large revenues, and the papal authority was recognized throughout the heptarchy.

The popes, however, did not eaſily attain this juriſdiction over the Northumbrians, Picts, and Scots. The northern nations could not ſee any reaſon for acknowledging the pope to be univerſal biſhop; and it is evident, that, before the ſynod of Whitby, the Britons, Picts, Scots, Iriſh, and Northumbrians unanimouſly declared againſt the papal authority. Bede ſays what amounts to this, when, ſpeaking of king Oſwy, he tells us: "He was, at "length, convinced, that the church of Rome "was the true, catholick, and apoſtolical "church, though he had his education in "Scotland." Upon this, Oſwy exerted himſelf to eſtabliſh the pope's authority in his dominions; and Scotland, at laſt, was brought to ſubmit to it, Egbert, an Engliſh prieſt, having gained over the monks of Jona.

The Engliſh had no ſooner owned the papal juriſdiction, than all imaginable means were made uſe of to ſecure it. To this purpoſe, none were admitted to govern the church, but Italian prieſts or monks, or ſuch Engliſh ones as had been educated at Rome or France. Accordingly, the Vth canon of the ſecond council of Calcuith prohibits any Scotchman to perform divine ſervice in England. Bede expreſly diſcovers the policy of Rome, when he aſſures us, that the pope ordered Adrian to attend Theodorus into England, leſt that prelate, being a native of Cilicia, ſhould introduce any cuſtoms into the church of England, contrary to thoſe of Rome.

I ſhall make but one reflection more, relating to the doctrine of the church of England, in the VIIth and VIIIth centuries and the beginning of the IXth. We ſhould be much miſtaken, to think the articles of faith, in the Engliſh church, were the ſame with thoſe of the Roman at this day. For example, it would be abſurd to imagine, the Engliſh believed, in thoſe times, the abſolute neceſſity of baptiſm, as the Romaniſts do now. Were this the caſe, the council of Calcuith would not have order'd that ſacrament to be adminiſter'd, only at eaſter and whitſontide. It would be equally erroneous to believe, that the Engliſh worſhipped images. The contrary appears, from a letter the famous Alcuin, an Engliſhman, wrote to Charles the great, about the ſecond council of Nice, which carried image-worſhip to a monſtrous height. The doctrine of the neceſſity of celibacy in prieſts, alſo, was not received by the church of England, till, at leaſt, 500 years after their converſion. I might add to theſe ſeveral other

* By this he ſuppoſes chriſtianity, in its primitive ſtate, to be clogg'd with all the abſurdities, that now attend it, eſpecially, among the Romaniſts; for, ſurely, nothing more ridiculous can be ſaid of revealed religion, than that it contradicts nature, ſenſe, or reaſon.

inſtances;

inſtances; but, as they are not peculiar to England, I ſhall only remark in general, that all the innovations in the doctrines of the church of England, from the converſion of the Engliſh to the reformation, owe their original to Rome.

The church of England had no concern in the controverſies on foot in the church, during the VIIth and VIIIth centuries; for, among all the councils held in England, within that ſpace, not one made any decrees, concerning the doctrines of religion, except the ſynod of Calcuith, which ratified the condemnation of the Monothelites. Their practice was to read the general councils, and then receive them; ſo that the church of England was not diſturbed with hereſies or diſputes, about the fundamental doctrines of religion. In thoſe times, the biſhops, prieſts, and monks were more ſollicitous about ways and means for enlarging their revenues, than the ſtudy of divinity. Some of them, alſo, were remarkable for the holineſs of their lives, or for their zeal in propagating the goſpel. I have already taken notice of a few; and I ſhall here ſubjoin a brief account of three or four, that make a conſiderable figure, in the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of England *.

716. Egbert. Egbert, an Engliſh prieſt, having retired into Ireland to purſue his ſtudies, went over into Scotland, ſome time after, and prevailed upon the monks of Jona to receive the rules of the order of St. Benedict and ſubmit to the pope's authority. It was, perhaps, for this reaſon, that he is honoured with ſo many encomiums. However, it is reported, that, deſigning to preach the goſpel to the Saxons, he was diverted from his purpoſe, by an expreſs order from heaven; yet, ſo deſirous was he of the converſion of that nation, that he fixed upon Wilbrod to go in his ſtead.

692. Wilbrod. Wilbrod arriving in Germany, Pipin, mayor of the palace of France, ſent him into Frieſland, which he had lately conquered, to preach the goſpel. After ſome ſtay there, he went to Rome, where he was conſecrated biſhop of the Frieſlanders, by pope Sergius I. He eſtabliſhed his ſee at Utrecht, of which he was the firſt biſhop.

Winfrid. Winfrid, an Engliſh benedictin, was ſent into Germany, where he aſſumed the name of Boniface. Meeting with ſucceſs, he was made the firſt archbiſhop of Mentz and the pope's legate for all Germany. It is ſaid, that he was the ſon of a cartwright, and that, for this reaſon, the archbiſhops of Mentz bear wheels in their arms. Boniface was inhumanly murdered by the pagans in Frieſland, in 754†.

754. Guthlack. Guthlack ‡ was the firſt anchoret in England. He choſe, for retirement, a fenny place in Mercia, called Croyland, where the famous monaſtery of that name was afterwards founded **.

* Nennius, abbot of Bangor, thought to be one of the 50 monks that eſcaped, when 1200 of their brethren were ſlain by Adelfrid king of Northumberland. He flouriſhed in 626; tho' according to the beſt copies of his book, he wrote in 858, 24° Mervini regis. Nothing of his is extant, except his Hiſtoria Britonum. Bede is the next after Nennius, who wrote an eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of England, from Julius Cæſar's invaſion to 731, at the deſire of Ceolulph king of Northumberland, to whom it is dedicated. He was born in 673, in the precincts of the monaſtery of Jarrow, near the mouth of the Tyne in Northumberland. He was brought up, from his childhood, in the ſaid monaſtery, where he lived all his days. He was ordained a deacon at 19, and a prieſt at 30; from which time to the 59th year of his age, he continually employed himſelf in writing. His works are printed in eight tomes, beſides his opuſcula. He died in 735, aged 62. His body was removed from Jarrow to Durham, and placed in the ſame coffin with St. Cuthbert's.

† Pits tells us, he was of royal extraction. There is a collection of his letters extant; particularly, his letters to Ethelbald king of Mercia, publiſhed at Mentz by Serrarius. Du Pin cent. VIII.

‡ He was a ſoldier ſeven years, and ſuch was his humanity, that he uſually returned unto the enemy a third part of the plunder.

** Alcuin or Albin, a famous Northumbrian, lived in the VIIIth century. He was bred a benedictin, and made abbot of St. Auguſtin's, Canterbury. He was diſciple to Egbert archbiſhop of York; and, being ſent by Offa, on an ambaſſy to Charles the great, that prince obtained leave for him to ſtay at his court, and was inſtructed by him in logick, aſtronomy, and mathematicks. He perſuaded the emperor to found the univerſities of Paris and Pavia. Pits ſays, he wrote a great number of books. He died in 804.

THE

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK IV.

Origin of the Danes. Their continual irruptions, from the reign of Egbert to Edward the martyr. A full and curious account of the laws and cuſtoms introduced by Alfred the great, on which the preſent laws of England are founded. The ſtate of the church and religion.

IT might be thought, that the union of the ſeven kingdoms would have render'd England more ſecure than ever from foreign invaſions; yet the Danes attack'd the Engliſh as furiouſly, as themſelves had formerly done the Britons. For above 200 years, they continued their deſcents upon this iſland; ſo that it is not to be conceived, how their country could furniſh them with troops for ſo long and bloody a war, or how the Engliſh could withſtand ſo many reiterated attempts. But, before I proceed to particulars, it will be requiſite to enquire into the original of a nation, that, in the IXth century, became ſo formidable to all Europe, and eſpecially to England.

Scandia or Scandinavia *, lying in the north of Europe, is in length, from north to ſouth, about 960, and in breadth, from eaſt to weſt, about 360 miles. If we can give credit to the northern hiſtorians, this country was inhabited, ſoon after the flood, by two nations, or rather two branches of the ſame nation, viz. the Goths and Swedes, who erected two large kingdoms in this part of the world. From theſe two nations, who were ſometimes united and at other times divided, deſcended all thoſe colonies, which, upon the decline of the Roman empire, over-ran the reſt of Europe. But, without examining into the grounds of what they relate, about the conqueſts of theſe adventurers, I ſhall take them for my guides, in the account they give us of thoſe that remained in the northern countries.

In the reign of Erick, the ſixth king of the Goths †, Gothland was ſo very populous, that the country was unable to maintain its inhabitants. To remove this inconvenience, Erick was obliged to ſend away part of his ſubjects, to try their fortune in the neighbouring iſles ‡, who, at length, not only peopled the iſlands, but alſo Jutland on the continent, formerly called Cimbrica Cherſoneſus. The colonies, thus diſperſed, for above 700 years, were ſubject to the kings of Gothland. Humel, the 16th king of the Goths, making them independent, permitted them to have, for their king, Dan his ſon, from whom Denmark received its name *†. Norway alſo, in all likelihood, was peopled by Gothick colonies, ſince it was, for a long time, under the dominion of the kings of Gothland. After many revolutions, Norway was, at length, governed by judges independent of Gothland, till, about the end of the IXth century, it became ſubject to a king.

Janus Kelding.

Suaning. Chron. Dan.

* Containing Norway and ſo much of Sweden, as lay weſt of the golf of Bothnia. It was alſo ſtiled Baltia, whence the Baltick ſea.

† They tell us, he was cotemporary with Terah Abraham's father.

‡ As, in thoſe times, none had a permanent intereſt in land, it was decided by lot, who ſhould leave their country, in queſt of new habitations. Cæſ. de Bell. Gal. l. 6. c. 20. P. Warnfrid. de Geſt. Longobard. c. 2.

*† Dan, they pretend, was cotemporary with Gideon.

The Danes and Norwegians, being thus ſeparated from their anceſtors, the Goths and Swedes, grew ſo powerful, as to be in a condition to withſtand them both in ſeveral wars. The ſituation of their country, and the plenty of materials for the building and equipping a fleet, ſoon made them maſters by ſea. In proceſs of time, they employed all their naval forces, in ravaging the coaſts of Europe. France, England, and the Low-Countries were moſt expoſed to their depredations; and, for above 150 years, nothing was to be ſeen at ſea, but the Daniſh pyrates. They became ſo potent, that Charles the great could never ſubdue the Saxons, whilſt they were aſſiſted by the Danes. Hiſtory informs us, that the emperor, having ſent Pepin his ſon to make war againſt the Saxons, that prince was prevented in his deſigns, by Gothrick king of Denmark's ſending a reinforcement of Danes, on board 300 veſſels. A northern hiſtorian affirms, that Charles the great was never more agreeably pleas'd than with the news of Gothrick's death, having deſpaired of accompliſhing his ends, during the life of that prince.

Meurſius hiſt. Dan.

Jo. Magn. l. 17. c. 1.

As people increaſe and multiply exceedingly in cold countries, Denmark and Norway were often compell'd to ſend off numerous colonies, to make room for the reſt. Having a natural inclination to a ſea-faring life, they chearfully abandon'd their country, as they had, by this means, an opportunity for playing the pyrate, under the pretence of being in queſt of new habitations. The firſt adventurers meeting with ſucceſs, the richeſt and moſt powerful of their countrymen were tempted to ſeek their fortune, in the ſame manner. They enter'd into aſſociations, much of the ſame kind with thoſe at this day, made, in time of war, by the inhabitants of the ſea-port towns in France and Flanders, and always by the corſairs of Barbary; and, at length, they fitted out very large fleets. As they acted under the authority of their kings, who, having a ſhare in their plunder, provided them with admirals and generals; ſo, when a conſiderable prize was in view, they did not ſcruple to command them, in perſon. Theſe are the fleets, that made ſuch ravages in ſeveral parts of Europe, cauſing the inhabitants of France, England, and the Low-Countries to make diſmal lamentations, for the miſeries brought upon them by the northern nations*. They were called, in France, Normans, i. e. men of the north; but, in England, they were commonly called Danes or Goths. Doubtleſs, the Swedes and Goths very frequently join'd with the Danes, for a ſhare in the booty; and even the Frieſlanders were concerned with them, in ravaging the coaſts of France and England. For this reaſon, the Engliſh hiſtorians call them indifferently Getes, Goths, Juttes, Norwegians, Dacians, Danes, Swedes, Vandals, and Frieſlanders, as their armies were compoſed of theſe ſeveral nations.

It is obvious, from what has been ſaid, that the view of the Danes, when they firſt invaded England, was only to plunder; and, therefore, they did not make war, like regular troops, with a fixed deſign, but, like pyrates, what they could not carry off they ſack'd and deſtroy'd. As they were divided into ſeveral independent bands, it often fell out, that, as ſoon as one was gone, another came; ſo that the inhabitants had ſcarce any reſpite from their incurſions. On this account, the Engliſh were obliged to be always upon their guard, and in all places, the iſland being expos'd to attacks, on every ſide. On the contrary, their enemies, whoſe numbers were daily augmented, being under leaders, who had no authority over each other, there was no treating with them, one band diſputing what the other had agreed to. Thus, the Engliſh, who had nothing to gain, but much to loſe, were at a loſs what meaſures they ſhould take with thoſe dangerous enemies. I know, the Daniſh hiſtorians put theſe things in a quite different light. They ſtile the advantages, the Danes had over the Engliſh, in their firſt irruptions, conqueſts, and call the ſtruggles of the Engliſh, to free themſelves from oppreſſion, a revolt; but, notwithſtanding theſe ſpecious names, they are to be conſider'd, as before repreſented, at leaſt, for 100 years after they began their ravages.

Sax. Gram. Magnus, Jornand. Meurſius, Pontanus.

The Engliſh and Daniſh hiſtorians give very contrary accounts of theſe wars, as they each of them, on all occaſions, magnify the advantages of their own nation, and decry thoſe of the oppoſite party. However, it is evident, that the Danes could not have obtain'd ſuch footing in England, had they not been generally victorious. Theſe writers alſo diſagree, in chronological matters, and in the very names of the perſons of whom they ſpeak, which muſt, of courſe, occaſion the greateſt confuſion in hiſtory.

As the caſe ſtands, then, I am obliged to proceed, with all imaginable circumſpection; and, if my reader does not diſcover the ſtricteſt connexion and thoſe other embelliſhments he could have deſir'd, he muſt remember, that the narration of a war, carried on, for the ſake of plunder only, is hardly capable of theſe ornaments.

It is, now, time, having laid down ſome remarks I apprehended to be neceſſary, for the better underſtanding of what follows, to return to the reign of Egbert. This prince, in the preceding book, was repreſented, as king of Weſſex; but he is, now, to be conſider'd, as the real monarch of all the ſeven kingdoms of the heptarchy.

* A furore Normannorum, libera nos, Domine.

EGBERT.

EGBERT.

EGBERT 1ſt king of England. 828.

EGBERT, who received the crown of Weſſex, in 800, did not compleat his conqueſt, till 827 or 828, from which time, his title of king of England is to be dated. But, to prevent miſtakes, it muſt be obſerved, that the kingdom this prince was poſſeſſed of, as his own, conſiſted of the antient kingdoms of Weſſex, Suſſex, Kent, and Eſſex, that were peopled by Saxons and Juttes. As for the other kingdoms, inhabited by Angles, he was content with reſerving the ſovereignty over them, permitting them to be governed by kings who were his tributaries.

Tyrrel.

I have already related, how Egbert, before he attacked his countrymen, ſubdued the Britons of Cornwall and Wales. Tho' his power, upon this, was very much increaſed; yet the Welch, by their actions, plainly declared, that they deſigned to ſhake off this yoke. Egbert, being informed of their intent, directly marched into their country, with ſuch a powerful army, that they were compelled to ſubmit, without daring to come to a battle.

833. An. Sax.

Whilſt Egbert was enjoying the fruits of his victory, the Danes, who had before, at different times, invaded England, arrived at Charmouth * with 35 veſſels. Egbert, on the firſt news of this deſcent, went againſt them, with what troops he could muſter together, verily believing that, upon his approach, they would repair to their ſhips; and though, contrary to his expectation, they bravely ſtood their ground, he reſolved to attack them. However, Egbert ſoon found, he was engaged with a very formidable enemy; and, after a long and bloody battle, his army was entirely routed. They preſs'd upon him ſo cloſe, that he was forced, at length, to follow his flying troops, being indebted to the darkneſs of the night, for his very life. This being a great mortification to a prince, that had been always, hitherto, victorious, he projected other meaſures, for his defence againſt theſe new invaders; but the Danes, being, for the preſent, ſatisfied with their plunder, returned to their ſhips.

* In Dorſetſhire.

Egbert defeated by the Danes.

The Danes make another deſcent. 835.

Two years after, another band of Daniſh pyrates, being told by their ſpies, that the Corniſh Britons were extremely deſirous of throwing off the Engliſh yoke, landed in Cornwall, and were joyfully received. Being reinforced with ſome Britiſh troops, they began their march, in order to come to an engagement with Egbert, expecting to ſurprize him; but they found, that he was advancing directly towards them, with the ſame deſign. His former misfortune having taught him caution, he had his army in readineſs to march, upon the firſt notice of their arrival; and he engaged the enemy, near Hengiſt-dun * in Cornwall, obtaining a ſignal victory, which entirely repaired the diſgrace of his former defeat.

Egbert obtains a ſignal victory.

* Hengſton-hill.

After this fortunate turn of affairs, which ſecured the Engliſh, for a little while, from the irruptions of the Danes, we have but one particular in Egbert's reign, that deſerves to be taken notice of. It is ſaid, that this prince, by a publick edict, to which the general aſſembly of the nation gave their conſent, ordered that, for the future, the part of Great-Britain conquered by the Anglo-Saxons, and erected into ſeven kingdoms, ſhould be called England; but it is far more probable, he only confirmed or revived this name, which certainly bears date, before Egbert's reign. Bede, who wrote 150 years before Egbert's time, tells us, that the three nations, ſettled in Great-Britain, were indifferently called Angli or Engliſh; and he entitles his hiſtory, the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of the Engliſh nation, tho' it much more relates to the churches of Kent, Weſſex, Suſſex, and Eſſex, than to thoſe of Mercia, Northumberland, and Eaſt-Anglia. I have, above, obſerved, that the change of the name Britain into England muſt be carried back to the year 585 or 586; for the confirmation of which, and that Egbert was not the author of this change, I ſhall advance the following conſiderations, which, in my opinion, are very convincing. Firſt, what reaſon had Egbert to call the ſeven kingdoms England, who was himſelf a Saxon, and whoſe provinces were inhabited by Saxons and Juttes? beſides, the Angles or Engliſh, in Mercia, Eaſt-Anglia, and Northumberland, were his vaſſals. Now, can it be imagined, that the conqueror ſhould impoſe on his ſubjects the name of thoſe they had ſubdued? This might, indeed, have been done inſenſibly, but, ſurely, he would never have enjoin'd it by an edict; but, as this is no more than a conjecture, I ſhall proceed to more ſubſtantial proofs. An hiſtorian expreſly affirms, that, ſoon after the heptarchy, the name of England was given to Britain, by the conſent of the ſeven kings; but this cannot be applied to Egbert's time, above 250 years after, ſince that prince could not have publiſhed an edict, before he became king of all England. Moreover, tho' the ſubjects of Ina, king of Weſſex, were Saxons or Juttes, in his laws enacted for the Weſt-Saxons, he only ſtiles them Engliſhmen. "If an Engliſhman, ſays he, "commit theft. Again, "If a Welch ſlave "ſhall kill an Engliſhman." If this name had not been common to the three nations, Ina would not have called his ſubjects Engliſhmen, but Saxons? In a word, it is no wonder, that, upon the founding the heptarchy, the Anglo-Saxons ſhould give the name of England to their conqueſts, ſince they were poſſeſſed of a larger tract of land, than both the Saxons

Egbert confirms the alteration of the name of Britain into that of England.

Jo. Sariſb.

Bromp. leges Inæ, l. 26. lex. 78.

Saxons and Juttes; but it is unnatural to ſuppoſe, that this name was introduced by Egbert, when the three kingdoms of the Angles were in a declining, and that of the Weſt-Saxons in a flouriſhing condition.

Egbert's death. 838. Egbert died in 838, * after a reign of 37 years; 20 of them he was only king of Weſſex, for ſeven years he enjoyed the dignity of monarch, and ten years he reigned over all England. Redburg his wife did not aſſume the title and majeſty of a queen, becauſe of the law * made in Weſſex, on the account of the death of Brithrick. It is ſaid, ſhe perſuaded the king to prohibit the Welch, on pain of death, to come over Offa's dike, the boundary of Mercia and Wales.

* Vid. p. 58.

Rudb. hiſt. monaſt. Wincheſt. Egbert left behind him but one ſon, called Ethelwulph, who was his ſucceſſor, as king of Weſſex, Eſſex, Kent, and Suſſex, and as ſovereign of the other three kingdoms. Egbert had, doubtleſs, another ſon, ſeeing this was deſigned for the church. A modern author † gives the name of Ethelbert to Egbert's eldeſt ſon; but I cannot tell, what grounds he had for this aſſertion. Some ſay, he had alſo a daughter, named Edgith, who founded the abbey of Polleſworth *; but this is uncertain.

† Tyrrel.

* In Warwickſhire.

From what has been ſaid of Egbert, it appears he was a warlike prince; for he did not compleat his ends, by the means made uſe of by Hengiſt and Offa, but by the force of arms; a method, which, tho' equally criminal, does not ſo much tarniſh the reputation of thoſe that put it in practice, eſpecially, if it prove ſucceſsful. It is matter of lamentation, that ambition, by which princes are inclined to invade the property of others, ſhould be eſteemed a virtue; and that an hiſtorian, to gratify the depraved taſte of the world, ſhould not dare to paint it in its true colours, ſince, for the moſt part, ambitious princes are honoured with the ſirname of great.

2. ETHELWULPH.

ETHELWULPH. 838. An. Sax. A. Hunt. l. 5. ETHELWULPH, who ſucceeded his father Egbert, according to ſome, was obliged to have a diſpenſation from the pope, as he was in holy orders; but it is improbable, that Egbert, after the death of his elder brother, would permit him to be bred a churchman, ſince he had no other ſon to ſucceed him.

The Danes land at Southampton. Soon after this, a fleet of Danes, having roved up and down, for ſome time, landed at Southampton and made great devaſtations. Ethelwulph, who was a lover of peace and eaſe, ſent Wulfred his general againſt them, who forced them back to their ſhips; but, before his army returned, the king received information, that another Daniſh band, who landed at Portland, ravaged the country. Although Ethelwulph had no reaſon to be diſpleaſed with Wulfred, he ſent earl Ethelhelm to command the army in his room, who was ſhamefully defeated and put to flight. Herbert, the ſucceeding general, was not only vanquiſhed, but alſo ſlain in the battle. Theſe two victories gave the Danes an opportunity of over-running ſeveral counties; Kent and Middleſex, Canterbury, Rocheſter, and London were, in particular, exceedingly diſtreſſed, the enemy practiſing the moſt unparallel'd cruelties, before they returned to their ſhips.

839. Some think, Witglaph, king of Mercia, died this year 839. Others place his death in 837. But this variation is of no conſequence, as this prince made a very mean figure, after his ſubjection to the king of Weſſex. He was ſucceeded by Berthulph his brother.

† Some tell us, he died in 836 or 837.

840. The enſuing year, Ethelwulph, diſſatisfied with his two late generals, went, in perſon, againſt a body of Danes, that arrived in 35 ſhips, landing on the coaſt of Weſſex. The two armies engaging at Charmouth, the Engliſh were defeated, thinking themſelves happy, that their enemies were content with carrying off their booty, which was the only end of theſe Daniſh expeditions.

The deſtruction of the Picts. This year, or, as ſome affirm, the year before, was very remarkable, for the entire deſtruction of the Picts. After a long war with the Scots, they loſt two battles ſucceſſively, which put it out of their power to make any longer reſiſtance. Keneth II. king of Scotland, incenſed againſt them, for killing his father, and inhumanly mangling his corpſe, told the Scots, this was their time, to extirpate a nation that had always been their enemies; and, accordingly, they treated the Picts with ſo much barbarity, that, after this, there remained nothing, but the memory of that miſerable people, which ſo long had flouriſhed in Great-Britain. On this account, Keneth II. was eſteemed by the Scots as an illuſtrious prince, and one of the founders of their monarchy.

Buchan. Boeth. Holingſh.

The Danes continuing their incurſions, Ethelwulph, who was naturally indolent, thought himſelf unable alone to govern all his dominions; and for this reaſon, and, perhaps, his great affection for Athelſtan his natural ſon, he reſigned to him Kent, Eſſex, and Suſſex, reſting ſatisfied with the ſovereignty of all England and the kingdom of Weſſex.

ETHEL-

ETHELWULPH in Weſſex.
ATHELSTAN in Kent.

841. ANdred, king of Northumberland, died in 841, and was ſucceeded by Ethelred his ſon.

Roderic, ſirnamed Mawr, i.e. the great, was then king of Wales. This prince, who is highly applauded by the Britiſh hiſtorians, attack'd Berthulph, king of Mercia, with ſignal ſucceſs. Ethelwulph, notwithſtanding his peaceable diſpoſition, went, in perſon, into Mercia, to ſtop the progreſs of the Welch prince; for, as he eaſily foreſaw the dangerous conſequence of ſuffering the Welch to recover any part of their country, that had been ſubdued by the Engliſh, he, at once, joined the king of Mercia. Whilſt Roderic was engaged with Berthulph only, he fancied he was able to diſpoſſeſs him, at leaſt, of a conſiderable part of his kingdom; but, as ſoon as he found, that Ethelwulph concerned himſelf in the quarrel, he ſued for peace, which was obtained, without much difficulty, the ſovereign and his vaſſal deſigning nothing more than to live in quiet. Roderic left behind him three ſons, among whom he ſhared his dominions, which, on this account, were divided into the three kingdoms of Venedotia, Demetia, and Powis.

Sim. Dun. M. Weſt.

Ethelred, who received the crown of Northumberland, in 841, was baniſhed, three years after, by one of the factions, that, for a long time, alternately, prevailed in that kingdom; and Redowald was placed on the the throne. The new king being ſlain, ſoon after, by the Danes, in a deſcent they made on Northumberland, Ethelred was recalled by his party, who were now in a condition to ſupport him.

M. Weſt.

845. The Danes conſtantly viſited England, once a year, merely, for the ſake of plunder. In 845, the earls Enulph and Oſrick, with biſhop Aliſtan, gave them battle, near the river Parret *, and obtained a remarkable victory; which, in all likelihood, was the reaſon, why the Engliſh were unmoleſted, for ſome years.

The Danes defeated.

*In Somerſetſhire.

Ethelred reigned but three years, after his reſtoration; for, the oppoſite faction having put him to death, Osbert, a lord, was placed on the throne of Northumberland. During theſe diviſions, the Danes often plunder'd that kingdom; and, whenever they came, they were always welcome to the weakeſt party.

Osbert king of Northumberland.

848. S. Dunelm. Fl. Wig.

851. The Danes land in Weſſex.

Whilſt the Danes were, thus, employed in the north, the ſouthern provinces enjoyed ſome quiet; but, in 851, they landed on the coaſts of Weſſex, where they committed the moſt horrible outrages. Having rifled the country, they were met, on their return to their ſhips, by earl Ceorle, Ethelwulph's general, who waited for them at Wenbury *. Being incumbered with their ſpoils, they fought in ſuch diſorder, that they were entirely routed. In proceſs of time, king Athelſtan, having fitted out a fleet, engaged the Danes, near Sandwich, and took nine of their ſhips; tho' he could not prevent another band of them, from wintering in the iſland of Sheppey.

† In Devonſhire.

Aſſer. vit. Alfr.

852. The Danes land near London.

The Danes, however, not being, in the leaſt, diſcouraged, the next ſpring, came up the Thames with 300 ſail, and, without oppoſition, landed near London, where they began their uſual ravages. The two kings, not expecting this ſudden invaſion, durſt not immediately take the field, but endeavoured to raiſe an army to oppoſe them, with all poſſible expedition.

In the mean time, the Danes were intent upon plunder; and, not content with ravaging the country, they attacked the towns, which, for the moſt part, were obliged to open their gates to their mercileſs enemies. After they pillaged London and Canterbury, they marched into Mercia, and defeated an army Berthulph had brought againſt them, in defence of his country; and they would have overrun all England, had they not been informed, that Ethelwulph and Athelſtan deſigned to intercept them, in their return. They repaſs'd the Thames, to engage the two kings, who were encamped at Okely in Surrey; committing ſuch barbarities in their march, that the very mention of them would be ſhocking. Ar length, they came up to the two kings, and a bloody battle was fought at Okely, in which the Engliſh were victorious, who made ſuch havock of the Danes, that very few of them eſcaped with life.

The battle of Okely.

Berthulph, king of Mercia, died this year, and was ſucceeded by Buthred, with the approbation of Ethelwulph, whoſe daughter he had married.

Buthred king of Mercia.

After the battle of Okely, we have no account of Athelſtan, which makes it probable, that he did not long ſurvive that memorable victory, to which his valour had much contributed. Although Ethelwulph had ſeveral ſons born in wedlock, of age, to aſſiſt him in the adminiſtration of affairs, he would not give Ethelbald, his eldeſt, Athelſtan's kingdom; for, beſides his want of affection for him, he was jealous of his reſtleſs and turbulent ſpirit. Ethelbald, who thought he deſerved a crown, as much as Athelſtan his baſtard-brother, was extremely diſguſted.

Athelſtan's death.

ETHELWULPH alone.

The characters of Ethelwulph and his two favourites.

ETHELWULPH, both by temper and education, was very much inclined to religion. He would willingly, if he could have done it, without interruption, have converſed with the monks, whole days together, whilſt the Danes were employed in ranſacking his kingdom. The reſpite he obtained by the victory of Okely, from theſe barbarous enemies, gave him ſome leiſure to purſue the natural bent of his mind. He had two favourites, who had an equal ſhare in his affection and confidence; and they were both biſhops, but of very oppoſite characters. Swithin biſhop of Wincheſter was the firſt, who continually repreſented to the king the vanity of of all earthly glory and the joys of heaven; but Alſtan biſhop of Sherborn, the ſecond, was highly diſpleaſed, at the king's ſo entirely giving himſelf up to his devotions. He could have wiſhed, he had been more active in repulſing the Danes; and that he would make ſuitable preparations, againſt their next return. To this purpoſe, he, on all occaſions, reminded him of the glorious actions of his anceſtors, particularly, his father Egbert, which, moſt of all, affected him; and he not only excited him by lively exhortations, but ſupplied him alſo with money to carry on his warlike preparations.

H. Hunt. Malmsb. l. 2. c. 2.

Theſe two prelates bore an abſolute ſway over Ethelwulph, the one having the aſcendant in peace, and the other in war. Alſtan preſerved his intereſt in the king, for a long time, on the account of the frequent irruptions of the Danes, which deprived him of many opportunities for his devotions; but no ſooner had he the proſpect of enjoying ſome quiet, than he was wholly directed by the biſhop of Wincheſter, who confirmed him daily, more and more, in his natural inclination to a religious life, to the prejudice of Alſtan. He, above all, inſpired him with the greateſt affection for the church and clergy, which was look'd upon, in thoſe days, as the chief part of religion; and by his advice, it is pretended, this prince granted to the church the tithes of all his dominions *. The revenues of the church, as yet, were not very conſiderable; but they were, now ſo vaſtly augmented, that Ethelwulph's ſucceſſors often had occaſion to wiſh, he had left the clergy in their former ſtate. Such was his zeal for religion, that he ſent his youngeſt ſon Alfred, then about five years of age, to Rome; and, as he had a very ſingular affection for this child, he, doubtleſs, imagined, that the pope's bleſſing would be ratified in heaven and procure him great happineſs. If we can believe the hiſtorians, Leo IV. not only bleſſed this young prince, but honoured him with the ceremony of the royal unction; but this ſeems to be groundleſs, unleſs we can think, the pope knew by revelation, that Alfred ſhould hereafter come to the crown, tho' the youngeſt of four brothers. Beſides, Alfred had not the title of king, till long after, on the death of his three elder brothers. Some are of opinion, ſuppoſing this unction to be matter of fact, that the pope only anointed him with chriſm, at the ceremony of his confirmation. Ethelwulph, his kingdom enjoying, now, a profound tranquillity, determined to make the pope a viſit, in perſon, to receive his benediction, and, with this view, went to Rome, in 855. Upon his arrival, pope Leo gave him an honourable reception, and had, in return, all the reſpect that could be expected from ſo devout a prince. During his reſidence at Rome, he viſited the churches, chapels, holy reliques, and every thing elſe that could feed his devotion. The Engliſh college founded by Ina, and enlarged by Offa, being conſumed by fire, the preceding year, he rebuilt in a more magnificent manner; and, to render its revenues greater than ever, he extended the tax of Peter-pence all over his dominions, which had, hitherto, been only levied in Weſſex and Mercia. He promiſed alſo to ſend to Rome, yearly, the ſum of 300 mancus's or marks †, 200 to ſupply the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul with wax-tapers, and the remainder for the pope's private uſe. By reaſon of theſe inſtances of liberality, ſome hiſtorians have been led to aſſert, that Ethelwulph made England tributary to the holy ſee; but, how much ſoever they were afterwards abuſed, it is evident, they were no more, originally, than charitable allowances to the churches and Engliſh college.

Tyrrel.

855. He goes himſelf to Rome.

Sigonius de reg. Ital.

He grants tithes to the clergy.

Ethelwulph, having, to ſatisfy his devotion and curioſity, continued 12 months at Rome, returned home, by the way of France, where he married Judith the daughter of Charles the bald ‡, a young princeſs not exceeding 12 years of age. This unſuitable as well as unſeaſonable match, he having already ſeveral children, was improved, as another pretence for the conſpiracy, now in agitation againſt him in England.

He marries Judith daughter to Charles the bald.

853. He ſends Alfred to Rome. Fl. Wig. Aſſer.

Alſtan, biſhop of Sherborn, formerly the king's favourite, but now his enemy, took the advantage of his abſence, to ſeduce Ethelbald his eldeſt ſon. This prince, being naturally of a revengeful temper, was already

* The laws of Ina and Offa ſettle tithes on the clergy; but, in all probability, they were not obſerved, and, perhaps, Ethelwulph extended this law over England. This charter is mentioned, at large, in the hiſtory of the church.

† John Brompton is miſtaken, in calling them 300 talents.

‡ The Saxon annals ſtile her Leotheta.

incenſed

Ethelbald conſpires againſt his father.

incenſed againſt his father, for not inveſting him with the kingdom of Kent, upon Athelſtan's death; and, therefore, he eaſily came into the pernicious counſels of Alſtan. The prelate told him, that Ethelwulph lived more like a monk than a king, and, by his indolence, expoſed his kingdom to ruin; and that, as he was wholly taken up with the converſation of the monks, it was fit he ſhould retire into a monaſtery, and reſign his kingdom to his ſon, who knew better how to govern it. Ethelbald, all on fire to poſſeſs the crown, was ſtagger'd at this diſcourſe; and there was no need of repeating it, to gain him over. Beſides, the news of Ethelwulph's marriage came, juſt in the critical minute, to confirm his reſolution; for he was apprehenſive, that the children, by this ſecond marriage, might be in a capacity to diſpute his ſucceſſion to the throne, by the aſſiſtance of the king of France. Theſe conſiderations induced him to enter into a cabal with the nobles, how to prevent the king's return. Alſtan exerted himſelf to bring over the lords and commons to the prince's intereſt; and, in a ſhort time, he formed a very powerful party. Ethelwulph, being informed of this, immediately left France, and, before his ſon had taken all the neceſſary ſteps to hinder it, arrived in England; tho' Ethelbald ſtill purſued his deſign, and even openly declared it. As Ethelwulph had dignified his new ſpouſe with the title of queen, in regard of her royal extraction, Ethelbald made uſe of this, as a handle for his revolt. He alledged, that, by the expreſs terms of the law, made on the occaſion of Brithrick's murder, the Weſt-Saxons were abſolved from their oath of allegiance to his father. Every thing conſpired to bring on a civil war, which muſt, of courſe, prove fatal to England; as, beſides other evils, it would infallibly occaſion freſh invaſions from the Danes; but ſome of the wiſeſt of the nobility of both parties, foreſeeing theſe conſequences, by their mediation, brought matters to an accommodation. Tho' right and juſtice were entirely on the king's ſide; yet, being old and of a peaceable temper, and as his ſon denounced ſevere threatenings againſt all that oppoſed him, the balance ſeemed to be, in favour of Ethelbald. This treaty, which was managed by umpires, obliged Ethelwulph to ſurrender to his ſon the antient kingdom of Weſſex, and to reſt ſatisfied with that of Kent for himſelf, which compriſed alſo Eſſex and Suſſex. Some of his courtiers adviſed him not to ſign ſo partial a treaty; but he told them, that he had not ſuch a value for the dominions allotted to his ſon, as to purchaſe them, at the expence of a civil war; and that, tho' he ſhould be in a condition to recover them, yet, upon his death, his ſon would again be put in the poſſeſſion of them.

Selden, titles of honour, c. 6. p. 83. Malm. 12.

The king returns.

ETHELWULPH in Kent. ETHELBALD in Weſſex.

ONE would think, that Ethelwulph foreſaw his approaching death, ſince he ſurvived this partition but two years, which he ſpent in acts of charity, in adminiſtering juſtice to his ſubjects, and endeavouring, by his example, to prevail on them to live in conformity to the precepts of the goſpel. Ethelbald, on the other hand, depending on many years to come, thought of nothing but licentiouſneſs and debauchery.

Edmund king of Eaſt-Anglia. An. Sax. Fl. Wig. J. Tinmouth in ſancti.

The Saxon annals affirm, that, about this time, Edmund, a youth of about 15 years of age, was crowned king of Eaſt-Anglia. He was ſon to Alcmund, a prince of the blood-royal, who retreated into Germany, when Offa ſeized upon Eaſt-Anglia. We are not told, whether this was done, with the conſent of Ethelwulph and Ethelbald; or, whether, on the account of the diſſention between theſe two princes, they reſolved to have a king of their own. Edmund, during his youth, had the benefit of biſhop Humbert's advice, who form'd him to a virtuous life, and inſtill'd into him ſentiments of juſtice and equity, of which his ſubjects reaped the advantage. I will take no notice of the miracles, that are ſaid to have attended his birth, and ſhall, in another place, ſpeak of his tragical death, which is called a martyrdom.

Ethelwulph's laſt will.

Ethelwulph, finding he was near his end, made a will, wherein he diſpoſed of his dominions to Ethelbert his ſecond ſon, and, upon his deceaſe, to Ethelred his third ſon, and after him to Alfred the youngeſt. I am not certain, whether it was cuſtomary, in thoſe days, for kings to diſpoſe of their dominions, by will; or, whether Ethelwulph was the firſt that did ſo. However, it is evident, that Ethelwulph's ſons ſucceeded each other, by virtue of his will; by which he alſo obliged his heirs to maintain one poor perſon, for every tithing in his hereditary lands. He died * ſoon after, in 857, having reigned 20 years †, leaving behind him four ſons and one daughter, who was married to Buthred king of Mercia, and died at Pavia, in 888. Ethelbald, Ethelwulph's eldeſt ſon, being already poſſeſs'd of Weſſex, Ethelbert had only for

Malm.

He died, 857.

* He was buried at Wincheſter, with Egbert his father.

† The Saxon annals ſay, Ethelwulph reigned but 18 years; tho' they affirm, his father began his reign in 800, and reigned 37 years, 7 months, and that Ethelwulph died in 857.

his

his ſhare Kent, Eſſex, and Suſſex, compriſed under the name of the kingdom of Kent. As for Ethelred and Alfred, they were, at firſt, but meanly provided for, tho' in proceſs of time, they both came to the crown. Beſides Athelſtan, already mention'd, ſome tell us, Ethelwulph had another natural ſon, named Neot, who was afterwards profeſſor at Oxford; but I much queſtion, whether Neot was his ſon, it being more probable, that he was only a relation of the blood-royal of Weſſex.

3. ETHELBALD in Weſſex. ETHELBERT in Kent.

ETHELBALD's reign was not attended with any remarkable event, nor is there any action of his own, that deſerves to be recorded. All hiſtorians are agreed, that he was a prince of no merit. The Engliſh writers aſſure us, he made no ſcruple to marry Judith, his father's widow; tho' the French authors are ſilent on this head, who ſay, that her marriage with Ethelwulph not being conſummated, becauſe of her youth, ſhe return'd to France, from whence ſhe was carried off by Baldwin Iron-hand earl of Flanders. Perhaps, they were ignorant of her ſecond marriage, or thought it improper to mention it, as reflecting on the family of Charles the great. However, the Engliſh writers relate it, for fact; and one of them adds*, that Ethelbald was brought to a ſenſe of his fault, by Swithin biſhop of Wincheſter, and underwent a ſevere penance for it. This penance, which, in all probability, conſiſted in ſome grants and donations to the monaſteries, led an hiſtorian† to affirm, his death, in 860, was very much lamented. He reigned two years in Weſſex, during the life of his father, and about two years and a half, after his deceaſe. Ethelbert his brother, already poſſeſs'd of Kent, ſucceeded to the throne of Weſſex, purſuant to their father's laſt will and teſtament.

He dies in 860.

4. ETHELBERT alone.

The Danes return to England.

THE Danes, who had been quiet, for ſome years, immediately upon Ethelbert's coronation, renew'd their invaſions; and, being almoſt forgotten, and no preparations having been made againſt them, they penetrated as far as Wincheſter, the capital of Weſſex, reducing it to aſhes. They would have proceeded to greater outrages, if Oſrick and Ethelwulph, two Weſt-Saxon lords, had not forced them back to their ſhips.

They reduce Wincheſter to aſhes.

They are repulſed.

Another deſcent. Ethelbert offers them money to depart; and, tho' they accept it, they plunder in Kent.

After this, they landed in autumn, in the iſle of Thanet, where they wintered, in order to begin their incurſions in the ſpring; but Ethelbert, extremely uneaſy at their being ſo near him, and at a loſs how to help it, offer'd them a ſum of money, to depart in peace. They accepted his propoſal; but no ſooner had they received the money, than they ruſh'd into Kent, deſtroying all before them with fire and ſword. Tho' Ethelbert was not in a condition to revenge their treachery, it taught him, however, that nothing but force could reſtrain them; and he, therefore, reſolved to levy an army, to intercept them in their retreat. As they dreaded theſe preparations, they embarqued with their booty ſo abruptly, that it was impoſſible to prevent them.

Ethelbert's reign, which laſted but ſix years, had nothing in it of any importance. He died in 866, leaving behind him two ſons, Adhelm and Ethelward, neither of which ſucceeded him, his younger brother Ethelred, by virtue of Ethelwulph's will, mounting the throne.

He dies in 866.

5. ETHELRED I.

THE reign of Etheldred was ſhort and troubleſome; for, from the day of his coronation to his death, he had one continued conflict with the Danes. They, firſt, attack'd Northumberland, which, at length, they ſubdued, as they did, next, Eaſt-Anglia; and, having compell'd the Mercians to purchaſe their ranſom, with a ſum of money, they enter'd into Weſſex. In ſpite of Ethelred's valour, and the many battles he

* Matthew of Wincheſter; but Aſſer, who lived in theſe times, takes no notice of it.
† Huntingdon, who ſays, he was buried at Sherborn.

fought,

fought, he had the mortification, at his death, to leave them in the heart of his kingdom, and in a condition of ſoon compleating the conqueſt of the whole. Theſe are the moſt memorable events, during this reign, the moſt material circumſtances of which I ſhall proceed to relate.

Malmſ. The authority which Egbert reſerved over the kingdoms of Mercia, Eaſt-Anglia, and Northumberland, and left to his ſon Ethelwulph, had been, for ſome time, much impaired, by the frequent invaſions of the Danes; for, whilſt the kings of Weſſex were employ'd in the defence of their own dominions, they had no leiſure to improve their ſovereignty over the three kingdoms of the Angles, to whom Egbert had left ſome ſhadow of liberty; and, therefore, at length, the Northumbrians, at the fartheſt diſtance from Weſſex, ſhook off their yoke. The factions, that had ſo long reigned among them, laying aſide, in a great meaſure, their mutual animoſities, unanimouſly agreed to place Osbert on the throne. This happy union might have raiſed Northumberland to its antient ſplendor, had not an unexpected accident plunged that country into a gulph of miſery, from which it was never able to recover itſelf. The troubles, which paved the way for the ruin of Northumberland, and proved fatal to all England, were occaſion'd as follows.

The cauſe of the troubles in Northumberland. Brompt. Osbert, who kept his court at York, returning one day from hunting, was diſpos'd to refreſh himſelf, at the houſe of earl Bruern-Bocard, who was guardian of the coaſts againſt the Daniſh irruptions. The earl being from home, his lady, to whoſe charming beauty was join'd the moſt agreeable behaviour, entertain'd her ſovereign with the reſpect due to his quality. Osbert, at once, was raviſh'd at the ſight of her; and, being deſperately enamour'd, reſolved, at all hazards, to gratify his paſſion. Accordingly, under the pretence of having ſome affairs of conſequence to communicate to her, in the abſence of the earl, he led her inſenſibly into a private room; where, after ſeveral attempts to bring her to a compliance, by fair means, he proceeded, at length, to downright force. Intreaties, tears, outcries, reproaches were all ineffectual to checque his raging paſſion; and, having committed this infamous deed, he left the counteſs, ſo oppreſs'd with grief and vexation, that it was impoſſible for her to conceal the cauſe from her husband. Such outrageous affronts are ſcarce ever forgiven. Tho' Osbert was a king, and earl Bruern his ſubject, he ſo highly reſented this injury, that he determin'd, at all adventures, to be fully revenged. He had a great intereſt with the Northumbrians; and Osbert's brutal action had a natural tendency to alienate the minds of his ſubjects from him. Accordingly, the earl ſo managed matters, that the Bernicians, ſoon after, revolting, and regarding Osbert, as unworthy to govern them, choſe Ella for their king, reſolving to ſupport him on the throne. Thus, the old diviſions were reviv'd; and Northumberland was, again, divided between two kings and two factions, who, continually aiming at each other's ruin, were but too ſucceſsful in their endeavours. Ella elected king of Bernicia.

A civil war being the conſequence, both princes exerted themſelves to decide their quarrel, by arms; but the equality of their forces prevented either of them from gaining any ground. One would have thought, the injur'd earl might have been ſatisfied, with Osbert's loſing half his dominions; but ſuch was his revenge, that he could not bear even to ſee him on the throne of Deira; and, rather than miſcarry in his deſign, he fatally reſolved to go and procure the aſſiſtance of the Danes. This was not the firſt time that the like injury had produced the like effect. Spain, in ſubjection to the Moors, felt, at that very juncture, the miſchiefs an affair of this nature had occaſion'd. As ſoon as the earl arrived in Denmark, he applied to king Ivar or Hinguar *, aſſuring him, that, if he would take the advantage of the preſent diſtracted ſtate of Northumberland, he might ſubdue the whole kingdom. Ivar readily engaged in an enterprize, to which the deſire of revenge, as well as his ambition, powerfully excited him; for Regnerus his father, having been taken priſoner in England, was thrown into a ditch full of ſerpents, where he miſerably periſh'd. This barbarity inſpir'd Ivar with ſuch a furious abhorrence of the Engliſh, that he gladly embraced the preſent opportunity of being revenged of them. Having concerted with earl Bruern all the neceſſary meaſures to put his deſign in execution, in the ſpring, he enter'd the Humber with a numerous fleet, that ſpread terror over all England. He was conducted by Bruern, and attended by his brother Hubba, the moſt valiant perſon of his time. As the Northumbrians had no intelligence of this invaſion, they were not in a poſture to diſpute his landing. Thus, Ivar, without oppoſition, ſubdued the northern ſhore of the Humber, and, from thence, marched directly to York, where Osbert was making preparations againſt him. Earl Bruern brings the Danes into England. Ivar invades Northumberland. Sim. Dunelm.

In this extremity, Osbert had recourſe to Ella, tho' his enemy; and Ella, conſcious of his cruel treatment of Ivar's father, chearfully agreed to drop their private quarrel, to join their forces againſt the king of Denmark. Accordingly, he was as expeditious as poſſible, in preparing a powerful reinforcement. Had Osbert remain'd in York, till Ella's arrival, who was on his march, he would certainly have embarraſs'd Ivar, who would, then, have been obliged to withſtand the enemy in two places at once; but his valour would not ſuffer him to proceed with caution. Perhaps, it was with regret, that he found himſelf under a neceſſity to make application to Ella; or, poſſibly, he ſuſpected, that he would prove perfidious. However, without waiting Osbert has recourſe to Ella.

* Pontanus, in his hiſtory of Denmark, does not place Ivar among the kings of that country; but Meurſius aſſures us, this prince was crowned in 836, differing in his chronology from the Engliſh hiſtorians.

for Ella, he ſallied out of York, and attack'd the Danes ſo furiouſly, that they were ſcarce able to ſuſtain the ſhock, and had like to have been put in diſorder; but their obſtinate defence, having, at length, abated the ardour of their enemies, they preſſed them, in their turn, forcing them, at laſt, to retire in a very confuſed manner. Osbert deſperately mortified to ſee the victory, thus, ſnatched out of his hands, uſed his utmoſt efforts to rally his troops, but was ſlain in the retreat, with a vaſt number of his men.

Osbert vanquiſhed and ſlain.

Meurſius hiſt. Dan.

The gates of York having been opened, by this victory, to the Danes, they entered the town, to refreſh themſelves, whilſt Ella advanced, with a view of repairing the loſs Oſbert had ſuffered by his raſhneſs; and Ivar, not believing him to be more formidable than the other king, whom he had defeated, went out to meet him. This battle was as bloody as the firſt, and no leſs fatal to the Engliſh. Ella loſt his life, and his army was entirely routed. Some tell us, this prince, being taken priſoner, was flead alive, by Ivar's order, in revenge for the death of his father. The field of battle was named Elléſcroft, i. e. Ella's overthrow.

Ella's defeat and death.

Ivar enters Mercia.

Upon this, Ivar, without any reſiſtance, took poſſeſſion of all Northumberland; but, it not ſatisfying his ambition, he marched into Mercia, ravaging, without mercy, all before him. Buthred king of Mercia, having had time to prepare himſelf, obtained the aſſiſtance of Ethelred his brother-in-law, who joined him with all the forces of Weſſex. Ivar was advanced as far as Nottingham, expecting to ſurpriſe the king of Mercia; but no ſooner did he receive information, that the two kings were together, than he halted, aſtoniſhed to find, that his forces were inferior to theirs. The two armies ſtood in the ſight of each other, for ſome time, expecting to engage, every moment; but the conſequence of a battle, which, in all probability, would be deciſive, kept them in ſuſpence. At laſt, having gazed at each other for a conſiderable ſpace, they parted, without a battle. Buthred judged it more adviſable to bribe the enemy, with a ſum of money, than to hazard an engagement, the ſucceſs whereof was very uncertain. Beſides, he apprehended, there was nothing to be got from the Danes, tho' fortune favoured him; whereas his all was at ſtake, if he ſhould be deſeated.

Ethelred joins the king of Mercia.

Buthred bribes the Danes, with a ſum of money, to retire.

Ivar, from his arrival, had always rifled all the places wherever he came, eſpecially, the monaſteries, where the Engliſh concealed their moſt valuable effects. It is natural to imagine, the idolatrous Danes had no great veneration for the nuns, and that many of them were expoſed to their brutal luſt. We have a remarkable ſtory, to this purpoſe: The abbeſs of Coldingham, upon the approach of the Daniſh army, perſuaded her nuns to cut off their noſes and upper lips, to prevent their outrages. This notable expedient, indeed, preſerved their honour, tho' at the expence of their lives. The ſoldiers, beholding, unexpectedly, ſuch monſtrous viſages, ſet fire to the monaſtery, compelling them, in the flames, to compleat the ſacrifice of their perſons, which they had already begun to offer unto God.

Sim. Dunelm.

The monaſtery of Coldingham deſtroyed by fire.

Ivar, not having had, in Mercia, the ſucceſs he expected, turned his arms another way, where, in all probability, he might meet with leſs oppoſition. Leaving Hubba his brother in Northumberland, with the flower of his troops, he embarqued for Eaſt-Anglia, where Edmund reigned, as I have, above, related. This young prince, being more inured to devotion, than to the exerciſe of arms, in a battle with the Danes, was eaſily defeated, being forced to retire, for his own ſafety. He thought to have concealed himſelf in a church; but, being diſcovered, he was brought before Ivar, at Hegilſdon*. Ivar offered to leave him in poſſeſſion of his kingdom, provided he would own him for his ſovereign, and become his tributary. Edmund rejecting this propoſal, Ivar ordered him to be tied to a tree, ſhot at with arrows, and then to be beheaded†; and Humbert, biſhop of the Eaſt-Angles, was alſo put to death. Edmund's head being found, ſome time after, was buried with his body at St. Edmund's-Bury, which was ſo called from him. Whilſt the Roman-catholick religion flouriſhed in England, great numbers of miracles were ſaid to be wrought at his tomb. I cannot divine, how his corpſe came to be at Tholouſe, where, they pretend, it was found, in 1667.

870. Ivar ſubdues Eaſt-Anglia.

* Hoxon in Suffolk.

An. de Toul. de a Faille.

Ivar, having conquered Eaſt-Anglia, appointed Godrim or Gothurn, a Daniſh captain, governor of it; and, afterwards, having recalled his brother Hubba from Northumberland, in order to be near his perſon, he made Egbert, by birth an Engliſhman, but entirely devoted to him, king of that kingdom.

The ſucceſs of the Danes, in this war, having inſpired them with hopes of ſubduing all

871. Ivar invades Eſſex.

† Tho' Rapin, as the moſt probable opinion, repreſents Osbert's raviſhing earl Bruern's lady to be the occaſion of the Danes invading Northumberland, there is alſo another reaſon aſſigned, for that and the barbarous murder of Edmund. It is ſaid, that Lodebroch king of Denmark, as he took the diverſion of hawking in a boat, was driven out to ſea, by a ſtorm, and caſt upon the Engliſh coaſt near Yarmouth. He was ſeized and brought to Edmund's court, then king of Eaſt-Anglia, who, finding him a great ſportſman, was pleaſed with his company. Bern the king's falconer, envious at his being excelled in his own buſineſs, by this ſtranger, led him into a wood, pretending to ſhew him game, and inhumanly murdered him. Lodebroch's dog, almoſt ſtarved, comes to the palace, and, being fed, goes away again. The dog having done this ſeveral times, the king's ſervants followed him, and were ſo brought to a ſight of the corpſe. Bern, being tried and found guilty of the murder, was condemned to be put into Lodebroch's boat and committed to the mercy of the ſea, without tackling or proviſion; and he was carried to the Daniſh ſhore. The boat being known, Bern was examined about Lodebroch. He told them, that, being caſt on the ſhore of Eaſt-Anglia, he was put to death, by king Edmund's order. Upon this, Ivar and Hubba, Lodebroch's ſons, embarqued for Eaſt-Anglia, with a powerful army, but were forced, by bad weather, into Northumberland. Coll. eccl. hiſt.

England,

England, they began to form new projects. Ivar, who had a perfect intelligence of the ſtate of the iſland, found he muſt, firſt, attack Weſſex, in order to accompliſh his deſigns, expecting, that, upon the ſubjection of that kingdom, the reſt would ſubmit, of courſe; and he alſo knew, that all his conqueſts, in other places, would be precarious, whilſt the king of Weſſex was in a condition to aſſiſt his neighbours. For theſe reaſons, he reſolved to attack Ethelred; and, embarquing his troops, he ſailed for the coaſt of Weſſex; where, landing his army, he advanced as far as Reading. Ethelred, apprehenſive of this, had his army in readineſs, and marched towards that quarter, accompanied by Alfred his brother. It would be tedious, and, perhaps, impracticable to give an account of the particulars of this war. It is ſufficient to relate, that, in the compaſs of one year, Ethelred fought nine pitch'd battles, and, on all occaſions, gave remarkable proofs of his courage and conduct, tho' he was not always ſucceſsful. In the laſt battle, near Wittingham, he received a mortal wound, of which he died, in 872, after a reign of five years *.

872. Ethelred's death.

Ethelred ſeems not to be altogether exempt from blame, in permitting the Danes to over-run Northumberland and Eaſt-Anglia, without reſiſtance; but, perhaps, being ſurprized at the defeat of the two kings of Northumberland, and the ſwift progreſs of Ivar's arms, he thought himſelf in no condition to repair the misfortunes occaſioned by the diſſentions of the Northumbrians. Beſides, he was, doubtleſs, unwilling to expoſe, in the defence of Northumbria, the forces he foreſaw to be neceſſary, for the preſervation of his own kingdom; and the terror alſo, that was ſpread over all England, probably, put it out of his power to diſpoſe of his army, as he could have wiſhed, the Engliſh being in ſuch a conſternation, that they would not march againſt ſuch formidable enemies, till they were obliged to it, for their own defence and ſecurity.

Ethelred was famous for his valour, but more ſo, for his piety. An hiſtorian affirms †, that being at prayers, upon a day of battle, he determin'd not to ſtir, till the ſervice was over, tho' the fight was begun, and the Danes had ſome advantage. God rewarded his devotion with a remarkable victory *.

† Aſſer. de Alfr. reb. geſt. p. 7.

* At Aſhdown in Berkſhire.

Ethelred left behind him ſeveral children, particularly, Alfred, the great-grand-father of Ethelwerd the hiſtorian. Some relate, he had alſo a daughter, named Thyra, married to Trothorn VI. king of Denmark. Ethelred's ſon did not ſucceed him; but his brother Alfred, purſuant to Ethelwulph's will, was placed on the throne, without oppoſition.

During Ethelred's reign, the Danes demoliſh'd the famous monaſteries of Croyland, Ely, Peterborough or Medeſhamſtead, beſides Coldingham already mentioned. The hiſtorians have been very particular, in deſcribing the miſeries of the abbies, whilſt they have paſs'd over in ſilence other events, more worthy the notice of a curious reader.

6. ALFRED the great.

Alfred the great.

ALFRED, as well as his brother and predeceſſor, was moleſted by the Danes; and he had frequent occaſions, for the exerciſe of his courage, conduct, and all the other virtues Heaven had beſtowed upon him. But their fortune, however, was different; for as Ethelred was never reduced to ſo low a condition as Alfred, ſo neither was he ever exalted to that height of glory. One would think, that Divine Providence, in the perſon of Alfred, was willing to convince the world, how the Almighty ſets up and pulls down kings, according to his good pleaſure. I ſhall illuſtrate this truth, in the life of this prince, taking a celebrated hiſtorian for my guide, who has given us an accurate account of Alfred's actions.

Spelman.

The ſtate of Weſſex.

Ethelred left the affairs of his kingdom in a deplorable ſituation, the Danes, who were maſters of Northumberland and Eaſt-Anglia, being in the very heart of Weſſex; and, notwithſtanding the many battles he had given them, they were poſſeſſed of ſeveral towns, and in a fair way of ſubduing the whole kingdom. Alfred had ſcarce been a month on the throne, when he was obliged to take the field againſt theſe formidable enemies, who were advanced as far as Wilton; and there he firſt attack'd them, after his brother's death †. He flatter'd himſelf, for ſome time, that he ſhould prove victorious; but, the ſcene changing on a ſudden, he was forced, at length, to leave the Danes maſters of the field. His loſs, however, was not ſo conſiderable, as to lead him to deſpair of being revenged; for, as the enemy had loſt a great number of their men, he endeavour'd, with all expedition, to get his army in readineſs to engage them again, before they ſhould be reinforced. The Danes, aſtoniſh'd at his conduct, though victorious, ſued for peace, being unable to carry on the war. How much

The battle of Wilton, in which Alfred was defeated.

* He lies buried at Winburn in Dorſetſhire, with this inſcription on his tomb: "In hoc loco quieſcit corpus "S. Ethelredi regis Weſt-Saxonum martyris, qui anno Domini DCCCLXXII. XXIII. Aprilis per manus Danorum "paganorum occubuit." Camb. Some ſay, he died of the plague, which raged at that time.

† Ethelwerd ſeems to intimate, that Alfred was not in this battle, in perſon, being employ'd about his brother's funeral. l. 4. c. 4.

ſoever

ſoever Alfred confided in his troops, who ſeem'd to be deſirous of engaging, he thought it moſt expedient to get rid of his enemies, without the hazard of a ſecond battle. As they offer'd to depart from his dominions, provided he would not interrupt them in any other part of England, he gladly complied with their terms, taking them to be advantageous, in his preſent circumſtances; and, indeed, this treaty gave him leiſure to make preparations againſt a freſh invaſion, which he had great reaſon to expect. Beſides, had he been defeated, upon giving them battle, his whole kingdom would infallibly have fallen into the hands of his enemies.

Alfred enters into a treaty with the Danes.

The Danes retir'd to London *, which they had taken, during the laſt war. Ivar, returning to Denmark, left the command of the army to his brother Hubba, who turn'd his arms againſt Mercia. Buthred, not being in a condition to withſtand him, and expecting no aſſiſtance from Alfred, who was under articles to the contrary, judged it moſt expedient to bribe the Danes with a ſum of money, to ſecure his kingdom from their depredations. Upon the receipt of it, they ſet out for Northumberland, deſigning to take up their quarters with their countrymen; but, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of proviſions, occaſioned by their own devaſtations, they were forced to return into Mercia. Whilſt in Northumberland, they dethroned Egbert, to whom they had given the crown, and made Ricſige, a Daniſh earl, king, in his ſtead. Buthred, finding they were again in his dominions, complain'd of their breach of faith; but they obliged him, however, to give them another conſiderable ſum of money, which was no ſooner paid, than they began to commit ravages, convincing Buthred, that even his own perſon was in danger. The dread of falling into their hands compell'd him to abandon his kingdom; and retire to Rome, where he ſpent the remainder of his days in the Engliſh college. Mercia being, thus, without a king, and Alfred under obligations not to ſend any ſuccours, the Danes eaſily ſubdued that ſpacious kingdom; and, leſt the Mercians ſhould be too much terrified, they placed Ceoluph, one of Buthred's domeſticks, on the throne. Tho' the new king was an Engliſhman; yet, as he held his kingdom, during the pleaſure of his maſters, he was reſolved to make uſe of his time, to fill his coffers; ſo that the Mercians were as great ſufferers by the rapines and extortion of their countryman, as they would, perhaps, have been by thoſe of a foreigner.

The Danes enter Mercia, and are bought off with money.

They return again.

Sim. Dunelm.

Buthred abandons his kingdom, and goes to Rome.

Ingulgh.

Tho' the Danes were poſſeſſed of Mercia, Eaſt-Anglia, and Northumberland, they had their eyes intently fixed upon Weſſex, which contained the other four kingdoms; but, as they had always met with princes there, that diſputed every inch of ground with them, they were under a neceſſity to enter into an alliance with Alfred, till they had a more favourable opportunity. In the interim, they manured their lands, conſidering the country, they had ſo often and horribly ravaged, as their own. England being, thus, divided between the Engliſh and the Danes, peace and tranquillity ſeemed to be in a fair way of being reſtored; but the miſeries of England were, as yet, far from a period.

England divided between the Engliſh and the Danes.

Whilſt Alfred entertained hopes of enjoying ſome quiet, Halfden, a Daniſh general, having fitted out a fleet, made a deſcent on Eaſt-Anglia; and, the ſeaſon being far advanced, winter'd there, deſigning, in the ſpring, to invade Weſſex. Halfden's arrival with freſh troops ſhould have put Alfred upon his guard; but, confiding in the treaty he had lately made with the Danes, he made no preparations, of which Halfden took the advantage. Early in the ſpring, he ſet ſail, and took, by ſurprize, Warham-caſtle *, the ſtrongeſt place in all Weſſex. The Engliſh, hitherto, conſidered the Daniſh irruptions, as a regular war, in which the whole nation was concerned, and, accordingly, they imagined, that a treaty, concluded with one band, would oblige all the reſt; but the Danes were of another opinion. They, with the conſent of their kings, entered into private aſſociations to man out fleets, and divide the ſpoils they ſhould carry off from England and other countries; and theſe ſeveral parties, being independent of each other, had no regard for any treaties but thoſe made by themſelves. Alfred had entered into a treaty with Hubba; but Halfden did not think himſelf included in it. However, the Engliſh, looking upon the ſurprize of Warham, as downright treachery, called Heaven and earth to witneſs the violation of their faith; but Halfden, regardleſs of their complaints, would have penetrated farther into Weſſex, had not Alfred came into a particular treaty with him. The author of his life tells us, the Danes ſwore by the holy reliques of the church, that they would never return into Weſſex †; and, in all likelihood, the king was at great expences, to bring them to theſe terms. It is very ſurprizing, that Alfred ſhould inſiſt upon their ſwearing by the holy reliques, who were, as yet pagans, rather than by their bracelets, which was their uſual oath; but, perhaps, he thought, that, if they ſhould violate this chriſtian oath, Heaven would, the more aſſuredly, puniſh them for it. However, they had no more conſcience for this than their former oaths, as they broke it, even before they had quitted Weſſex; for being on their march to Mercia, and meeting with a body of Engliſh horſe, who had no apprehenſions of danger, on the account of the treaty, they attacked them, unexpectedly, and the greateſt part of them were ſlain. The horſes, taken by the Danes, on this occaſion,

Halfden's arrival in Eaſt-Anglia. 875.

He takes Warham.

* In Dorſetſhire.

Alfred treats with Halfden, who violates the treaty.

Aſſer. Fl. Wig.

* Tho' London lay within the precincts of Eſſex, it was then ſubject to Mercia, where it has continued ever ſince, as a part of Middleſex.

† The moſt ſolemn oath, among the Danes and other northern nations, was, by their arms. Olaus Mag. l. 8 c. 2.

were

They beſiege Exeter. 876.

were of uſe to carry them, with more expedition, towards the weſtern parts of Weſſex, where they beſieged Exeter †.

The war is renewed.

Alfred, finding that all treaties with ſuch a perfidious people were uſeleſs, was reſolved to take more effectual meaſures, to ſecure himſelf from their treachery. With this view, he held a general aſſembly, and, in a pathetick ſpeech, repreſented to them, that they had nothing to depend upon but their valour, to deliver them from their miſeries; that, at this juncture, they were under a neceſſity to hazard their lives, in the defence of their country, and to ſacrifice part of their eſtates to preſerve the reſt; and, laſtly, that an heroick reſolution was the only means to avoid the calamities, in which their neighbours were involved. Theſe remonſtrances having anſwered his end, Alfred raiſed an army with which he engaged the enemy, ſeven times in one campaign; but, as he was not equally ſucceſsful, in all theſe battles, he was forced, at laſt, to treat with the Danes. Tho' he could have but little dependence upon their faith, he had no other way left to put an end to this dangerous war. This new treaty, however, which obliged the Danes to return no more into Weſſex, was more ſtrictly obſerved than the former.

Rollo's arrival in England. 876.

The Weſt-Saxons regarded the retreat of their enemies, as a ſignal deliverance; but no ſooner had they departed, than a new ſwarm arrived, under the command of Rollo, the famous Norman general, who became, in proceſs of time, a ſcourge to France. It happened that Alfred was in a poſture to receive them; and, after ſome attempts, Rollo deſpairing of a ſettlement in England, determin'd to try his fortune in France. In all appearance, as he found the beſt part of England in the hands of his countrymen, and Alfred prepared to diſpute the reſt with him, he thought he ſhould meet with better ſucceſs there; and, ſome ſay, it was revealed to him in a dream, that he ſhould be very ſucceſsful on the other ſide of the water.

He departs, to try his fortune in France.

Alfred equips a fleet.

Upon Rollo's departure, Alfred enjoy'd ſome quiet, which furniſh'd him with an opportunity to contrive, how to prevent theſe frequent invaſions. The beſt and ſpeedieſt method, he apprehended, was to equip a good fleet, to engage the Danes, before they came to land, where they generally had the advantage. As naval engagements were the fartheſt from their thoughts, their ſhips were only fit for tranſports, whereas Alfred had built his, on purpoſe for ſervice; and, in a little time, he reaped the fruits of his invention. His fleet, meeting with ſix Daniſh veſſels, chaced them; and one of the largeſt was taken, the ſoldiers and mariners being thrown over-board. After this, 120 ſail of Daniſh ſhips making to the ſhore, to land their men, the king's fleet engaged them; and moſt of them were ſunk; and, the enſuing year, another Daniſh fleet, ſailing weſtward, was ſo diſtreſſed by a tempeſt, that all the ſhips periſh'd, except a few, that fell into the hands of the Engliſh.

The Danes entirely abandon Weſſex.

Alfred, being animated by theſe ſucceſſes, reſolved upon attacking the Danes in the weſt, where they had fortified themſelves, by the taking of Exeter; and, beſides, the Corniſh men had, all along, ſided with them. He executed his deſign, with ſo much vigour and reſolution, that, at length, he compelled the Danes to give him hoſtages, and entirely abandon Weſſex; and they retir'd into Mercia, where, being weary of their unſettled lives, they incorporated with their countrymen, who were poſſeſs'd of that kingdom. They unanimouſly agreed to depoſe Ceoluph, and divided the land among themſelves. What form of government they eſtabliſhed, we know not; for the Engliſh hiſtorians, overlooking the civil affairs of the Danes, mention only their wars. Thus, a period was put to the kingdom of Mercia, after it had ſubſiſted near 300 years.

877. The end of the kingdoms of Mercia and Northumberland.

The preceding year, the kingdom of Northumberland had the ſame fate. Halfden, who went thither, had made Egbert king, in the room of Recſige, who died in 876. The new king or viceroy had but a ſhort reign, for, in the firſt year of it, Halfden dethron'd him, dividing the land among his countrymen; and, doubtleſs, the Danes in Mercia followed their example. Thus, the kingdom of Northumberland, which had continu'd 330 years, was canton'd out among the Daniſh officers; and it proved a very difficult matter to expel them, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

The Danes invade Weſſex.

Tho' the Danes were poſſeſſed of the three antient kingdoms of the heptarchy, yet there was not room enough for theſe already in England, and thoſe that were continually coming over, in queſt of habitations. The new-comers beheld Eſſex with a greedy eye; and the others, who were ſettled, perceiving that their countrymen envied their good fortune, were jealous, leſt they ſhould diſpoſſeſs them, if they were not provided for. Upon this, they all agreed to exert their utmoſt vigour, in ſubduing that kingdom, which had, hitherto, ſo bravely withſtood their attacks; and they carried on their deſign, with the greateſt ſecrecy and expedition. On a ſudden, a more formidable army, than had yet been ſeen, advanced towards Weſſex, before it was poſſible for Alfred to be in a condition to receive them. They proceeded directly to Chippenham *, one of the fineſt and ſtrongeſt

And take Chippenham.

† Huntingdon and the Saxon annals relate, that they rode to Exeter upon their own horſes, and that the foot, which remained at Warham, were moſt of them ſhipwreck'd at Swanawick, now Sanwick in Hampſhire, the reſt eſcaping to Exeter.

* In Wiltſhire, by the Saxons called Cyppanham, now famous for nothing but its market, from whence it received its name; for Cyppan ſignifies to traffick and Cypman a merchant, and we ſtill retain cheapen and chapman. Cambd. Cheapſide, London, has the ſame original.

cities of the kingdom. The taking of this place, in a few days, ſo terrified the Weſt-Saxons, as entirely to diſpirit them. Some retreated into Wales or beyond ſea, whilſt others went over to the Danes, ſwearing allegiance to them. In this revolt, Alfred was left alone with a few domeſticks, who, from duty and affection, were unwilling to deſert him in adverſity; but, as they were chargeable to him, and could do him but little ſervice, he diſmiſs'd them all, that he might the more conveniently ſhift for himſelf. In this extremity, he was forced to conceal himſelf at a neatherd's, in the iſle of Athelney in Somerſetſhire †. This place was ſurrounded by a large moraſs, thro' which there was but one narrow foot-path leading to the neatherd's cottage, that was hid by briars and thorns. Here the king lay concealed, for ſome time, from his friends as well as his enemies, without being known even by the neatherd's wife, who employed him about her little houſhold affairs ‡. This was a miſerable condition for a prince; but God, who deſigned only to exerciſe his patience, did not leave him long in theſe circumſtances. In leſs than ſix months, the ſcene was ſurprizingly changed. It is ſaid, that St. Cuthbert, formerly biſhop of Lindisfarn, repreſented to him, in a dream, that he ſhould ſuddenly be raiſed to an infinitely more glorious ſtate, than that from which he fell; but, paſſing over theſe idle tales of the monks, who could not take notice of an extraordinary event, without introducing ſome apparition or miracle, I ſhall ſhew, how this grand revolution was brought about, by the means of a deſperate undertaking.

Alfred deſerted by all.

Is forced to conceal himſelf at a neatherd's.

Hubba, who was commander of the Daniſh troops, in the abſence of his brother Ivar, had invaded Wales, deſtroying all before him, with fire and ſword; and he afterwards, with the ſame view, entered Devonſhire in the kingdom of Weſſex. At his approach, the earl of Devon, with a handful of brave fellows, retired into Kinwith-caſtle *, to avoid the firſt ſhock of the Daniſh fury; and Hubba ſoon beſieged the caſtle, confident that the garriſon, being ſmall, would, in a little time, be obliged to ſurrender. The earl of Devon, finding all the defence he could make would be to no purpoſe, laid before the beſieged the danger they were in, of being expoſed to the fury of their mercileſs enemies, aſſuring them, they had but one way to eſcape, by opening a paſſage, with their ſwords, thro' the enemy's army. He told them, that, undoubtedly, the Danes were negligent and ſecure, regarding them only, as a handful of men pent up within walls; and that his propoſal was far from being impracticable, provided they immediately put it in execution; and that, after all, they only ventured their lives and liberties, which would be in much greater danger, by ſtanding a ſiege. Upon this, the beſieged, without deliberating on the matter, ſallied out, ſword in hand, upon the Danes, and put them into the greateſt diſorder; and this auſpicious beginning inſpired them with reſolution to purſue their advantage. They preſſed upon the Danes with freſh vigour, not allowing them time to recover out of their ſurprize; and having, at length, entirely diſperſed them, made a dreadful ſlaughter. Hubba was ſlain, and his famous ſtandard, namen Reafen or the raven, was taken by the Engliſh. The Danes imagined, there was a ſecret virtue in this ſtandard, which Ivar's ſiſters had wrought with their own hands **. By the means of a ſtrong fancy, or the deluſion of the devil, they thought they ſaw this raven, before a battle, clap his wings, as an omen of victory, or hang down his head, as a preſage of their defeat. This, at leaſt, is related by the hiſtorians, who add, that the loſs of their ſtandard did not a little diſpirit them.

Hubba ravages Wales, and entres Weſſex.

Hubba ſlain, and his famous ſtandard taken.

* On the river Tau.

The news of this defeat and the death of Hubba having reached Alfred, at the neatherd's, he directly projected, how to make the beſt uſe of this fortunate blow. He diſcovered to his friends, where he was, that they might come and conſult with him, about proper meaſures at this juncture; and, having conferred with them, he order'd them to muſter together, in ſeveral parts of his kingdom, ſmall bodies of troops, that, at a minute's warning, might be ready to join one another. The moſt critical, as well as important point was, to have exact intelligence of the poſture of the enemy, that ſuitable ſteps might be taken accordingly. Alfred, at a loſs for a fit perſon to engage in this neceſſary work, took the boldeſt reſolution, that ever enter'd into the mind of a prince, viz. to go, in perſon, into the Daniſh camp, to be inform'd, by his own eyes, of the ſtate of the enemy. Having diſguis'd himſelf, with a harp in his hand, as if he got his living, by playing on that inſtrument, he enter'd the Daniſh camp, ſtaying there ſeveral days to make uſeful obſervations, to the utmoſt of his power. Among other things, he found, that they had not, as uſual, encamped on a hill, nor were there any advanced guards, to ſecure the avenues to their camp, having nothing to fear, as the enemy had not an army in the field ††. When he had made theſe diſcoveries, he return'd to his friends at Athelney, and appointed Selwood † foreſt, for the general rendezvous of all his troops. This affair was managed with ſuch ſecrecy and expedition, that, in a little

Alfred conſults how to recover his kingdom.

He goes into the Daniſh camp in diſguiſe. Ingul. Malm.

* i. e. the great wood in Somerſetſhire.

† Formerly named Athelingey, i. e. the iſland of nobles, lying near Taunton, where the Thone and Parret join. The firm ground is not above two acres.

‡ She having ſet a cake on the coals, and being employed about ſomething elſe, the cake happened to be burnt; on which occaſion, ſhe ſcolded at the king, for not looking after the cake, which ſhe told him, he could eat faſt enough. Aſſer.

** They pretend, it operated magically, in almoſt an inſtant.

†† This is not related by Aſſerius or Ethelwerd, tho' affirmed by Ingulphus, Malmsbury, and moſt of the modern hiſtorians.

time,

time, the king appeared at the head of an army, before the Danes had any apprehenſions of his deſign; and they were in the greateſt conſternation, to behold, on a ſudden, the Engliſh army advancing to attack them. Alfred was unwilling to let them recover out of their ſurprize; and, therefore, exhorting his troops, in a few words, not in the leaſt, to dread an army already vanquiſhed by their own fears, gave the ſignal of battle. The Danes, however, made a brave defence; but, whether they had not leiſure to draw up their troops in order, or, whether the loſs of their ſtandard had poſſeſſed them with a notion, that their gods had abandon'd them, they were, at length, entirely routed, and the greateſt part of their army cut to pieces. The ſmall number of forces, that eſcaped, retreated to a caſtle, where they were immediately beſieged. Alfred preſs'd them ſo vigorouſly, that they were ſoon obliged to capitulate, tho' on more advantageous terms than they could have expected, in their preſent condition; for he agreed to reſign the lands of Eaſt-Anglia to thoſe that would embrace chriſtianity, requiring the reſt, directly, to take their laſt leave of England, and to give hoſtages for the performance of articles. Guthurn, governor of Eaſt-Anglia, who, ſince Hubba's death, commanded the Daniſh army, acceding to theſe conditions, came to Alfred, with 30 of his chief officers, after he had ſhipped off all thoſe that refuſed baptiſm *.

This ſignal victory crown'd Alfred's wiſhes, having, by a ſingle battle, expell'd the Danes, and regained his kingdom; and his ſubjects daily return'd to their allegiance, whom fear had diſpers'd or prevailed on to ſubmit to the enemy. Guthurn and his attendants met with a gracious reception, and Alfred was very punctual in the obſervance of his promiſes to them. All the hiſtorians are agreed, that the Daniſh general was inveſted with the title of king of Eaſt-Anglia; but they do not tell us, whether it was by virtue of ſome private treaty, made before with him, or whether Alfred propoſed by it to ſecure his affection and confidence. However, it is evident, Guthurn held, with the title of king, the kingdom of Eaſt-Anglia, which was entirely inhabited by Danes, and of which Ivar had made him governor. He divided the lands among his countrymen, and exerciſed the regal authority, to the time of his death. Some, particularly Aſſerius, add, that Alfred gave him alſo the kingdom of Northumberland; but it is very improbable, ſince the Danes had been long before poſſeſſed of Northumberland, and had ſhared the lands among themſelves. The caſe was otherwiſe in Eaſt-Anglia, where the Danes had no fix'd habitations, it being ſtill conſider'd, as a part of the Engliſh monarchy, tho' the Danes were moſt powerful there; ſo that Alfred only confirm'd them in the poſſeſſion of that kingdom, by granting them a king of their own nation, who was to be his vaſſal and tributary.

All the Danes own Alfred for their ſovereign.

From the whole of what has been ſaid, it may be obſerved, that, at the time of the laſt battle, there were two ſorts of Danes in England, thoſe already ſettled, and thoſe that were endeavouring to procure a ſettlement. Theſe laſt were they, with whom Alfred treated; for the others, ſeeing their brethren ſo roughly uſed, thought it a happineſs to be able to preſerve their own poſſeſſions. As the fortune of war is uncertain, they rather choſe to acknowledge Alfred for their ſovereign, than endanger the loſs of their all, by continuing the war; and, accordingly, thoſe, ſettled in the three kingdoms of the Angles, ſwore allegiance to him. It was ſcarce poſſible, indeed, that all of them ſhould be equally ſatisfied. Several accepted of the terms of the laſt treaty, merely, becauſe they knew not where to go; and, if they became chriſtians, it was for a ſubſiſtence, whilſt they waited for a fair opportunity of returning to their former courſe of life. This is manifeſt, from what followed; for, when it was leaſt expected, the moſt conſiderable among them, headed by one Haſtings, ſtrenuouſly ſollicited Guthurn to renew the war in Weſſex; and, not prevailing, they put to ſea, and ravaged the coaſts of Flanders. Soon after, another troop, as numerous, being told of the great booty, the firſt had met with at Ghent, embarqued, in order to join them. Theſe two bands over-ran Brabant, Haynault, Flanders, Picardy, and Artois, acting unparallel'd cruelties. After this, being divided into two bodies, one of them return'd to England, in hopes of plundering the country, where they fancied they ſhould come unexpectedly; and, having landed at Kent, they advanced towards Rocheſter, deſigning to ſurprize the city; but Alfred, whoſe army was in readineſs, having poſted it in thoſe parts, upon the firſt notice of their arrival, forced them to retreat to their ſhips, in ſuch a hurry, that they left their booty behind them. Being diſappointed in their deſign upon England, by Alfred's vigilance, they returned to France, and, rejoining their companions, continued their depredations in that kingdom.

The Danes return to England, and are repulſed.

Hitherto the Engliſh were only on the defenſive, expoſed to the continual irruptions of the Danes; and, not knowing where the enemy would land, were, for the moſt part, ſurprized, before it was in their power to make preparations. As the ſea-coaſts were uninhabited, there was nothing to hinder theſe pirates from landing where they pleaſed; but Alfred, having now ſome peace and leiſure, was reſolved to put his affairs in a better poſture. He took care, in the firſt place, to fit out a conſiderable fleet, the advantage of which he had known by his own experience; and, as ſoon as it was ready to ſail, the admiral had orders to cruiſe along the coaſts,

Alfred equips a fleet.

* Alfred was godfather to Guthurn, and named him Ethelſtan.

and

and attack all the Daniſh ſhips, wherever he ſhould find them. He ſurprized 16 in the port of Harwich *, in Eaſt-Anglia; and, taking ſome and ſinking the reſt, he carried off a conſiderable booty. Guthurn, incenſed at this act of hoſtility, in one of his harbours, permitted the parties concerned to endeavour to repair their loſſes, and even furniſhed them with means. Soon after, they attacked the king's ſhips, in the night, and had ſome advantage over them; but the fleet, notwithſtanding, kept theſe rovers in awe, freeing England from their ravages.

He fortifies ſeveral towns. 887.

Alfred, having, thus, ſecured the ſea-coaſts, fortified the reſt of the kingdom with caſtles and walled towns, which he very much wanted. He repaired thoſe that were gone to ruin, and built others in ſo ſtrong a manner, that they could not eaſily be aſſaulted; and there was not a paſs or avenue, fit for that purpoſe, but what was defended by ſome works, to prevent the ſudden incurſions of the Danes. But, after all, he could not be completely guarded againſt them, without one important place, the city of London, conſiderable both for its largeneſs and ſituation; which, being poſſeſs'd by the Danes, would open them a free paſſage into Weſſex, whenever they ſhould be inclined to invade that kingdom. On this account,

He beſieges and takes London, and gives it to his ſon-in-law Ethelred.

he determined to beſiege it, knowing the garriſon was not able to hold out long; and, accordingly, the beſieged were ſoon oblig'd to come to a capitulation. He had no ſooner ſubdued this large city, but he exceedingly added both to its ſtrength and beauty † He made Ethelred governor of it, who had married his daughter Elfleda, or rather he gave it him in fee, with the title of earl of Mercia. Some think, he conferred upon him the title of king; but, in my opinion, without any grounds. By creating him earl of Mercia, he inveſted him only with power over London, all the reſt of Mercia being poſſeſſed by the Danes, over whom he claimed no other right but that of ſovereignty, to which they had lately conſented; ſo that Ethelred had only an empty title, till, by his valour, he ſubdued a conſiderable part of that province.

The Danes ſtand in awe of Alfred.

The many towns, Alfred repaired and fortified, employed him, for ſome years. Theſe fortifications not only defended the kingdom againſt the foreign Danes, but kept thoſe in awe that were ſettled in the iſland. Theſe, obſerving Alfred's wiſe regulations, were the more induced to continue in obedience; and they even ſuffered ſeveral of the Engliſh, whom they had expelled, to return and live among them, under the king's protection.

England enjoys quiet 12 years.

It was, at this time, that Alfred had the ſatisfaction to ſee peace and tranquillity reſtored, after ſo many years of trouble. This pleaſing ſtate of things continued 12 years *; during which, he had leiſure to rectify the diſorders, introduced by ſuch a tedious war, both in church and ſtate. As I ſhall, hereafter, take particular notice of Alfred's regulations, in this interval, I ſhall proceed to make an end of his wars. It is ſufficient, at preſent, to obſerve, concerning theſe peaceable times, that he was indefatigable in his endeavours to promote the happineſs of his ſubjects, till he was interrupted by freſh invaſions, of which I ſhall give the following account.

* According to Spelman, Milton, &c. 8 years.

The Danes renew their invaſions.

The Danes, who, under Haſtings, ravaged, for 12 or 13 years together, France and the Low-Countries, were not ſatisfied with the immenſe booty they had acquired; for, according to the cuſtom of pyrates, they prodigally ſpent what they had obtained, without pains or labour, and ſo were always reduced to a neceſſity of renewing their ravages, for their ſupport. However, being diſcouraged by two dreadful cheques given them by Eudes and Arnulph, kings of France and Germany, they determined to return to England, more for plunder, than with a view of ſettling there. They fitted out 300 ſhips, which they divided into two fleets. With one of them, conſiſting of 200 ſail, they arrived on the coaſt of Kent, and took Appledore; and this place, then very conſiderable,

Take Appledore and Middeton.

made them maſters of that province, as well as of Suſſex and Surrey. The other fleet, commanded by Haſtings, entered the Thames and landed at Middleton ‡. It would be no eaſy matter to deſcribe the miſeries, the inhabitants of theſe counties were expoſed to, by theſe barbarians; but when we call to mind, that they were idolatrous rovers and pyrates, we muſt naturally conclude, they made no ſcruple of committing the moſt enormous cruelties. Alfred was then in Eaſt-Anglia, on account of Guthurn's death; and as he had no intelligence of their deſigns, he had made no preparations for his defence. All, that he could then do, was to take a new oath of allegiance from the Eaſt-Anglian

* In Eſſex, famous for its harbour, as its name imports an haven, where an army may lie. The walls are built and the ſtreets pitch'd with a ſort of petrify'd clay, that falls from the cliffs adjacent. From the ſide of the cliff, between the beacon and the town, iſſues a ſpring that petrifies wood as well as clay. A large piece, ſent from hence, is reſerved in the repoſitory of the royal ſociety. Cambd. Addit. to Eſſex.

† The original of this famous city is uncertain; but, as there was no ſuch place in Cæſar's time, and it was a great town in Nero's, it was, probably, founded in the reign of Claudius, and inhabited by the Britons and Romans together, being a trading though not a military colony, from the very beginning. It is ſaid the walls were built by Conſtantine the great, at the requeſt of Helena his mother, containing within them an oblong ſpace of three miles in compaſs. That part, which ran along the Thames, is quite waſh'd away, tho' the reſt remains to this day. There are ſeven gates, Ludgate, Newgate, Alderſgate, Biſhopſgate, Cripplegate, Moregate, and Aldgate. Cæſar's ſaying, the Britons called the places fenced round with woods and groves, cities or towns, led Cambden to conjecture London was ſo called from Llhwn, in Britiſh, ſuch a town, as if we ſhould ſay, by way of eminence, the city. Camb. Addit. to Midd.

‡ Now Milton in Kent. The Danes built a caſtle here, part of which ſtill remains at Kemſley-downs; it is now called Caſtle-Ruff. On the other ſide of the water, the ditches of Alfred's fortifications, with ſome ſtone-work, remain alſo, having the name of Bavord-eaſtle, near Sittingburn. Cambd. Add. to Kent.

Danes,

Danes; which they obſerved no longer than he continued among them. As ſoon as he was gone, they join'd Haſtings, for a ſhare in the plunder. Alfred, notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, preſerved his courage, and with what troops he could muſter together, marched againſt the Danes, who were pillaging Kent; but, being inform'd, on his way, that another body of Danes had enter'd Weſſex, he turn'd his arms againſt theſe laſt, as judging them to be the moſt dangerous. The Danes, who were then before Exeter, raiſed the ſiege in a great hurry, departing to vent their fury in ſome other place.

They are joined by the Danes of East-Anglia.

It is impoſſible to give a particular account of this war, it being related by the hiſtorians in ſo confuſed a manner. As there were ſeveral bands of Danes in England, at the ſame time, one in Kent, and another in Weſſex, and roving continually from place to place, the Engliſh hiſtorians could not acquire a diſtinct knowledge, ſince a war undertaken, for the ſake of plunder only, muſt, of courſe, be irregular. Accordingly, we find, in their hiſtories, the ſame leaders, ſometimes in one province, ſometimes in another, without being able to apprehend, when, or how, they got thither.

Hiſtorians give a confuſed account of this war.

We are ignorant alſo, by what lucky accident, Alfred was, on a ſudden, freed from his cruel enemies, who had over-run his whole kingdom. It is certain, however, that, having reduced England to a miſerable condition, they ſhipp'd off again, tho' hiſtorians are ſilent, as to the cauſe. I am apt to think, their ſudden departure was occaſion'd by the plague, which raged then in England, and carried off great numbers of the Danes as well as Engliſh; and, beſides, they had made ſuch devaſtations in the country, that there was nothing left to pillage. The greateſt part of the Daniſh rovers went to France, under Haſtings; but they did not remain there any time, Haſtings having new projects on foot. The terror he had every where ſpread, along the ſea-coaſts, having put all upon their guard, reſolving to ſteer his courſe, where he ſhould not be expected, he ſet ſail for the Mediterranean; and, whilſt he was there, by an impious and perfidious ſtratagem, he became maſter of Luna, on the coaſt of Tuſcany. He pretended he had a mighty deſire to become a chriſtian, and was baptized by the biſhop, who came to him, for that purpoſe. A few days after, the biſhop was informed, that his new convert was deceaſed, and that he died like a good chriſtian, earneſtly deſiring to be buried in the church of Luna, to which he had bequeathed a conſiderable legacy. By this device, a great number of Danes, under the pretence of attending the corpſe, entered the city, which they had no ſooner done, than they began to murder as well as plunder the inhabitants.

The Danes go off, on a ſudden.

Haſtings, having brought ſo many miſeries on England, France, and the Low-countries, retired to the city of Chartres †, which Charles the ſimple gave him, on purpoſe to keep him quiet; and he died there, in peace, after he ſpent the moſt of his days in plundering the greateſt part of the maritime countries of Europe. The Danes, that would not attend him, when he left England, ſubmitted to the command of Sigefert ſettled in Northumberland. For ſome time, theſe alſo ravaged the coaſt of Weſſex, not daring to make any farther advances into the country, by reaſon of their being but few in number; and, at laſt, they went off to ſeek their fortune in other places ‡.

Haſtings retires to Chartres, and dies there.

† 42 miles from Paris.

Alfred, being freed from his enemies, paſs'd the reſidue of his life in profound tranquillity. Hitherto, I have treated of this prince, as a warrior only, ſometimes victorious, and at other times defeated; but, whatever his ſucceſs was, always affording ſignal ſpecimens of his valour and conduct *. I ſhall now repreſent his other virtues, and conſider him, as a juſt, learned, and religious prince, the father of his ſubjects, and an indefatigable promoter of arts, ſciences, juſtice, and religion; but, that I may not confound his civil with his moral virtues, I ſhall begin with what he did for the benefit of his people, as their ſovereign, and then ſhall ſpeak of his private life, and the manner how he managed his domeſtick affairs.

The kingdom freed from the Danes.

When the Danes ſettled in England, finding they had no reaſon to expect any ſuccours from their countrymen, their care was to ſecure their preſent poſſeſſions. The carrying on of the war was ſo far from being likely to prove advantageous, that it endangered the loſs of what they already enjoyed; and, tho' they might, by this means, have maintained their ground, yet as they muſt have been always with their ſwords in their hands, it would have prevented them from manuring their lands, to their great prejudice. On theſe accounts, they at length, ſubmitted to Alfred, as the ſovereign of all England. Hiſtorians do not inform us, whether he made uſe of any force to reduce them; but it is evident, his authority was owned in Northumberland, Mercia, and East-Anglia, as well as in Weſſex. The Welch themſelves, who had been terribly harraſſed by the Danes, being in no condition to withſtand them, became his tributaries **. They add alſo, that the king of Scotland paid him homage; but this is too diſputable a point to be affirmed for a truth ††.

The Danes own Alfred for their ſovereign.

‡ Spelman tells us, Alfred equipped a fleet, and, in a chaſe, took twenty of their ſhips, hanging up the pyrates along the ſea-coaſt, for a terror to the reſt.

* It is ſaid, he fought 56 pitched battles with the Danes.

** That is, the inhabitans of South-Wales, who, tho' they had been reduced before, finding Alfred engaged in other wars, had thrown off their obedience. As for North-Wales, the Ordovices, who were fierce and troubleſome, are hardly to be look'd upon, as entirely ſubdued, before Edward I. time, 200 years after the Norman conqueſt. Spelman.

†† Gregour, king of Scots, is ſaid to have ſerved him in all his wars; and it is alſo affirmed, that Donald, his ſucceſſor, aſſiſted him with 5000 horſe, dying in his ſervice. Spelman. Holingſh. p. 121.

Alfred compiles a body of laws.

No ſooner did Alfred become abſolute, than he employed his power for the good of his ſubjects. As the laws, during the wars, were not only very much diſregarded, but almoſt unknown to the people, he was induſtrious, for ſome time, in making a collection of the beſt laws he could meet with; in which he inſerted ſeveral of the judicial laws * of the old teſtament, and a great number of thoſe formerly enacted by Ina king of Weſſex and Offa king of Mercia †. To theſe he added many of his own, adapted to their preſent circumſtances; and we may obſerve, in all his laws, an ardent zeal for juſtice and a ſincere deſire of totally ſuppreſſing all violence ‡. They were mild, indeed, compared with thoſe of later ages, as moſt offences were puniſhed by mulcts and fines **; but Alfred's ſtrict execution of them counterbalanced their lenity. If, with reſpect to private perſons, the rigour of the law was ſomewhat abated, the caſe was otherwiſe, with regard to corrupt magiſtrates, to whom Alfred was ever inexorable; for he very well knew, that it would be in vain to expect obedience from his ſubjects, if the magiſtrates gave them a bad example. Within the compaſs of a year, he is ſaid to have taken away the lives of 44 judges, for not doing juſtice ††.

Juries are inſtituted.

Theſe proceedings ſeemed to be ſufficient, to prevent oppreſſion; but as Alfred was very ſenſible, that an oppreſſing ſpirit naturally grew upon men in authority, he ordered, that, in all criminal actions, 12 men, choſen for that purpoſe, ſhould determine the matter, and that the judge ſhould pronounce ſentence, according to their verdict. This privilege, which the Engliſh enjoy to this day, is, doubtleſs, the nobleſt and moſt valuable, that can be poſſeſſed by any ſubjects. An Engliſhman, accuſed of any crime, is to be tried only by his peers, viz. perſons of his own rank and condition; ſo that he is in no danger of being oppreſſed by the moſt powerful accuſers. Theſe 12 men, choſen with the approbation of the perſon accuſed, are called by the collective name of jury, and determine about the life or death of the accuſed. How happy are the people, that enjoy ſo glorious a privilege!

The kingdom is divided into ſhires, hundreds, and tythings.

The wars had occaſioned ſuch diſorders in the kingdom, that every part of it abounded with vagabonds and vagrants, who committed all manner of crimes with impunity, being ſcreened from juſtice, by their poor and mean condition; for, as they had no fixed habitations, upon the commiſſion of an offence that deſerved puniſhment, they ſhifted their quarters, and it was a difficult matter to apprehend them. Alfred, incenſed to behold honeſt men thus expoſed to the inſults of villains, was extremely deſirous to put a ſtop to ſo great an evil; and, having firſt conſulted, about this affair, with thoſe whom he thought capable of adviſing him, to prevent any perſon from living in his dominions, without being obliged to give an account of his actions, he divided all England into ſhires ‡‡ or counties *†, the counties into hundreds, and the hundreds into tythings. Upon this, all the inhabitants of the kingdom were obliged to belong to ſome tything; and they were otherwiſe look'd upon as vagabonds, and, as ſuch, denied the protection of the law. Every houſholder was anſwerable for his wife, his children under 15 years of age, and his domeſticks; and, if any one fell under a ſuſpicion of doing ill, he was obliged to give ſecurity for his good behaviour; and, if he could find none, the tything impriſon'd him, to avoid the puniſhment he ſhould incur by his faults †‡. Thus, as the houſholders were reſponſible for their families, the tything for the houſholders, the hundred for the tythings, and the counties for the hundreds, every one was watchful over his neighbour's actions. If a ſtranger, guilty of any crime, made his eſcape, information was taken of the houſe, where he lodged; and, if he had been there three days, the maſter of the family was condemned to pay his fine; but, if he had not been there ſo long, the houſeholder was acquitted, upon making oath, that he was not privy to his crime. I might

Ingulph. Malm. l. 2.

* With the ten commandments at their head.

† And Ethelbert alſo, king of Kent, who was the firſt that put the Saxon laws into writing.

‡ If king Alfred compiled a complete body of laws, it is now loſt; for thoſe lately publiſhed by Dr. Wilkins, who has given us all the laws extant, from Ethelbert, the firſt chriſtian lawgiver in England, to the Magna Charta of Henry III. are but an imperfect ſyſtem. Alfred's laws are ranged under two heads: 1. The laws of Alfred, 40 in number. 2. The league between Alfred and Guthurn, in all probability, no more than articles of pacification. The 37th law ſecures the entail of eſtates, enacting, "That thoſe, who have book-land or eſtates in land left them "by their parents, ſhould not alienate it from their heirs, provided it could be proved, that he, who firſt granted "the eſtate, ſettled it, upon condition of nonalienation." Another law prohibits "the buying a man, a horſe, "or an ox, without a voucher to warrant the ſale." The occaſion of this law was, as follows: When the Danes firſt ſettled in England, it was a common practice between the two nations, not only to ſteal horſes and oxen, but men and women, and ſell them to each other. Afterwards, fairs and markets obtained the ſame privilege, vouchers had before; but, as to horſes, the frauds were ſo common, that the ſtatute of 31 Eliz. 12. revived the expreſs law of Alfred.

** The 40th law ſet a certain value upon every limb and member, as well as upon all perſons, from a king to a bond-ſlave.

†† He uſually re-examined the cauſes tried in his abſence; and if he diſcovered, that any injuſtice was done, out of favour or intereſt, he ſeverely puniſhed the judges. If they pleaded ignorance, he ſharply reprimanded them, for their preſumption to take a commiſſion to determine about life and property, when they were conſcious of their being ſo wretchedly unqualified, giving them orders to be better informed, or quit their ſtation. Thus, the earls and great men, rather than be turned out of their office with diſgrace, applied themſelves to ſtudy. Vid. Mirror of of Juſtice, c. 20. and Malm. l. 2. p. 25.

‡‡ From the Saxon word Scyran, which ſignifies to branch or divide.

*† Spelman ſays, that Alfred only fixed their number and limits.

†‡ This very much reſembles the regulation in China. Vid. hiſt. of Menacca.

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here take notice of many other particulars, not ſo entertaining to foreigners, as to the Engliſh, who view with pleaſure, in thoſe regulations, the origin of thoſe laws they ſo happily live under at this day; but it is ſufficient to obſerve, that theſe inſtitutions produced ſuch good order and tranquillity, as had never, hitherto, been known in England.

In fine, to ſecure the kingdom againſt foreign enemies, Alfred ſo regulated his militia, that he was in a condition to withſtand them, ſhould the Danes renew their incurſions. He had in each county a body of troops in readineſs to march, under the command of the earl or governor; and, upon the firſt notice of an invaſion, the earls received orders to join their forces at certain places, under the conduct of a generaliſſimo appointed by the king; and, by this means, together with a powerful fleet which was always ready to put to ſea, or cruiſing round the iſland, he kept the foreign Danes in ſuch awe, that they durſt not attempt to make a deſcent, during the remainder of his life; and, for the ſame reaſon, thoſe that lived in the iſland were forced to be quiet.

He orders merchant-ſhips to be built.

When Alfred had, thus, provided for the ſafety of the ſtate, that his ſubjects might reliſh the fruits of peace, he took care to introduce trade and commerce. He built a good number of merchant-ſhips, which he let out to the principal merchants, for the encouragement of traffick; ſo that, by degrees, the Engliſh were enabled to repair the loſſes they had ſuſtained, by ſo long a war. It is ſaid, that ſome of theſe merchants traded as far as the Eaſt-Indies, from whence they imported ſeveral things before unknown to the Engliſh *.

Trade to the Eaſt-Indies.

Theſe things being ſettled, he applied his thoughts to the arts and ſciences, which the wars had almoſt entirely baniſh'd from the land. He invited over, from foreign countries, learned men, to whom he gave penſions, diſperſing them in the ſeveral dioceſes, to inſtruct the people; and, being particularly deſirous of having in his own kingdom a ſeminary of learning, he founded four ſchools or colleges at Oxford. In the firſt, the abbot Neots and Grimbald read divinity; in the ſecond, Aſſerius, a benedictin, taught grammar and rhetorick; in the third, John, a monk of St. David, ſet up a chair for logick, arithmetick, and muſick; and, in the 4th, Johannes Scotus profeſſed geometry and aſtronomy. This laſt was ſirnamed Erigena, that is, the Iriſhman, from Erin or Iren, the true name of Ireland; and he was, for the ſame reaſon, called Scotus, the inhabitants of Ireland being then ſtiled Scots. It is ſaid, that this Johannes Scotus, ſo famous in the republick of letters, was ſtabb'd to death by his pupils, with pen-knives; but otherwiſe firm, he taught in Malmsbury-abbey, and not at Oxford †. We find alſo among the learned men, encouraged by Alfred, Plegmund, a Mercian, who became archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſome others, whoſe names, as they will not render them more known to us, it is needleſs to mention; as it would likewiſe be to examine, whether the colleges, founded by Alfred, were the firſt foundations of the univerſity of Oxford; or, whether before this time, there were ſchools at Greeklade, which were removed from thence to this city? As this diſpute would carry me too far, it would, after all, be of little advantage, as very few concern themſelves about it; it is ſufficient, then, to obſerve, that the univerſity of Oxford, now famous over all Europe, grew up to its preſent height, from theſe ſmall beginnings.

Alfred invites ſeveral learned men into England. 886.

He founds the univerſity of Oxford.

The original of the ſeveral councils.

Tho' Alfred was very capable himſelf of projecting means, for putting his laudable deſigns in execution; yet he conſulted others, that were eminent for their abilities, paying a great deference to their opinions. He had ſo order'd matters, that all reſolutions, relating to the publick, paſs'd thro' three ſeveral councils. The firſt was a cabinet-council, to which none but the king's ſpecial favourites were admitted, who debated all affairs that were to be laid before the ſecond council, which conſiſted of biſhops, earls, viſcounts, and ſome of the principal thanes, named afterwards barons. This reſembled the preſent privy-council; and none were members of it, but thoſe whom the king was pleaſed to appoint. The third was a general council or an aſſembly of the nation, called in Saxon, Wittenagemot; and quality or offices gave a right to ſit in it, independent of the king. This aſſembly, now called the parliament, a name derived from the French, was compoſed of the two archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, the biſhops, earls, viſcounts or high-ſheriffs of the counties, and the thanes of the firſt rank or barons. It is now warmly diſputed, whether the people had a right to ſend repreſentatives to this aſſembly; but I ſhall refer the diſcuſſion of this point to another place. However, we may ſee, in theſe three councils, the original of privy-councils, as well as the antiquity of parliaments. Theſe

* This is improbable, as the mariner's compaſs was not then invented. You may read this account, at large, in Spelman's life of Alfred, l. 2. c. 82. Malmsbury relates, that Alfred ſent a preſent to the Indies, in honour of St. Thomas, by Sigelin biſhop of Sherborn, who ſucceeded in his voyage, bringing back with him precious ſtones, perfumes, and other commodities, then great curioſities in England. It is thought, that Alfred ordered a more auguſt and imperial crown, than that uſed before, to be made of theſe diamonds; for in the arched roof in the cloiſters of Weſtminſter abbey, where the antient Regalia of the kingdom are kept, upon a box, the cabinet of the moſt antient crown, are the following words; "Hæc eſt principalior corona, cum qua coronabantur reges Alfredus, Ed-"wardus, &c." This crown is a very antique piece of work, having flowers adorned with ſtones of a plain ſetting. Spelman.

† Cambden tells us, Alfred founded only three halls or ſchools; the firſt at the end of High-ſtreet, for grammarians, called Little Univerſity-hall; the ſecond in School-ſtreet, for philoſophy, ſtiled Leſs Univerſity-hall; and the third in High-ſtreet, more to the weſt than the firſt, for divinity, named Great Univerſity-hall, now Univerſity-college.

councils,

councils, eſpecially the Wittenagemot, which was held generally once a year, and for the moſt part at London, doubtleſs, added to the ſplendor of that city. The Danes, who had been poſſeſſed of it, for ſome time, ſo demoliſhed it, that it could hardly be known; but Alfred took a pride in beautifying it and augmenting its privileges, and the figure it afterwards made, and ſtill makes, is, in ſome meaſure, owing to the care of that prince.

Alfred introduces the way of building, with brick and ſtone.

Among other regulations, Alfred, who always conſulted the good of his ſubjects, introduced among them the way of building their houſes with more ſtrength and regularity, than they had hitherto done; which was not only uſeful, in itſelf, but very ornamental to the kingdom. They, at this time, ſeldom made uſe of any thing, but timber, in building; and, if a houſe was built of any other materials, it was matter of admiration; but Alfred, having raiſed his palaces with ſtone or brick, the nobility, by degrees, began to imitate his example, tho' the bulk of the people came not into this manner of building, till ſeveral ages after. The monaſteries it is to be ſuppoſed, deſtroy'd by the Danes, and afterwards rebuilt, had their ſhare in this improvement of architecture, as they were held in greater veneration in the next than in that century. The abbies, however, were not inhabited, till the ſucceeding reigns; for, in the preſent, they were almoſt quite abandon'd, the Daniſh wars having occaſioned the alienation of the eſtates left for the maintenance of the monks, that ſcarce a man could be found, that was willing to embrace a monaſtick life. This evidently ſhews, that it was not ſo much devotion, as the hopes of being ſupported, without working, that filled the religious houſes. During Alfred's reign, the averſion to a monaſtick life was ſo great, that he was forced to ſtock the monaſteries with foreigners; but, after his deceaſe, the eſtates reverting to them, the zeal for that kind of life began to revive. Whereas in Alfred's days, there were more monaſteries than monks, a few years after, the monks became ſo numerous, that there were not religious houſes enough to contain them.

His private life.

We have, hitherto, conſider'd Alfred, as ſo induſtriouſly engaged in publick affairs, that one would think he had no leiſure for his private concerns; but we muſt form quite another notion of this great prince. He was among the number of theſe happy genius's, to whom every thing ſeems natural, who are continually employed, without appearing to be ſo. He was too ſenſible of the value of time to loſe any part of it, and ſo far was he from fancying, with the generality of princes, that his exalted ſtation gave him the privilege of ſpending his days in trifling diverſions, that he was ſollicitous to make the beſt of every moment. Whilſt he lay concealed in the iſle of Athelney, he made a vow to ſet the third part of his time, for the ſervice of God, as ſoon as he ſhould be reſtor'd to a ſtate of tranquillity; and he punctually obſerved his vow, allotting eight hours every day to acts of devotion, as many to publick affairs, and the reſt to ſleep, ſtudy and neceſſary refreſhment. As the uſe of clocks and hour-glaſſes was not yet introduced into England, he meaſur'd time by wax-candles, marked with circular lines of various colours, that ſerved as ſo many hour-lines *, and that the wind might not hinder them from burning ſteadily, he is ſaid to have invented the expedient of incloſing them in lanthorns †. But, whether this invention be of ſo late a date, may be made a queſtion.

The diſtribution of his time.

His charity, and inclinations.

His charitable actions were very extraordinary, conſidering his revenues, and ſo much the more laudable, as they were performed ſecretly, and without the leaſt oſtentation. He educated at court, or at Oxford, a great number of young gentlemen, who were inſtructed in all things neceſſary to qualify them for the ſervice of their country; and, by his own example, he exceedingly promoted the arts and ſciences, for no prince was ever more devoted to his ſtudies. The progreſs he made in learning, notwithſtanding his long wars and the adminiſtration of the government, demonſtrate, how much he improved his intervals of leiſure from publick buſineſs. Aſſerius aſſures us, he was the beſt Saxon poet of his time, an excellent grammarian, orator, philoſopher, architect, geometrician, and hiſtorian. He was the author of ſeveral works, that were highly eſteemed; and, among others, he tranſlated into Saxon Gregory's paſtoral, Boetius de conſolatione ‡, and Bede's eccleſiaſtical hiſtory **. What a ſhame and diſhonour was it for the Engliſh nation to be ſo ignorant, who were governed by ſo learned a king? This accompliſh'd prince complained bitterly, that, from the Humber to the Thames, there was not a prieſt that underſtood the liturgy in his mother-tongue; and that, from the Thames to the Sea, there was not a man, that knew how to tranſlate the eaſieſt piece of latin. This univerſal ignorance, and the little taſte

* He ordered a certain quantity of wax to be made into ſix candles, twelve inches long, with the diviſion of the inches marked diſtinctly; which, being lighted, one after another, did uſually burn four hours a-piece, i. e. every three inches an hour, ſo that all the ſix candles laſted exactly 24 hours, the watching of them being committed to the keepers of his chapel, whoſe office it was to remind him how each hour paſſed. Spelman.

† Glaſs was then ſuch a rarity in England, that the king was forced to order ſome fine horn to be ſcrap'd ſo thin as to become tranſparent, and put into cloſe frames of wood, to defend the candles from the injury of the wind. Thus, lanthorns, tho' of vulgar uſe and eſtimation, were invented by a king. Spelman.

‡ Publiſhed at Oxford Ann. 1698. 8vo. by Chriſtopher Rawlinſon, gentleman-commoner of Queen's-college. Some tell us, it was tranſlated by Werefrid biſhop of Worceſter; but Dr. Plot ſays, Alfred did it at Woodſtock. This book gave Alfred ſo much delight, that he always carried it in his boſom.

** It was publiſhed by Mr. Whelock, who remarks, that it is rather a paraphraſe than a tranſlation. He is ſaid alſo to have tranſlated the old and new teſtament. However, all agree, that he undertook a verſion of the pſalms, and died when it was about half finiſhed. Spelman.

they

they had for learning, led the king to embrace every opportunity of urgently inviting over foreigners, that were eminent in their profeſſions. He had always about him the moſt celebrated artiſts and architects, and and continually employed them purely to improve their skill. He ſettled in the chairs at Oxford, men that were famous for their knowledge, allowing them handſome ſalaries; and his view was to excite in his ſubjects a becoming emulation. The fame of his wiſdom and piety having reached as far as Rome, the pope ſent him a large quantity of reliques, and, out of reſpect to him, enlarged the privileges of the Engliſh college; and Abel alſo, patriarch of Jeruſalem, made him a preſent of reliques, which the king received with great ſatisfaction.

How he diſtributed his revenues.

I ſhall now preſent the reader, with a view of the manner of his managing his domeſtick affairs, in which his prudence was no leſs conſpicuous. He made three diviſions of his attendants, who waited on him monthly, by turns; which cuſtom, tho' then not uſed in other courts, was afterwards followed by other princes. As for his revenues, he divided them into two parts, one of them being wholly aſſigned to charitable uſes, and ſubdivided into four portions. The firſt was, for alms to the poor; the ſecond, for the maintenance of the monaſteries he had founded; the third, for the ſupport of the profeſſors and ſcholars at Oxford; and the fourth, for poor monks, as well foreigners as Engliſh. The other half was divided into three parts, one of them for his family-expences, and another, for the payment of his architects and other curious artificers, the remainder being ſpent in penſions upon ſtrangers, whom he had invited to his court, for the inſtruction of his ſubjects. By Alfred's revenues, I mean his hereditary eſtate; for it was not uſual, in thoſe Days, for princes to levy taxes upon the people, in order to ſquander the money in a luxurious and extravagant manner.

From what has been ſaid, we may learn the principal tranſactions in Alfred's reign, and be able to form an idea of his perſonal qualities. I might have added many other particulars, his life alone affording ſufficient matter for a large volume; but without any injury to the memory of this illuſtrious monarch, who is juſtly ſirnamed great, I think I may venture to ſtop here. No hiſtorian charges him with any vice; and they all agree in repreſenting him as one of the moſt glorious princes, that ever ſat on the throne *.

900. Alfred's death.

He died in 900, in the fifty-ſecond year of his age, after a reign of 28 years and ſix months, the greateſt part of which was ſpent in wars and troubles, and the reſt in peace †. We have ſeen, that, both in war and peace, he governed with prudence and ſteadineſs; but what principally diſtinguiſh'd him from the generality of princes, was his ſincere and cordial affection for his people. Of this he gave demonſtrative proofs, not by words only, as is often the caſe, but by real and ſubſtantial actions. Accordingly, no prince was ever better beloved by his ſubjects; and, doubtleſs, their mutual love was a powerful means to make the Danes deſpair of ſhaking off his yoke, after they had once ſubmitted to it.

Alfred had ſeveral children, by Alſwitha his queen; and ſome of them, particularly Edmund his eldeſt ſon, whom he deſign'd for his ſucceſſor, died before him. Of thoſe he left behind him, Edward ſucceeded him. Ethelward, who was educated at Oxford, was a very learned man, and died in the fortieth year of his age, in 922. Elfleda his eldeſt daughter, wife to Ethelred earl of Mercia, became very famous in her brother Edward's reign. Alſwitha or Ethelſwitha, ſtiled alſo Eltrude by the Flemiſh writers, married Baldwin earl of Flanders. Ethelgitha, who choſe the life of a nun, was made abbeſs of Shaftsbury-nunnery, founded by Alfred ‡.

7. EDWARD the elder.

The ſtate of the kingdom.

WHEN Edward came to the crown, England was almoſt equally divided between the Engliſh and Danes. The Danes inhabited Northumberland and Eaſt-Anglia, from whence they had expell'd the Engliſh, during the wars; and the Engliſh were ſtill poſſeſs'd of Weſſex, containing the antient kingdom of Eſſex, and all the country, ſouth of the Thames. As for Mercia, it was peopled with a mixture of Danes and Engliſh, the former being moſt numerous in the eaſt and north, and the latter in the ſouth and weſt parts. For ſome time before Alfred's Death, the Danes had been very quiet, leſt

* A great man gives us his character, to the following purpoſe: "O Alfred, the wonder of all ages! *If* we "reflect on his devotion, one would think he always lived in a cloyſter; if on his conduct and exploits in the "field, he ſeems to have ſpent his days in a camp; if on his writings and ſtudies, one would conclude the uni- "verſity had taken up all his time; and, laſtly, from his prudence and skill, in the adminiſtration of publick "affairs, that he made law and politicks the main buſineſs of his life."

† He was born at Wanating, now Wantage in Berkſhire, formerly a royal manor. His body was firſt interr'd at Wincheſter, then removed into the church of the new monaſtery, and laſtly, his body, monument, church, and monaſtery, were all removed, about 200 years after, without the north-gate of the city, afterwards called Hide.

‡ Beſides this nunnery, Alfred founded two monaſteries, one at Athelney, and another at Wincheſter.

they ſhould provoke him to invade them; and beſides, they were glad of ſome reſpite, in order to fortify their ſettlements in England. The departure, therefore, of their countrymen was rather an occaſion of joy than ſorrow; for they could never have attained their ends, if the war had been continually renew'd, by the arrival of the other Danes, who under the name of friends would have been as prejudicial to them, as the Engliſh themſelves. The retreat of theſe dangerous gueſts, and the profound tranquillity of the whole kingdom, having given them leiſure to cultivate their lands, as well as to augment their riches by commerce, they began to think of ſhaking off the Engliſh yoke. Accordingly, they catch'd at the firſt fair occaſion, to excite new troubles in England, as the beſt means to put their deſigns in execution.

Ethelward pretends to the crown.

I have, above, obſerv'd, that king Ethelbert, Alfred's elder brother, left behind him two infant ſons. Ethelward, the eldeſt being arriv'd to man's eſtate, thought it was time to aſſert his right to the crown. He pretended, that Ethelwulph, his grandfather, was guilty of injuſtice, in leaving his kingdom to all his ſons ſucceſſively, to the detriment of the children of the eldeſt; that, tho' he had a right to do this, there was no reaſon the ſucceſſion after the death of the four Brothers, ſhould continue in the family of the youngeſt, whilſt the heirs of the ſecond were alive; that, beſides, at moſt, he could only intail the kingdom of Kent, being all that he was poſſeſs'd of, and not the kingdom of Weſſex, which was not in his hands, when he made his will. Tho' theſe reaſons ſeem'd very plauſible, they had no influence on the Engliſh. Doubtleſs, their veneration for Alfred's memory led them to adhere to his ſon; or, perhaps, they did not queſtion the validity of Ethelwulph's will. As the antient hiſtorians have not cleared up this point, and it is extremely difficult to decide the matter, by the publick laws of the Saxons, which are not ſufficiently known, I ſhall only obſerve, that Ethelward, finding his countrymen would not ſupport his title, was obliged to apply to the Danes, who, in all probability, prompted him to this undertaking.

Ann. Sax. H. Hunt. l. 5.

Ethelward takes Winburn, loſes it again, and flies to the Danes, who proclaim him king.

Ethelward began with ſeizing upon Winburn, a fortified town in Dorſetſhire, expecting to be attacked; but he entertained hopes, if that place made any defence at all, the Danes would ſo fully employ Edward in other parts, that it would not be poſſible for him to retake it. His hopes, however, proved abortive. Edward came upon him with ſuch ſpeed, that he ſcarce had time to eſcape out of the town, and to get to the Danes, who were up in arms. Upon this, they proclaimed him king of England, pretending, that, as they were in poſſeſſion of half the kingdom, they had the ſame right to make a king, as the Weſt-Saxons.

Ethelward's retreat among the Danes convinced the king, that he was about to be involved, in a troubleſome and dreadful war; not that he thought himſelf unequal to the Danes ſettled in England, but, becauſe he apprehended, the foreign Danes would take this opportunity to reduce the kingdom to its former calamities. He, therefore, reſolved to do all that was poſſible to put an end to the war, before the Danes could call in their countrymen to their aſſiſtance. No ſooner had he taken Winburn, than he marched towards Northumberland, at the head of his army, which daily increaſed, by troops that flocked from all parts. The Danes being aſtoniſhed at this expedition, and in no condition to reſiſt him, were forced to abandon and baniſh from their country Ethelward, whom they undertook to protect; and they ſoon had reaſon to repent, that they had eſpous'd his cauſe, or had not defended it to better purpoſe. By this fruitleſs attempt, they loſt ſeveral ſtrong-holds in Mercia, which Edward judged it neceſſary to ſecure. He did not chaſtiſe them any farther, at this juncture, leſt the war, which ſeemed to be over, ſhould break out a-freſh, if he obliged them to ſend for ſuccours from Denmark; and he, therefore, only repaired ſome fortreſſes in Mercia, to reduce them into a narrower compaſs. Ethelred, earl of Mercia, and Elfleda his wife were very ſerviceable to the king, in this war, by oppoſing the Mercian Danes and preventing the Welch from coming to their aſſiſtance. It is ſaid, of Elfleda, that, having had a very difficult labour, with her firſt child, ſhe reſolved never to come into the like condition again, which ſhe punctually obſerved. From this time, ſhe entirely devoted herſelf to arms, and, like a true Amazon, gave proofs of her courage, in all her brother's wars with the Danes. She was generally ſtiled, not only lady and queen, but king alſo, in admiration of her manly and royal qualities.

902. Ethelward is abandoned by the Danes.

903. The courage of Elfleda, the king's ſiſter.

Ethelward returns into England with Norman troops.

In the interim, Ethelward, tho' abſent, was not idle. Having, upon his leaving England, made application to France and obtained a powerful ſupply of Normans, he landed in Eſſex, which he eaſily ſubdued. Edward, who had no apprehenſions, that his enemy could have been in a condition ſo ſuddenly, to make a new attempt upon the crown, had only ſecured Mercia againſt the Northumbrian Danes, not imagining that Eſſex had been in any danger.

The Danes riſe in his favour.

The arrival of the Normans encouraged the Northumbrian and Eaſt-Anglian Danes to appear in arms again, in favour of Ethelward; and, ruſhing into Mercia, they rifled the country inhabited by the Engliſh, in a mercileſs manner. Edward, with extreme regret, found himſelf forced to bear their inſults, till he could muſter together the troops he had diſmiſſed; but, the moment he was at the head of his army, he made the Danes pay dear, for their cruel treatment of the Engliſh. In this war, he ſo often defeated them, that the Danes deſpaired of throwing off the Engliſh yoke, and his couſin alſo, of aſcending the throne. At length, Ethelward being

905. Ethelward slain. being slain in battle *, and the Danish forces considerably diminished, they were not able to carry on the war, with the vigour they, at first, discovered, tho' they continued it it two years after Ethelward's death; but, having, in vain, attempted to repair their losses, they sued for peace, which Edward readily granted them, provided they would acknowledge him for their sovereign, and that the Normans immediately return'd to France.

Pont. Hist. Dan. 907.

Edward makes a treaty with the Danes. This peace between two nations so near neighbours, and so incensed against each other, could not be of any long continuance. Three years after, the war broke out a-fresh; † and it proved fatal to the Danes, who, in a very little time, lost two battles. Edward, who knew how to improve his victories, took from them several towns in Mercia, and, at length, expelled them. It was then that Ethelred, who, all along, bravely seconded the king his brother-in-law, became, in reality, earl of Mercia, which title he did not long enjoy, dying almost as soon as Mercia was united to his government. This earl was not merely governor or viceroy of Mercia; for he had some particular power, the nature of which it is very difficult to learn from the historians, who mention it. Malmsbury tells us, he held the country as a fief of the crown, much after the manner the German princes hold their territories of the empire ‡; and this receives farther confirmation, from Elfleda, his widow's, resigning to the king her brother the cities of London and Oxford, for had Ethelred been only governor or viceroy, she would have had no right to deliver up these places.

The war breaks out a-fresh. 910.

912. Ethelred, earl of Mercia, dies.

Elfleda, taking upon her the government of Mercia, after Ethelred's death, followed the example of her father and brother, in fortifying towns, to prevent the Danes from settling in Mercia again. The principal places, she repaired or fortified, were Warwick, Tamworth, Wedensbury, Charbury, Eadsbury, and Chester, which last had lain in ruins, for some time **; and, when Elfleda had finish'd her fortifications, she led her forces into Wales, after several victories, obliging the Welch to become her tributaries.

915. The university of Cambridge is founded. The year 915, according to some, is remarkable for the founding of the university of Cambridge by king Edward; but the truth of this fact is disputed. Some assert, the origin of this famous university is of a much later date; whilst others, on the contrary, attribute the founding of it to Cantabar, a Spaniard, 315 years before the birth of our Saviour. Some again affirm, that Sabert, who reigned in Essex, in the beginning of the VIIth century, was the first founder. I shall not presume to determine this controversy, which the emulation between Oxford and Cambridge has carried to a great height. However, I shall beg leave to observe, that, if the university of Cambridge was founded in king Sabert's time, or even in Alfred's, it is extremely surprizing, that neither Bede nor Asserius should take the least notice of it.

From the year 910, when the war between the English and Danes broke out a-fresh, to the year 922 we have nothing but the relation of a long series of battles, an account of which, must, of course, be ungrateful to the reader. I shall, therefore, without scruple, overlook them, and only mention their most remarkable consequences.

918. The princess Elfleda dies. Elfleda, sister to king Edward, died, during this war *†, leaving behind her an only daughter, named Elfwina, then marriageable. Elfleda had succeeded her husband in the sovereignty of Mercia, for it is certain it was more than a bare government; but that I may convey right notions of this affair, I shall consider the state of Mercia at the time I am speaking of. As historians have left us in the dark as to this point, it must be remembred, that Ethelred, with the title of earl of Mercia, was only possessed of London and the neighbouring country, or, at most, of the county of Middlesex; and that London, once the capital of Essex, was become the metropolis of Mercia. In process of time, Ethelred's narrow territories, being exceedingly enlarged by his conquests from the Mercian Danes, the present, Alfred made his son-in-law, was so considerable, that it might be regarded with a jealous eye, by a new king, and lead him to apprehend, that Ethelred's successors would grow too powerful. However, during Elfleda's life, he did not entertain any thoughts of dispossessing her of what her own valour had very much contributed to acquire. But, upon her decease, he judged it convenient to deprive Elfwina of a demesn, which put it in her power to raise new troubles in England, by some disagreeable match; and, indeed, some historians affirm, she had resolved to marry a Danish prince. He was, doubtless, afraid, that she would introduce the enemies of the kingdom into those very places, that had, with so much difficulty, been wrested out of their hands. Having seized upon Mercia, he carried his niece along with him into Wessex; and, in all probability, she pass'd the remainder of her days in a nunnery. Whether Elfwina's intention of marrying a Dane was matter of fact, or only

Edward seizes upon Mercia, to prevent its being surrendered to the Danes.

* The Saxon annals say, the battle was obstinate and bloody, on both sides. The king lost the earls Sigulph and Sigelm, with many other of his nobles; and the Danes lost more men than the English, Eolrick, their king, being slain, tho' they had the honour of keeping the field and burying their dead. Sax. ann. 905.

† The annals do not inform us who broke the treaty; but Hovedon charges it upon the Danes.

‡ Ethelred had the title of subregulus Merciorum. Selden tells us, subregulus is the same with earldom or count. Du Cange affirms, it sometimes signifies earl, at other times semi-rex or demi-king. We must understand it in the last sense, with respect to Ethelred, according to Malmsbury, who says: "Edwardus du regna Mercio-"rum & Visi-Saxonum conjunxerat, Merciorum nomine tenus, quippe commendatum duci Ethelredo."

** It was first demolished by Ecfrid king of Northumberland, and afterwards by the Danes.

*† Ingulph tells us, that, in respect of the cities she built the castles she fortified, and the armies she managed, one would have thought she changed her sex. She died at Tamworth in Staffordshire, and was interr'd in the porch of the monastery of St. Peter in Gloucester, which she and her husband had founded.

an

an invention to vindicate the king in his proceedings againſt her, it equally confirms my obſervation, that Ethelred and Elfleda were proprietors of Mercia; for had they been only governors, Edward would have had no occaſion to alledge her deſigned marriage, as a reaſon for depriving her of the government; as, on the contrary, there would have been no need for his inventing ſuch a pretence, without a foundation. I have been the more copious on this ſubject, on the account of the great variety of opinions, about the right and title of earl Ethelred to Mercia.

921, and 922. The Danes ſubmit to Edward.

In their wars with Edward, the Danes daily loſt ground, whilſt the king, cloſely purſued them, not allowing them the leaſt reſpite; and, at length, they were obliged to own him, once more for their ſovereign. The Mercian Danes, firſt, laid down their arms; as did the Eaſt-Anglians ſoon after, without coming to terms; and the Northumbrians were the laſt that ſubmitted. The progreſs, Edward made in the other provinces, convinced them, that it would be better for them to put a ſtop to the war, which would inevitably end in their ruin. They were governed by three kings. Sithrick and Nigel his brother ruled beyond the Tyne; and Reginald, who kept his reſidence at York, reigned over all the country lying between the Tyne and the Humber. In proceſs of time, Sithrick, having ſlain his brother Nigel, became ſole king of the north.

Edward ſubdues the Welch.

The ſtate of the Welch depending, in ſome meaſure, on that of the Danes, whilſt the Danes were in arms, the kings of England did not give the Welch any interruption; but, as ſoon as they were out of danger from the north, they often attacked them, and, accordingly, we find, that Elfleda forced them to become her tributaries. Upon the death of that princeſs, the Welch attempted to recover their liberty; and, to keep Edward employed, ſent a powerful reinforcement to the Danes. Edward being, at preſent, diverted by other buſineſs, took no notice of their proceedings; but, no ſooner had he concluded a peace with the Danes, than he marched againſt Rees ap Madoc * king of Wales, who was aſſiſted by Leoffreth a Daniſh general. After ſeveral skirmiſhes, Edward, at laſt, obtained a ſignal victory, which obliged the Welch to ſue for peace, with a promiſe of paying the uſual tribute; and the Britons of Cumberland who went over to the Danes ſubmitted alſo to Edward. Some hiſtorians pretend, the king of Scotland following their example, did homage for his kingdom to the king of England; but the Scotch not only deny the fact, but maintain it could not poſſibly be, ſince the word homage was never uſed in Great-Britain, till after the Norman conqueſt. But this reaſon is not concluſive, ſince the thing ſignified, under that name, might have been otherwiſe called. The

The Cumberland-Britons ſubmit, and alſo the king of Scotland.

ſovereignty of Alfred and Edward over the Northumbrian Danes, and the Mercians, in in the time of Ethelred and Elfleda, was nothing more than a right of homage from thoſe countries, though, perhaps, that term was not then received.

Edward dies. 925.

Edward was fear'd and reſpected by all at home, and highly eſteemed by princes abroad, when he departed this life in 925, after a reign of 24 years †. He was as much reputed for his valour, as the king his father, ſince, like him, he had preſcribed laws to all England, and had obtained for the kingdom ſuch peace and tranquillity, as had ſcarce ever been enjoy'd, ſince the Danes had begun their ravages; but it muſt be acknowledg'd, he was vaſtly inferior to his illuſtrious father, in all other reſpects.

The ſtory of Edward and Egwina.

He had iſſue by three wives; the firſt, ſtiled Egwina, was only a concubine, a ſhepherd's daughter. A certain writer gives us a romantick account of this woman, not improper to be here inſerted. I call it a romance, becauſe, by the author's own confeſſion *, it was only founded upon ſome antient ſongs, tranſmitted to this time ‡, not unlike the Spaniſh romances. The hiſtorian affirms, that Egwina, the daughter of a ſhepherd, as ſhe lay aſleep in the fields, dreamt that the moon ſhone ſo bright out of her womb, that all England was enlighten'd by the ſplendor. Some time after, ſhe related her dream to an old woman, formerly king Edward's nurſe. This perſon, who valued herſelf exceedingly upon her skill, in the interpretation of dreams, fancied there was ſomething extraordinary in this; and, taking Egwina home, ſhe brought her up, not as a country-wench, but as a perſon of quality. Egwina anſwered all the nurſe's expectations about her, and became an accompliſhed beauty. Whilſt ſhe was here, prince Edward, before he was king, paſſing by, had the curioſity to make her a viſit; and no ſooner had he viewed her, than he was deſperately enamour'd. Such was his paſſion, that, in the moſt pathetick manner, he ſollicited the nurſe, to promote his intereſt in the charming Egwina; and the old woman, who had a great friendſhip for Edward, and was ſtill fond of her dream, complied to his requeſt, bringing Egwina to his deſire. From this moment, Edward had ſuch a tenderneſs for her, that he had by her three children, of whom Athelſtan, the eldeſt, ſucceeded him. Alfred the ſecond died before his father; and the third was a daughter, called, by ſome, Editha, and by others Beatrix.

* Malmsbury and Brompton.

Edward's children by Egwina.

His children by another wife.

By another wife, Edward had two ſons and ſix daughters. Elſward the eldeſt ſon died at Oxford, a few days after his father; ſo that he had no opportunity of taſting the ſweets of a crown. Edwin the ſecond was deprived of his juſt right, and had a tragical end, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. Of his ſix daughters, ſome were married to powerful

* i. e. Rees the ſon of Madoc.

† He died at Farringdon in Berkſhire, and was interr'd at Wincheſter, near his father.

‡ Magis ex cantilenis, quam ex libris.

princes,

princes, by the care of their brother Athelſtan, and others became nuns. Elfleda the eldeſt was abbeſs of Ramſey*. Ogina was married to Charles the ſimple, king of France, and was mother to Lewis d'Outre-Mer. Edilda ſpent her days in a monaſtery. The fourth, of the ſame name, was eſpouſed to Hugh the great, earl of Paris, father to Hugh Capet. Edgitha was married to Otho emperor of Germany. Edgiva the youngeſt was married to Lewis the blind, king of Provence, who had a ſon by her, called Conſtantine.

*In Hampſhire.

His children by his third wife.

By Edgiva his third wife, Edward had two ſons and two daughters. Edmund and Edred, the two ſons, were both kings of England. Edburga was a nun, and her ſiſter Edgiva was eſpouſed to Lewis prince of Aquitain. Probably, this Edgiva was confounded with her ſiſter of the ſame name, by a ſecond wife, who was married to Lewis king of Provence, becauſe there was then no prince of Aquitain, mentioned in hiſtory.

The Daniſh hiſtorians ſay, Edward had another daughter, called Thyra, who, they aſſure us, was eſpouſed to Gormon III. one of their kings; but all the Engliſh writers are ſilent, as to this particular, tho' it relates to a princeſs of England.

Rollo ſeizes on Normandy.

During Edward's reign, Rollo, chief of the Normans in France, ſeized upon Neuſtria; and it was not in the power of the French to expel him thence. Charles the ſimple, then king of France, was obliged, for his own ſecurity, to give him a grant of that part of Neuſtria, he was poſſeſſed of, lying between the Seine and the Epte, with the title of duke of Normandy, on condition he ſhould do homage for it to the crown of France, embrace chriſtianity, and marry Giſelle the king's daughter. Rollo died, according to Mezerai, in 917. Some place his death, in 924, and others, more probably, in 928. William his ſon, by Poppa daughter to the earl of Bayeux, ſucceeded him in his dutchy.

8. ATHELSTAN.

ELSWALD, Edward's eldeſt ſon, ſurviving his father but a few days, and all the other legitimate children being in their minority, Athelſtan, Egwina's ſon, was placed on the throne, with the conſent of the clergy and nobility; and, tho' he had a mixture of baſe and noble blood in his veins, the latter wiped off the blemiſh of the former. Alfred, his grandfather, had conferred the honour of knighthood upon him, by girding him with a ſword, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times. Edward, his father, had committed the care of his education to Ethelred his brother-in-law and Elfleda his ſiſter, who did their utmoſt to train him up to virtue. Having been preſent at all their councils, and in all their martial expeditions, he had gained ſuch experience, both in military and political affairs, as, with his natural parts, attracted the eſteem of all the world; ſo that, when he received the crown, in his 30th year, he was very capable of holding the reins of government. His father, however, thought his illegitimate birth a ſufficient reaſon to ſuperſede him, having nominated, for his ſucceſſor, another of his ſons, born in wedlock, tho' younger than Athelſtan; but, in all likelihood, upon Elſwald's death, Athelſtan, on the account of his mature age and noble qualities, had the preference before Edwin, the eldeſt of the legitimate ſons, who was in his minority*.

A plot againſt Athelſtan.

Some of the principal of the nobility, however, diſdaining to be governed by a baſtard, plotted how to dethrone Athelſtan and advance Edwin in his room. Alfred, the chief of the conſpirators, had projected means to ſeize on Athelſtan at Wincheſter, deſigning to put out his eyes; but, the plot being detected, he was apprehended, by the king's order, tho' he would confeſs nothing, obſtinately perſiſting in the proteſtation of his innocence, and offering to purge himſelf by oath, before the pope. This method of juſtification, tho' no proof of his innocence, gave ſatisfaction to Athelſtan, who ſent him to Rome, to to take his oath, in the preſence of pope John. Perhaps, the king was unwilling to begin his reign with blood, or apprehenſive, that the treating, with too much ſeverity, a perſon of the firſt rank, would draw upon him the odium of his nobles. Soon after, he received intelligence from Rome, that Alfred, upon ſwearing his innocence, before the pope, fell ſuddenly into a fainting fit, which carried him off in three days; and that the pope, convinced by this accident, that Alfred had perjur'd himſelf, ordered his corpſe to remain in the Engliſh college, till the king's pleaſure ſhould be known about it. Athelſtan, contented with the death of his enemy, without being directly concerned in it, conſented, that he ſhould have chriſtian burial; but he confiſcated his whole eſtate, giving it to Malmsbury-monaſtery; and he inſerted, in the grant, the above-mentioned particulars, to ſatisfy the world, that he did not dedicate to the Almighty an eſtate, acquired by baſe or unjuſt means.

The Danes begin to riſe.

In the interim, as the Danes, ſettled in England, had been ſubdued by force, they were reſolved to make uſe of the ſame, to recover their liberty. Edward's death and Alfred's conſpiracy giving them, as they imagined, a fit opportunity to revolt, they enter'd

* Athelſtan was crowned at Kingſton upon Thames, by Athelm archbiſhop of Canterbury. The ceremony of crowning and anointing the Engliſh kings was, in all appearance firſt made uſe of in the reign of Alfred.

Athelſtan marches into Northumberland.

upon ſuch meaſures, as obliged Athelſtan to march into their country; and, as they had not, as yet, muſtered all their forces together, they were ſo ſurprized by the king's arrival on their frontiers, that, without coming to a battle, they returned to their allegiance. Sithrick, one of their kings, came to Athelſtan and ſued for peace, on his own terms, who, deſirous of a treaty with the Danes, to eſtabliſh himſelf on the throne, not only pardon'd his revolt, but gave him his ſiſter Editha in marriage, on condition he would receive baptiſm *.

He marches a ſecond time thither.

The troubles in the north being appeaſed, the king returned to Weſſex; and, ſoon after, he received the news of Sithrick's death, who left behind him two ſons, by a former marriage, Anlaff and Godfrid. The hiſtorians do not particularly inform us, why Athelſtan reſolved to deprive theſe two princes of their father's dominions. Whatever was the reaſon, he no ſooner heard of Sithrick's death, than he went into Northumberland, at the head of his army; and his march was ſo expeditious, that Anlaff and Godfrid, as well as Reginald another Daniſh king, who reſided at York, had ſcarce time to eſcape falling into his hands; and, by their ſudden flight, he became maſter of all Northumberland, except the caſtle of York.

Tho' he ſecured his conqueſts, by placing able garriſons in all the towns, yet the eſcape of the three Daniſh princes gave him great uneaſineſs. He could get no intelligence at all, about Reginald; and Anlaff retreated into Ireland, where he could not eaſily come at him. Athelſtan, therefore, was forced to acquieſce in requiring Conſtantine, king of Scotland, to ſurrender Godfrid, who had fled for refuge into that kingdom. Conſtantine, finding himſelf in no condition to deny any thing to a prince, who was at the head of ſuch a powerful army, complied with his demand, promiſing to give him a meeting at Dacor; but, whilſt he was making preparations for his journey, Godfrid made his eſcape, either thro' Conſtantine's neglect or connivance, who, however, ſet out to meet Athelſtan, accompanied by Eugenius king of Cumberland. Athelſtan admitted the excuſes of Conſtantine, for Godfrid's eſcape, tho', if the Engliſh hiſtorians are not miſtaken, he obliged both the kings to do homage for their kingdoms. The Scotch, however, poſitively aſſert, that England had not any right of ſovereignty over Scotland, until the XIIth century; but this diſpute, which was never decided, will be dropp'd, for the future, as England and Scotland are now united into one kingdom.

The kings of England and Scotland have an interview.

Before Athelſtan left the north, Godfrid made an attempt upon York, by means of the caſtle, where he had ſtill ſome friends; but, his deſign proving abortive, he put to ſea, and, for ſome time, practiſed pyracy. Tired, at length, with this way of life, he ſubmitted to the king of England, who received him graciouſly, allowing him a handſome penſion, tho' ſome time after, upon ſome diſguſt or groundleſs ſuſpicion, he withdrew again, and was never heard of more.

Conſtantine joins Anlaff againſt Athelſtan.

Anlaff, a prince of greater accompliſhments than his brother, concerted better meaſures, for the recovery of his dominions. Having retired into Ireland, where he had intelligence, that the king of Scotland was diſpleaſed with Athelſtan, he took this opportunity of perſuading him to eſpouſe his cauſe. With this view, he went over into Scotland, and repreſented to Conſtantine, that Athelſtan, having, by ſurprize, ſeized on Northumberland, without alledging the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon for his proceedings, might treat Scotland in the ſame manner; and that, therefore, it was abſolutely neceſſary to prevent him. To this, he added the offer of a powerful reinforcement from Ireland, aſſuring him, that, with their aſſiſtance, he might eaſily force Athelſtan out of Northumberland, and rid himſelf of ſuch a dangerous neighbour, by reſtoring that kingdom to the Danes, who would ſerve as a barrier for him againſt England. Anlaff ſoon brought over the king of Scotland, who was not only ſecretly exaſperated at the haughty reception he met with, at the late interview, but highly diſſatisfied with Athelſtan's ſucceſſes, and apprehenſive of being invaded himſelf. He determined, therefore, to embarque in this enterprize; and, having conſulted with Anlaff, about proper meaſures, they parted, in order to prepare the quota of troops, each of them had engaged to provide.

Malm. Hovedon.

In the mean time, Athelſtan, having reviewed his garriſons, and taken every ſtep, he judged neceſſary, to ſecure his late conqueſts, returned to Weſſex, where he continued in peace, having no apprehenſions of what his enemies had plotted againſt him; but, ſoon after, he was involved in a war with Howel king of Wales; which was projected by Conſtantine, to keep Athelſtan employed againſt the Welch, whilſt he and Anlaff ſhould make a deſcent upon Northumberland. The king of England, however, the moment he received the news of the motions of the Welch, and that Conſtantine had ſent them ſuccours, ſet out for Wales; and, giving Howel battle, he entirely defeated him, augmenting, on this occaſion, the tribute that prince paid to England.

Athelſtan defeats the king of Wales.

Upon this, Athelſtan marched into Scotland, to revenge himſelf on Conſtantine, for having aſſiſted the Welch; and no ſooner had he entered the Scotch territories, than he took ſome of their towns, giving them reaſon to expect more conſiderable loſſes. As Anlaff was not yet arrived with his troops, Conſtantine durſt not venture, alone, to engage ſo formidable an enemy, who was already in his dominions, and in a condition to purſue his conqueſts; and, therefore, he ſued for

He invades Scotland.

* She was the daughter of Edward and Egwina; and, upon Sithrick's deceaſe, ſhe became a nun, at Poleſworth in Warwickſhire.

peace,

peace, to gain time, till the Iriſh had join'd him. Athelſtan, at once, comply'd with his requeſt, being exceedingly deſirous of that prince's friendſhip, leſt he ſhould foment the inſurrection of the Northumbrians; and, accordingly, he reſigns all the places he had taken, to gain him over to his intereſt, by his generoſity. Some writers, however, aſſure us, that Athelſtan oblig'd Conſtantine to do him homage for Scotland; but this is what the Scots will never acknowledge.

He enters into a treaty with Conſtantine.

933. Conſtantine renews the war.

Conſtantine, notwithſtanding Athelſtan's generous proceedings, purſued his firſt deſigns; nay, he carried on his preparations with the greater expedition, being extremely mortified to be under obligations to a prince, whom he always regarded, as his enemy. In the interim, Athelſtan, upon his return to Weſſex, expected to enjoy ſome quiet; but, a war could not have given him greater uneaſineſs, than an event that happened in his own family.

Athelſtan puts prince Edwin to death, and repents of it. Malm.

A certain lord at court, prince Edwin's enemy, accuſed him of being concerned in Alfred's conſpiracy. The king too readily gave into this accuſation againſt his brother, being eaſily induced to believe, the prince had ſome concern in a plot, that was formed, purely upon his account; and, perhaps, he was not diſpleas'd to find him guilty, as it furniſhed him with an opportunity of diſpatching him out of the way. He would not, however, publickly put him to death, but order'd him to be expos'd to the fury of the waves, in a veſſel without ſails or rudder. The young prince went on board, proteſting his innocence; and, finding the king was inexorable, he jump'd headlong into the ſea. Athelſtan, at firſt, had a ſecret pleaſure, in having got rid of his brother; but, ſoon after, he was touch'd with remorſe. To pacify his conſcience, he was adviſed to make atonement for his crime, by a meritorious action; and, with this view, he founded the abbey of Middleton in Dorſetſhire *, where prayers were offer'd up to heaven, day and night, in his behalf, and for the ſoul of his brother. Hiſtorians alſo tell us, that he ſubmitted to a ſeven years penance; but they do not inform us, wherein it conſiſted. Edwin's accuſer had no reaſon long to rejoice at the ſucceſs of his villany; for as he, one day, waited at table with the king's cup, one of his feet ſlipping, he would certainly have fallen, had he not recovered himſelf with the other. On this occaſion, he jocoſely ſaid: "See, how one brother helps another." This jeſt coſt him his life; for Athelſtan, over-hearing him, and taking it to be a reproach or banter upon him, order'd him to be executed immediately, thus, revenging his brother's death by that of his malicious accuſer †.

Conſtantine and Anlaff invade Northumberland.

In the mean time, Conſtantine went on with his military preparations; Anlaff, whom ſome, without any foundation, call king of Ireland, had prevailed on him to enter into a league with the Iriſh, Welch, and Northumbrian Danes, who were extremely deſirous of having a prince of their own nation on the throne. Anlaff was at the head of this league, tho' Conſtantine was equally concerned in it, as he was to be the principal in the war. They carried on their deſigns, with ſo much ſecrecy, that Anlaff enter'd the Humber, with a fleet of 600 ſail, and invaded Northumberland, before Athelſtan had any intelligence of the affair; and, with ſo conſiderable forces, increas'd by the Danes ſettled in thoſe parts, eaſily ſubdued ſeveral ſmall towns, that were but meanly defended. The fortified places, however, that were garriſon'd by the Engliſh, ſtopp'd his progreſs, giving Athelſtan time to muſter his army together; and he was ſo expeditious, that he ſurprized the confederate princes. They were on their march towards Bernicia, to conquer that kingdom for the king of Scotland; but they were obliged to return, to oppoſe Athelſtan, who was advanced very near them, when they fancied he had not, as yet, finiſhed his preparations. A bloody battle was fought at Brunanburgh ‡, in which Athelſtan prov'd victorious, the allies having loſt Conſtantine king of Scotland, ſix Iriſh or Welch kings, and twelve earls and general officers. This victory was principally owing to the valour of Turketul, the king's couſin, who was afterwards abbot of Croyland. Athelſtan extended his conqueſts into Scotland, and chaſtiſed the Welch, by raiſing their tribute to 20 pound weight of gold, 300 of ſilver, and 25,000 head of cattle; and he pent them up beyond the river Wye, diſpoſſeſſing them of all the country between that and the Severn. As for the Northumbrian Danes, he made their yoke much heavier; and he afterwards march'd againſt the Corniſh Britons, who had alſo aſſiſted the confederates. He took Exeter, formerly deſtroy'd by the Danes, ordering it to be immediately repair'd and fortified; and, from that time, the Britons were conſtrained to keep beyond the Tamar, that ſerved, as a

* Now named Melton-Abbey, lying three miles north of the Piddle. The greateſt part of it ſtill remains, it having been the ſeat of the family of the Tregonwell's, ever ſince its diſſolution; from them it is lately come to the Lutterell's of Dunſter-Caſtle, by the marriage of the heireſs of Sir John Tregonwell. Camb. Add. to Dorſetſhire.

† As Edwin's affair is the only thing, that tarniſhes Athelſtan's memory, Malmsbury, who relates it, looks upon the whole ſtory, as a fiction, by reaſon of his kindneſs to his other brothers and ſiſters, and owns it has no other foundation, than ſome old ballads. Huntingdon mentions the loſs of Edwin, by ſea, but as a deplorable accident and a great misfortune to Athelſtan.

‡ Taken to be Bromford near Bromridge in Northumberland; tho' ſome conjecture it was nearer the Humber. In the deſcription of this battle, the hiſtorians of that age are extravagantly full of raptures and bombaſt; and even the Saxon annaliſt, who is, for the moſt part, grave and ſuccinct, launches out ſurprizingly on this occaſion. Sax. Ann. 938.

boundary,

boundary, to both nations, tho' they were before mixed together, in ſome of the weſtern counties.

Miracles, in favour of Athelſtan.

Almoſt every page of the hiſtories of thoſe times abounds with miracles, wrought in behalf of the friends and protectors of the monks; and as Athelſtan had been a great benefactor to them, to atone for the murder of his brother, they have not fail'd to give him the uſual marks of their gratitude. They tell us, that, at the word of St. John of Beverley, he ſtruck his ſwords three yards deep into a ſolid rock, which yielded like ſo much butter; and alſo, that, having loſt his ſword, in the battle of Brunanburgh, another deſcended from heaven, ſheathing itſelf in his ſcabbard. It would be a loſs of time to relate all the miracles the monks have recorded in their hiſtories; tho' it will not be improper to obſerve, that the cuſtom of embelliſhing uncommon events with miracles was in faſhion, for ſeveral ages.

A ſoldier prevents his being ſlain.

I ſhall cloſe the reign of Athelſtan with an incident, taken notice of by the beſt hiſtorians. A few days before the battle of Brunanburgh, Anlaft went, as a ſpy, into the Engliſh camp, diſguiſed like a harper, as did formerly Alfred the great, to diſcover the poſture of the enemy; but he was known by a ſoldier, who, notwithſtanding, ſuffer'd him to eſcape, undiſcover'd. As ſoon as the ſoldier thought him out of danger, he told Athelſtan what had happen'd, adviſing him to remove his tent, as he apprehended, that Anlaff had ſome deſign upon that quarter; and, to excuſe himſelf, for not acquainting him with this ſecret ſooner, he ſaid, that he had formerly taken a military oath to Anlaff, and, therefore, could not reſolve to betray him. Athelſtan, forgiving him, fell in with his advice, which he ſoon found to be of great importance. The following night, the Daniſh prince, with a body of choſen troops, attack'd the Engliſh camp, penetrating to the place where he had ſeen the king's tent; and a biſhop, who, by accident, had pitched his on that very ſpot, had the misfortune to be ſlain *.

491. Athelſtan dies.

Athelſtan, three years after the battle of Brunanburgh, died a natural death, in 941, in the 46th year of his age, and the 16th of his reign †. Hiſtorians have been very large in their accounts of the ſignal ſucceſs of his arms, but they have been yet more copious on the miracles Heaven wrought in his favour; but, paſſing over the wonders his hiſtory abounds with, I ſhall content myſelf, in giving him the following character: Such were his merits, that he was equally feared by his neighbours, beloved by his ſubjects, and reſpected by the greateſt princes in Europe ‡. The emperor Otho and Hugh the great, his brothers-in-law, frequently demonſtrated their eſteem for him by valuable preſents; and the noble matches he made for ſuch of his ſiſters, as preferr'd the world to a cloyſter, evidently atteſt his great reputation. His ſiſter Ogina, widow to Charles the ſimple, king of France, having fled for refuge into England, with her ſon Lewis, who, upon this, was ſirnamed Outremer, met with an honourable reception; and the king handſomely ſupplied them, during their exile. It is even ſaid, that his application and credit did exceedingly contribute to the reſtoration of the king, his nephew, to the throne of his anceſtors. Tho' he ſeem'd moſt intent on military affairs; yet he took care alſo of civil matters, and was ſollicitous to make juſtice flouriſh in all his dominions. The truth of this appears from the excellent laws he added to thoſe of Alfred his grandfather; and ſeveral of them, ſtill extant, ſhew, that it was his deſign, that all perſons, eccleſiaſtical as well as civil, ſhould be ſubject to them. He gave no countenance to thoſe privileges and immunities the clergy have ſo greatly improved, which, very often, only authorize wickedneſs, and prove a ſanctuary to criminals.

His character.

He employs fit perſons to tranſlate the bible into Saxon.

Among the monuments of his piety, which chiefly conſiſted in founding and endowing monaſteries, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, the tranſlation of the bible into Saxon, then the vulgar tongue, was, doubtleſs, a very uſeful work; for, in order to have it well done, he employ'd the moſt learned perſons in the kingdom. Hence it appears, what great improvements learning received by the wiſe regulations of Alfred; ſince, in his days, no Engliſhman was capable of performing a work of this nature.

Dunſtan's birth.

The famous Dunſtan, ſo often mentioned in the ſequel, was born in the firſt year of this reign.

Edmund ſucceeds Athelſton.

Athelſtan dying without iſſue, Edmund, the eldeſt of Edward the elder's legitimate ſons, ſucceeded him, by the unanimous conſent of the people.

* Brompton and others tell a romantick ſtory, that relates to this reign: When Athelſtan was at a loſs for a champion to fight Colebrand, a great Daniſh giant, that had defied all the Engliſh, Guy earl of Warwick, being return'd from the Holy-Land, in the habit of a pilgrim, and unknown to all but the king, having accepted the challenge, fought and killed the giant, near Wincheſter; upon which, the Danes ſubmitted, and Guy retreated to a hermit's cell, where he ended his days.

† He died at Glouceſter, and was interr'd, with a great number of trophies, at Malmsbury.

‡ Malmsbury concludes Athelſtan's character in theſe words: "His life was little as to time, tho' great in action." lib. 2.

9. EDMUND

9. EDMUND I.

EDMUND I.

ATHELSTAN left England in profound tranquillity. The Welch punctually paid their tribute; Anlaff, having retired into Ireland, ſeem'd to have laid aſide all thoughts of any farther deſigns; and the Danes continued in ſubjection. The Danes, however, upon Athelſtan's death, made preparations for a revolt, entertaining hopes, from Edmund's youth, that they ſhould, at length, be able to ſhake off the Engliſh yoke, and have a king of their own nation. Anlaff, finding them thus inclin'd, determin'd to embrace the preſent opportunity, to recover the crown of Northumberland, but being ſenſible he could not accompliſh his deſign, with a foreign aid, he perſuaded Olaus, king of Normandy, to eſpouſe his cauſe, who promis'd to exert himſelf, in his intereſt. With the troops he had from this prince, he once more invaded Northumberland; and, coming before York, the gates were open'd to him, ſuch was the good underſtanding between him and the chief inhabitants. This example was followed by moſt of the other towns, whoſe garriſons were either expell'd, or cut in pieces by the citizens, who were generally of Daniſh extraction. Anlaff, having ſubdued Northumberland, marched into Mercia, where his countrymen received him with open arms, aſſiſting him to recover ſeveral places, Edward the elder had formerly taken from them.

Anlaff, again, invades Northumberland.

Though Edmund was no more than 17 or 18 years of age, the enemy's progreſs was ſo far from daunting his courage, that it made him the more eager to come to a deciſive battle. No ſooner had he drawn his forces together, than he advanced towards the north, though he was ſenſible, that the enemy's army was ſuperior to his, in number; and, on the contrary, Anlaff finding that Edmund was on his march, to give him battle, approach'd him with equal reſolution. The two armies, meeting near Cheſter *, came to an engagement; and, when night came on, neither party could boaſt of the leaſt advantage, tho' they both prepared to renew the fight, as ſoon as day ſhould appear. The archbiſhops of York and Canterbury *, however, who were in the two armies, ſo actively promoted a peace, that a treaty was begun that very evening, and concluded by break of day. This peace was made up with the greater eaſe, as neither ſide could inſiſt on any advantage in the action of the day, their own or the enemies loſſes being unknown. Purſuant to this treaty, Edmund reſigned to the Danes all the lands, north of the Roman high-way, call'd Watling-ſtreet, which divided England into almoſt two equal parts, from North-Wales to the moſt ſouthern part of Kent, quite to the ſea *. Edmund was, in a manner, forced to agree to theſe terms, by the nobles in his army, who judged it more prudent to end the war on thoſe conditions, than run a greater riſque by continuing it; and doubtleſs, the remembrance of England's former calamaties made them more willing to bring matters to an accomodation. Accordingly, Anlaff took poſſeſſion of Northumberland, including ſeveral counties never enjoy'd by his father Sithrick.

* Odo and Wulſtan.

Edmund and Anlaff divide England between them.

* Vid. p. 28.

The Northumbrian Danes had no reaſon to rejoice long at Anlaff's reſtoration, who laid heavy taxes on the people, to diſcharge the debts he had contracted with the king of Norway, for the troops he had lent him. The inhabitants of Decra, being the firſt that revolted, ſent for Reginald, his brother Godfrid's ſon, whom they crowned king at York. Reginald immediately made military preparations againſt his uncle, who was preparing alſo to attack him; and upon this, Edmund marched towards the north, as well to lay hold on any opportunity that ſhould offer itſelf, as to appeaſe the troubles there, leſt they might occaſion the return of the foreign Danes into England. He arrived on the borders of Northumberland, when the uncle and nephew, intirely intent upon their private quarrel, had nothing leſs in their thoughts, than repulſing the Engliſh; and tho' in all likelihood, he might very eaſily have ſubdued that kingdom, he made peace between the two kings, and Reginald kept the crown he had a little before received, being both of them obliged to ſwear allegiance to Edmund, and alſo to be baptized, himſelf being the god-father.

The war breaks out a-freſh.

This peace, made by force, was of a ſhort continuance; for Edmund was ſcarce returned into Weſſex, when the two Daniſh princes jointly took up arms, to ſhake off his yoke, having firſt engaged the Mercian Danes and the king of Cumberland to eſpouſe their quarrel. Edmund, inform'd of theſe proceedings, directly marched into Mercia; and before the Mercian Danes could be joined by the Northumbrians, he took from them Leiceſter, Stafford, Darby, Nottingham and ſome other places. Upon this, he advanced, with the ſame expedition, into Northumberland, ſurprixing the two kings, before they had muſter'd their forces together, who dreading to fall into Edmund's hands, judged

* Antient Cheſter, ſtiled by the Romans Urbs Legionis, from the 20th legion encamped there, to keep the Ordovices in awe; it was, on the ſame account named Caer-leon by the Britons or Welch, and by the Saxons, Legea-ceſter, ſuppoſed to be built about that time.

The two Daniſh kings abandon England.

it moſt adviſible to abandon the iſland; and their flight diſpiriting the Danes, they threw down their arms, and ſubmitted to Edmund, owning him for their ſovereign.

945. Edmund gives Cumberland to the king of Scotland.

Before he returned to Weſſex, Edmund was reſolved to puniſh the king of Cumberland, who had ſided with the Danes; and he ſoon ſubdued that little kingdom, which he gave to the king of Scotland, to attach him to his intereſt. However, he obliged that prince to do him homage for it, and to appear at the king of England's court, at the time of the ſolemn feſtivals, if ſummon'd. This, perhaps, was the occaſion of ſaying, that the kings of Scotland were vaſſals to thoſe of England; but, tho' they were, undoubtedly, ſo, as to Cumberland, it does not follow they did homage for the kingdom of Scotland.

Edmund was famous, both at home and abroad, for his valour and abilities; inſomuch, that the king of Denmark, tho' often ſollicited by the Danes in England, did not think it proper to aſſiſt them againſt a prince of his reputation, and from whom ſo little was to be expected.

Edmund's laws. Brompt.

Edmund was not entirely taken up with martial affairs; for ſome of his laws, ſtill extant, demonſtrate his great regard for the happineſs of his ſubjects. As he had obſerved, that pecuniary puniſhments were not effectual to prevent robberies, which were, for the moſt part, committed by perſons who had nothing to loſe; he order'd, that in gangs of robbers, the eldeſt of them ſhould be condemn'd to the gallows, being the firſt law in England, that made it death to rob or ſteal.

948. Edmund's tragical death. G. Malm.

Had Edmund's reign been longer, in all probability, his people would have been rendered happy; but a fatal accident carried him off, when he had but juſt taſted the fruits of his victories. On a certain day, ſolemnizing a feſtival * at Pucklekirk † in Gloceſterſhire, he ſpied Leolf, a notorious robber, who, tho' baniſh'd for his crimes, had the preſumption to come and ſit at one of the tables in the hall, where the king was at dinner, who, incenſed at his impudence, commanded him to be apprehended; but, perceiving him to draw a dagger, in his own defence, the king, riſing up in a great paſſion, and catching hold of his hair, dragg'd him out of the hall. This raſh action occaſioned his death; for, whilſt he was wholly employ'd in venting his fury, Leolf ſtabb'd him in the breaſt with his dagger, upon which he fell down dead on the body of his murderer. This was the tragical end of king Edmund, in 948, in the 25th year of his age, after a reign of 8 years ‡. By Elgway his wife he had two ſons, Edwy and Edgar, who did not ſucceed him, by reaſon of their minority, Edred his brother being placed on the throne, by the conſent of the clergy and nobility.

His wife and children.

Dunſtan.

During this reign, Dunſtan began to be diſtinguiſhed, being highly eſteemed by Edmund, who made him abbot of Glaſſenbury.

The affairs of Normandy.

About the ſame time, William Long-ſword, the ſecond duke of Normandy, was aſſaſinated by Arnold earl of Flanders, in a little iſland of the Somme oppoſite to Peguigni; and Richard I. his ſon, a minor, was his ſucceſſor. As the affairs of Normandy, in the ſequel, will be often intermixed with thoſe of England, it is highly neceſſary, to give a previous account of the ſucceſſion of the dukes in that dutchy.

10. EDRED.

EDRED.

THE Northumbrian Danes were ſo impatient under the Engliſh yoke, that nothing but downright force, could keep them in ſubjection; and they catch'd at every opportunity for a revolt. Tho' their ſucceſs in Edmund's time, was very indifferent; yet, upon his deceaſe, they entertained hopes of regaining their liberty, imagining that Edred, whom, as yet, they did not know, wanting his bravery, or, at leaſt, his experience, would not have the ſame advantages over them. The more effectually to accompliſh their deſigns, they engage Malcolm king of Scotland in their intereſt, who thought all obligations were cancelled by Edmund's death; for this prince, as well as the Danes, flatter'd himſelf that Edred, on the account of his youth, would be ſo much confounded, at their ſudden attack, as not to be able to make any reſiſtance. The event, however, diſappointed their expectations; for Edred, who was not inferior to his predeceſſor, either in courage or conduct, expeditiouſly penetrated into the very heart of Northumberland, before they were in a condition to oppoſe him; and they were extremely aſtoniſh'd to find themſelves attack'd, when, as yet, they had hardly diſcover'd their intentions of revolting, and were, as the caſe ſtood, obliged to ſue for peace on any terms.

* In honour of St. Auguſtin, the firſt preacher of the goſpel to the Anglo-Saxons.

† Now Puckle-Church, a ſmall village, the ſeat of the Dennis's, whoſe family have been, 18 times, ſheriffs of that county.

‡ He was interr'd at Glaſſenbury, where Dunſtan was abbot; and the town of Pucklekirk was given to the ſame monaſtery, to ſing maſſes for his ſoul.

Edward,

He puniſhes the Danes.

Edred, having chaſtis'd the Danes, by fining ſome, and puniſhing others, who were the chief authors of the revolt, advanced towards Scotland, to be revenged on the ungrateful Malcolm; who finding he had no reaſon to expect any ſuccours from the Northumbrians, ſtruck up a peace with Edred, paying him homage.

Anlaff, being recalled, recovers all Northumberland.

Upon this, Edred returned to Weſſex, believing he had nothing more to fear from the north; but he had not a thorough knowledge of the Danes. Scarce had he taſted tranquillity, when, revolting again, they recalled Anlaff. So well concerted were their meaſures, and ſuch was Anlaff's expedition, that he ſubdued ſome of the moſt conſiderable towns, before Edred could muſter his forces together; and, whilſt he was making preparations Anlaff enlarged his conqueſts, inſomuch that it was impoſſible to recover that kingdom from him. Anlaff's turbulent and imperious temper, however, did not permit him to treat his ſubjects in a better manner, than formerly; for, in a little time, ſo powerful a party was formed againſt him, that he was forced, once more, to retreat into Ireland, and Eric was placed on the throne.

He is expell'd by his ſubjects.

Edred reduces Northumberland to a province.

In the interim, many of the Northumbrians ſtill adhering to Anlaff, Northumberland was divided into two factions, which furniſhed Edred with an opportunity he was very capable of improving to his advantage. He directly marched into the north, whilſt all things were in confuſion, before the Northumbrians had taken any meaſures to oppoſe him; and, upon his approach, Eric retired into Scotland, leaving his people to Edred's mercy, who threatened that he would utterly deſtroy their country. Tho' they could not well expect a ſecond pardon, who had ſo notoriouſly abuſed the firſt, yet, in this extremity, they implor'd it, amuſing him with ſolemn oaths and proteſtations; and, being of a generous temper, he was ſo touch'd, by their ſubmiſſive carriage, that he re-placed Eric on the throne, ſatisfied with obliging him to pay tribute and take an oath of allegiance to him. Theſe commotions being as he thought allayed, he returned to Weſſex, not ſuſpecting any treachery from a people, that had ſo lately received ſuch remarkable proofs of his clemency; but the Danes, who were brought to ſubmit, rather by force of arms, than from a ſenſe of his goodneſs, privately meeting together and lying in ambuſh for him on the way, ſuddenly attack'd his rear and put them in the greateſt diſorder; and, were it not for the valour and conduct of the king, his army would infallibly have been cut to pieces. Edred, incenſed at their perfidiouſneſs, marched back into Northumberland, reſolving to puniſh them in a mercileſs manner, which cauſed an univerſal conſternation; for they apprehended, that their ruin was remedileſs, if they ſo much as offered to make any reſiſtance. Submiſſion then being their only remedy, knowing alſo that the king of England would not be impoſed upon again, by general proteſtations, they threw themſelves upon his mercy, on whatſoever terms he ſhould be pleas'd to preſcribe; and the more effectually to convince him of their ſincerity, they ſolemnly renounced their allegiance to Eric, and put Amac the ſon of Anlaff to death, as being the principal author of their treachery *. Edred was pacified, by theſe means; but to prevent the like revolts, for the future, he ſecur'd all their towns, and plac'd in them garriſons of Engliſh ſoldiers. Having entirely diveſted Northumberland of its royalty, he reduc'd it to a province, appointing earl Oſulf, an Engliſhman, to be the firſt governor; and, on theſe accounts, the Northumbrians were kept in ſuch ſubjection, that they gave England no farther diſturbance, till the foreign Danes made a conqueſt of Northumberland, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

Edred devotes himſelf to religious affairs.

The Northumbrians being, thus, quelled, Edred lived in profound tranquillity; for he was the abſolute lord of all England, and dreaded by the kings of Scotland and Wales. Enjoying ſuch a perfect quiet, he devoted himſelf entirely to religious affairs, being directed by the advice of Dunſtan abbot of Glaſſenbury, who had a mighty influence over him; and he had the art of improving his credit with the king, to ſuch a degree, that he became maſter of his conſcience, and conſequently of all affairs relating to the ſtate. Whenever a prince ſuffers his conſcience to be governed by his ghoſtly father, he will find it extremely difficult, to exclude him from the management of his temporal concerns, as there is ſcarce any one particular but what may be conſider'd, as relating to religion, in ſome reſpect or other. So great a confidence had Edred in Dunſtan, that he not only took his directions, in all things, and made him his treaſurer, but, on ſome occaſions, even ſubmitted to receive diſcipline from his hands, being perſuaded, that his blind ſubmiſſion, which Dunſtan was induſtrious in preſerving, was the neareſt way to heaven. To gratify Dunſtan, he undertook the rebuilding of Glaſſenbury church and monaſtery, in a very magnificent manner, laying out upon it immenſe ſums of money, without having the ſatisfaction to ſee it finiſhed.

Guided entirely by Dunſtan.

The Monks made uſe of their protector's intereſt, to get into the eccleſiaſtical benefices, which, otherwiſe, they would have vainly attempted; and tho' Dunſtan's proceedings excited the clamours of the ſecular clergy againſt him, he over-look'd them, ſo long as he obtain'd his ends. However, his imperious conduct gain'd him a great number of enemies, who, in the ſucceeding reign, made him feel the effects of their hatred,

* Wulſtan, archbiſhop of York, was taken into cuſtody, as an abettor of this rebellion; but after ſome time, Edred ſet him at liberty, on the account of his character, tho', it is ſaid, that ſuch was his concern for his diſgrace, that it occaſion'd his death. Malm. l. 2.

hatred, which they had ſtifled, during Edred's life; but, as Dunſtan had been a friend to the monks, they were no leſs zealous to promote his glory. They, in all places, proclaimed, that Dunſtan was an eminent ſaint, that miracles were daily wrought, in his favour, and that he was often honoured with divine revelations; and, in their opinion, neither the ſaints of the firſt rank, nor the apoſtles themſelves, were equal to him, as to the number of their graces.

955. Edred's death. Malm. l. 2.

Had Edred lived, Dunſtan and the monks would, doubtleſs, have carried their point; but he died, juſt as the monks began to be admitted into the benefices. The hiſtorians, who have been ſollicitous to extol Dunſtan's merits and ſanctity, aſſure us, that Edred's death was revealed to him, by a voice from heaven, as he was on the road, in order to make him a viſit; and that his horſe fell down dead under him, at the prodigious noiſe of the voice; but judicious authors have taken no notice of tales of this nature.

Edred is ſucceeded by Edwy his nephew.

Edred reigned but 10 years *. Elfred and Bedfrid, his two ſons, whom he left in their minority, did not ſucceed their father; for Edwy, ſon to Edmund his elder brother, was placed on the throne. This election, by the way, ſeems equally to countenance thoſe who are of opinion, that, in the Saxon times, the ſucceſſion to the crown entirely depended on the ſuffrages of the clergy and nobility, and thoſe, who affirm, it of right, belonged to the next heir; for Edred's ſons were excluded from the ſucceſſion, and, at the ſame time, the crown was given by the great men, to the ſon of the elder brother, to the prejudice of thoſe of the younger.

From one of Edred's charters it appears, that he aſſumed the title of monarch of Albion; and, from another, that he ſtiled himſelf king of Great-Britain, in which he was followed by Edgar his nephew. If theſe charters be genuine, it may be inferr'd, that Edred ſubdued Scotland; but this is no proper place to examine an affair, which has occaſioned ſuch warm diſputes between the Engliſh and Scotch. However, the title Edred and Edgar affected, was diſus'd by their ſucceſſors, till the time of James I. at the end of the ſixteenth century.

II. EDWY.

Edwy.

Dunſtan's diſgrace.

EDWY † received the crown, at 14 years of age, whoſe thoughts concerning Dunſtan, were different from thoſe of his predeceſſor. Whether he had contracted a prejudice againſt him, by the means of his enemies, or, whether he had ſome particular reaſon to be diſguſted at him, he was no ſooner on the throne, than he order'd him to give an account of the ſums the late king had entruſted him with. Dunſtan reply'd, the money, that paſs'd through his hands, having been applied to pious uſes, he was not liable to be called to an account for an affair, that was entirely religious. As he promoted the building of Glaſſenbury, which the late king had ſo much at heart, Edwy's council judg'd it improper to puſh the matter any farther, leſt the people ſhould eſpouſe the abbot's cauſe. The founding and repairing of monaſteries were, at that time, ſo ſacred, that whoſoever ſpoke againſt them was branded with the character of impious and profane; and, therefore, the king's council, as they could not attack Dunſtan on that ſcore, without running a riſque, to undermine his credit, revers'd all that had been done, in favour of the monks. Accordingly, the religious were turn'd out of their benefices, and the ſecular prieſts put in their places. This ſudden blow was given, firſt, to mortify Dunſtan; ſecondly, to leſſen his reputation among the people, as they, by this, demonſtrated, they had no great opinion of his ſanctity; thirdly to ſhew, that he had acted very unjuſtly, in depriving the ſecular clergy of their benefices; and, laſtly, as Dunſtan and the monks were ſo inſeparably link'd together, it was impoſſible for them to ſuffer any diſgrace, without reflecting a diſhonour upon him. The perſecutions of the moſt inhuman tyrants never extorted from the primitive chriſtians ſuch bitter invectives, as did this pretended perſecution from the monks. According to them, the church was never in ſo great danger; and the moſt pernicious hereſies were nothing, in compariſon of the preſent proceedings. The monks of Malmsbury, who were moſt concerned in this affair, were the moſt clamorous; and, for this reaſon, they were turned out of their monaſtery, which was given to the ſecular prieſts. William of Malmsbury, who belonged to this houſe, tells us that "After it had been "inhabited by monks 270 years, it was made "a ſtable for clerks." Whether Dunſtan had excited the monks to utter theſe complaints, or, whether the charging him with it was made uſe of, as a handle, to puniſh him, he was baniſh'd the kingdom, tho' ſome affirm, he voluntarily went into exile. However that be, he retir'd into a monaſtery in Flanders, where he reſided, in expectation of ſome lucky turn, in his favour. Malm. l. 2.

Dunſtan is baniſhed.

Dunſtan's enemies triumph'd at his diſgrace, and the king himſelf was not a little delighted in being rid of one whom he

* He was interr'd at Wincheſter. Sim. Dunelm.

† He was ſo very fair and comely, that he was ſirnamed Pancalus or the fair.

deteſted,

detested, and who, in the late reign, had shewed him marks of disrespect; but he soon found, by fatal experience, that ecclesiasticks are not to be offended, with impunity, and saints the least of all others. The monks, provok'd to the last degree, at the loss of their benefices, bespatter'd, to the utmost of their power, Edwy's administration, whom they regarded as the chief author of their disgrace; and, by their false calumnies, which they spread abroad, in all places, at length, made their votaries believe, that he was the most impious of men. Upon this, great numbers of malecontents appear'd in Mercia, under Edgar, the king's brother, their head and protector. Perhaps, the monks persuaded him, that he should do God good service, in deposing his wicked brother; or, rather, he made use of this pretence to obtain the crown, of which he had but very distant hopes. However, having secured Mercia, he went into Northumberland and East-Anglia, where he found the Danes in readiness to join him, who were fond of nothing more, than to embarrass the affairs of the English. This insurrection did the more surprize Edwy, as he had never given his subjects, much less his brother, any just cause of complaint; and, besides, he did not apprehend, that the monks could have sufficient interest to raise so great commotions. In this extremity, being in no condition to recover what he had lost, or extinguish the flame already kindled, he chose to reduce himself to the sole kingdom of Wessex, which faithfully adhered to him, and surrender all the rest.

An insurrection against Edwy, of which Edgar is the head.

Edwy surrenders Mercia.

In the interim, the revolters, dreading to fall again under Edwy's dominion, resolved to have a king of their own, whose interest would oblige him to defend them; but, being a mixture of English and Danes, each nation was desirous, that one of their countrymen should be elected. The Danes, to obtain their ends, represented, that the only way to be safe from Edwy's attacks, was to call in the assistance of the king of Denmark; but, in reality, their view in it was to carry the election. The English, perceiving their design, did all that was possible to hasten on the election, by shewing the fatal consequences of their present state of anarchy and confusion; but, the more forward the English seem'd to be, the more backward were the Danes, who daily started fresh obstacles, hoping that, at length, they would be obliged to send for succours from Denmark. Having spent a year in debates, Edwy making no attempts, for the recovery of his dominions, and, therefore, the Danish succours becoming unnecessary, prince Edgar was chosen, with the title of king of Mercia, which included all the country, north of the Thames, except the antient kingdom of Wessex. To enhance Edgar's merit, it was reported, that, whilst the great men were in consultation, about the choice of a king, a voice was heard from heaven, commanding them to elect Edgar. This revelation was easily swallowed by the people, at a time, when it was generally believed, that no remarkable event happen'd, without a miracle attending it.

The rebels elect a king.

959. Edgar chosen king of Mercia.

EDWY in Wessex. EDGAR in Mercia.

EDWY. EDGAR.

THis partition of England was of a short continuance; for the loss of Mercia, and the monks triumph over his misfortunes made such an impression on Edwy's mind, that he fell into an excess of melancholly, which occasion'd his death, after a reign of four years and some months *.

Edwy's death.

* Interr'd at Winchester.

The monkish writers represent Edwy, as a very wicked prince; but, among all the charges they have alledged, to tarnish his reputation, there is only one that has any foundation, and even that seems to be fictitious, or, at least, is highly aggravated. They relate, that he kept the wife of one of his courtiers, for his mistress; and that, on the very day of his coronation, he abruptly withdrew from the company of the nobles, who were assembled on this occasion, and went to this lady's apartment, from whence he was brought back by Dunstan, who, alone, had the courage to reprimand him for his crime *. From this time, they tell us, Edwy and his mistress were so exasperated against this holy man, that they would have taken away his life, had he not prevented their designs, by a voluntary exile. Besides, the more effectually to demonstrate the king's impiety and Dunstan's sanctity, they have vented a story, which evidently shews, what spirit they were of. They affirm, that, after Edwy's decease, his soul being dragg'd into hell, by a legion of devils, one of them was dispatch'd to Dunstan, with the agreeable news; but the saint pray'd so devoutly for it, that the Almighty, snatching it from the devils, translated it into paradise. This instance of the fury of the monks, against Edwy, renders their charge of adultery extremely suspicious, especially, if it be consider'd, that he was not above 14 years of age, when he received the crown; and that, according to some historians, this pretended mistress was his lawful wife †. However, it is certain, Edwy might have had one or more mistresses, without all this clamour against him, had he been a friend to the monks; for his

Malm.

* Some, to aggravate the matter, affirm, he not only kept the daughter Elgiva, but the mother also; and that he was on the bed between them both, when Dunstan interpos'd. M. West.

† Some own she was his wife, but too near a-kin; and that, for this reason, Odo the archbishop, seconding Dunstan, put Edgar under the lesser excommunication, branding Elgiva in the forehead with a hot iron, and then banishing her to Ireland. Malmsbury says, that, upon her return, he ham-stringed her, tho' Osbern charges it upon the revolters. Vit. Dunst. l. 2.

brother Edgar was much more guilty, in this reſpect, than himſelf, tho' as he was a benefactor to the monks, he was treated in another manner. Some of the hiſtorians, notwithſtanding, have given us a quite different account of Edwy's character, either in overlooking theſe frivolous accuſations, or attributing to him the commendation he deſerved ‡.

12. EDGAR the peaceable.

EDGAR. EDWY, dying without iſſue, had, for his ſucceſſor, Edgar his brother, who re-united the two kingdoms of Weſſex and Mercia; and, tho' he was no more than 16 years old, his great genius and ſound judgment render'd him more capable of ſwaying a ſceptre, than many other princes of a more advanced age. It muſt be confeſs'd, ſome men are born with ſuch natural parts, that their judgment ripens, before the uſual time. Edgar was one of this number; and, if he diſcover'd his abilities, in depriving his brother of the half of his dominions, they were no leſs conſpicuous, when he reigned alone. He had the art of ſecuring the obedience of his ſubjects and the fear of his enemies, which were undeniable proofs of the greatneſs of his capacity.

He was no ſooner elected king of Mercia, than he recalled Dunſtan, promoting him to the ſee of Worceſter then vacant; from which it may be conjectur'd, that this prelate, notwithſtanding his abſence, had ſome concern in the inſurrection, that placed Edgar on the throne of Mercia; and this appears ſtill the more probable, from his great intereſt at court, during this prince's reign.

Edgar's mighty preparations procure him a laſting peace.

Such was the tranquillity of Edgar's reign, for which it was moſt remarkable, that he was ſirnamed the peaceable. This uninterrupted calm was neither the fruit of his victories, nor of an unactive life, but the effect of the extraordinary preparations he made againſt a war; for, by this means, he became ſo formidable, that no one durſt venture to attack him. He always had a ſtanding army in the northern provinces, not only to terrify the kings of Scotland and Wales, but to keep in awe his own ſubjects, eſpecially the Danes, who, on all occaſions, took the advantage of any troubles in the ſtate, as he learned from his own experience; and, to prevent the invaſions of the foreign Danes, of whom he had no leſs reaſon to be jealous, he equipp'd a fleet, conſiſting of 4000 ſhips, tho' ſome raiſe the number to 4800. It is not improbable, that they have exceeded in this account; yet it is certain, his fleet was vaſtly numerous, which he order'd to cruiſe continually round the iſland, and examine every ſhip that came on the coaſts, to prevent the incurſions of the Daniſh pyrates. By theſe preparations, Edgar, without once drawing his ſword, not only defended himſelf againſt deſcents from abroad, but obliged the kings of Wales, Ireland, and the iſle of Man to acknowledge him for their ſovereign. To prove this, hiſtorians relate a very extraordinary event, which, if true, ſufficiently confirms their aſſertion. They ſay, that Edgar, when he kept his court at Cheſter, being inclin'd to go, by water, to the monaſtery of St. John the Baptiſt, was row'd down the Dee in a barge by eight kings, himſelf ſitting at the helm.

His fleet. Fl. Wig. Malm. M. Weſt.

He is row'd by 8 kings.

961. He frees the kingdom from wolves.

Edgar, for the farther ſecurity of his ſubjects, judg'd it neceſſary to deliver them from two domeſtick plagues that infeſted them. The one was a vaſt number of wolves, that, coming down, in droves, from the mountains in Wales, made ſuch terrible havock among the flocks and herds, that the country was in a continual alarm; but Edgar found out an expedient to free them from this evil. Firſt, he converted the tribute of gold, ſilver, and cattle the Welch had paid him, annually, into 300 wolves heads; and then he publiſh'd over all England a general pardon for all paſt offences, provided each criminal brought him, by ſuch a time, ſo many wolves tongues, in proportion to the nature of his crime. Upon the publication of this act of grace, the wolves were deſtroy'd to ſuch a degree, that, in three years, there was not one left in the kingdom.

Edgar's ſeverity to corrupt magiſtrates.

The other plague was equally deſtructive; for there were another ſort of wolves, who devoured houſes and families, viz. the magiſtrates. Theſe mercenary judges, abuſing the exorbitant power they uſurped, during the wars, were become an intolerable burthen, as, without any regard to law or equity, they conſulted only their own intereſt. They, who bribed them moſt, were ſure of their favour; and tho', at this rate, the poor were moſt oppreſſed, the rich were not altogether ſcreen'd from their partial proceedings. Alfred the great attempted to remedy this evil, by an extraordinary act of ſeverity; but the following wars hinder'd his ſucceſſors, from putting his deſign in execution. Edgar was ſo intent in reforming this abuſe, that he took a progreſs, every year, thro' ſome part of England, to hear the complaints againſt thoſe judges, who abuſed their authority; and, to prevent them, for the future, he made a law, that every judge, convicted of giving ſentence, contrary to law, ſhould be fined 26 ſhillings, if it was done ignorantly, but, if wilfully, caſhiered for ever. It muſt be granted, that, in this, he acted like a great prince; and that ſub-

‡ Huntingdon, no party in the quarrel, gives him a handſome character, ſaying, the kingdom flouriſhed in his reign; and he ſeems to lament he lived no longer. Hunt. l. 5. p. 204.

jects,

jects, guarded againſt invaſions from abroad and oppreſſions at home, are perfectly happy. Such is the condition of the Engliſh, at this day, under the preſent adminiſtration.

A proof of Edgar's being thought a courageous prince.

If Edgar was deſirous of peace, it did not proceed from the want of courage, for that was never charged upon him; and the following ſtory, tho' it ſeems to be fictitious, proves at leaſt, that he was taken to be a valiant prince. It is ſaid, that being told, that Keneth III. king of Scotland, had made a jeſt of the ſmallneſs of his ſtature, he ſent for him to court; and, walking with him in a place, where he had order'd two ſwords to be conceal'd, he deſir'd him to take his choice, telling him, that he ſhould ſee, if he pleas'd, what a little man could perform. Keneth, it is affirmed, was ſo far from accepting the challenge, that he begg'd his pardon; but this account is highly improbable. Firſt, it is generally referred to the beginning of Edgar's reign; whereas Keneth III did not receive the crown of Scotland, till five or ſix years before that prince's death. Secondly, Keneth's character, as given by the Scotch hiſtorians, is inconſiſtent with his being capable of ſuch a piece of cowardice. Laſtly, this adventure ſeems to be confounded with another of the ſame nature, between a king of Scotland and a lord of his court, related by Buchanan.

Edgar's attachment to the monks was the occaſion of his great fame.

Edgar's illuſtrious qualities, and the tranquillity of the kingdom, during his reign, doubtleſs, highly recommended him; but, perhaps, they would have been buried in eternal oblivion, had not his friendſhip for the monks engaged them to proclaim his praiſes, even to an extravagant degree. His bigotry, then eſteemed to be the moſt ſublime virtue, was the chief reaſon of the vaſt encomiums given him by the hiſtorians, and of his being ſainted, after his deceaſe. It is ſaid, that he was the founder of 40 monaſteries; and that he repaired or beautified many others, particularly, that at Glaſſenbury built by his uncle Edred. In a word, he was as generous a benefactor to the monks, as his circumſtances could well admit. Ingulphus, in his hiſtory of the abbey of Croyland *, affirms, that, in Edgar's reign, the treaſure of that monaſtery amounted to 10,000 l. beſides holy veſſels, ſhrines, &c. a vaſt ſum, if we conſider that religious houſes had not been rebuilt 30 years; and, from hence, we may gueſs at the immenſe riches of the monaſteries, in thoſe times.

Edgar undertakes to reſtore the monks to the benefices.

Edgar alſo undertook to reſtore the monks to poſſeſſion of the eccleſiaſtical benefices, and with a high hand, Dunſtan, now archbiſhop of Canterbury, being his principal agent in the affair. This prelate was more in Edgar's favour, than even in Edred's; and, as he made a very conſiderable figure, both in this and the ſucceeding reign, it will be expedient to take a nearer view of him, eſpecially, as he was held in veneration, as a ſaint of the firſt claſs, and, to the laſt degree, applauded by the hiſtorians.

An account of Dunſtan.

Dunſtan, the ſon of Herſtan and nephew of Athelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was born at Glaſſenbury, in 925. He ſpent his youth with his uncle the archbiſhop, who took care to have him inſtructed in all the ſciences, as far as that age of ignorance would permit. He excelled, particularly, in muſick, painting, and engraving, in which he was much delighted, all his days. Having finiſhed his ſtudies, his uncle recommended him to king Athelſtan, who ſent for him to court, but gave him no preferment. The author of his life † pretends, the courtiers, who envied his virtue and learning, maliciouſly repreſented him to the king, as a man of bad morals, upon which the king forbade him the court, without examining into the truth of the report. In proceſs of time, the archbiſhop having found the means to undeceive the king, Dunſtan was reſtored to favour, and received, as a gift, ſome lands near Glaſſenbury, where he retired for ſeveral years, with ſome religious men, leading a ſort of monaſtick life. Glaſton or Glaſſenbury was, originally, a ſmall church, founded, according to the vulgar opinion, by Joſeph of Arimathea, as has been, already, obſerved; and, this church being deſtroyed, Devy, biſhop of St. David's, built another, in the ſame place. This alſo, being in ruins, was repaired by 12 devout men, who, coming from Armorica, ſettled there. Ina king of Weſſex, having pulled it down to the ground, built a magnificent church, dedicating it to Chriſt, St. Peter, and St. Paul. Several, eminent for their piety, moſt of them Iriſh, retired to this church, where they were maintained by Edgar's bounty; and, from that time, there were continually devout perſons, who choſe this place, for their retreat †.

† Osbern.

Glaſſenbury church and monaſtery.

Dunſtan is made abbot of Glaſſenbury.

Dunſtan, having been ſome time at Glaſſenbury, Edmund, Athelſtan's ſucceſſor, who had a great eſteem for him, founded a monaſtery there ‡, and made him abbot; and Dunſtan, being a perſon of great addreſs, managed him ſo dextrouſly, that he was exceedingly in favour with him, all his reign. In Edred's time, his intereſt was ſuch, that he was his prime miniſter, favourite, and father-confeſſor. His fondneſs for a monaſtick life led him to exert himſelf, in ejecting the ſecular prieſts, and inveſting the monks in their places; on this account and his imperious carriage, he not only procured a vaſt number of enemies, but drew on him the diſpleaſure of Edwy, who ſucceeded Edmund, as has been, above, related. As

* He takes notice, that, in 974, in the reign of Edgar, Swarling, a monk of Croyland, died in the 142d year of his age, and another in the 115th; which is the more remarkable, as that abbey was in a fenny and watrey part of Lincolnſhire.

† It is ſaid, they taught here the liberal ſciences, muſick, &c.

‡ Cambden tells us, Dunſtan introduced the order of the benedictins, whoſe wealth exceeded that of kings, who, having, as it were, reigned in England, for above 600 years, were expell'd by Henry VIII. and the monaſtery was, by degrees, entirely demoliſh'd. In his time, there was a walnut-tree in the church-yard, but now there is only a young one in its place, ſaid never to bud before Barnabas's day, the 11th of June, and always to ſhoot out its leaves on the day aforeſaid. There was alſo a hawthorn-tree, in Wirral-park, that budded on Chriſtmas-day, as if it were in May; which has been cut down, for many years, tho' there are ſtill ſome in the county, from branches of the old tree.

Edgar

Edgar ſo ſpeedily recalled him from Flanders, it is evident he was indebted to him for the crown of Mercia. Upon Dunſtan's return to England, Edgar made him biſhop of Worceſter; and, afterwards, the ſee of London being vacant, he entruſted him with the management of it; and, therefore ſome writers have imagined, tho' without ſufficient grounds, that he enjoyed both theſe biſhopricks, at the ſame time. Edgar daily gave Dunſtan freſh proofs of his value for him, which was the more confirmed by the miracles aſcribed to him. The monks took ſpecial care to ſpread the fame of them in all places, being ſo very exact in their circumſtances, that a man muſt have been much more unprejudiced, than was common in thoſe days, to have called them in queſtion. It is, however, extremely improbable, that Edgar himſelf, who was not ſo credulous as the vulgar, did, in reality, believe the truth of all theſe miracles; tho', perhaps, he thought, ſuch pious frauds were of no prejudice to religion. It is certain, he had a great veneration for Dunſtan's ſanctity. Athelm dying, Odo, a Dane, was made archbiſhop of Canterbury, tho' he did not ſurvive his inſtallment. Elfin was his ſucceſſor, who departed this life, on his way to Rome, for his pall *. This falling out in the beginning of Edgar's reign, Brithelm, biſhop of Bath, was elected to the vacant ſee; but the king, deſirous of promoting Dunſtan to the archbiſhoprick, held a council, wherein he repreſented Brithelm, as unfit for ſo great a poſt, ordering him to return to his former dioceſe, and Dunſtan was choſen in his room. This election not being, in all reſpects, canonical, it was thought convenient, that Dunſtan ſhould go to Rome, on pretence of receiving the pall, that he might juſtify theſe proceedings. The pope, ſenſible of Dunſtan's ſway in the Engliſh court, and of his zeal for the intereſt of the Romiſh church and the monks, not only ratified his election, but appointed him his legate for England. Upon his return, he obtained the ſee of Worceſter for Oſwald his relation, and that of Wincheſter for Ethelwold his intimate friend; and theſe three prelates, in conjunction, entirely governed the church, during this reign, for Edgar granted them not only all their requeſts, but took a pleaſure in conferring on them favours, unasked.

Dunſtan is made biſhop of Worceſter.

Dunſtan is promoted to be an archbiſhop

As ſoon as Dunſtan found his credit was thoroughly eſtabliſhed, he revived his project, in favour of the monks, which he had been obliged to drop, during Edwy's reign; but this affair was not without its difficulties. The great men of the kingdom regarded it, as a vaſt misfortune, that the government of the churches ſhould be wreſted from the antient and lawful governors, and committed to the monks, who, according to the rules of their order and the cuſtom, hitherto, obſerved, were excluded from the paſtoral functions, that they might devote themſelves entirely to the ſervice of God, in their monaſteries. Beſides, they thought, that, inſtead of enriching the monks, it would be more adviſable to put a ſtop to the people's zeal, who continually left them conſiderable legacies, their eſtates paſſing away in mortmain, to the great prejudice of the nation; ſo that it was eaſy to apprehend, that Dunſtan's ſcheme would be vigorouſly oppoſed by the nobility. The people, on the other hand, not ſo conſiderate, were altogether in the intereſt of the monks, being highly offended at the ſcandalous lives of the ſecular clergy, who applied the revenues of the church to uſes directly contrary to the intent of the donors †. It cannot be denied, that pride, avarice, gluttony, drunkenneſs, and luxury openly reigned among the clergy, in thoſe days; and Dunſtan, with his party, did all that was poſſible to expoſe theſe irregularities, to incenſe the people againſt their paſtors. They were ſo ſucceſsful, that multitudes eſpouſed the cauſe of the monks, merely, from a contempt of the ſecular clergy; but what did them the moſt ſervice was their intereſt in the king, whoſe eſteem for them was ſtill increaſed, by his comparing them with the ſeculars, who, indeed, were guilty of the greateſt exceſſes. For this reaſon, Edgar imagined, he was extremely ſerviceable to the church, in committing the government of it to the monks, whom he looked upon, as ſo many ſaints; and, therefore, Dunſtan eaſily prevailed on him, to countenance a reformation he believed to be ſo advantageous to the church. To compleat his deſign, he ſummoned a council, hoping that their authority, in conjunction with the king's, would ſurmount all obſtacles. Edgar was preſent, in perſon; and the ſpeech, he made, evidently ſhews, that he was very much prejudiced, in their favour. As this harangue plainly diſcovers the temper of the king, Dunſtan, and the other directors of the affairs of the church, with reſpect to the ſecular clergy, it will, perhaps, be convenient to relate it, at large, eſpecially, as it refers to one of the principal events of this reign.

Dunſtan revives his project of ejecting the ſecular clergy.

Edgar's ſpeech to the council.

'The Almighty having vouchſafed, of his infinite mercy, to manifeſt his goodneſs to us, in a remarkable manner, it is moſt reaſonable, reverend fathers, that we ſhould exert ourſelves, in a ſuitable return. That we are poſſeſſed of this plentiful country is not owing to our own ſtrength, but to his all-powerful aſſiſtance, who has been pleaſed to ſhew his loving-kindneſs towards us. It is our duty, therefore, to bring our ſouls and bodies in ſubjection to him, who ſubdued all things for us; and it ſhould be our care, that all under us ſhould obey his laws. It is my office, reverend fathers, to adminiſter juſtice impartially; to repreſs the rebellious, puniſh the ſacrilegious, and protect the poor and weak from oppreſſion. It is incumbent on me alſo to take care, that the church and her miniſters, the holy fraternities of the religious, be maintained and encouraged; but it is your buſineſs to inſpect into the lives of the clergy;

* He was frozen to death on the Alps, which the monkiſh writers take to be a judgment, for his diſreſpect to Odo's grave. Malm. l. 1. de Geſt. Pont. Angl. Others, for his ſimony. M. Weſt.

† The ſecular clergy, having repair'd ſome of the monaſteries, demoliſh'd in the time of Alfred, took poſſeſſion of them; and, being incorporated under certain regulations, liv'd, ſingle or married, according to their inclination.

to

'to ſee that they act up to their ſacred cha-
'racter; that they are ſober, temperate, chaſte,
'and given to hoſpitality; that they diſcharge
'the offices of their function, with diligence
'and conſtancy; and, in a word, that they,
'in all reſpects, behave, as the miniſters of
'Jeſus Chriſt. With ſubmiſſion be it ſpoken,
'reverend fathers, had you been ſufficiently
'careful, as to theſe things, I ſhould not have
'had ſuch diſagreeable accounts, from all
'hands, of the enormities daily commited by
'the clergy of this kingdom. I do not inſiſt
'on the ſmallneſs of their tonſure, contrary to
'the canons, their effeminate habits, haughty
'geſtures, or immodeſt diſcourſes, which evi-
'dently prove their inſincerity. I paſs over
'their negligence in the adminiſtration of di-
'vine ſervice: they will ſcarce give their at-
'tendance at the publick prayers; and, when
'they come to celebrate the holy myſteries,
'one would think they were going to act a
'play. But what I ſhall principally complain
'of, I ſpeak it with the greateſt regret, mi-
'niſters occaſion of grief to the good, and of
'joy to the profane, I mean the ſcandalous
'lives of the clergy, who ſpend their time in
'diverſions, entertainments, drunkenneſs, and
'debauchery. Their houſes may be ſtiled ſo
'many ſinks of lewdneſs, publick ſtages, and
'the receptacles of libertines; where they have
'gaming, dancing, and obſcene ſinging. It is,
'thus, reverend fathers, the bounty of my
'predeceſſors to the church, their charitable
'donations, for the maintenance of the poor,
'and even the adorable blood of our Saviour,
'are conſumed. Was it with this view, that
'our anceſtors exhauſted their treaſures, and
'were ſo liberal of their eſtates? Was it to
'deck the concubines of the prieſts, provide
'for them ſumptuous banquets, and furniſh
'them with dogs and hawks? Theſe are the
'crimes, of which the people complain in
'private, and the ſoldiers in publick, that are
'ſung in the ſtreets, and acted on the ſtage;
'and yet they are forgiven, overlook'd, and
'conniv'd at by you! Where is Levi's ſword,
'Simeon's zeal, or the wrath of Moſes againſt
'the worſhippers of the golden calf? Where
'is St. Peter's indignation againſt Simon the
'magician? Imitate, reverend fathers, the
'zeal of theſe holy perſons, and follow the
'way of righteouſneſs, ſhewn you by the Lord.
'It is high time for you to draw St. Peter's
'ſword, whilſt I make uſe of that of Conſtan-
'tine the great. Let us join our forces to ex-
'pel the lepers out of the temple, cleanſe the
'ſanctuary, and cauſe the Lord to be ſerved
'by the true ſons of Levi, who ſaid to his fa-
Deut. xxxvi. 9. "ther, and to his mother, "I know you not,
"and to his brethren, I know not who you
"are." Let the contempt of the reliques of
'the ſaints, the daily prophanation of the ho-
'ly altars, and the great abuſe of the piety
'of our forefathers excite your zeal. One of
'my predeceſſors, you all know, dedicated to
'the church the tythes of the kingdom; the
'glorious Alfred, my great-grandfather, apply'd
'his revenues to religious uſes. You are no
'ſtrangers to the great benefactions of my fa-
'ther and uncle, which it would be highly
'diſhonourable ſo ſoon to forget, as the altars
'are, to this day, adorn'd with them. You,
'O Dunſtan, father of fathers, raiſe your ima-
'gination, I beſeech you, and fancy he looks
'down from heaven, and expoſtulates with
'you in this manner: "It was you that ad-
"vis'd me to found ſo many churches and mo-
"naſteries, whom I choſe for my ſpiritual
"guide. Did I not always obey your voice,
"preferring your advice before riches; and
"how liberally did I expend my treaſures, by
"your direction? My charities were always
"ready, when you call'd for them; and all
"your requeſts, in behalf of the church, were
"immediately granted. If you told me, the
"monks were in want, they were directly
"ſupplied; and you aſſured me, ſuch bounti-
"ful actions brought forth immortal fruit and
"were highly meritorious, as they ſupported
"the ſervants of God and maintained the
"poor. Now, is it not an intolerable ſhame,
"they ſhould be of no other uſe, than to a-
"dorn a pack of proſtitutes? Is this the pro-
"duct of my benefactions? Are theſe the ef-
"fects of your glorious promiſes?" Theſe,
'O Dunſtan, are the complaints of the king
'my father. What reply can you make to
'this charge? I know you have, hitherto,
'been unblameable; for, when you ſaw a thief,
'you conſented not to him, neither have you
'been partaker with the adulterers. Nay,
'you have attempted to reform theſe abuſes,
'by arguments, exhortations, and threaten-
'ings; but, ſince theſe means have proved in-
'effectual, it is time to have recourſe to more
'powerful remedies. You have here, ready
'to aſſiſt you, the reverend father Ethelwold,
'biſhop of Wincheſter, and the venerable
'Oſwald, biſhop of Worceſter. To you three
'I refer the management of this important
'affair. Exert the epiſcopal, in conjunction
'with the regal authority, to expel from the
'church of God the diſorderly clergy, and
'place ſuch as live regularly in their room *.

From this time, the ſeculars durſt not oppoſe Dunſtan's meaſures; and, ſoon after, they were turn'd out of the monaſteries, and the regulars admitted. Ethelwold, biſhop of Wincheſter, leading the way in his dioceſe, was quickly followed by Dunſtan and Oſwald; and all the other biſhops, being monks, readily copied after their example. The antient hiſtorians generally repreſent thoſe days, as the golden age, and the moſt happy that were ever known in England.

Remarks on the invectives againſt the ſeculars.

Perhaps, the reader will think it ſtrange, that the ſecular clergy, ſhould, now, be more inveigh'd againſt, than in the following centuries, when the lives of the prieſts were equally ſcandalous; but it muſt be obſerved, that the popes

* Such is the politeneſs of this ſpeech in the original, above the elocution of this century, that Collier ſays, he ſhould have ſuppos'd, that Joſſelin, archbiſhop Parker's ſecretary, had poliſhed it, had he not met with it in Rievallenſis, an antient hiſtorian. l. 3. p. 190.

had, for ſome time, obliged the clergy to celibacy, and treated with great ſeverity, thoſe who would not comply with their decrees. This prohibition from marrying, at this day, a fundamental article in the church of Rome, was, at firſt, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, eſpecially, in England, which led the popes to try all poſſible methods to bring the Engliſh prieſts to a compliance; and Dunſtan's intereſt, who had brought Edgar into the ſcheme, exceedingly promoted it. We muſt, therefore, carry in our minds this prohibition, if we would come at the reaſon of the outcries the monks and their partiſans made againſt the ſeculars, and form a judgment, how far their complaints are to be regarded. Tho' it is certain, the prieſts, in thoſe days, were very immoral; yet it was their marrying, that drew this ſtorm upon them, which their enemies repreſented to be a more heinous crime than concubinage, or any other they could lay to their charge, as they always call their wives concubines, or by a more opprobrious name. But, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the court of Rome, this pretended abuſe was not reformed, till the XIIth century, when the celibacy of the clergy was eſtabliſhed, after it had been in agitation, above 300 years.

Obſervations on Edgar's character, given him by the monks.

The monkiſh writers, in return for the ſervice Edgar had done the monks, give him the moſt extravagant encomiums, and would fain have him paſs for a true ſaint; but, either from want of attention, or ſome other cauſe, they mention ſome particulars concerning him, entirely inconſiſtent with that ſublime character. Indeed, if we conſider him, in a political view, it muſt be own'd, he was a great prince; but a great king and a great ſaint, are far from being terms of the ſame import or meaning. For example, it is not an eaſy task to juſtify, by the rules of the goſpel, a bloody execution * done by Edgar's order, in the iſle of Thanet, on a very ſlight occaſion, as hiſtorians acknowledge. What might not the ſame writers have ſaid, concerning his luſt, of which I ſhall mention a few inſtances, who related, that the ſoul of his brother Edwy was dragg'd into hell, for having had a ſingle miſtreſs.

It is obvious, that if Edgar had not purchaſed the good opinion of the monks, by his great friendſhip for them, he would have met with no better treatment, than his predeceſſor.

Edgar's amours.

Before I conclude Edgar's reign, which was interrupted neither by foreign nor domeſtick wars, I ſhall take notice of his amours, which have ſomething particular in them, and evidently ſhew his good qualities were not without a mixture of vices. His firſt miſtreſs was a nun †, whom he took, by force, out of a convent, and kept her, in ſpite of Dunſtan's intreaties to the contrary. He had a daughter by her, called Editha, highly celebrated for her ſanctity. It is true, he made atonement for his crime, by not wearing his crown, for ſeven years; a ſevere, penance, indeed, for a fault his confeſſor ſhould have conſidered, as a piece of ſacrilege! But this was not the firſt time, the ſins of princes have been extenuated, and the rigour of their penance exceedingly magnify'd. His ſecond miſtreſs, whom ſome will have to be his wife, was Elfleda, ſirnamed the fair, from her complexion; and, by her, he had a ſon, called Edward, who ſucceeded him. He procured a third miſtreſs, by an extraordinary adventure; for, paſſing by Andover, he lodged at a lord's houſe, who had a very beautiful daughter, with whom he was, at once, enamoured. Being very violent in his love-fits, he reſolved immediately to gratify his paſſion, commanding the young lady to be brought to his bed. The lady's mother, abhorring the thought of her being the king's concubine; and dreading alſo his diſpleaſure, by a denial, prevailed on one of her waiting-women to lie with the king, inſtead of her daughter. At break of day, Edgar, finding that his bedfellow was for riſing, detained her, upon which ſhe was obliged to diſcover the cheat, to his great mortification, at firſt; but the fancy he had taken for the girl, allaying his reſentment, by giving him leiſure to reflect on the diſhonour he deſigned his hoſt, he eaſily forgave the impoſture, keeping this girl, as his miſtreſs, until he married. Malm.

† Wilfrida.

As Edgar's amours, ſo alſo his marriage had ſomething peculiar attending it. He was informed, that Ordang, earl of Devonſhire, had a daughter, the moſt celebrated beauty in England; and he determined to marry her, if ſhe anſwered this character. However, being willing to be ſatisfied, as to the truth of the information he had received, he made earl Ethelwold, his confident in the affair, ordering him, under ſome pretence, to take a journey, with this view. Ethelwold, being arrived at the earl's houſe, no ſooner ſaw Elfrida his daughter, than he paſſionately loved her, and to ſuch a degree, that forgetting all his obligations to the king his maſter, he demanded the lady for himſelf; and, his requeſt being granted, he was married to her, in the moſt private manner, pretending he had weighty reaſons, for not divulging his marriage. Upon his return to court, ſoon after, he told the king, that Elfrida's charms were ſtrangely miſrepreſented, and that, in all probability, the fame of her beauty was principally owing to her father's wealth. This report had the deſired effect, for Edgar laid aſide all thoughts of making her his wife; and Ethelwold, perceiving this, repreſented to the king, on a certain day, that tho' Elfrida's fortune was vaſtly too mean for a prince, yet it would make any ſubject happy, as ſhe was the greateſt heireſs in the kingdom; and, therefore, he humbly begg'd leave that he might make his addreſſes to her. The king, to whom ſhe was now perfectly indifferent, readily conſented, and even appeared extremely well pleaſed at the proſpect of his marrying, to ſuch advantage. Ethelwold, upon this, returned to his wife, and celebrated his nuptials in a publick manner; but, jealous of the influence her beauty might have on the king, he kept her at his country-ſeat, not ſuffering her to come to court, on any occaſion.

Edgar's marriage.

* The Saxon annals tell us, he order'd the whole iſland to be laid waſte. Brompton ſays, it was for inſulting his laws; but M. Weſtminſter affirms, it was for ſeizing and plundering ſome York merchants that touch'd upon it.

Not-

Notwithſtanding Ethelwold's caution, it was impoſſible his perfidiouſneſs ſhould be long a ſecret; for favourites have commonly ſome private enemies, who are glad of an opportunity to ſupplant them. Edgar, at length, received intelligence of the whole matter; but he deferred his reſentment, till he was ſatisfied of the truth of it, with his own eyes. Accordingly, he took a progreſs into thoſe parts, where Ethelwold kept his wife; and, being near the place, he told him, he was diſpoſed to make a viſit to his lady, who was formerly repreſented to him, in ſuch an agreeable light. Ethelwold, being thunder-ſtruck, at theſe words, made uſe of all his skill to divert Edgar from his purpoſe; but his artifices ſerved only to confirm the king in his reſolution. All that he could obtain was leave to go before, under the pretence of making preparations for the king's reception; but no ſooner had he enter'd his houſe, than he fell at his wife's feet, confeſſing what he had done, for her ſake, and conjuring her to conceal her charms from the king, who was but too ſuſceptible of the flames of love. Elfrida promiſed to act, according to his direction, tho' ſhe was reſolved to break her word; for, as ſoon as he departed to meet the king, ſhe ſet off her natural beauty, to the utmoſt advantage. Elfrida ſucceeded in her deſign, Edgar being, at the firſt ſight, deſperately enamour'd with her, and determined to make her his own. The more effectually to accompliſh his ends, he pretended he ſaw nothing extraordinary in Elfrida, at which Ethelwold was tranſported with joy; and he took his leave of her, with a ſeeming indifference, tho' his heart was inflamed with love and revenge, which, of all the paſſions, excite the moſt violent emotions in the ſoul. Soon after, he diſpatched Ethelwold into Northumberland, about ſome urgent affairs, as he pretended; but he never performed his journey, being found dead in a wood, where, at firſt, it was believed he was murdered by robbers. The peoples eyes, however, were quickly opened, when the king, inſtead of making enquiry after the murderers, was married to the widow; tho' ſome tell us, Edgar ſlew Ethelwold, at a hunting-match, with his own hand.

Malm.

Edgar's real character.

From what has been ſaid, it appears, that the encomiums, attributed to this prince, are vaſtly too laviſh, being given him by the monks, who were prejudiced in his favour. One of theſe writers does not ſcruple to affirm, that Edgar was the ſame to the Engliſh, as Romulus to the Romans, Cyrus to the Perſians, Alexander to the Macedonians, Arſaces to the Parthians, or Charlemain to the French; but it is obvious he never equalled theſe illuſtrious heroes. Accordingly, ſucceeding ages, freer from prejudice, have placed him among more ſuitable company; and very judicious authors were ſo far from taking him to be a ſaint, that they have ranked him among the vileſt princes*. This idea of him receives confirmation from what is related of Canutus the great, who, upon the mention of Editha Edgar's daughter's ſanctity, declared, "He "could never believe it poſſible, that the "daughter of ſuch a wicked father ſhould be "a ſaint." It is, therefore, to be ſuſpected, that the monkiſh hiſtorians have omitted ſeveral of Edgar's actions, on purpoſe to ſet off the character of their heroe, the recital of which would have led us to form very different apprehenſions concerning him.

975. Edgar's death and children.

Edgar reigned 16 years, from the death of Edwy, and died in 975, in the 32d year of his age, leaving behind him two ſons and a daughter. Edward, his eldeſt ſon, he had by a concubine, or, at leaſt, one whoſe marriage was doubtful. Ethelred his youngeſt, was the ſon of the charming Elfrida. Editha, his daughter by his firſt miſtreſs, ſpent her days in a monaſtery, and was ſainted, after her death.

Edgar had too well deſerved of the monks, not to have a place in the kalendar; but as he gave no other proofs of his ſanctity, whilſt he lived, but his friendſhip for the monks, and the founding of monaſteries, they tell us, he exhibited thoſe that were more ſubſtantial after his deceaſe. It is pretended, that when his body was taken out of the coffin, to be put in a ſtately ſhrine, it was as freſh as the moment he departed this life; and that, the ſhrine being made too ſhort, tho' he was of a very ſmall ſtature, ſome perſon preſuming to ſever his head from his body, the blood guſh'd out in great abundance. The ſaintſhip of this prince being, thus, atteſted, his body was placed near the high altar of Glaſſenbury-church, where it is reported to have wrought ſeveral miracles.

EDWARD II. the martyr.

Diviſions, on the account of the monks.

UPon Edgar's deceaſe, they who had been impatient, during the exorbitant power of the monks, thought it now a proper time to reduce them to their primitive ſtate. Elfier, duke of Mercia, their avow'd enemy, turn'd them out of all the benefices they were poſſeſs'd of in that province, putting the ſeculars in their places, and ſome other lords followed his example; but the duke of Eaſt-Anglia and ſeveral other great men ſteadily adherred to Dunſtan and his party. This diviſion, on the account of the monks, occaſioned ſuch animoſities among the nobles, that there was like to have been an open rupture; and the breach grew ſtill wider, when they came to fix the ſucceſſion to the crown. Several were of opinion, it, of right, devolv'd to Ethelred, pretending that Edward's mother was never lawfully married to Edgar; but Dunſtan and all the biſhops inſiſted, that Edward was nomi-

* Dr. Burnet, in the preface to his hiſtory of the reformation, places Edgar in the claſs with Brunichild and Irene.

nated

nated Edgar's ſucceſſor, in his laſt will and teſtament. They had alſo another powerful motive to engage them in his intereſt, as they had no grounds for any hopes under his brother, whoſe mother, Elfrida, ſeem'd averſe to their counſels.

Edward is crown'd by Dunſtan.

In the interim, Ethelred's party, being the moſt numerous, Edward was in danger of being excluded, if Dunſtan did not contrive ſome means to diſconcert their meaſures, who, finding the people had a vaſt veneration for his ſanctity, was reſolved to make their pious ſentiments ſubſervient to his deſigns. In the height of the publick debates, Dunſtan ſtarts up, and, taking prince Edward by the hand, conducts him towards the church, attended by the other biſhops and a great multitude; and, coming there, he anoints the young prince with the royal unction, entirely regardleſs of any oppoſition. The nobles lamented their falling again under the adminiſtration of that imperious prelate, but were obliged to ſubmit.

The conteſt between the prieſts and monks is revived.

Edward was no more than 14 years of age, when he came to the crown, under the guardianſhip of Dunſtan, who engroſs'd all the power in his own hands; and, being fixed in the regency, he exerted all his intereſt to ſecure to the monks the benefices they had been poſſeſs'd of in the late reign, making uſe of the regal authority to that purpoſe; but, as the king was in his minority, the orders iſſued out, in his name, were not ſo readily obeyed. Dunſtan called ſeveral councils, on this occaſion; but, perhaps, all his attempts would have proved abortive, had he not, by ſeveral miracles, never wanting in the like caſes, induced the people, to believe that Heaven interpos'd in this matter.

Miracles, in behalf of the monks.

In one of theſe councils held at Wincheſter, the majority declaring againſt the monks, they would infallibly have have loſt their cauſe, if a crucifix, hanging aloft in the room, had not, on a ſudden, with an audible voice, pronounced theſe words: "It muſt not be, it muſt "not be; ye have decided the affair well hi- "therto, and it would be a fault in you to "change." The moſt obſtinate, aſtoniſh'd at this oracle, voted for the monks.

Eadmer.

At another aſſembly, in the ſame place, Dunſtan uſed all his endeavours, that Elphegus, a monk, might be choſen dean of that church; but the people would have had that dignity conferr'd on a ſecular. The conteſt was carried on, with ſuch warmth, that there was like to be a ſedition of dangerous conſequence; but St. Andrew the apoſtle, inſtantly revealing to St. Dunſtan, before all the people, that the monk ought to be elected, he was immediately inſtalled. Theſe and ſeveral other miracles not being ſufficient to remove all obſtacles againſt the monks, there happen'd one, at laſt, that ſtopp'd the mouths of their moſt virulent oppoſers.

978. An extraordinary accident at the council of Calne.

Dunſtan having call'd a council, at Calne in Wiltſhire, to determine the controverſy about the Monks keeping their benefices, one of thoſe mix'd conventions ſpoken of hereafter, where the king and all the nobility, as well as the biſhops and abbots, were preſent, in all probability, the monks would have been baffled, conſidering the numbers that oppos'd them; but, in the midſt of the diſpute, the floor of the room broke under the company, cruſhing ſeveral to death, the beam on which Dunſtan's chair was placed being the only one that did not give way, ſo that he eſcaped, without any damage, whilſt there was ſcarce a man beſides himſelf, in this numerous aſſembly, that was not either killed or bruiſed. This effectually convinced the people, that the monks were the favourites of Heaven, ſince their protector was ſo wonderfully preſerved; tho' there are ſome, who have inſinuated, that Dunſtan, contrary to cuſtom, prevented the king from being in the council that day. After this lucky accident, the monks remain'd unmoleſted, either becauſe Dunſtan's miraculous preſervation made an impreſſion upon their enemies, or that their moſt ſtrenuous oppoſers periſh'd in the fall. Eadmer.

The horrid murder of king Edward.

There is nothing more remarkable, in the reign of Edward, we ſhall, therefore, finiſh it with an account of his death in 979, four years after he came to the throne. The ſtory is thus related by ſeveral hiſtorians. Edward returning one day from hunting, paſſing near Corf-Caſtle, where Elfrida reſided with her ſon Ethelred, left his company, with an intent to pay her a viſit. Elfrida, being inform'd the king was at the gate, ran to receive him, and urg'd him very earneſtly to come in and refreſh himſelf; but as the king's deſign was only to make his reſpects acceptable to his mother-in-law, he only deſired a glaſs of wine to drink her health. Whether Elfrida had already formed a deſign of deſtroying the king, to make way for her ſon to the crown, or whether that opportunity led her to the thought; the young king had no ſooner put the glaſs to his mouth, than a ruffian ſtabbed him in the back, with a dagger. Finding himſelf wounded, he ſet ſpurs to his horſe, which ſoon carried him out of ſight; but not being able to keep his ſaddle, by reaſon of his loſs of blood, he fell off his horſe. To compleat the misfortune, his foot hung in the ſtirrop, and, by that means, he was dragg'd a great way, before his horſe ſtopp'd, juſt by a poor blind woman's door. At this place they, who had been ſent after him by Elfrida, tracing him by his blood, found him dead, and his body miſerably torn. Elfrida, believing ſhe could conceal this horrid deed, ordered the corpſe to be thrown into a well; but it was found there in a few days, and carried to Warham in Dorſetſhire, from whence it was removto Shaftsbury, and depoſited in a monaſtery founded by king Alfred. They aſcribe many miracles to it, particularly, the reſtoring a blind man to his ſight, and a cripple to his limbs, by only touching the body. The woman, in whoſe houſe it lay one night, it is ſaid, was cured by his interceſſion; and that the well, in which he was thrown, was endued with a virtue of healing many diſtempers. In ſhort, they add, that Elfrida, being willing to know the truth of theſe miracles, reſolved to go to the place herſelf; but her horſe would not move

one

one ſtep forward, in ſpite of all her endeavours; and the hiſtories of thoſe days abound with ſuch prodigies as theſe. It is, however, certain, that Elfrida, deſirous of making atonement for her crime, founded two nunneries, one at Ambresbury*, and another at Whorwhel near Andover. In this laſt, in order to do penance, ſhe retir'd to the time of her death; and, it is ſaid, ſhe often cover'd her body with little croſſes, to preſerve herſelf from the devil, of whom ſhe had but too much reaſon to be afraid.

I cannot imagine, why Edward is repreſented, both as a ſaint and a martyr, unleſs it ſhould be pretended, that he fell a ſacrifice, for his affection to Dunſtan and the monks; which was, then, ſufficient to procure him theſe glorious titles. It muſt be granted, that, at this juncture, all the favourites of the monks paſs'd for ſo many ſaints; and their enemies were look'd upon, as the proper objects of the divine indignation. However, this prince is generally known by the name of Edward the martyr †.

The ſtate of the Church, from the heptarchy to the end of the reign of Edward the martyr.

THE perpetual wars in England, during the 150 years we have mentioned, were no leſs fatal to the church than to the ſtate; for they produced an univerſal corruption of manners, as well as profound ignorance, in the kingdom. The deſtruction of the churches and monaſteries, the plundering their revenues, and the neceſſity of taking up arms, to defend themſelves againſt the Danes, diverted multitudes from the ſtudy of religion, ſo that it is no wonder, if, during this period, we meet with but few particulars, for an eccleſiaſtical hiſtory; beſides, the greateſt part of the monaſteries having been demoliſhed, in which the memoirs, relating both to church and ſtate, were depoſited, the writers of thoſe times were deprived of their aſſiſtance. The reader, then, muſt not expect to find many remarkable events, as to religion, but few councils to give light into the doctrines of the church of England, and a very ſmall number of learned men, to afford us any information; it will, however, be requiſite to relate the principal matters, that are tranſmitted to us, as they will be uſeful, in clearing up the events of future and more happy times.

During Egbert's reign, nothing material was tranſacted in the church; but that of Ethelwulph furniſhes us with a particular, which, tho' it has been already mentioned, it will not be improper to relate more fully, in this place, viz. the grant of tythes. The charter runs thus:

Ethelwulph's charter for the tythes.

"I, Ethelwulph, by the grace of God, king "of the Weſt-Saxons, &c. with the advice of "the biſhops, earls, and all other perſons of "diſtinction in my dominions, have, for the "health of my ſoul, the welfare of my ſubjects, "and the good of my kingdom, reſolved to "grant the tenth part of all the lands in my "dominions, for the uſe of the church and "miniſters of religion, to be enjoy'd by them, "with all the privileges of a free tenure, diſ-"charged from all ſervices, due to the crown, "and the other incumbrances incident to lay-"fees. This grant has been made by us to "the church, in honour of Jeſus Chriſt, the "Bleſſed Virgin, all-ſaints, and the paſchal ſo-"lemnity; and that the Almighty would vouch-"ſafe his bleſſing to us and our poſterity. "Dated at the palace of Wilton, in the year "854, indiction the ſecond, at the feaſt of "Eaſter."

From the ſtile, date, and ſubſcriptions of this charter, ſeveral learned men have judged it to be ſpurious; but I ſhall only obſerve, that, long before this charter, the Engliſh clergy claimed a right to the tythes, if they were not already poſſeſs'd of them. This appears from the XVIIth canon of the council of Calcuith, held in 785, wherein the payment of tythes is urged from the law of Moſes. It is true, king Ethelwulph might be inclined to ratify the rights of the clergy, by granting them a charter for the ſame; but, if this was the caſe, it is ſomewhat ſurprizing, that he ſhould take no notice of the divine right of tythes, on which the clergy chiefly inſiſted. If this charter, therefore, be not a downright forgery, it ſeems, at leaſt, to be extremely ſuſpicious. Beſides, by the tenth part of the lands, muſt neceſſarily be meant the tenth part of the profits; which muſt be owned to be a very forced interpretatoin, eſpecially in a primordial act, like this‡.

Remarks on that charter.

We have nothing, in the reigns of Ethelbald, Ethelbert, and Ethelred I. that relates to the church, but the deſtruction of the monaſteries and a pathetick deſcription of the fury of the Danes againſt the monks. The hiſto-

* In Wiltſhire, ſo named from Ambroſius, who built here a monaſtery for 300 monks, to pray for the ſouls of the Britiſh lords ſlain by Hengiſt. Vid. Cambd. Add. to Wilt.

† King Edward's martyrdom is obſerved on the day he was murder'd, and at both the times of the removal of his body. Vid. martyr. Angl. March 18, February, and June 20. He is alſo placed in, the Roman martyrology, March 18; and Baronius takes notice of a letter in pope Innocent IV's regiſter, for the celebration of St. Edward's feſtival. Coll. l. 3.

‡ The charter, cited here, is in the Monaſticon, p. 100. being dated at Wilton, in 854; but there is another very different from this, in Ingulphus and Matthew of Weſtminſter, dated at Wincheſter, in 855. It is therefore, ſuppoſed, that the firſt was for the tythes only of his demeſnes, and the latter for thoſe of all England; tho' they both ſeem equally to extend to all his dominions. Ingulphus affirms, the charter of Wincheſter was made, after Ethelwulph's return from Rome; but that is impoſſible, as he was, then, only king of Kent.

rians have principally regarded ſuch things as theſe; and they particularly lament the deſtruction of the famous monaſteries of Croyland, Ely, and Medeſhamſted, whoſe monks were all maſſacred, and the libraries conſumed to aſhes.

Ingulph. p. 22,23,24.

Remarks on Edmund's martyrdom.

The pretended martyrdom of Edmund, king of Eaſt-Anglia, has been, above, related; I call it pretended, becauſe it does not appear, that he ſuffered, on a religious account; and, at this rate, we muſt affirm, that all the chriſtians, put to death by the Danes, were martyrs. However, he is ſtiled a martyr, in the kalendar; and it is ſaid, that miracles were often wrought at his tomb, for ſeveral ages.

Tho' I have already given a large account of Alfred's reign, it will be convenient to remind the reader of two particulars, of uſe hereafter. Firſt, the ruin of the monaſteries, which was ſuch, that there was not a monk left in England, being all either ſlain by the Danes, or obliged to abandon the kingdom. Some of them, perhaps, took to other profeſſions; but no ſooner was Alfred rid of the Danes, than he built new monaſteries, ſupplying them with foreign monks. It will, doubtleſs, ſeem ſtrange, that he did not rather repair the old ones, whoſe walls, for the moſt part, were ſtill ſtanding; but it muſt be conſidered, that the ſeculars had taken poſſeſſion of them, living there, in common, under the direction of the archprieſt; and Alfred, it is evident, thought it inconvenient to diſlodge them.

Another particular, obſervable, is the groſs ignorance of the Engliſh, during their wars with the Danes, of which Alfred made ſuch complaints, as we have already ſeen. It was for this reaſon, that prince invited into his dominions ſo many learned foreigners, upon his founding the univerſity of Oxford * and making uſe of other means, to reſtore the ſciences in his kingdom.

Edward the elder, purſuing his father's meaſures, with the ſame view, founded the univerſity of Cambridge, as ſome affirm †; but I ſhall not enter upon the controverſy, about the antiquity of this famous univerſity, as it is an affair attended with great difficulties, and does not immediately relate to the ſtate of the church. There is another event, however, that happened in this reign, wherein religion is more nearly concerned, on account of the conſequences ſaid to follow upon it, which I ſhall take occaſion briefly to mention.

Remarks on the pretended bull of pope Formoſus.

Malmsbury tells us, that, in the reign of Edward the elder, pope Formoſus being informed, there had been a vacancy in the Weſt-Saxon ſees, for ſeven years together, ſent a bull into England, to excommunicate the king and all his ſubjects; that Edward, upon this, held a council, where Plegmund, archbiſhop of Canterbury, having fully laid it before them, it was decreed, that the vacancies ſhould be ſupplied, and alſo that three new ſees ſhould be erected in Weſſex; and that Plegmund, upon this, went to Rome to get the cenſure taken off, who, on his return, conſecrated ſeven biſhops in one day. An antient regiſter of the priory of Canterbury ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe, adding, that the council made a particular proviſion for the Corniſhmen, to recover them from their errors; for, being ſome of the remains of the antient Britons, they refus'd to acknowledge the papal authority.

Spelm. Counc.

The Roman-catholick writers make a mighty flouriſh upon this bull, advancing it, as a ſtrong argument, to prove the pope's authority over the kings as well as the biſhops of England *; but, upon examination, it will be found inconſiſtent with chronology. Malmsbury dates it in 904; whereas Formoſus died in 896, being dragg'd out of his grave, in 897, by Stephen his ſucceſſor. Baronius, to ſolve this difficulty, ſays, the date in Malmsbury ſhould be written 894, inſtead of 904; but tho' this rectifies the matter, as to Formoſus, it occaſions another anachroniſm, as to Edward, who did not aſcend the throne, till the year 900. Edward, then, muſt be changed into Alfred; but Alfred was never excommunicated. They are, after all, extremely unwilling to give up this pretended bull. Some ſuppoſe two excommunications, one by pope Formoſus, in 894, againſt the biſhops only, and another by pope John IX. againſt the king. To ſtrengthen this conjecture, Malmsbury, who ſpeaks of Formoſus's bull, and Polydore Virgil, who takes notice of Pope John's, are quoted; but Malmsbury is evidently miſtaken, either in the date, or in the name of the pope; and Polydore Virgil does not affirm it was John IX. but John X. that menaced Edward with excommunication, as it muſt neceſſarily be, if the bull was dated in 904.

* The catholick divines anſwer to Sir Edward Coke, p. 136, 137.

As to the conſecration of the ſeven biſhops, mention'd by Malmsbury, it is not ſo ſuſpicious; tho', as to the time, it be ſomewhat perplex'd. It is certain, however, that, in the beginning of the Xth century, there were ſix biſhops in Weſſex, whereas there were no more than three, a little before. Ralph de Diceto ſays, the three new ſees were erected in 909; and, to reconcile him with Malmsbury, who places it in 904, an expedient is propos'd, if not well grounded, at leaſt, not improbable. It is ſuppoſed, that, in the ſynod at Wincheſter, in 904, the erection of the three new biſhopricks was determin'd; but, as theſe

* From a paſſage in Aſſerius, quoted by Cambden, about a diſpute between Grimbald, whom Alfred ſent to Oxford, and the old ſcholars ſettled there before, it is inferr'd, that Alfred was not the founder of that univerſity. But to this it is objected, that it is not in the copy of Aſſerius, publiſhed by archbiſhop Parker; that Uſher is poſitive, as to its being an interpolation, ſince it mentions things that happen'd after Aſſerius's death, &c. And againſt the antiquity of Cambridge, as well as Oxford, it is alledg'd, that neither of them are taken notice of by Bede, Alcuin, or Ingulphus; that, if there had been two ſuch famous univerſities, in the time of Alfred, what occaſion had he to complain of the ignorance of the Engliſh, or to ſend for learned men, from abroad, to inſtruct his ſubjects. It is, therefore, the moſt probable opinion, that Alfred founded the univerſity of Oxford, in 886. Vid. Book of Winch. Higd. l. 6. Harp. Malm.

† There is a manuſcript charter of privileges, in the library of Clare-hall, ſaid to be granted to Cambridge by Edward the elder; but it is evident, there was not any univerſity at all, till the time of Alfred. Vid. Coll. Eccl. Hiſt. p. 299.

new

new ſees were to be taken out of the dioceſes of Wincheſter and Sherbourn, it was agreed, that this ſhould not be done, till after the death of the preſent biſhops, that their former revenues might be ſtill enjoy'd. Both theſe biſhops dying, in 909, or, perhaps, a little before, and the biſhopricks of Worceſter and Suſſex being alſo then vacant, Plegmund conſecrated ſeven biſhops, at once, viz. Fridſtan biſhop of Wincheſter, Wereſtan of Sherbourn, Kenulph of Worceſter, Beornock of Selſey in Suſſex, Eadulph of Crediton or Kirton, Athelm of Wells, and Athelſtan of Petrockſtow or Padſtow in Cornwall. The three laſt ſees were thoſe newly erected, which Malmsbury and Higden ſay, had the pope's confirmation, tho' it is certain, at this time, and for upwards of 200 years after, there was no ſuch thing requir'd; and, therefore, it is probable, in mentioning the pope's confirmation, they had a view to the cuſtoms of their own times.

Vaſt privileges granted to Glaſſenbury-abbey.

In the reigns of Athelſtan, Edmund, and Edred, there is nothing to be met with, of any conſequence, except ſome councils, mentioned hereafter, the moſt remarkable particular being the charter of privileges granted by Edmund, on Dunſtan's account, to Glaſſenbury-abbey, after it was rebuilt. Theſe privileges were ſuch, that one would have thought he deſign'd to inveſt the abbey with a ſort of ſovereign power, within the precincts of its juriſdiction *.

Turketul rebuilds Croyland.

The abbey of Croyland was alſo rebuilt, in Edmund's reign, by Turketul, the king's couſin and chancellor, who afterwards became a monk himſelf, being made an abbot by Edred, who inveſted him into that office, by the delivery of a paſtoral ſtaff, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times. Turketul obtain'd a very advantageous charter for his abbey, tho' Edred would not grant him the privilege of a ſanctuary, which that abbey enjoy'd, before it was demoliſh'd, being unwilling that malefactors ſhould be protected from juſtice.

This prince was entirely ſway'd by Dunſtan, who exerted himſelf, not only to put the monks in poſſeſſion of the abbies, which the ſeculars had appropriated to themſelves, but the benefices alſo; but, Edred dying, before matters could be thoroughly ſettled, Edwy, who ſucceeded him, deprived the monks of their benefices, and even ſome of their monaſteries. To peruſe the tragical complaints of the monkiſh writers, with their invectives againſt Edwy, one would think he had utterly extirpated the chriſtian religion; whereas, upon a ſtricter enquiry, we ſhall find, that the monks were diſpoſſeſs'd of no more than the two monaſteries of Abbington and Malmſbury *.

* Or perhaps Glaſſenbury.

It is entirely needleſs to repeat, here, what has been ſaid of Dunſtan's intereſt in Edgar, or what that prince did, in favour of the monks. The truth is, there was ſome reaſon for replacing them in the monaſteries, which, tho abandon'd, during the wars, did not belong to the ſecular clergy, being founded purely for the monks; but he is not ſo eaſily excus'd, for his attempting to introduce the monks into the benefices, becauſe the ſeculars were, moſt of them, married. I ſhall not here examine into the reaſons, why the councils and popes prohibited the clergy from marriage, it being treated on, at large, by ſeveral authors, but only obſerve, that, from the converſion of the Engliſh to the time of Dunſtan, the Engliſh clergy had not obliged themſelves to celibacy. I have already remark'd, that Dunſtan, in the reign of Edgar, carried his point ſo far, that, tho' they were not forced to put away their wives, they were expell'd from their benefices, for keeping them; but he could never, notwithſtanding his intereſt at court and his vaſt affection for the monks, get them into the northern provinces, the abbies, in thoſe parts, remaining without inhabitants, for above 200 years, and the name of a monk being ſcarce heard of there.

The removal of the epiſcopal ſees.

I cannot ſay much, about the erecting new epiſcopal ſees, or the removing them from one place to another, when one half of the kingdom was poſſeſs'd by the Danes, as yet pagans; and, Northumberland, Mercia, and Eaſt-Anglia, being continually expos'd to their ravages, it cannot be expected, the affairs of the church ſhould proceed, in a regular courſe. Eaſt-Anglia was without a biſhop, for more than 200 years; and the biſhoprick of Hagulſtad, in Northumberland, was ſo miſerably reduced, that, wanting a biſhop, for a long time, they were obliged, at laſt, to unite it to the ſee of York. During Alfred's reign, the biſhopricks of Leiceſter and Lincoln were united, and the ſee tranſlated to Dorcheſter *, where it remained to the reign of William the conqueror, being then removed to Lincoln again. I have, above, taken notice of the erection of the three new biſhopricks in Weſſex; and it would be too large a digreſſion to mention the names of the biſhops, that ſucceeded in each ſee. Thoſe, who are willing, may conſult Dr. Heylin, who has publiſh'd a book on that ſubject, wherein we have an account of the year, when each biſhop received his inſtallment.

* In Oxfordſhire.

Councils.

The councils, in this interval, were properly mixt aſſemblies, compos'd of the clergy and nobility, in Saxon, Wittena-gemot, i. e. an aſſembly of wiſe men, or rather Mycelſynod, which ſignifies, in the ſame language, the great or general aſſembly, both which names are, in Latin, termed concilium; but, as the laws and ordinances of the church, as well as the ſtate, were enacted in theſe aſſemblies, ſeveral of them are reckon'd among the councils or ſynods. As for ſynods, which conſiſted merely of eccleſiaſticks, it does not appear there was ſo much as one, from Egbert to Edward the martyr.

The ſynod of Graetland. 928.

Next to that of Wincheſter, in which Ethelwulph is ſaid to have given a grant of the tythes, the principal, in reference to religion, was the ſynod of Graetland, in Athelſtan's reign. The canons of this council are, as follows.

* This charter engroſs'd in golden letters, in a book of the four goſpels, the king made a preſent of to the abbey.

The

The Iſt enjoins the payment of tythes *.

The IId commands the magiſtrates to execute the laws againſt ſuch as were convicted, by all the circumſtances of an ordeal-trial †.

The IIId is againſt witchcraft and highwaymen.

The IVth relates to the towns, where the money was to be coined. There were to be ſeven mints at Canterbury; four for the king, two for the archbiſhop, and one for the abbot of St. Auguſtin's. Rocheſter had three; two for the king, and one for the biſhop ‡.

The Vth determines the circumſtances and formalities of the ordeal-trial, to diſcover, whether the perſon accuſed was guilty or not; and there are two remarkable things, relating to this. Firſt, the prieſts are ſpoken of, as ſettled in certain places; from whence it appears, they did not live in common, but had, each of them, their particular church. The ſecond is, the accus'd perſon received the conſecrated bread; which evidently proves, the euchariſt being called bread, after the conſecration, that the church was far from believing tranſubſtantiation.

The VIth prohibits buying or ſelling on Sundays.

The VIIth is againſt perjuries.

The VIIIth orders the biſhop to ſit on the bench with the judges.

The IXth lays a fine upon remiſs and negligent magiſtrate, to be paid to the biſhop.

In another ſynod, in the reign of Edmund, the ceremonies of matrimony, with all its preliminaries, are ſettled.

I have, in another place, mentioned the council, in which Edgar made ſuch a pathetick harangue againſt the ſecular clergy and ſeveral others, that was held, about the controverſy between the monks and the ſeculars.

Odo's conſtitutions. 943. To the eccleſiaſtical laws enacted, at theſe councils, we may ſubjoin certain conſtitutions made in thoſe times. The ten, that follow, are thoſe of Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury.

The Iſt denounces excommunication againſt all, that injure the church in her property.

The IId exhorts princes, and other great men, to obey the directions of the biſhops, becauſe God has entruſted them with the keys of the kingdom of heaven.

The IIId admoniſhes biſhops to diſcharge their office, without any views of intereſt, or reſpect of perſons.

The IVth and Vth give good advice to the clergy; as does the VIth, with regard to the monks.

The VIIth forbids unlawful marriages, within the degrees of conſanguinity, tho' theſe degrees are not recited.

The VIIIth recommends unity and charity among chriſtians.

The IXth enjoins faſting on Wedneſdays, Fridays, and the four ember-weeks.

The Xth preſſes the punctual payment of tythes, from reaſons founded on the old teſtament *; but no notice is taken of Ethelwulph's charter.

* Mal. iii. 10.

There are other conſtitutions, publiſhed in the reign of king Edgar; but the author is not known. The chief of them are theſe. Other conſtitutions.

The Iſt ratifies the civil privileges and immunities of the church, ordering alſo the payment of tythes.

According to the Vth, the ſolemnity of Sunday is to commence from three o'clock on Saturday in the afternoon *.

* And to continue till break of day. Spelman.

There was alſo a body of canons ** publiſhed in the ſame reign, of which the following are particularly remarkable.

The Vth orders, that, if a prieſt received any injury, the complaint was to be made to the ſynod, who were obliged to treat the caſe, as if the injury had been offer'd to the whole body of the clergy, and to inſiſt upon ſatisfaction to be made, at the diſcretion of the biſhop of the dioceſe.

The XIth enjoins the prieſts to learn ſome employment, that they might maintain themſelves, under misfortunes.

The XVIIth orders parents to teach their children the Lord's prayer and the apoſtles creed; without the knowledge of which, they were not to be admitted to the euchariſt, nor buried in conſecrated ground.

The XXIXth prohibits, that any ſhould be buried in churches, that were not of approved probity.

The XXXIId forbids the prieſts to officiate, without the ſervice-book before them, leſt they ſhould miſtake, by truſting to their memories.

The XXXVIth orders, that none eat or drink, before they received the communion.

The XXXVIII obliges the prieſt to have the euchariſt * always ready by him; but, if it grew ſtale, it was to be burnt in a clear fire, and the aſhes laid under the altar. It is obvious, what the church thought of the euchariſt, ſince it was burnt in this manner.

* The conſecrated bread.

The LIIId prohibits the eating of blood.

The LXIVth declares hunting and hawking to be improper diverſions for a prieſt who, ſhould be devoted to his ſtudies. Spelm.

After theſe canons, there follows a very particular form of confeſſion, with the penances to be enjoin'd by the confeſſor. We find here that the penitent was order'd to ſay the Lord's prayer 60 times in a day, but not a ſingle Ave Maria; from whence, it appears, that praying to the Virgin Mary was not, as yet, introduced into the church.

I have nothing to add, relating to the church of thoſe times, but a brief account of the

* To this is added the king's order to all his officers and governors, to maintain a poor man in diet and cloaths, probably, at the king's expence; each of them was alſo obliged to maintain a ſlave.

† See the nature of this trial at large, in the diſſertation on the government and laws of the Anglo-Saxons.

‡ London was to have eight; Wincheſter ſix; Lewis, Southampton, Exeter, Shaftsbury, and Wareham, two each, and every other great town one. Spelm. Counc.

** They were tranſlated by Sir Hen. Spelman, from a Saxon manuſcript in Bennet-College, Cambridge; but where, or by whom, they were drawn up, is unknown. Coll. Eccl. Hiſt. p. 186.

perſons

persons most eminent for their piety and learning.

Swithin. The first saint, that occurs, is Swithin or Swithun *, who, having been preceptor to king Ethelwulph, was promoted to the see of Wincheſter; and it is said, that, by his advice, Ethelwulph granted a charter to the church for the tythes. This was sufficient to have procured him a saintship; but it is likewise affirmed, that he wrought many miracles, which I think it improper to relate.

Humbert. Humbert, bishop of East-Anglia, massacred, or, if you please, martyred by the Danes, with king Edmund, is also ranked among the saints.

Alfred. Alfred the great, notwithstanding his royal dignity, was one of the most eminent for piety and learning †.

Scotus. Johannes Scotus, sirnamed Erigena, i. e. Irishman, Ireland being then called Erin, lived in those days. He was very famous in France, where Charles the bald entertained him at his court, and convers'd with him with great familiarity ‡, when Alfred invited him over into England. At first he was the king's preceptor in languages and the sciences; afterwards he was a professor at Oxford; and, from thence, in all probability, he was removed to Malmsbury, since, it is said, that, in this monastery, he was stabb'd to death by his scholars. Before he left France, he, by the emperor's order, engag'd in the dispute, concerning the nature of the eucharist. In his treatise ** on this subject, he strongly argues against Paschasius's doctrine, who maintain'd that the body of Christ, in the eucharist, was the same with that born of the Virgin Mary. It is evident, then, that the contrary opinion, which Scotus defended, was not looked upon as heretical, seeing Alfred sent for him into England, so highly esteeming him, that he entrusted him with the education of youth; nay, it is certain, he had the veneration of a saint and martyr, after his death. Roger de Hovedon affirms, that Scotus, at first, was buried, in an obscure manner; but that, afterwards, a miraculous light shining over his grave, for several nights together, the monks of St. Laurence removed his corpse into their church, and interr'd it close by the altar. His epitaph also, the antiquity of which, as Malmsbury observes ††, is manifest, from the structure and diction of the verses, assures us he pass'd for a saint, when it was made. All these circumstances concur to prove, that transubstantiation was not the doctrine of the church of England, at this time; for how was it possible, the English should honour him as a saint, who had so openly disputed against their opinion. This inference a little puzzles the Roman-catholicks, tho' one of their historians affirms, "That "the name of Scotus is register'd in the sup- "plement of the Gallican martyrology, being "commemorated among the saints, on the "fourth of the ides of November; adding, "that his name, having been inserted, even "in the Roman martyrology, remained there, "till it was expunged by cardinal Baronius." Cressy in his church-hist. of Engl. p. 772. It must be granted, this author alledges, that Scotus retracted his errors, but without any foundation. He barely asserts, that without a recantation, it is improbable the church would have had such a reverence for his memory; but it must first be made appear, that transubstantiation was, then, the doctrine of the church, to render this argument conclusive.

Grimbald. Grimbald also lived in those days, remarkably distinguish'd for his learning, being invited over into England by Alfred the great, who contracted an acquaintance with him at Rheims, and promoted him to the government of the new abbey at Wincheſter.

Asserius Menevens. Among the English famous for learning, Asserius was one of the principal, who wrote the life of Alfred the great, in 893, and died bishop of St. David's in Wales *†, being a distinct person from Asserius bishop of Wincheſter, whose death happened, in 883.

Werefrid. Werefrid, bishop of Worceſter, lived in the reign of Buthred king of Mercia. The Mercians being subdued by the Danes, he retreated into France, from whence Alfred recalled him. He translated into Saxon the dialogues of Gregory the great; and being highly celebrated, whilst alive, he was regiſter'd, as a saint, after his death.

Plegmund. Plegmund, archbishop of Canterbury, was esteemed to be a very learned prelate, and particularly eminent for his skill in divinity.

Dunulf. Dunulf, formerly an herdsman, is believed, by some, to be the neatherd that shelter'd Alfred; but, whosoever he was, he had the good fortune to be known to this prince, who perceiving him to have a genius, much above his birth and employment, having had him instructed in learning, made him afterwards bishop

* He was brought up a monk, at Wincheſter, of which he was abbot. Malm.

† Alfred was 12 years of age, before he knew his letters; but his mother, perceiving him to be, on a certain day, highly delighted with a little book, beautifully adorned with capital letters in gold and other colours, said, in his and his brother's hearing, "she would bestow it to him, that should first get it by heart. Alfred was indefatigably industrious, till he was able to read and repeat this book to his mother; and, from this time, he applied himself closely to study. He was not only honoured, with the title of saint, after his decease, but his name is in the kalendar of the English martyrology printed in 1608; and in two Saxon kalendars cited by the annotator on the Saxon translation of the New Testament. The day of his death is register'd on the 26th of October.

‡ The emperor, as he, one day, sate opposite to him at table, asked him merrily, "Quid interest inter Scotum & "sotum"? He replied, "Mensa tantum", with which the emperor was not displeased. Hoved.

** It was condemned by the council of Verceils, 1050. Bering. Epist. ad Rich. but is now lost.

†† "Clauditur hoc tumulo sanctus sophista Johannes,
"Qui ditatus erat, jam vivens, dogmate miro,
"Martyrio tandem Christi conscendere regnum,
"Qui meruit. Sancti regnant per sæcula cuncti."

*† He was bred a monk of Menevia or St. David's; and it was not, without much importunity, that he was prevailed on to come to court, and, when he, at last, consented, it was on the condition, that he should only stay there six months in the year, and the other six at his abbey.

of Wincheſter. As this city was then the metropolis of Weſſex, where Alfred uſually kept his court, he conſulted this prelate, in affairs of the greateſt importance.

Wulfig. Wulfig, biſhop of London, had alſo no ſmall intereſt in Alfred's eſteem, as is evident from his letter to this prelate, prefixed to his tranſlation of Gregory's paſtoral.

Neots. Neots was an abbot diſtinguiſh'd for his birth, learning, regularity, and zeal, in promoting religion. Some affirm, that he was nearly related to king Alfred; and others, that he was ſprung from the blood-royal of Eaſt-Anglia. He died, in 890, in Cornwall, from whom the town of Neotſtow or St. Neots received its name.

Odo. Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was the ſon of an Eaſt-Anglian Dane; but, tho' his parents were pagans, he had the fortune to know and eſteem the chriſtian religion, being, on that account, expelled from his father's houſe. In this extremity, he went into the ſervice of an Engliſh nobleman, who had him baptized and put him to ſchool. As ſoon as he was qualified, he entered into orders, in the reign of Edward the elder. His zeal, virtue and capacity gained him ſo great a reputation, that Athelſtan advanced him to the ſee of Sherbourn; and ſome attribute his glorious victory over the Danes, at Brunanburgh, to the efficacy of Odo's prayers. This prelate was equally eſteemed by king Edmund, who reſolved to make him archbiſhop of Canterbury; but he modeſtly excuſed himſelf, repreſenting to the king, that he was unfit for ſuch an exalted ſtation. Athelſtan ſtill inſiſting upon it, he farther objected, that tranſlations were contrary to the canons. This ſcruple being removed, by the inſtances of Juſtus and Mellitus, who were tranſlated from Rocheſter and London to Canterbury, he alledged, that the archbiſhops, ſince Auguſtin, were all monks, whereas he had not been educated under any religious rule; but this difficulty was likewiſe obviated, by ſending to the abbot of Fleury in France, intreating him to admit Odo, as a member of his ſociety. Upon this, at length, the biſhop, tho' with great reluctance, accepted of the ſee of Canterbury; and, as he became afterwards a vigorous champion for the monks, no wonder, they aſcribed to him the gift of miracles, placing him among the moſt illuſtrious eccleſiaſticks of his time.

Dunſtan. Dunſtan would alſo make a figure, in this place, had I not, elſewhere, ſufficiently deſcribed his character. There are modern writers, even among the proteſtants, who, byaſs'd by the teſtimonies of the antient hiſtorians, highly extol this pretended ſaint, not conſidering, that they are extremely ſuſpicious; for it is very probable, Dunſtan's ſteady adherence to the monks was the chief occaſion of thoſe extravagant encomiums.

Ethelwald and Oſwald. The ſame may be affirmed of Ethelwold, biſhop of Wincheſter, and Oſwald, firſt, biſhop of Wincheſter, and afterwards archbiſhop of York; their mighty zeal, in the behalf of the monks, doubtleſs, moſt of all contributed to to render them famous.

Turketul. Turketul, king Edmund's couſin and chancellor, became illuſtrious, for preferring a cloyſter to a court, where he lived in great reputation; but his reſtoring to its former ſplendor the abbey of Croyland, demoliſhed by the Danes, is the principal cauſe of the illuſtrious character given him by the hiſtorians.

THE

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK V.

The continual invaſions of the Danes, during the reign of Ethelred II. They ſubdue England; and four Daniſh kings reign ſucceſſively. They are expell'd, in the reign of Edward the Confeſſor; but how, or by whom, is not known. A full account of the gradual riſe of earl Goodwin and his ſon Harold who ſucceed Edward, by election. Edgar Atheling's right, who was the laſt of the Saxon line, ſuperſeded, to make way for Harold II. The pretenſions of William the baſtard, duke of Normandy to the crown, who by the battle of Haſtings, becomes maſter of all England, are examin'd. The ſtate of the church, from the reign of Ethelred II. to the Norman conqueſt.

14. ETHELRED II.

979. Ethelred II. crowned.

UPON the murder of Edward, nothing could be urged againſt his brother Ethelred's ſucceſſion to the crown, as he was the laſt of the royal family and too young to be accuſed of his mother's crime; and, therefore, Dunſtan could not refuſe to crown him, being then about twelve years old, tho' he plainly apprehended it would prove fatal to his party. It is ſaid, that Dunſtan, at his coronation, by the ſpirit of prophecy, foretold the miſeries of England, in this reign; but ſuch predictions are to be ſuſpected, when attributed to ſaints, by authors who wrote after the event. However, the people had quite different apprehenſions of this new reign, entertaining great hopes of a ſtate of tranquillity, under a prince who had given a ſpecimen of his good-nature, by his extreme ſorrow for the king his brother's death, tho' it paved the way for his being placed on the throne. Hiſtorians * tell us, that his tears were ſo unſeaſonable, in the opinion of his mother, that, catching up a wax-taper, in a paſſion, ſhe beat him ſo ſeverely with it, that he could never endure the ſight of a wax-light, to the day of his death.

* Malm. and Brom.

Ethelred, being crowned, removed the body of the late king to Shaftsbury-church; and he had ſcarce performed this office, before he was attacked by the Danes, who continually moleſted him, during the remainder of his life. Had this prince copied after his predeceſſors, perhaps, he might have prevented any new attempts upon England, from this quarter; but his cowardice, indolence, inſatiable avarice, and many other failings ſoon convinced them, they had little to fear from ſuch an enemy. The Danes, for about 60 years, ſeemed to have forgot England, as the Engliſh had the calamities they formerly ſuffered, by their incurſions; but, after ſo long an interval, tho' the Danes, ſettled in England, ſeemed to have the ſame regard for it, as the natives themſelves, the foreign Danes began to renew their invaſions; and the others, reſuming their old inclinations, joined their countrymen, in order to ſhake off the dominion of the Engliſh.

Ethelred II's character.

The Danes renew their invaſions. 981.

Theſe pyratical rovers made their firſt attempt upon Southampton, where they arrived with ſeven ſhips; and, having plundered that town and the country adjacent, they proceeded to ravage Cornwall.

The ſame year, another band landed at Portland, who pillaged the neighbouring country, and then carried on their devaſtations in other places.

Theſe frequent deſcents were the more dangerous, on the account of the many coaſts the Engliſh had to guard, they being at a loſs to know,

know, where the enemy would land. If, at any time, they engaged the Danes, they had no other advantage, even in the caſe of victory, but the recovery of the plunder; but, when the Engliſh were defeated, the country was infallibly expoſed to all imaginable barbarities, and before they could be reinforced, nay, very often, whilſt the Engliſh troops were on their march, to oppoſe one band of pyrates, they were obliged to advance againſt another that appeared to be more formidable. There was but one expedient to remove this evil, viz. a powerful fleet to engage the Danes at ſea, before they landed; but it was now ſcarce practicable, becauſe of the king's minority.

This was the miſerable ſtate of affairs, during the firſt ten years of Ethelred's reign; and it would be needleſs to deſcribe, at large, the devaſtations the Danes committed during that time, being continually renewed, after ſome ſhort intermiſſions.

Elfer, duke of Mercia, dies.

In the interim, Elfer, duke of Mercia, one of the beſt ſupports of his country, died, in 983. The little veneration he had for the monks after Edgar's deceaſe, in all likelihood, occaſioned that aſperſion of their votaries, that he was eaten up of lice. Alfrick his ſon ſucceeded him.

984. The death of Ethelwold, biſhop of Wincheſter.

The year enſuing, Ethelwold biſhop of Wincheſter, one of Dunſtan's confidents, and a great benefactor to the monks, departed this life. It is ſaid, he founded 12 monaſteries; and, if that be true, he, doubtleſs, was aſſiſted by the bounty of the two former kings, who had a great eſteem for him.

The intereſt of the monks declines.

The intereſt of the monks entirely vaniſh'd in Ethelred's reign, on the account of the Daniſh invaſions, and becauſe the minds of the people were wholly intent upon their misfortunes; nay, they even began to call in queſtion the ſanctity of the monks, being amazed, that men, who had obtained ſo many miracles, in their own favour, could not, by their merits and prayers, ſecure the kingdom from its preſent calamities. Beſides, as their credit with the precedeing kings had procured them a great reputation; ſo this king's not being their friend was very prejudicial to them. Ethelred put the monks and other eccleſiaſticks, on the ſame footing with his other ſubjects; and he, convincingly, proved, how little he regarded the clergy, in a difference between him and the biſhop of Rocheſter. That prelate having inſolently refuſed to comply with a demand the king made him, he order'd the ſoldiers to lay waſte the lands of the cathedral dedicated to St. Andrew. In vain did the biſhop menace him with vengeance from the apoſtle, or prevail on archbiſhop Dunſtan to interpoſe in the affair; for Ethelred, regardleſs of them both, would not deſiſt, till a ſum of money was offered him. Dunſtan, to the laſt degree mortified, at theſe proceedings, denounced againſt the king and his council the judgments of God, for preſuming ſacrilegiouſly to invade the church's property, but to no purpoſe. He died ſoon after in the year 990, not ſo much of old age, as out of regret, becauſe he was not treated with the ſame deference and reſpect, as formerly.

Dunſtan's death.

990. Oſwald archbiſhop of York dies.

Oſwald, archbiſhop of York, quickly followed him, who was his particular friend, and one of the three prelates that had the management of all eccleſiaſtical affairs, during the reign of Edgar. The death of theſe patrons, a contagious diſtemper which carried off a great number of people, and alſo the continual invaſions of the Danes, entirely put an end to the quarrel between the ſecular and regular clergy.

991. The Danes invade England again. Sax. Ann.

The Danes having plunder'd the coaſts of England, for ten years together, they remain'd quiet, for about two years. This intermiſſion led the Engliſh to hope, that having turn'd their thoughts to ſome other country, they would give them no interruption, for the future; but, in 991, Juſtin and Guthmund, two Daniſh captains, landed a vaſt body of troops at Gipſwick*. Whilſt they were taken up with plundering, Brithnoth, duke of Eaſt-Anglia, advanced towards them, in order to ſurprize them; but he was vanquiſhed, and his defeat expos'd the neighbouring country to more terrible devaſtations. The Danes, upon this victory, penetrated farther into the country, committing horrible ravages. Ethelred, being without an army, and in no condition to ſtop their progreſs, was perſuaded by Syric, archbiſhop of Canterbury, to bribe them with a ſum of money*; but, perhaps it would have been more adviſable for him, if, in imitation of Alfred and Edgar, he had expended it, in fortifying the kingdom againſt their attacks. However, the archbiſhop's advice was, in proceſs of time, look'd upon as extremely fatal to England; for the money, given to this band, proved to be no more than a bait to allure others, who thought they had an equal right to take the advantage of the weakneſs of the Engliſh.

* Ipſwich.

Ethelred bribes them with money.

* 10,000 l. Sax. Ann. 991.

993. Another Daniſh fleet.

Two years after, another of their fleets ſailing up the Humber, the pyrates landed on the north ſide, ravaging all that belonged to the Engliſh, in a mercileſs manner. Ethelred ſent an army againſt them, under the command of the earls Frœna, Frithegiſt, and Goodwin; but the generals, having marched their troops quite up to the enemy, were the firſt that gave way, and, by their ſhameful flight, occaſion'd the loſs of the whole army. The king indiſcreetly confided in theſe three lords, who, being of Daniſh extraction, were ſuſpected of treachery.

994. Sweyn and Olaus invade England.

The miſeries theſe foreigners had, hitherto, brought on England, were nothing in compariſon of what followed. Sweyn, king of Denmark, and Olaus, king of Norway, tempted by the ſucceſs of their ſubjects in England, reſolved alſo to have a ſhare in the booty they, every year, carried off from thence. Accordingly, having equipp'd a numerous fleet, they enter'd the Thames, and landed their troops near London. They often attempted to ſubdue this city; but, meeting with a briſker oppoſition than was expected, they retir'd. To make amends for their loſs of time, before London, they plunder'd Kent, Hampſhire, and Suſſex, threatening to ranſack the whole kingdom. Ethelred, having neither courage nor conduct,

conduct, in this extremity, had recourſe to his late expedient, on a like occaſion. He oblig'd himſelf, by a treaty, to pay a certain ſum of
16000 l. money *, within a limited time, on condition they left his ſubjects unmoleſted, and departed the kingdom. Matters being, thus, ſettled, the two foreign kings departed to Southampton; and ſoon after the king of Norway made a viſit to Ethelred, who prevailed on him to be baptiz'd, ſtanding as godfather himſelf. Olaus, at his departure, obliged himſelf, by oath, that he would not infeſt England any more, which he punctually obſerved.

The two kings return home.

Had Sweyn follow'd his example, the Engliſh would have avoided all the miſeries, in which he afterwards involved them; but, when he embarqued for Denmark, he left a fleet at Southampton, to keep them in awe and conſtrain them to perform the articles of the treaty. In his abſence, the admiral inſiſted on the payment of the money with great earneſtneſs; but, as they did not, at once, comply with his demands, he interpreted their delay to be a refuſal, reſolving to renew the war. In the interim, to amuſe the Engliſh, he ſet ſail, as if he deſign'd for Denmark; yet, when they
997. leaſt expected it, he enter'd the Severn; and,
The war is renew'd. having deſtroy'd the country of the Welch, with fire and ſword, he croſs'd the river, penetrating into Dorſetſhire, where he committed the ſame ravages. They ranſack'd whole counties, it being impoſſible to withſtand them; for all the forces, that could be brought againſt them, were no ſooner levy'd than defeated. In a word, having ſufficiently drain'd theſe parts, by their plunder, they put to ſea again and landed at Kent; the oppoſition
The Danes ravage England. made by the inhabitants only inflamed the fury of their enemies, who treated them with the utmoſt barbarity. To compleat the misfortunes of the Engliſh, a fleet, which Ethelred had equipp'd to engage the Danes, was render'd uſeleſs, on account of the diſſentions and unskilfulneſs of the commanders. In this melancholy ſituation of affairs, England would have been entirely ruin'd, if the Danes had not been invited to the aſſiſtance of Richard II. duke of Normandy, whom the king of France was reſolved to diſpoſſeſs of his dominions.

The Danes return into England.

Ethelred's tranquillity was of a ſhort duration; for the Danes, having ſecur'd the young duke's poſſeſſions, return'd to England. Cornwall was firſt expos'd to their fury, and afterwards Weſſex; and the Engliſh were ſo terrify'd, that they made but a weak defence. The king himſelf durſt not appear in the battles, leſt he ſhould fall into the hands of the Danes, who, probably, would have ſhewn him no mercy. At length, the Danes became poſſeſs'd of the iſle of Wight, Hampſhire, and Dorſetſhire, where they placed their magazines; and, from hence, they made continual inroads into the neighbouring counties, without any reſiſtance. The ſtate of England was, at this time, very deplorable, the ſouthern counties being perpetually harraſs'd by the foreign Danes, and the northern parts inhabited by thoſe of the ſame nation, who were alſo enemies to the Engliſh. At this juncture, Ethelred had not the leaſt ſemblance of the reſolution of his anceſtors, who were not diſpirited, even in the like circumſtances; but ſuch was his conſternation, that, to prevent ſtill greater miſeries, he promis'd to pay the Danes 30,000 l. in thoſe days a very conſiderable ſum, which was levied, as a tax, and called Danegeld, i. e. Daniſh money, or, money for the Danes. For the payment of it, every hyde of land was taxed, at the rate of 12 pence per Annum, a hyde of land being ſuch a quantity, as might be ploughed with one plough in a year. This was the original of that famous tax, which was afterwards ſo burdenſome to the nation.

The Danes, conſenting to theſe terms, returned home; tho' ſeveral of them, finding, England to be a better country than Denmark, choſe to ſtay behind and ſettle in it. Their number, indeed, was too ſmall, to render them very formidable to the Engliſh, eſpecially, as they were diſperſed in different parts of the kingdom; but then they were ſeconded by their countrymen in Northumberland and East-Anglia. Beſides, the Engliſh dreaded nothing ſo much as to renew the war; which gave occaſion to the Danes imperiouſly to act, as they pleas'd, without cheque or controul. Thus, whilſt the Danes ſpent their days agreeably, the Engliſh were obliged to toil inceſſantly, to ſatisfy their avarice; and ſuch was their ſubjection to the Danes, that they gave them the appellation of Lord-Danes. It is true, this word, as well as its meaning, was alter'd ſoon after; tho', in ſome parts of England, a rich idle man is, by way of deriſion, ſtiled a Lurdane, to this day.

Ethelred marries Emma, ſiſter to Rich. II. duke of Normandy.

Elgiva, Ethelred's queen dying, whilſt the Danes were, thus, maſters in England, the king demanded in marriage Emma, the ſiſter of Richard II. duke of Normandy. This marriage being conſummated, Ethelred was vaſtly elated, depending on the aſſiſtance of the duke his brother-in-law, whenever he ſhould want it; and the proſpect of this alliance led him to reſolve on the cruel and violent expedient of getting rid of the Danes, by a general maſſacre. To this purpoſe, he iſſued orders ſo privately over the kingdom, that, in one day, all the Danes were ſlain, with ſuch implacable barbarity, that the particulars are not to be read without horror. Sweyn's ſiſter, who was the
The maſſacre of the Danes. wife of an Engliſh lord, having been ſpared, at firſt, Ethelred was ſo cruel, as to order her to be beheaded, after her children had been kill'd before her face; but the cruel treatment of this princeſs, who embraced death with an heroick bravery, was ſoon after ſeverely revenged. Among other inhuman practices in this maſſacre, the Daniſh women were placed in holes of the earth, as deep as their waſtes, and had their breaſts torn off by maſtiff-dogs.

This bloody tragedy, acted on the 13th of November, 1002, very much reſembled the maſſacre of the Romans by the Britons, under Boadicea, and was attended with the ſame fatal conſequences; and the Engliſh, as well as the old Britons, were ſo far from recovering their liberty, by theſe means, that they only made their yoke the more heavy and intolera-

ble. Although the hiſtorians aſſure us, that all the Danes in England were maſſacred at this time; yet it is not eaſy to apprehend, how this could be brought about in Northumberland and Eaſt-Anglia, where the Danes were the moſt numerous. Can it be imagin'd, that, in thoſe parts, they ſhould tamely ſtand ſtill, to have their throats cut, without any reſiſtance? I, therefore, am of opinion, that, by all the Danes, we muſt underſtand only thoſe lately ſettled in England, who were diſpers'd in Weſſex and Mercia.

Ethelred flatter'd himſelf, that theſe bloody proceedings, by which ſo many thouſands loſt their lives, would procure him peace. He imagin'd the Danes would never invade England again; and he hop'd, that if the deſire of revenge ſhould bring them thither, the Engliſh would think it neceſſary to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood, to prevent falling into the hands of ſuch incenſed enemies. He alſo placed great confidence in the aſſiſtance of his brother-in-law, the duke of Normandy, whoſe intereſt it was to eſpouſe his cauſe; but ſuch a deteſtable piece of policy ſeldom produces the deſired effects, or, rather, generally terminates in the ruin of the projector.

Sweyn reſolves on revenge.

Sweyn received the news of this maſſacre from ſome Danes, who eſcaped on board a veſſel, that lay ready to ſail for Denmark. The account, they gave of it, was abundantly ſufficient to excite him to revenge; but, when he heard the tragical ſtory of his ſiſter's death, in its cruel circumſtances, he was, to the laſt degree, enraged. He took a ſolemn oath, that he would never reſt, till he had revenged ſuch a barbarous outrage. His ſecond expedition into England, therefore, was not made, with a view of plunder, but to deſtroy the whole kingdom, with fire and ſword. In the interim, as he did not queſtion but Ethelred had taken all neceſſary meaſures, for his own ſecurity, he did not judge it convenient to embarque, before he was aſſured of a place, where he might ſafely land his troops. Cornwall was then governed by Hugh, a Norman, whom the queen had fixed in that poſt, as one in whom the king might entirely confide. Sweyn diſpatch'd a faithful meſſenger to this governor, to gain him over to his intereſt, by the propoſal of a great reward; and Hugh fell in with the temptation, promiſing to admit the Daniſh fleet into his ports, and to ſuffer his troops to land, without any moleſtation.

He lands in Cornwall, and reduces Exeter to aſhes.

Sweyn, upon this, fitted out a fleet of 300 ſail; and, landing in Cornwall with a powerful army, without oppoſition, he marched directly towards Exeter. As this city had no apprehenſions of being attacked, he eaſily ſubdued it; and, having put the inhabitants to the ſword, he reduced it to aſhes. This firſt exploit was ſucceeded by ſeveral others, equally fatal to England; for, wherever Sweyn carried his arms, he deſtroyed all before him. Towards the end of ſummer, being told, that Alfric, duke of Mercia, was on his march with a numerous army, to give him battle, he was determined to meet him. Ethelred acted very indiſcreetly, in giving the command of his army to this lord, whom he had formerly baniſhed his dominions, out of mere caprice, and whoſe ſon's eyes had been put out, by his order; for, the ſenſe of this injury being freſh in the duke's mind, he was glad of the preſent opportunity to revenge it. No ſooner was he advanced, within view of the enemy, than he repreſented that he was ſick, on a ſudden, pretending that he was incapable of engaging, and ordered the army to retreat; but, at the ſame time, he took care, that they ſhould do it in ſuch diſorder, that the Danes, without much difficulty, put them to the rout. After this, Sweyn took ſeveral towns, from whence he carried off a prodigious booty; but, having no deſign to keep them, he ſet them on fire, paſſing the winter in Denmark.

Sweyn retires.

Returning he burns Norwich and Thetford.

The quiet England enjoyed, upon Sweyn's departure, was very ſhort; for, in the following ſpring, he landed in Eaſt-Anglia, and, taking Norwich, conſumed the whole town to aſhes. Ulfketel, governor of Eaſt-Anglia, being in no condition to withſtand him, bribed him with a ſum of money; but, upon the receipt of it, Sweyn violates the treaty, taking the town of Thetford, by ſurpriſe, then a place of great note, and treating it as he had done Norwich. Ulfketel, exaſperated at this breach of faith, levied ſome troops, with great expedition, poſting himſelf between the Daniſh army and the fleet. Sweyn, apprehending that he intended to cut off his retreat to his ſhips, reſolved to give him battle, before he ſhould be reinforced; and he found that the Engliſh were incamped in a very advantageous manner, reſolutely determined to exert themſelves, in the defence of their goods and chattels, which their enemies carried off, before their faces. Such, however, was the ill ſucceſs of the Engliſh, that the Danes obtained a ſignal victory, tho' not without a conſiderable loſs; for, according to their own confeſſion, they were never in more danger of being defeated. Ulfketel, tho' of Daniſh extraction, was the moſt loyal as well as valiant of all Ethelred's ſubjects, and did him the greateſt ſervice; but the other lords behaved in a quite different manner. The hiſtorians are agreed, that Ethelred was betrayed by all that were about him; for Sweyn had not only ſpies in his court, but even in his council. The great men were generally bribed; or, at leaſt, there was ſcarce a man who ſerved the king faithfully, by reaſon of the little reſpect they had for him. Whatever councils were called to deliberate on proper methods to oppoſe the Danes, the diſſentions between the nobles, too frequent in the courts of princes, ſo much deſpiſed, prevented them either from coming to any reſolutions, or from putting them in execution. The avarice of the clergy, particulary the monks, exceedingly increaſed this general confuſion, who, notwithſtanding their vaſt riches, refuſed to contribute their quota, for the ſafety of the kingdom, pleading their privileges and immunities; as if they had no concern at all in the danger. It is no wonder, then, the Danes were ſo victorious, in a country ſo meanly defended by thoſe, who were under ſuch obligations to provide for its preſervation. The famine, which happened ſoon after

1005. A famine.

after, would have compleated the misfortunes of England, had it not proved the occaſion of Sweyn's returning to Denmark, for ſubſiſtence.

Sweyn returns to Denmark.

Upon the retreat of the Danes and the ceaſing of the famine, the Engliſh expected to enjoy ſome tranquillity, when another Daniſh fleet arrived at Sandwich in Kent. Ethelred directly muſtered up an army, in order to engage them; but, having committed ſome ravages, they retreated to the iſle of Thanet, where it was not poſſible for him to attack them. They knew the Engliſh army, as it conſiſted only of voluntiers, who ſerved, at their own expence, would ſoon disband themſelves, as it afterwards happened; for, winter approaching, the Engliſh returned to their reſpective homes, it not being in the king's power to keep them any longer together. Upon this, the Danes, ſallying out from their retreat, began to rifle Kent and the neighbouring counties, being confident, they ſhould meet with no reſiſtance; and Ethelred had no other way left, to put a ſtop to their progreſs and the entire deſtruction of the whole kingdom, than to buy them off with the ſum of 30,000 l. with which they were, for the preſent, ſatisfied.

The king gives his daughter in marriage to Edrick, who proves a traytor.

Being thus at liberty from the Danes, the king celebrated the nuptials of one of his daughters, with Edrick ſirnamed Streon*, a very potent lord, whom he had lately made duke of Mercia. Ethelred's paſt fears and troubles, in which he was continually perplex'd, were exceedingly enhanced, by this fatal marriage; as he had imprudently taken into his family a traytor ſold to the Danes, who, on all occaſions, betrayed the king and kingdom to foreigners.

1008. Ethelred equips a fleet,

Scarce was a year elapſed, before the Danes demanded the ſame ſum again, pretending it was an annual tribute which Ethelred was obliged to pay, by vertue of the treaty; and they threatened to deſtroy the whole kingdom, with fire and ſword, if the money was not inſtantly paid. Theſe proceedings of the Danes convincing the king and council, that it was impoſſible to gratify their inſatiable avarice, it was concluded on, that the moſt effectual method would be to expend the money, in equipping a good fleet, to defend the kingdom from their invaſions. Neceſſity compell'd them to execute this reſolution, with ſuch expedition, that, in a very ſhort time, a fleet, well mann'd and victualled, was in readineſs, the command of which was given by the king to Brithrick, brother to Edrick Streon, duke of Mercia. Theſe meaſures forced the Danes to come to a naval engagement, for which their ſhips were not ſo fit, as thoſe of the Engliſh †.

which proves uſeleſs.

The firſt thing Brithrick did, upon his being made admiral, was, to exert himſelf to ruin Ulnoth, a lord of diſtinction, but his enemy. He accuſed him of ſeveral crimes; but Ulnoth thought it improper to purge himſelf by a publick trial, being very well aſſured, that a party was formed to get him condemned. He reſolved, therefore, upon a voluntary exile, to be protected from the perſecution of his enemy; and he perſuaded nine captains to follow him with their ſhips. Upon this, he infeſted the Engliſh coaſts, doing as much miſchief as the Danes themſelves, to the great mortification of Brithrick, who put to ſea with 80 ſail, to give him chace, being determined to ſeize him alive or dead. However, the moſt of his ſhips, through a violent ſtorm, were either loſt, or fell into the hands of Ulnoth; and, thus, this large fleet, fitted out at a prodigious expence, was rendered uſeleſs, by the private quarrel of the admiral, which loſs became the more irretrievable, by the diſſentions among the officers, ſeveral of whom went over to Ulnoth.

1009. The Danes land in Kent. S. Dunel.

In the interim, the Danes made the beſt uſe of theſe inteſtine diviſions; for, the following ſpring, two of their fleets arrived in England, one in Eaſt-Anglia, under Turkil, and another in the iſle of Thanet, under Heming and Anlaf, who, joining their forces in Kent, after they had plundered the country, beſieged Canterbury; and that city would have been ſubdued by the Danes, if the inhabitants had not purchaſed a peace with a conſiderable ſum *.

* 3000 l. Sax. Ann. 1009. Ethelred levies an army, but lets the Danes paſs unmoleſted.

Whilſt the Danes were intent on their ravages in Kent, Ethelred levied an army to oppoſe them; and no ſooner was it in readineſs, than he poſted himſelf between them and their ſhips, to prevent their retreat with their booty. In all probability, he would have been ſucceſsful, and, perhaps, have defeated the Danes, being ſuperior to them in number, if Edrick had not found the means to bring them off, at this juncture; but the traytor, apprehending their danger, repreſented to the king, that it would be more adviſable to let them retire, than run the riſque of a battle, which might prove fatal to him. Ethelred was ſo wrought upon, by this deſtructive advice, that he permitted them to paſs, with all their plunder, unmoleſted; whereas, inſtead of ſailing for Denmark, they only retired into the iſle of Thanet; from whence, during the whole winter, they made inroads into the neighbouring counties, and even often attempted to take London, tho' they were always repulſed. In the mean time, Ulfketel duke of Eaſt-Anglia, inclined to hazard a battle, once more, in defence of the government, had the misfortune to be vanquiſhed, and, by that means, to leave the Danes in poſſeſſion of the country.

Ulfketel's defeat.

The Danes mounting ſome of their forces, ſubdue all Weſſex.

The Danes had, hitherto, wanted cavalry, on account of its being ſo difficult to tranſport horſes from Denmark; but, becoming maſters of Eaſt-Anglia, a country plentifully ſtock'd with horſes, they mounted part of their troops and extended their conqueſts. They ſoon ſubdued Eſſex, Middleſex, Hertfordſhire, Buckinghamſhire, Oxfordſhire ‡, Bedfordſhire, Cam-

* According to Cambden, Streon, ſignifying the acquirer, is only a ſirname.

† This fleet, the largeſt and beſt that had ever been ſeen in England, as the Saxon annals affirm, was built after the following manner. Every 310 hydes of land, all over the kingdom, were obliged to fit out one ſhip, and every eight hydes a helmet and breaſt-plate, An. 1008, 1009. They alſo inform us, that the ſeveral ſums paid to the Danes, as well as this tax for equipping a fleet, were all levied, with the joint conſent of the king and Wittenagemot.

‡ Redburn tells us, that, Oxford being burnt by the Danes the ſame year, there was a ceſſation of all ſtudies there, till 1133.

bridgeſhire,

bridgeſhire, Huntingtonſhire, Northamptonſhire, Kent, Surrey, Suſſex, Hampſhire, Wiltſhire, and Devonſhire, whilſt Ethelred, who was deprived of almoſt all his poſſeſſions, ſhut himſelf up in London, not daring to take the field, to ſtop their progreſs. London and Canterbury were the only places, in all the counties above-mentioned, that were not poſſeſſed by the Danes; but, at length, they ſo vigorouſly attack'd the laſt of theſe, that they took, plunder'd, and reduc'd it to aſhes. Elphegus the archbiſhop, being taken priſoner, was murder'd by theſe barbarians, who treated with the ſame inhumanity the monks of St. Auguſtin's, putting them under a decimation, i. e. deſtroying nine parts in ten †.

1012. They reduce Canterbury to aſhes.

England being reduced to this miſerable condition, all the great men of the kingdom aſſembled at London, with the king, to conſult what was moſt expedient to be done, in the preſent extremity; and the only method, they could think of, was to bribe them, with a ſum of money, to depart; and the Danes, upon the receipt of the ſum, which amounted to 48,000 l. went off with their booty.

1013. Sweyn's return into England.

Tho' this retreat of the Danes was very expenſive to England, the Engliſh were extremely well pleas'd to be, thus, rid of their enemies, hoping to repair, by a peace, the loſſes they had ſuſtained, by the war; but their miſery was, as yet, far from being compleated. Scarce had they taſted any of the fruits of tranquillity, before they were alarmed with the news of Sweyn's having enter'd the Humber, with a formidable fleet, threatening the entire ruin and deſtruction of the kingdom. As the country was in no capacity to defend itſelf, he ſpeedily ſubdued Northumberland, East-Anglia, and, in a word, all the counties, north of Watling-ſtreet. Not ſatisfied with this, he demands hoſtages of the principal towns; and, leaving his ſon Canute, to ſecure his conqueſts, he marched, ſouthward, and beſieged London. Tho' he was not in a condition to lay ſiege, in form, to a place of that importance, he imagined the citizens would be ſo terrified, by his menaces, as to ſurrender; but, when he found himſelf miſtaken, he deſiſted from his enterprize, chuſing rather to ravage the ſouth parts of Weſſex, where there were none to oppoſe him. However, as he could not reſt contented, until he became maſter of London, he was reſolved to attack it, once more; but, whilſt he was making preparations, he received information, that Ethelred had retreated from that city. This unhappy prince, dreading to lie at the mercy of an enemy, whom he had ſo highly injured, and, believing that he was not ſafe in London, retired into Normandy with all his family. The Londoners, being, thus, abandon'd by their prince, came to a reſolution of ſubmitting to the king of Denmark, who had already ſubdued the reſt of the kingdom; and, upon this, Sweyn was proclaimed king of England, without the leaſt oppoſition.

He ſubdues ſeveral counties.

15. SWEYN, king of Denmark.

SWEYN.

SWEYN, being now acknowledged as a ſovereign, in the firſt place, laid an immenſe tax on the kingdom, for the payment of the Daniſh troops, that aſſiſted him in his conqueſts. The coronation of this prince is not taken notice of by any of the hiſtorians; and, perhaps, he omitted this ſolemnity, judging it to be a ceremony of no conſequence, or elſe was wholly intent on affairs of greater moment, during his reign, which laſted not quite a year. Some affirm, he died a natural death, being choak'd by a rheum, and others, that he was poiſon'd; but, whatever was the cauſe, it is certain he died ſuddenly, which led the legend-writers to pretend, that he was killed with a club or lance by St. Edmund, formerly king of East-Anglia. It is ſaid, this ſaint took away his life, to ſave the town, where he lay interr'd *, from being plunder'd, for refuſing to pay the tax impoſed by the new king. The ſhortneſs of his reign and his not being crown'd, probably, are the reaſons, why hiſtorians, for the moſt part, have not placed this prince among the kings of England.

1014. His ſudden death.

* St. Edmundsbury.

ETHELRED II. reſtored.

ETHELRED II.

UPON Sweyn's deceaſe, the Danes proclaimed Canute, his ſon, king of England; but the Engliſh recalled Ethelred, promiſing to ſupport him on the throne, againſt all the attempts of the Danes, being weary of the Daniſh yoke. Ethelred, at firſt, could not depend on their promiſes, as he ſuſpected their having a deſign to deliver him up to his enemies; but the reception his ſons met with, whom he had ſent before, to ſound the people's inclinations, encouraged him to accept of their invitation. Upon his return, he was received with great demonſtrations of joy; and his ſubjects ſwore allegiance to him a-new, as if he had but juſt enter'd on his reign, as they look'd upon his flight to be a ſort of

† Florence of Worceſter affirms, the burghers met with the ſame uſage; ſo that only four monks and about 300 laymen eſcaped with life.

abdication

abdication of the crown. As for Ethelred, he promis'd to reform what was amiſs in the adminiſtration of the government, before his departure. So deſirous were the Engliſh of ſhaking off their ſubjection to the Danes, that they flock'd to him with the greateſt zeal and expedition, and he ſoon found himſelf at the head of a numerous army; but his firſt expedition evidently proved, that, notwithſtanding his misfortunes, he was ſtill the ſame man. Inſtead of advancing againſt the Danes, he led his forces againſt the men of Lindſey *, who had given him ſome cauſe of diſguſt; and, after he gratified his revenge, he marched againſt the Danes, who little expected ſuch a ſudden revolution. Tho' Canute had all the Danes, on his ſide, and the ſame army which aſſiſted his father Sweyn, in the conqueſt of England; yet he did not think it convenient to hazard a battle. Accordingly, before Ethelred had approach'd near enough, to force him to come to an engagement, marching his troops to the ſea ſide, he ſet ſail for Denmark; but, before he embarqued, he ordered the hands and feet of the hoſtages, he had in his power, to be cut off, leaving them, thus mangled on the ſhore.

Canute returns to Denmark.

The reaſon of it.

The retreat of this prince cannot but ſurprize the reader, ſeeing he never was defeated, and, beſides, was poſſeſs'd of many fortified places; nor is it leſs a wonder, that the Engliſh hiſtorians ſhould be ſilent, as to the occaſion of his ſudden departure. This event, however, is accounted for by Daniſh authors, who tells, that Canute had a younger brother, named Harold, who, being regent in the abſence of his father Sweyn, had ſeized upon the kingdom for himſelf. This was the reaſon of Canute's leaving England in ſuch an abrupt manner, tho' it ſeem'd rather to proceed from his fears, than to be founded, as it was, on principles of ſound policy. He could not think it adviſable, to abandon the kingdom of his anceſtors, for the ſake of a country newly conquer'd and diſpos'd to a general revolt. The truth is, had the revolt of the Engliſh engaged him in a long war, what grounds had he to expect ſupplies from Denmark, whilſt his brother was on the throne. He afterwards ſufficiently demonſtrated, when, having ſettled his affairs in the north, he returned with his victorious troops to England, that he was incapable of thoſe fears that were laid to his charge.

Ethelred's avarice and cruelty.

Ethelred, being freed from the Danes, was entirely regardleſs of the promiſes he had made to his ſubjects; and, relapſing into his old courſes, he impos'd, on various pretences, exceſſive taxes, which occaſion'd great complaints, both among the nobility and the people.

To theſe publick irregularities, he added others of a more private nature, which diſappointed all the hopes his ſubjects had entertained of his amendment. Morkard and Sifferth, lords of Daniſh extraction, who had, all along, inviolably adher'd to the intereſt of the king and their new country, were made a ſacrifice to his avarice. To draw them into the ſnare laid for them, the king held a great council at Oxford, where he cauſed them to be murder'd; and, upon this, he ſeized on their eſtates, as if they had been legally condemned. Algitha, Sifferth's widow, was ſhut up in a monaſtery, which was the occaſion of her future greatneſs; for Edmund, the king's eldeſt ſon, paſſing that way, ſome time after, was deſirous of ſeeing a lady, ſo much celebrated, for her beauty; and, being deſperately enamoured with her, he married her, even againſt his father's conſent.

His ſon Edmund's marriage.

1016. The quiet England enjoyed, upon the departure of the Danes, laſted but one year; for Canute, being poſſeſſed of the throne of Denmark, ſet out directly for England; and, when he was leaſt expected, landed a powerful army at Sandwich. Edmund, Ethelred's ſon, and Streon duke of Mercia, his ſon-in-law, had the command of the army againſt the Danes, by reaſon of his indiſpoſition; but Edmund ſoon diſcover'd, that Streon was a friend to Canute. Upon this, on ſome pretence, he divided the army into two bodies, that he might be ſeperated from him, not daring to puniſh the traytor, leſt he ſhould excite a revolt in Mercia, where his power was exceeding great; and he dreaded alſo his father's diſpleaſure, who would never be perſuaded, that his ſon-in-law held treacherous correſpondence with the Danes. Canute, making the beſt uſe of this diviſion of the army, made large conqueſts immediately; and Edrick, who had joined Edmund, with no other view, but to betray him, perceiving that he was diſappointed in his deſign, openly declared for Canute. This would rather have been advantageous than prejudicial to the king's affairs, if the traytor had not carried off with him a conſiderable body of troops, with 40 ſhips of war. This deſertion, of great importance to Canute, was fatal to Ethelred; for the people, in ſwarms, went over to the Danes, and even Weſſex itſelf was in danger.

Canute returns to England.

Canute's hopes being daily raiſed, by theſe ſucceſſes, he marched againſt the Mercians, who continued in their allegiance to the king; and, having, with Streon's aſſiſtance, entirely ſubdued them, he reſolved upon attacking Ethelred in Weſſex. He had the more reaſon to expect, that this enterprize would prove ſucceſsful, as Edrick had artfully inſtilled a notion into the minds of the Mercians in the Engliſh army, that it was a ſin to reſiſt a prince, who was poſſeſſed of their country. All that Edmund could bring them to was, that they would follow the king, when he ſhould command them, in perſon, refuſing to fight under any other general. In this extremity, Edmund did all that was poſſible, to prevail on his father, who pretended to be ſick at London, to take upon him the command of the army; but the more he was preſs'd, on this head, the

Canute ſubdues Mercia.

Streon is his friend.

Ethelred ſuſpects the Engliſh.

* The inhabitants of Lindſey, one of the three diviſions of Lincolnſhire, who, as the Saxon annals relate, ſupplied the Danes with horſes, deſigning to join them in their ravages. Ann. 1014.

ſtronger were his ſuſpicions, that the Engliſh deſigned to deliver him up to the Danes, believing they could, on no other terms, make a treaty with them. As he durſt not leave London, where he thought himſelf ſafe, he would not go to the army; and Edmund had the mortification to ſee his troops deſert him, not being able to oblige them to ſtand a battle. In the interim, Canute, taking the advantage of theſe confuſions, extended his conqueſts, with great rapidity.

He, at laſt, promiſes to head the army.

In theſe miſerable circumſtances, Edmund found it neceſſary to repair to London himſelf, if poſſible, to perſuade the king to appear at the head of his army. He, at laſt, prevailed; and, by his uncommon activity and care, he muſter'd up another army more numerous than the former. His view was to give Canute battle, being confident that one fortunate blow would retrieve the affairs of the Engliſh. Ethelred joined his army, according to his promiſe; but he was no ſooner there, than he was ſeized with his former apprehenſions. Whether there was any foundation for his ſuſpicion, or whether it was inſtilled into him, by the traytors about him, he returned to London, with all imaginable expedition. After his departure, the ſtrength of the army being exceedingly impaired, by the retreat of the Mercians, who obſtinately refus'd to fight, unleſs the king commanded them, Edmund was forced to keep at a diſtance from the Danes; and Canute, upon this, ſubdued ſeveral counties in Weſſex, without any oppoſition, and was ſoon in a condition to make a conqueſt of the whole kingdom.

Edmund going into the north joins Uthred.

Edmund, perceiving that he could not put a ſtop to the progreſs of the enemy, joined Uthred earl of Northumberland, who had raiſed ſome troops in the north; and they riſled thoſe parts of the country that ſided with the Danes, whilſt Canute and the duke of Mercia ranſacked the ſouthern counties, that ſtill adhered to Ethelred. Canute, however, ſoon interpoſed, in behalf of his friends in the north; for, marching thither with all expedition, he forced Edmund and Uthred to retreat into Lancaſhire, where they were far from being very ſecure. Uthred, finding, from his own experience, that he was not a match for the Daniſh king, ſubmitted to him, who continued him in his government, tho' but for a little ſpace of time; for, as he was ſenſible, that the earl came over to his party, merely by compulſion, and, therefore, had reaſon to ſuſpect, that he would not long continue faithful, he ordered him to be put to death, and placed Erick, a Daniſh lord in his room.

Canute purſues him.

Uthred ſubmits to Canute, and is put to death, by his order.

Edmund, at this juncture, retired to his father at London; and he vehemently preſs'd him to exert himſelf, on this occaſion, but to no purpoſe. Ethelred, who had, hitherto feigned himſelf ſick, fell dangerouſly ill, in good earneſt, dying ſoon after in the 50th year of his age and the 37th of his reign.

1016. Ethelred's death.

He had, by his firſt wife Elgiva, Edmund, who was his ſucceſſor, Atheliſtan, who died in his infancy, and Edwy, beſides three daughters. Edgiva the eldeſt was married to an Engliſh earl, who was ſlain in battle. Edgith, his ſecond, was the wife of the traytor Edrick, duke of Mercia. Edgina, the youngeſt, was eſpouſed to Uthred earl of Northumberland. By Emma of Normandy, his ſecond wife, he had Alfred and Edward, and a daughter called Goda, who was firſt married to Walter earl of Mantes, and afterwards to Euſtachius earl of Bulloign.

His iſſue.

Ethelred was ſirnamed the Unready, either becauſe he was often ſurprized by the Danes, or becauſe he was never in readineſs to engage them. When he received the crown, the kingdom was in flouriſhing circumſtances, but he left it, at his death, in an extremely poor and deſolate condition.

16. EDMUND II. ſirnamed Ironſide.

Edmund is proclaimed by the Engliſh, tho' the Danes declare for Canute.

UPON Ethelred's deceaſe, the city of London, and all the lords there preſent, proclaimed Edmund his ſon king of England, who had already ſignally demonſtrated his courage and conduct; but the Danes, with all the counties in their poſſeſſion, declared for Canute. However, as the Engliſh obeyed him, with reluctance, great numbers of them came over to Edmund, whom they regarded, as their lawful prince; tho' they had ſworn allegiance to his rival. On this account, the two kings were more on a level; which occaſioned many engagements, with various ſucceſs, that only prolonged the war, but did not decide the quarrel. London being a mighty ſupport to Edmund, Canute imagined, if he could diſpoſſeſs him of it, he ſhould ſoon put an end to the war. With this view, whilſt Edmund was employed in another place, he advanced towards London, and vigorouſly beſieged it; but the brave defence of the Engliſh, giving Edmund an opportunity of reinforcing them with recruits, from the other ſide of the Thames, Canute was obliged to raiſe the ſiege; and being thus diſappointed, he made uſe of ſeveral ſtratagems to ſurprize the enemy, or draw Edmund off from London. This laſt project ſucceeding, he laid ſiege to the city, a ſecond time; but was as briskly oppoſed as before, the citizens ſo reſolutely defending themſelves, that Edmund had time to come to their aſſiſtance.

London is twice beſieged, but in vain.

Canute, incenſed to find his meaſures diſconcerted, ſuddenly deſiſted from his enterprize, in order to give Edmund battle, who was equally deſirous of an engagement, to decide the quarrel; and, inſtead, of retreating, he marched towards him. In this battle, which was very bloody and deſperate, they both gave remarkable proofs of their valour, neither of them being able to gain the victory. After a long and obſtinate fight, the two armies were obliged to part, with equal loſs; tho' the

A battle in which neither party proved victorious.

Engliſh

Engliſh army was in danger of being defeated, by the treachery of Edrick, who was in the intereſt of the Danes. This lord, obſerving that the Engliſh troops, contrary to his expectation, fought ſo courageouſly, as to render the victory dubious, beheaded one Oſmer a ſoldier, whoſe complexion very much reſembled that of Edmund; and, fixing his head on the top of his lance, he advanced to the ranks in the front, expoſing it to the view of the Engliſh, and crying out aloud, "Fly, fly, you "ſcoundrels, behold the head of your king, "in whom you confide." The Engliſh were thunder-ſtruck at this ſpectacle, and would have been defeated, had not the king revived their drooping ſpirits, by ſhewing himſelf, without an helmet, to his troops, that were, thus, aſtoniſh'd. The battle, having laſted till night, without any apparent advantage, on either ſide, Edmund made preparations to renew the fight in the morning; but Canute, having other deſigns in view, marched off in the night-time *. He retired to his fleet; and, having embarqued his men, row'd along the coaſt, for a while, to amuſe the enemy, who were at a loſs about his intentions; but, when he thought he had put Edmund upon a wrong ſcent, landing his forces, he beſieged London again, tho', meeting with no better ſucceſs than formerly, he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege.

Edrick's artifice to diſpirit the Engliſh.

The particulars of this war would afford ſufficient entertainment to the curious, were it poſſible to give a diſtinct relation of them; but this part of the hiſtory of England is entirely confuſed. All that we can learn from the hiſtorians, with any certainty, is, that the two contending princes fought five pitched battles, within the compaſs of a year; and that one of them would have infalliibly proved fatal to Canute, were it not for the deſtructive advice of Edrick, who, continually ſhifting ſides, was then in the Engliſh army. Edmund was ſo generous, as to grant him a pardon, and ſo credulous as to give credit to the oath he had taken, as to his fidelity, for the future; tho', being a creature of the king of Denmark, he embraced every opportunity of promoting his intereſt. He, finding that the Danes were cloſely preſs'd by the Engliſh, adviſ'd Edmund not to purſue them, leſt their deſpair ſhould make them rally again, and the victory, by ſome unexpected accident, ſhould be ſnatched from him. This artifice, by which he had formerly impoſed upon Ethelred, had the ſame effect upon Edmund; and it is not eaſy to determine, whether Edmund's imprudence, in giving into the councils of a perſon, with whoſe perfidiouſneſs he ought to be ſo well acquainted, or the traytor's boldneſs and confidence, be the moſt ſurprizing. Edrick, tir'd at length, with his own diſſimulation, threw off his mask, in the laſt battle at Aſſundun †; for, whilſt both armies were engaged, he deſerted his poſt, joining the Danes, who gave him a friendly reception. This inſtance of treachery occaſion'd ſuch a conſternation among the Engliſh, that throwing down their arms, they made the beſt of their way, to ſave their lives. Edmund's loſs, at this time, was irretrievable, as the flower of the Engliſh nobility were cut off in the battle; and the earls Alfrick, Goodwin, Ulfketel, and Ethelward, who were all diſtinguiſh'd, for their valour and loyalty, fell that day, with their ſwords in their hands, in the ſervice of their king and country.

Edrick's fatal advice to the king.

The battle of Aſſandun.

Upon this memorable victory, Canute looked upon himſelf, as irreſiſtable; but the Engliſh exerted themſelves in this extremity of danger. Edmund was aſſured of the hearts of his ſubjects, eſpecially the Londoners; and, therefore, he was ſo far from being dejected at this unfortunate turn of affairs, that he rallied his ſcatter'd troops; and, having muſtered together a more numerous army than the former, he advanced in purſuit of the enemy, who were on their march towards Glouceſter. Canute, on the other hand, unwilling to give him leiſure to augment his forces, went to meet him, deſigning to engage him. Both kings ſtood in view of each other, for ſome time, neither of them daring to give the ſignal of battle, the dread of the event keeping them equally in ſuſpence. Edmund foreſaw he ſhould be utterly ruin'd, if he loſt the day; and Canute was ſenſible, that a general revolt of the Engliſh would be the conſequence of his being defeated. Thus, in all probability, the fate of a great kingdom depended on the fortune of this important day. At laſt, Edmund, who was ſtrong and robuſt of body, being, on that account, ſirnamed Ironſide, acquainted Canute, that, to prevent the effuſion of ſo much blood, as was likely to be ſpilt, in their quarrel, he judg'd it moſt expedient for them, to decide it, by ſingle combat. Canute return'd the following anſwer to this challenge: That tho' he was not inferior to his antagoniſt, in courage, yet, by reaſon of the weakneſs of his conſtitution and the ſmallneſs of his ſtature, he would decline ſuch an unequal combat; but that, to prevent any farther effuſion of blood, he was willing to refer the deciſion of the affair to the principal officers of both armies. This propoſal was joyfully received by Edmund's nobles, who were paſſionately deſirous of finding out ſome expedient for putting an end to ſuch a deſtructive war. Edmund, on the other hand, would rather have decided the matter, by arms; but he durſt not oppoſe the nobility, leſt it ſhould provoke them to abandon him. Plenipotentiaries were, therefore, nominated on both ſides, who were to meet at Alney, a little iſland in the Severn, oppoſite to Glouceſter, to conſult about the regulation of the pretenſions of the contending princes. After a ſhort conference, the peace was concluded on, by the partition of the kingdom. Weſſex, viz. all the country ſouth of the Thames, with the city of London, and part of the antient kingdom of Eſſex, was allotted to Edmund; and Canute had for his ſhare the kingdom of Mercia, including Northumber-

Edmund raiſes another army.

Edmund ſends a challenge to Canute, who refuſes to accept it.

A treaty is made by the diviſion of the kingdom.

land

* This battle was fought at Sworſton, which Cambden takes to be Sherſton in Wiltſhire.

† Aſhdown in Eſſex, near Billericay, where Canute built a church, in memory of it.

land and East-Anglia. Matters being, thus, ſettled, the two kings met in the iſle of Alney; and having each of them ſwore to preſerve the peace, Edmund retir'd into Weſſex.

Remarks on the pretended duel between Edmund and Canute.

The challenge which Edmund ſent to Canute, has led ſome hiſtorians to aſſert, that the two kings actually fought a duel in the iſle of Alney; and, to render it the more credible, they are very particular in their accounts of this mighty combat. They inform us, that having laſted a conſiderable time, without any advantage on either ſide, Canute perceiving that his ſtrength failed him, liſting up the vizor of his helmet, propos'd the diviſion of the kingdom, which Edmund conſented to on the ſpot. It is farther added, that at the ſame inſtant, they ran to embrace one another, to the aſtoniſhment of the two armies, who were ſpectators; but as the beſt authors are ſilent on this head, it is not to be imagined, they would have omitted to embelliſh their hiſtories, with the relation of it, were it genuine *.

1017. Edmund's death.

Edmund did not long enjoy the peace, which coſt him ſo much pains; for Edrick, his brother-in-law, fearing the union of the two kings might prove fatal to him, bribed two of the king's chamberlains to aſſaſſinate him, tho' ſome ſay he employ'd his own ſon in this execrable treaſon. Thus died that valiant prince, who deſerved a better fate †, before he had ſat on the throne a whole year; but, in ſo ſhort a reign, he had often given demonſtrations of an undaunted bravery, conſummate prudence, and generoſity.

He left behind him Edmund and Edward, whom he had by his wife Algitha; and he had alſo a natural ſon named Edwy, who was put to death by Canute, ſome time after.

Canute's promiſe to Edrick.

The duke of Mercia, who was tranſported with joy, for having done Canute ſuch a notable piece of ſervice, went with all expedition to carry him the firſt news of it; but Canute deteſted this barbarous fact. However, he diſguis'd his ſentiments of the matter, becauſe he thought he might have farther occaſion for the traytor, promiſing to advance him above all the peers of the realm; and, accordingly, he punctually performed his promiſe, tho' in a manner very contrary to the villain's expectations.

17. CANUTE, the great.

1017. CANUTE.

UPON Edmund's deceaſe, Canute was reſolved to become maſter of Weſſex, the lawful heirs being in no condition to diſpute his pretenſions; but it was not ſo much by force of arms, as by extorting the conſent of his nobles, that he gain'd his point. Notwithſtanding the averſion of the Engliſh to the government of the Danes, he was in hopes that the dread of involving the kingdom in new calamities would conſtrain them to comply with his demands. With this view, he laid his claim before an aſſembly-general, which he called together in Weſſex, believing it to be time enough to make uſe of violent methods, upon his meeting with great oppoſition. Edmund, having left behind him two ſons and two brothers, it did not appear, that Canute had any right to the crown; but he inſiſted upon it, that, purſuant to the treaty of the iſle of Alney, the ſurvivor of the two kings ſhould ſucceed the other, giving them alſo to underſtand, by evident intimations, that he would not agree to their deciſion of it, if it was not made in his favour. Edmund's two ſons were in their minority, and his brothers in Normandy, where they did not entertain the leaſt thoughts of ſucceeding to the crown of Weſſex; whilſt Canute, on the contrary, was a very powerful prince, and denounced ſevere threatenings. He was not only poſſeſs'd of half the kingdom, but had a great number of friends among the Weſt-Saxons themſelves, beſides thoſe who were of the opinion, that any expedient was to be preferred to a war; ſo that it was ſcarce poſſible for the abettors of the Engliſh princes to ſurmount theſe mighty obſtacles. Had they been reſolutely determin'd to continue the ſucceſſion in Edmund's family, in all likelihood, they would have renewed a deſtructive war; and, therefore, in this perplexity, they agreed, that Canute ſhould be declared the protector of Edmund's children, till the eldeſt of them ſhould be of age to ſway the ſceptre himſelf. By this means, tho' they did not place theſe princes on the throne, they, at leaſt, preſerved their right entire; but Canute was not contented with a borrowed power. He was deſirous of being Edmund's ſucceſſor, in his own right, by virtue of the treaty of Alney; which, tho' it was not univerſally acknowledg'd, none durſt openly diſpute or call in queſtion. Tho' the treaty did not expreſly declare what Canute aſſerted, yet he maintained, that it could not be interpreted in any other ſenſe, without violence; and, to prove that this was the intention of the parties concerned in the treaty, he appealed to thoſe who were preſent at the concluſion of the peace, whether there was any ſtipulation, in favour of Edmund's ſons? Upon their anſwer, that there was not any mention made of the princes, he inferr'd that, therefore, they had no right to ſucceed their father. This reaſoning, tho' very inconcluſive, being ſeconded by the votes of his party, and by the fears of the Engliſh, in general, was ſufficient to bring over the aſſembly to his meaſures. They either thought, or ſeem'd to think, that his

Sim. Dun. Hovedon.

* This duel is mentioned by Ethelred, abbot of Rievalle, Huntingdon, and Matthew of Weſtminſter; tho' Malmsbury, Simeon of Durham, and Hovedon ſay nothing concerning it.

† With him fell the glory of the Engliſh Saxons, after the monarchy had continued 190 years, from the eſtabliſhment by Egbert, 432 from the founding of the heptarchy, and 568 from the arrival of the Saxons under Hengiſt.

arguments

arguments were ſolid and ſubſtantial; and, without a ſtrict ſcrutiny into affairs, they acknowledged and proclaimed him king of England, all the lords, both Engliſh and Daniſh, ſwearing allegiance to him. Upon this, he was crowned, and divided the kingdom into four parts, Mercia, Northumberland, East-Anglia, and Weſſex. The government of the firſt he gave to Edrick Streon, the ſecond to Eric, and the third to Turkil, reſerving Weſſex for himſelf.

Being crown'd, he divides England into four parts. Malm. l. 2. c. 21. Hunt.

His project to get rid of his enemies, and gain the affection of his ſubjects.

Canute had ſagacity enough to ſound the motive, that induced the Engliſh to own him for their ſovereign; for, tho' all about him were ſollicitous to conceal their ſentiments, he was ſenſible, an animoſity, that had ſubſiſted, for near 200 years, fomented by continual wars, could not be extinguiſhed in a moment. He, therefore, reſolved to uſe all poſſible caution, to prevent the defection of the Engliſh; and, to this purpoſe, the gaining the affections of his new ſubjects and the getting rid of thoſe, that gave him any diſturbance, were equally neceſſary. Tho' theſe projects ſeem'd altogether incompatible, not deſpairing of ſucceſs, he ſpent the firſt part of his reign, in effecting them. As he well knew, the beſt means of rendering him popular was to have juſtice adminiſter'd, with the utmoſt impartiality, he declared, that, for the future, he would make no diſtinction between the Engliſh and Danes. After this, he publiſhed an edict, ordering that every county ſhould be governed by the ſame laws, as in the time of the Saxon kings, tho' the northern counties were excepted, becauſe they were, for the moſt part, inhabited by Danes, who had introduced particular laws of their own, that did not ſtand in need of any alteration. The ſame edict denounced the ſevereſt puniſhments, againſt the malefactors of every nation, it being the king's deſign to convince the Engliſh, that they had no occaſion to fear any partiality or reſpect of perſons; and theſe prudent regulations produced the deſired effect. The people were indefatigable in the moſt publick demonſtrations of joy and ſatisfaction, as they were under the government of a wiſe and juſt prince, who ſeemed to have no other end in view, but the happineſs of his ſubjects.

Canute attempts to get rid of the Engliſh princes.

Canute, finding he had gained the hearts of the Engliſh, thought he might, now, ſafely venture on the ſecond branch of his ſcheme, the getting rid of thoſe that gave him the greateſt uneaſineſs, eſpecially the Saxon princes. Alfred and Edward, brothers to the late king, were retir'd into Normandy, with their mother. Emma, plainly foreſeeing the Weſt-Saxons would not be in a condition to do juſtice to the royal family. As for Edmund's two ſons, who continued in England, notwithſtanding their minority, they made the king ſomewhat uneaſy, becauſe of their intereſt in the people's affections; and he would not have ſcrupled to take away their lives, were it not for the odium, he apprehended, it would bring upon him from his Engliſh ſubjects. However, he committed them to the care of one of his domeſticks, to carry them into Denmark, pretending that he ſent them abroad on their travels, for their improvement; but his real intent was, that he might have an opportunity of diſpatching them, at once, as ſoon as their abſence ſhould abate the love of the people. The perſon entruſted with theſe princes, being conſcious of the king's deſign, was touch'd with ſo much compaſſion for their innocence, that, inſtead of conducting them to Denmark, he brought them to the king of Sweden, diſcovering, at the ſame time, his maſter's intentions. The king of Sweden aforded theſe princes a very gracious reception; but, to prevent a rupture with Canute, he ſent them to Solomon, king of Hungary, his relation, who took care of their education. In proceſs of time, Solomon gave one of his daughters in marriage to Edmund; and Edward was eſpouſed to Agatha his ſiſter-in-law, the daughter of the emperor Henry II. Edmund departed this life, ſoon after his marriage; but Edward had five children, two of which died in Hungary, Edgar Atheling, Margaret, and Chriſtian being thoſe that ſurvived.

He ſends Edmund's two ſons into Denmark,

but they are carried to Sweden; and, from thence to Hungary, where Edmund dies.

Two ſons of Ethelred II. who had both of them the name of Edwy, were ſtill in England; one of them was born in wedlock, but the other a baſtard, who was called, tho' on what account is not known, the king of the clowns. Canute was as jealous of theſe as the other princes, every thing concurring to heighten the ſuſpicions of a prince, who, not having a lawful title, does not think himſelf to be firmly ſeated on the throne; and, therefore, he baniſh'd them from his dominions. However, ſome time after, he recalled the firſt, under the pretence of a reconciliation, but, in reality, to diſpatch him; and the other *, having been expoſed to great hardſhips, during his exile, return'd privately into England, where he concealed himſelf in a place of retirement, being ſecretly ſupplied, by his friends, with neceſſaries for his ſubſiſtence †.

He baniſhes the two Edwy's.

He recalls one of them, and puts him to death.

Canute would have been as well pleas'd to be rid of Alfred and Edward, Edmund's brothers, who had retreated into Normandy with their mother; but he was at a loſs, how to get them from duke Richard II. their uncle into his own hands, being likewiſe apprehenſive, that this prince, whoſe forces were conſiderable, would eſpouſe their cauſe. Canute, therefore, to gain him over to his intereſt, demanded his ſiſter Emma in marriage, the widow of Ethelred II. making an offer to him, at the ſame time, of Eſtrith, one of his own ſiſters. Theſe propoſals being accepted, the nuptial ſolemnities were celebrated, in a magnificent manner. If Emma was pleas'd in being, once more, queen of England, the caſe was otherwiſe, with reſpect to Alfred and Edward her ſons, who publickly ſhewed their diſlike of the matter. Edward, in particular, could never forgive her, for ſcandalouſly eſpouſing Canute, her firſt husband's mortal enemy; and both of them were, to the laſt degree, incenſed

Canute marries Emma of Normandy.

* Several hiſtorians confound theſe Edwy's; but the Saxon Annals and Spelman plainly diſtinguiſh them.

† He was interr'd at Taviſtock in Devonſhire. Malmſ.

againſt her, for conſenting that the ſucceſſion to the crown ſhould, purſuant to the articles of marriage, be ſettled on the heirs of his body, which excluded Ethelred's family from all hopes of ever aſcending the throne.

Canute diſpatches ſome Engliſh lords, whom he ſuſpected.

Canute, having, thus, got rid of the Saxon princes, thought it convenient to ſecure himſelf from ſome lords, whoſe fidelity he ſuſpected, or whoſe power gave him uneaſineſs. The dukes of Mercia and Eaſt-Anglia, with the earl of Northumberland, were the principal, who had done him ſignal ſervices; but he was, for this very reaſon, the more jealous of them. He knew, that Edrick Streon was a villain, ſince he had ſo often been perfidious to the two preceding kings, to whom he was under the greateſt obligations; and, therefore, he was reſolved to begin with him. He ſoon found an opportunity to put his deſign in execution, by an act of juſtice highly acceptable to the Engliſh nation; for this lord, having openly reproach'd him, in an inſolent manner, for overlooking his paſt ſervices, eſpecially, the diſpatching of Edmund, his formidable rival, he made uſe of it, as a fit occaſion, for his purpoſe.

Edrick Streon is beheaded. Brompt.

Edrick had but juſt utter'd thoſe expreſſions, when the king anſwer'd in a paſſion, that, as he had the impudence publickly to avow ſo black a treaſon, he ſhould be treated according to his deſerts; and, without giving him time to reply, he order'd him to be beheaded on the ſpot, and that his body ſhould be thrown into the Thames. It is ſaid, Edrick's head was, by the king's order, fix'd on the higheſt part of the tower of London, to accompliſh the promiſe he had made to the traytor, "That he would exalt him above all the "peers of the realm." Eric, earl of Northumberland, under ſome pretence, was baniſhed the kingdom ſoon after; and Turkil, duke of Eaſt-Anglia, terrified by theſe examples, and, perhaps, by the king's emiſſaries, voluntarily went into exile, to prevent a worſe fate. Several other inferior lords fell a ſacrifice to the king's jealouſy or ſuſpicions, whoſe poſts were fill'd with perſons, in whom he could ſafely confide; and, from this time, the Engliſh enjoy'd a ſtate of tranquillity, which was ſo much the more agreeable, as they had wanted it for many years, and it was entirely unexpected.

1018. However, they were obliged to pay a tax of 80,000 l. * to defray the arrears due to the Daniſh army, a conſiderable part of which were ſent back to Denmark.

1019. Canute's voyage to Denmark, to wage war againſt the Vandals.

Canute, the affairs of the kingdom being peaceably ſettled, determined upon a voyage to Denmark, where his preſence was abſolutely neceſſary, on account of the war between the Danes and Vandals. He took along with him ſuch Engliſh lords, as he was jealous of, leſt his abſence ſhould give them an opportunity of exciting commotions in England. For the ſame reaſon, he carried with him the flower of the Engliſh army, under the command of earl Goodwin, the ſon of Ulnoth, mentioned in the reign of Ethelred II. Goodwin, who was a man of approved courage and conduct, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in this war, by a very bold, tho' ſucceſsful, exploit. The two armies of the Danes and Vandals being within view of each other, Canute reſolved to engage the enemy, by break of day the next morning; but, whilſt he waited in expectation of the battle, Goodwin, privately withdrawing from the camp, with a body of troops, fell upon the Vandals, in the night, and, putting them in diſorder, by this ſudden attack, and making a great ſlaughter, routed their whole army. As ſoon as day appear'd, Canute prepared for an engagement; but, the Engliſh not being at their ſtation, he concluded they had revolted to the enemy. In the interim, the Engliſh general arrived, who came on purpoſe to bring him the news of his victory; and, tho' this daring action was of dangerous conſequence, the king was very willing on this occaſion, to diſpenſe with the diſcipline of war, which required, that Goodwin ſhould be puniſhed, for preſuming to fight without orders. He received him, with the greateſt reſpect, and, as a reward for his ſignal valour and reſolution, created him earl of Kent; but I ſhall, hereafter, have occaſion frequently to take notice of this earl, who became, at length, the greateſt peer in the kingdom.

Earl Goodwin's bold and reſolute action.

Three ſorts of laws in England.

This war being happily compleated, Canute returned into England; and, upon his arrival, he convened the great council, in order to enforce the Daniſh laws, which had, for ſome time, been obſerved in part of the kingdom, eſpecially in Northumberland. There were, then, in England the Weſt-Saxon, Mercian, and Daniſh laws †; but the laſt of theſe had not the ſanction of publick authority, till Canute, on this occaſion, put them on a level with the antient laws of England.

1025. Canute's expedition againſt the Swedes.

Canute, from his return into England, lived in a profound and uninterrupted tranquillity, making it his whole ſtudy and buſineſs, to promote juſtice, peace; and happineſs among his ſubjects; but, in proceſs of time, he was obliged to take a ſecond voyage into Denmark, then invaded by the Swedes, in which he was very unfortunate, having had the mortification to meet with more rugged treatment, than formerly, and the Engliſh troops, he carried with him, ſuffered exceedingly.

1027. He ſubdues Norway.

Two years after, forgetting his ill ſucceſs againſt the Swedes, he entered into another war, which amply repaired all his former loſſes. He reſolved upon the revival of ſome old pretenſions to Norway, which had not, hitherto, been fully ſtated and examined. Olaus, now on the throne of Norway, was an eaſy and weak prince; and Canute, therefore, thought he ſhould never have a fairer opportunity, than the preſent, for aſſerting his claim. He

Hoved. Malm. Dunelm.

* The Saxon annals, Ann. 1018, tell us, it was 72000 l. beſides 11000, or, according to Florence, 15000 l. paid by the city of London; which ſhews, how wealthy that city was, even in thoſe days.

† Weſt-Saxenlaga, Merchenlaga, and Denalaga. Biſhop Nicholſon, in his letter to Dr. Wilkins, prefix'd to his edition of the Saxon laws, proves, that Laga, which the Norman interpreters thro' miſtake, thought to be the ſame with Ley or law, ſignifies a region, territory or province; ſo that Denalaga means no more, than among the Danes, or the Daniſh territories.

began

began his deſign, with privately forming a powerful faction, among the Norwegian lords; and, matters being brought to maturity, embarquing for Denmark, with a conſiderable number of Engliſh troops, he, on a ſudden, landed them in Norway. Olaus, who had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of his ſecret practices, was ſurprized at this unexpected attack, and ſo much the more, when he found, that the greateſt part of his ſubjects had eſpouſed the cauſe of the enemy; and, in this extremity, he abandoned the kingdom, to ſave himſelf by flight. Upon his departure, Canute was crowned king of Norway, giving himſelf no diſturbance, about the right, whilſt he had the power in his hands. Two years after, the depoſed prince, attempting to recover the crown, was ſlain by his own ſubjects; and Canute continued in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the kingdom. Olaus, however, was ſainted, after his deceaſe, and dignified with the glorious title of martyr.

Canute applies himſelf to devotion.

The conqueſt of Norway fully ſatiated Canute's ambition. Laying aſide all thoughts of martial affairs, for the future, he entirely applied himſelf to acts of devotion, i. e. he made it his principal employment to enrich the churches and monaſteries; as if the uſurpation of two kingdoms, and all the conſequent evils, were to be compounded for, by ſo ſlight a penance. Among other things, he gave particular proofs of his veneration for the memory of St. Edmund, formerly king of Eaſt-Anglia, who was ſlain by the Danes. Perhaps, he gave into the belief of the report, that his father Sweyn was killed by that ſaint, or, rather, he propoſed to ſtifle, by this means, the clamour that was raiſed about it. However, it is certain, he built a magnificent church over the grave of this prince, and exceedingly enlarged the town, where his body lay interred. The monaſtery, in the ſame place, named Breadicſworth, was endowed by Edward the elder; but Canute having enlarged it, and augmented its revenues, it became one of the moſt ſtately, as well as wealthy, religious houſes in the kingdom *.

* Vid. Cambd. in Suffolk.

1031. He goes to Rome.

Having, as he imagin'd, given publick proofs of his devotion, he reſolv'd upon a journey to Rome, which he perform'd in 1031. Whilſt he remained there, he made many valuable preſents to the churches, confirming all the donations his predeceſſors had granted to the church of Rome and the Engliſh college; and he likewiſe obtained new privileges for the Engliſh churches, with ſome advantages for thoſe who came to viſit the tombs of the apoſtles, the moſt material of which was an exemption from paying any toll, in their paſſage through Italy. The emperor Conradus I. who was then at Rome, and with whom he contracted an intimate friendſhip, allowed him the ſame privilege, as did alſo the king of France in his dominions. On theſe accounts, the Engliſh pilgrims and other travellers were eas'd of a great expence, and freed from a thouſand inſults and oppreſſions, they were, before, expos'd to, in Italy, Germany, and France, This whole affair is repreſented, at large, in a letter this monarch wrote, from Rome, to the aſſembly-general of the Engliſh nation; in which are contained great profeſſions of his piety and ſteady reſolution to govern the kingdom, after the ſtricteſt rules of juſtice, deſiring alſo his nobles to aſſiſt him in this laudable deſign.

His letter to the Engliſh. Malmſ.

No ſooner did he return to England, than he ſet about the dedication of the church of St. Edmund, which he had founded, before he went to Rome; and, having, at length, ſpent ſome years in continual acts of devotion *, he died in 1036, in the 19th year of his reign †.

His return to England.

1036. His death.

Hiſtorians have not ſcrupled to attribute to this prince the ſirname of great, a title affected by conquerors, as if true grandeur conſiſted in invading the rights and properties of others; but, not to confine the ſenſe of that word, within ſuch narrow limits, Canute may juſtly be ſaid to merit this glorious epithet, if we conſider only the latter part of his reign. The end of his life was ſo very different from the beginning, that, one would have thought, he was not the ſame perſon with him, who, to ſubdue kingdoms, to which he had no equitable claim, had occaſion'd the effuſion of ſo much blood, and even trampled upon religion and juſtice. If we can credit what the writers of his hiſtory have recorded concerning him, from the time of his being eſtabliſhed on the throne of England, he gave daily marks of piety, juſtice, and moderation, which gained him the love of his ſubjects, as well as an univerſal eſteem among foreigners. The following ſtory demonſtrates, at once, his good ſenſe, and the extravagant flatteries of thoſe that were about him. As he was, on a certain day, walking by the ſea-ſide *, his courtiers extolled him to the skies, preſuming even to compare him with the Almighty. Canute, diſpleaſed with theſe encomiums, and willing alſo to convince them of their folly and impiety, ordered a chair to be brought him; and, ſeating himſelf in a place, where the tide was about to flow, he addreſſed the ocean, as follows: "O ſea, "thou art ſubject to my dominion, and the "land I ſit on belongs to me; I charge thee "not to make any farther advances, nor even "to wet the feet of thy ſovereign". Upon this, he ſat ſtill for a while, as if he believed the ſea would obey his commands; but, the tide rolling on, in its uſual courſe, he took occaſion, from thence, to remind his flatterers, that the titles of lord and maſter were peculiar to God, who commands both the land and the ſea. It is reported, that, from this time, he would never wear his crown, ordering it to be placed on the head of a crucifix at Wincheſter.

His character.

* At South-ampton.

He left behind him three ſons, all of them of age, to whom he bequeathed his three kingdoms. Sweyn the eldeſt, a baſtard, had Nor-

* He founded the famous abbey of St. Bennet's in Holme in Norfolk, made ſeveral very valuable preſents to the church of Wincheſter, and to Coventry, the arm of St. Auguſtin, the great Doctor, which is ſaid to have coſt him, at Pavia, 100 talents of ſilver, and one of gold.

† He died at Shaftsbury, November 12th, and was interr'd in the old monaſtery at Wincheſter.

way

Flor. Wig. & Diceto.

way for his ſhare, tho' ſome relate, he was no more than a ſhoemaker's ſon, which Egiva, being barren, impos'd upon him, as his own. To Harold his ſecond ſon, by the ſame woman, tho' it is ſaid, he was only the ſon of a prieſt, which ſhe feigned to be her own, by the king, he gave the crown of England. To Canute or Hardicanute, whom he had by Emma of Normandy, he left the kingdom of Denmark; and Gunilda, his daughter by the ſame princeſs, was married to the emperor Henry IV.

As I ſhall have occaſion to intermix the affairs of Normandy with thoſe of England, it will be convenient to give ſome previous account of what was tranſacted among the Normans.

The affairs of Normandy.

Richard II. duke of Normandy, dying in 1026, Richard III. his ſon, who ſucceeded him, reigned but one year, leaving the dukedom, at his death, to Robert his brother; who was no ſooner inveſted in it, than he expreſs'd an inclination to eſpouſe the cauſe of Alfred and Edward, his couſins, being the ſons of his aunt Emma and Ethelred II. who were both at his court. As he pitied their unfortunate condition, upon the firſt news of the death of Edmund's ſon, he diſpatched ambaſſadors to Canute, to intreat him to ſurrender, to the two princes, ſome part of the kingdom of their anceſtors. This ambaſſy arrived in England,

Robert, duke of Normandy, takes Edmund's two brothers under his protection.

when Canute was ſo firmly ſettled on the throne, that he judged it unneceſſary to regard the ſollicitations of the duke of Normandy. Robert was ſo highly incenſed at his refuſal, that he reſolved to force him to do juſtice to thoſe injured princes; and, accordingly, he equipped an able fleet, on board of which he embarqued, with a powerful army, being fully determined to invade England, not doubting but the Engliſh would readily join him. The fleet meeting with a violent ſtorm, the greateſt part of it was deſtroy'd, a loſs not eaſily to be repaired; yet Canute finding, from theſe preparations, that the duke of Normandy deſigned to eſpouſe the intereſt of his couſins, in good earneſt, attempted to divert him, by making an offer of part of the kingdom of Weſſex. Robert, however, would not have been amuſed with this propoſal, had not his misfortune, at ſea, obliged him to ſuſpend the execution of his intentions, as it induced Canute alſo to recede from his word. In proceſs of time, Robert undertook a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, deferring his intended invaſion of England, till his return; but he died on his way home, leaving behind him only a natural ſon, named William, on whom he had entailed the ſucceſſion. This is that William, ſirnamed the Conqueror, who makes ſo great a figure, hereafter, in the hiſtory of England.

His fleet is deſtroy'd by a ſtorm.

18. HAROLD I. ſirnamed Harefoot

Harold I. 1039.

WHEN Canute eſpouſed Emma of Normandy, according to the articles of marriage, his children by that princeſs were entitled to the ſucceſſion; but this prince, contrary to that agreement, left England to his ſon Harold, born in Denmark, tho' he gave Denmark to Hardicanute, whom he had by Emma of Normandy *. In all probability, he thought the Engliſh had not been long enough inured to the Daniſh yoke, to ſubmit to the government of his youngeſt ſon, a prince of no genius, who was not above 15 or 16 years of age. However, that article in his will was warmly oppoſed by the Engliſh, as they look'd upon Hardicanute, a native of England, whom he had by a lawful wife, the widow of one of their kings, to be the only rightful heir to the crown, regarding Harold as a foreigner and a baſtard; but the Danes, on the other hand, were firmly reſolved to adhere to Canute's laſt will and teſtament. This diſſenſion might have proved fatal, if Harold had not ſeized on the treaſure, his father Canute had laid up at Wincheſter; which enabled him to ſecure a majority of voices, in a general aſſembly held in Mercia †, and to get himſelf proclaimed king of England. The Danes were for him, to a man, and, of courſe, the Engliſh Mercians, i. e. they who inhabited the north-ſide of the Thames, who, conſidering the Danes as their maſters durſt not directly oppoſe their proceedings.

† At Oxford. An. Sax. 1036.

In the interim, the Weſt-Saxons, upon their return home, conven'd an aſſembly of the ſtates of Weſſex; and, by the management of earl Goodwin, Hardicanute was elected and proclaimed king of Weſſex, tho' the Mercians were left at liberty to acknowledge Harold for their ſovereign. To ſet this matter in a clear light, it muſt be remember'd, that, tho' the Danes, or thoſe of Daniſh extraction, were diſperſed all over England, their chief ſettlements were in Mercia, Eaſt-Anglia, and Northumberland; and, for this reaſon, in all the country, north of the Thames, included then under the name of Mercia, the Danes were more numerous than the Engliſh. On the contrary, in Weſſex, i. e. ſouth of the Thames, there were more Engliſh than Danes, having admitted among them thoſe of their countrymen, who abandon'd the north, to avoid the dominion of the Danes; and, by this means, Weſſex became very powerful, being in a condition to bring into the field as great an army, as all the reſt of England. Thus, the kingdom of Judah, in antient time, grew ſtrong, at the expence of Iſrael. The forces of the Weſt-Saxons and Mercians, being at this time pretty much upon a level, it is no wonder they were jealous of one another, each of them uſing their efforts to have a king of their own, that, they imagin'd, would ſhew them the greateſt favour. This diviſion was like to have occaſioned a war between the two nations; but

Harold is proclaim'd in Mercia, and Hardicanute in Weſſex.

* She is called Elgiva by the Saxon Annals, &c.

Harold,

Harold, who wanted his father's qualities, believed he had not a force ſufficient to undertake the conqueſt of Weſſex.

Earl Goodwin is regent of Weſſex.

Hardicanute, now in Denmark, was not very expeditious, in coming to take poſſeſſion of the crown of Weſſex; either becauſe he was detained by other affairs, or on the account of his natural ſloth and indolence. In his abſence, earl Goodwin held the reins of government, in an abſolute manner, independent of Emma, the queen-mother, who had no intereſt in the affections of the Weſt-Saxons.

He delivers up the kingdom to Harold.

In the mean time, Harold was ſollicitous to obtain a kingdom, by artifice, which he found he could not ſubdue, by force of arms; and, as he was deprived of it, merely by the management of earl Goodwin, he judg'd it moſt adviſable for him, to bring over the earl to his ſide. Whilſt his brother remained in Denmark, he attempted to gain Goodwin's friendſhip, by ſuch ways and means, as we may eaſily gueſs at *, tho' they are not particularly related by the hiſtorians. Goodwin, whoſe conſcience was not too nice or ſqueamiſh, Harold's propoſals being advantageous, promiſed to fix him on the throne of Weſſex; and he managed this affair, with ſo much dexterity, that, on a ſudden, under the pretence, that Hardicanute neglected to come over into England, he procured him to be acknowledged king of Weſſex. This revolution, however, was not brought about, with the unanimous conſent of the Weſt-Saxons, but by the contrivance of Goodwin and ſome other lords, who were ſo hearty in the matter, that it was effected, before it was in the power of any to prevent it. Thus, a new king was placed on the throne of Weſſex, without allowing the Weſt-Saxons time to deliberate about it; and the like intrigues have often been attended with the ſame ſucceſs.

* It is ſaid, he promiſed the earl his daughter in marriage.

Emma forms a project of placing one of her ſons, by Ethelred, on the throne.

Emma, the mother of Hardicanute, was aſtoniſh'd at this ſudden turn of affairs, which not only deprived her ſon of the crown of Weſſex, but herſelf alſo of the proſpect of having any ſhare in the government; and, therefore, ſhe enter'd upon a project, to advance one of her ſons, by Ethelred, to the throne, hoping that the Engliſh would gladly exert themſelves, in favour of a prince ſprung from the race of their antient kings. Perhaps, the deſire of degrading Goodwin, from his exalted ſtation, was as powerful a motive to this undertaking, as the view of her ſon's advancement; but, to accompliſh her ends, there was occaſion for great art and diſſimulation, and, eſpecially to feign ſome pretence, without exciting the king's jealouſy, to ſend for the two princes, her ſons, who were in Normandy, that they might procure a party to eſpouſe their cauſe. Accordingly, ſhe diſſembled her concern for the depoſing of Hardicanute, confining herſelf to Wincheſter, where ſhe daily frequented the churches, being, in all appearance, wholly intent about the care of her ſalvation. No ſooner did ſhe imagine, that the king had no ſuſpicion of her real deſign, than ſhe begg'd leave to ſend for the two princes, her ſons, to Wincheſter, whom ſhe had not ſeen, ſince her ſecond marriage. Her requeſt being granted, Alfred and Edward arrived ſoon after in England, under the pretence of making a viſit to their mother; and they were careſs'd by vaſt numbers, who, having Engliſh hearts, on all occaſions, inviolably adhered to the antient royal family.

Alfred and Edward arrive in England.

Goodwin informs the king of Emma's deſign.

Goodwin had ſagacity enough quickly to penetrate into the queen's intentions, it being very difficult to impoſe upon ſo refin'd a politician; and, from the moment he firſt ſuſpected her, he employ'd ſo many ſpies, that he diſcovered, at length, his ſuſpicions had ſome foundation. Harold being ſtartled at the news, the earl, who was not ſo eaſily alarmed, repreſented to him, that this conſpiracy was, as yet, in the embryo; that it was not ſo material, at this juncture, to avoid the preſent, as to provide againſt future dangers; and that, the moſt effectual way, to ſecure himſelf from the like attempts, was to diſpatch the two Saxon princes, for which he had now ſo fair an opportunity. Harold falling in with his propoſals, Goodwin adviſed him to put on a ſeeming ſecurity, that he might, with the greater eaſe, draw them into the ſnare; and, upon this, Harold appeared to be altogether inſenſible of the queen's deſigns, permitting the two princes to continue, ſome time, at Wincheſter, without expreſſing the leaſt ſigns of uneaſineſs. At laſt, however, he invited them to paſs a few days at his court, before they return'd to Normandy, which furniſhed him with an occaſion for putting his project in execution. Emma was at a loſs how to act, on this emergency. She very well knew the appearance of her ſons at court was neceſſary, to gain a powerful party among the nobility; but, on the contrary, ſhe could not think of delivering them into the hands of a prince, whoſe intereſt it was to deſtroy them. In this perplexity, ſhe apprehended a middle courſe to be the moſt expedient, viz. to ſend Alfred, her eldeſt ſon to the king, and to detain Edward. She was perſuaded, that, if Harold had any evil intentions, he would defer the execution of them, till both the brothers were in his power, it being in vain to diſpatch one, whilſt the other was alive. Goodwin, pleas'd that his advice had been, hitherto, ſucceſsful, contrived the matter ſo, that he was ſent to meet Alfred, in all appearance, to do him honour; but, the truth is, he was not willing to entruſt another with the execution of his deſigns. Alfred's ſmall retinue, conſiſting of Normans, were charm'd with the reſpect Goodwin not only ſhewed to the prince himſelf, but likewiſe cauſed to be paid by others. They were, however, ſurprized, even to conſternation, when Alfred and all his attendants were obliged to enter into Guilford-caſtle, under the pretence of a refreſhment. The prince was, from hence, directly conducted to Ely, where, having had his eyes put out, he was confined in a monaſtery; tho' he ſcarce had time to be ſenſible of his misfortunes, as he died, within a few days, either by reaſon of grief, or by ſome more violent means, Goodwin being afterwards charged with his murder. Edward no

He adviſes him to diſpatch the two princes.

M. Weſt.

Edward returns to Normandy.

ſooner heard of his brother's fate, than he embarqued for Normandy, to prevent his own. Emma, ſoon after, having received orders to depart the kingdom, retreated to Baldwin, earl of Flanders, who aſſigned her the city of Bruges, for the place of her reſidence. One would wonder, ſhe ſhould not repair to William her nephew, duke of Normandy; but, in all likelihood, thoſe, who had the management of affairs, during the duke's minority, thought it inconvenient to receive her, as it was, indeed, to be feared, this intriguing princeſs might enhance the troubles of the dukedom, in which, William was not, as yet, firmly eſtabliſhed.

1039. Harold's death.

In the mean time, Hardicanute, being rouzed, at length, from his lethargy, enter'd into a reſolution to recover, by arms, the kingdom of Weſſex, which was uſurped by his brother; and, with this view, he went to Bruges, to conſult with the queen his mother. In all probability, he would have found it difficult to accompliſh his deſign, were it not for Harold's death, which happened at this juncture. This prince died at Oxford, without iſſue, in 1039, after a reign of four years, which was not attended with any memorable event, and was buried at Wincheſter *. He had the ſirname of Harefoot, becauſe his feet were, all over hairy, or, according to others, on the account of his being ſwift of foot *. The winter, in which he died, was one of the hardeſt, that had ever been known in England †.

* At Weſtminſter. Brompt.

Knighton.

19. CANUTE II. or, HARDICANUTE.

1039. Hardicanute is made king of all England.

UPON Harold's deceaſe, the great men of both nations unanimouſly made an offer of the crown to Canute, who was ſirnamed the Hardy, not from his courage, but the ſtrength of his conſtitution ‡. He was at Bruges, with the queen his mother, conſulting about the recovery of Weſſex, by the means of the auxiliary troops he had reaſon to expect from the earl of Flanders; but, being informed of Harold's death, he immediately ſet out for England, with forty ſhips he had brought with him from Denmark. The Danes, as well as Engliſh, received him with great demonſtrations of joy; and even Goodwin himſelf, who had been ſo active againſt him, was among the firſt to do him homage.

He digs up the corpſe of his brother. Malm. l. 2. c. 12.

Hardicanute began his reign, with an act of barbarity very extraordinary and uncommon; for he was no ſooner crowned, than, impatient to be revenged on his brother, tho' deceaſed, he ordered his corpſe to be dug up and thrown into the Thames; but all his care, to hinder the body from being interred again, proved ineffectual. Some fiſhermen, diſcovering the corpſe, as it floated on the water, delivered it to the Danes, who interred it in a burying-place at London, that belonged to their nation **. It is ſaid, that the king, informed of this, commanded it to be thrown, once more, into the river; but, being found a ſecond time, it was privately buried at Weſtminſter.

Hardicanute impoſes an exorbitant tax, which occaſions a ſedition in Worceſter. Camb. in Worceſt.

Hardicanute, ſoon after, impoſed an exorbitant tax on the kingdom, for the payment of the fleet he ſent back to Denmark; and tho' the Engliſh had often paid the like tax, ſtiled Danegeld, they were diſpleas'd, that it ſhould be renewed at a time, when there ſeemed to be no occaſion for it. The inhabitants of Worceſter were ſo incenſed at it, that they killed two of the collectors. The news of this reaching the king, he gave orders immediately to Goodwin duke of Weſſex, Leofric duke of Mercia, and Siward earl of Northumberland, to muſter their forces together, march to Worceſter, and deſtroy it with fire and ſword. Theſe lords executed a part of their orders, tho' with great reluctance. The city was burnt after it had been plundered, for four days together; but the inhabitants were permitted to retire into a ſmall iſland in the Severn, called Bevercy, till the king was appeaſed.

The city burnt.

Prince Edward appears at court.

Shortly after this, prince Edward, the ſon of Ethelred II. and brother to the king, by the ſame mother, made his appearance at court, who met with a very civil reception; and, upon his firſt coming, he demanded juſtice againſt Goodwin, whom he charged with the murder of his brother Alfred *†. The king was not unwilling to embrace this opportunity of puniſhing the earl, not ſo much, perhaps, on the account of Alfred's death, as for what he had acted, in favour of the late king. He was ſummoned, therefore, to appear and give an anſwer to the accuſation againſt him; but Goodwin, who was no ſtranger to the king's covetous diſpoſition, had the art to extricate himſelf out of this difficulty, by a magnificent preſent before his trial. This preſent was a galley, with a gilt ſtern, manned with 80 choice ſoldiers, who had, all of them, upon each arm, a golden bracelet, weighing 16 ounces, with helmets and ſwords gilded, a Daniſh battle-ax, adorned with gold and ſilver, hanging on the left ſhoulder, and a lance of the ſame in the right-hand. Every thing in the

* Brompton tells us, he was, thus, called, becauſe he choſe always to walk on foot, which, he obſerves, was highly unbecoming his royal dignity.

† This year a ſeſter, or horſe-load of wheat, was ſold for 55 pence and more. Sax. Ann. 1039.

‡ The term hardy, thoſe that wrote in Latin, render by durus, and not audax. Vid. Pont. Hiſt. Dan.

** According to conſtant tradition, the church and church-yard of St. Clement's-Danes.

*† Simeon of Durham affirms, that Alfric, archbiſhop of York, accuſed Goodwin and Levingus, biſhop of Worceſter, of this murder. S. Dunelm. p. 180.

galley

galley was anſwerable to this magnificence; and, the king accepting of it, the earl was acquitted, upon his making oath, that he had no concern at all in the death of prince Alfred.

1041. Hardicanute's death.

Hardicanute did not long enjoy a crown, of which he was unworthy, dying ſuddenly, at the nuptial-feaſt of a Daniſh lord, at Lambeth. Perhaps, his death was occaſioned by poiſon; but, to ſuch a monſtrous height, did he carry his cruelty and gluttony, that he departed this life, lamented by none, nor was any enquiry made into the manner of his death. It is univerſally acknowledged by the hiſtorians, that he ſpent entire days and nights, in feaſting and carouſing. A certain author, however, extols him exceedingly, for keeping an open table, four times a day, exclaiming againſt the kings his ſucceſſors, who aboliſhed ſo laudable a cuſtom. Hunting.

20. EDWARD III. the Confeſſor.

EDW. III.

HArdicanute dying, without iſſue, Edward the ſon of Ethelred II. and Emma of Normandy was the only prince in England, that had any pretenſions to the crown. It was reaſonable, that the race of the Saxon kings ſhould be reſtored to the throne, of which they had been unjuſtly deprived; but then it was equally juſt to recall from Hungary prince Edward, the ſon of Edmund Ironſide, who had a right to the crown, before his uncle, who was, one degree, farther removed. On the contrary, the uninterrupted ſucceſſion of four Daniſh kings, who reigned for the ſpace of 42 years *, with the conſent of the Engliſh, ſtarted another difficulty, Sweyn, the ſon of Canute the great being ſtill alive. It is certain, that ſome look'd upon him, as a baſtard; but the king his father did not conſider him, as ſuch, in his will; and he, doubtleſs, had an equitable claim to the ſame privilege with his brother Harold, who, tho' he was born of the ſame mother, aſcended the throne. On theſe accounts, it was not an eaſy matter to ſettle the ſucceſſion, to the ſatisfaction of all parties; and the old animoſities between the two nations were likely to be revived, which were formerly ſo fatal to the kingdom. Edward, the ſon of Ethelred II. having ſpent the greateſt part of his life abroad, was but little known in England; and, beſides, his merit was not very conſpicuous, nor was he capable of ſetting off his right. However, a lucky expedient, which he was obliged to make uſe of, procured him a ſupport, by which alone he was put into a condition to maintain his pretenſions, viz. earl Goodwin. Tho', a few months ago, Edward had proſecuted this lord, as the murderer of his brother, he was adviſed to court his protection, which he obtained more eaſily, than he could have expected. Such was Goodwin's power and genius, above the reſt of the nobility, that it was almoſt impoſſible for Edward to have ſucceeded, if he had not gained him over to his party. He was diſtinguiſhed by his merit, as well as his birth, when Canute the great made him commander of the Engliſh troops, in the war againſt the Vandals; and, on the account of his valour, in that expedition, Canute created him earl of Kent, Suſſex, and Surrey, giving him in marriage Thyre, ſiſter to earl Ulphon, to whom Canute had beſtowed his own ſiſter Eſtrith, widow of the duke of Normandy. Goodwin had a ſon, by this wife, who was drowned in the Thames, by the means of an unruly horſe. His ſecond wife was Gith, ſiſter to Sweyn, who was ſucceſſor to Hardicanute, on the throne of Denmark; by whom he had ſeven ſons, Harold, Toſton, Swane, Ulnoth, Gurth, Elfgar, Lewin, and a daughter named Editha. His great intereſt with Canute the great, the ſuperiority of his genius, his noble alliances, and honourable titles, being duke of Weſſex, earl of Kent, and high-treaſurer, to which poſt he was promoted by Harold; and, laſtly, the government of the counties of Oxford and Hereford, in the hands of his eldeſt ſon, had advanced him to almoſt the ſummit of honour. His credit was ſomewhat eclipſed, in the reign of Hardicanute; but he had the addreſs and policy to retrieve it. Whatever ſecret diſguſt the late king might harbour againſt him, he was ſuch an enemy to buſineſs, that he ſolely entruſted him with the adminiſtration of affairs, as being the moſt able politician in his dominions. Goodwin was ſo dextrous in making the beſt uſe of theſe favourable opportunities, to ingratiate himſelf with the nobility and people, that his power, at length, was ſuperior to that of all the Engliſh lords. This proves, how neceſſary Goodwin's aſſiſtance was, to place Edward on the throne; tho', in promoting the intereſt of others, he had always a view to his own. Accordingly, before he eſpouſed Edward's cauſe, he obliged him, by an oath, to marry his daughter Editha; which terms, for reaſons of ſtate, he agreed to, tho' with an inward reluctance, on the account of his brother's murder.

* It could be only 27 or 28 years at moſt.

Difficulties about the ſucceſſion.

Edward falls in with Goodwin.

Eward obliges himſelf, by oath, to marry Goodwin's daughter.

Theſe preliminaries being ſettled, Goodwin convened a general aſſembly, in which Edward was acknowledged and proclaimed king, with the conſent of the whole body. If Sweyn, king of Norway, had been in England, at this juncture, in all probability, his pretenſions would either have occaſioned a civil war, or the kingdom would have been, once more, divided into two; for the Danes would never have ſuffer'd the rights of the royal family of Denmark to be violated, in this manner. On the contrary, the Engliſh had ſuch an averſion to the Daniſh yoke, that they joyfully fell in with the preſent juncture, in fixing on the throne a native of England.

He is proclaimed king of England.

Goodwin's riſe.

In the aſſembly above-mentioned, to which, in all likelihood, the Danes, being then without a leader, were not ſummoned, Goodwin made

Goodwin's harangue againſt the Danes.

made a pathetick harangue, to the following purpoſe: "That they had, now, an oppor- "tunity of being freed from the oppreſſions, "under which they had groaned, for many "years; and, in the moſt eloquent language, "which was natural to him, he painted the "calamities of England, whilſt in ſubjection "to foreigners. He diſplay'd the ſupercilious "pride of the Danes, who treated the Eng- "liſh as ſo many ſlaves, reminding them of "thoſe miſerable times, when, an Engliſhman "and a Dane meeting on a bridge, the for- "mer durſt not ſtir a foot, till the latter had "paſs'd over; that, if an Engliſhman did not "pay his reſpects to a Dane, in the humbleſt "manner, he might depend upon being ſound- "ly cudgelled. To all theſe miſeries, he ſub- "joined that of the exorbitant taxes, they had "been obliged to pay, particularly Dane-geit *, "which was impoſed with no other view, "than to gratify the avarice of their imperi- "ous maſters." In a word, he omitted no- thing, that could inflame the reſentment of the Engliſh; and this harangue had ſuch an influ- ence on the audience, that it was reſolved, no Dane, for the future, ſhould ever ſucceed to the throne of England. Some relate, that this ſpeech made ſuch an impreſſion on their minds, that the Engliſh unanimouſly enter'd into a reſolution of expelling the Danes; and alſo, that they immediately put it in execution.

* 40,000 l. a year.

Brompt.

They expel the Danes.

The difficulties, about this paſſage of the Engliſh hiſtory.

This is one of the moſt difficult paſſages in the Engliſh hiſtory; for, in whatever light we view it, it is not to be accounted for. Firſt, it is not eaſy to apprehend, how the Engliſh, in a general aſſembly of the kingdom, could come to a reſolution of expelling the Danes; much leſs, that they ſhould have power to put it in execution. The Danes were, in a man- ner, ſole maſters of all the eaſtern and nor- thern counties; and in Mercia, the very heart of the kingdom, they were as numerous as the Engliſh. Four kings of their own nation had reign'd ſucceſſively in England, who, doubtleſs, gave them the preference, in their favours; and yet, without any extraordinary event, except the death of Hardicanute, a prince of no merit or reputation, it is affirm- ed, that the Engliſh, on a ſudden, became ſu- perior to the Danes, and that, to ſuch a de- gree, as to be in a condition to force them out of the kingdom. Can it be imagin'd, that the Danes ſhould tamely ſubmit to ſuch treat- ment, without the leaſt reſiſtance? The Da- niſh hiſtorians render this affair ſtill more in- tricate and perplexed, who aſſure us, that all the Danes in England were maſſacred, in one night, by the treachery of Harold, the ſon of Goodwin, who order'd all the Daniſh ſol- diers to march out of their garriſons, under the pretence of obſerving the ſolemnity of the late king's funeral *; but this account is altogether incredible, as Harold, then very young, was incapable of having any hand in the government, and, therefore, could give no ſuch orders to the Daniſh officers. Beſides, what

Pontanus. Meurſius.

reaſon can be aſſigned, why all the Engliſh hi- ſtorians, except Brompton, who himſelf but juſt touches upon the matter, ſhould agree in overlooking ſuch a remarkable occurrence? Was it poſſible for them to write their hiſtories, without the leaſt alluſion to it? If it ſhould be objected, that they were ſilent, on this head, becauſe they were aſhamed, that their coun- trymen had been guilty of ſuch a barbarous action, why did they not paſs over in ſilence the maſſacre, in the reign of Ethelred. Theſe are almoſt inſuperable difficulties. One would think, at firſt view, that they might be, plau- ſibly, accounted for, by charging the hiſtorians, as well Engliſh as Danes, with either not relat- ing the whole truth, or aggravating what they relate; but, at this rate, we ſhould only run into ſtill greater perplexities. It is very certain, that, from the beginning of the reign of Ed- ward the Confeſſor, the Danes are no more taken notice of, in hiſtory, than if they had never been known in England, tho', juſt be- fore, they were poſſeſſed of the whole king- dom; but what could occaſion ſuch a ſudden fall, or, rather, how ſhould they all vaniſh, in an inſtant, unleſs they were either expelled or maſſacred? Hiſtory does not inform us, that they were engaged in a war, that their for- treſſes were taken from them, or that they were compelled to ſubmit to new laws; but, all at once, theſe mighty and formidable Danes are reduced to nothing, in the reign of a prince, the moſt unfit for making of conqueſts, of any that ever ſate on the throne. The ſolution of theſe hiſtorical difficulties I am obliged to leave to others. But to return to my ſubject.

Edward's character.

Edward was a prince of weak a conſtitution and a ſlender genius, every way unequal to the government of ſo large a kingdom. His want of ſteadineſs and reſolution, on important oc- caſions, his incapacity for publick affairs, and his being entirely engroſſed by trifles, fur- niſh'd the nobles with an opportunity for aſ- ſuming a power, little inferior to the ſupreme. As ſoon as they ſaw into Edward's weakneſs, they obeyed his orders, no farther than was conſiſtent with their intereſt. Earl Goodwin, in particular, gradually uſurped ſuch an arbi- trary ſway, that he had almoſt as much homage paid him, as the prince on the throne. Per- haps, the eaſineſs of the king's temper was the chief motive, why that lord was ſo active in obtaining for him the crown, that he might rule in his name; but, how fair a correſpondence ſoever the king maintained with Goodwin, he utterly abhorred him and his whole family. On this account, he deferred his marriage with Editha, as long as he could; but he was obli- ged to eſpouſe her, at laſt, purſuant to his pro- miſe, to avoid her father's reſentment. How- ever, he did not conſummate this marriage, ſuch was his averſion to the very race of Good- win. The queen, who was a perſon of the ſtricteſt virtue, being likewiſe endowed with a greatneſs of ſoul, ſubmitted to this uſage, with a wonderful patience; for, inſtead of venting

Ailred.

* Eaque nox, exiguo temporis momento, vetuſtam Danorum dominationem, ac longo multoque majorum ſudore & ſangu ne partum imperium, ita peſſumdedit, ut vix unquam poſtea Danos fortuna reſpexerit. Pont. in Vit. Magn. Boni. l. 5. Ann. 1045.

complaints,

complaints, about her treatment, finding it was impoſſible for her to gain the affections of the king her husband, ſhe ſpent her time in acts of devotion and the reading of books*. The author of Edward's life pretends, that he had made a vow of chaſtity, long before his marriage, and that he prevailed on the queen to follow his example; but Malmsbury, who is at a loſs, what judgment he ſhould paſs on this proceeding, ſeems to intimate, that Edward's abhorrence of Goodwin was the true cauſe of his averſion to the daughter. He durſt not, however, divorce her, leſt the earl ſhould occaſion his being depoſed, or, at leaſt, involve his affairs; and, therefore, he continued to heap favours on this potent lord, till he ſhould meet with a proper opportunity for expreſſing his reſentment, not conſidering, that, by theſe means, the people were more firmly attached to Goodwin's intereſt, as they imagined, that he was the king's particular favourite. The earl, on this account, became, every day, more formidable to Edward; and, in all likelihood, his power, in proceſs of time, would have been equal to that of the mayors of the palace formerly in France, were it not for Siward earl of Northumberland and Leofric duke of Mercia, who prevented his attaining to that degree of power, ſo fatal to the regal authority. Siward was look'd upon to be the braveſt and moſt deſerving peer in the kingdom; and his excellent qualities gain'd him great reſpect at court, and among the Northumbrians, who were under his government. Leofric was univerſally eſteemed, for his merit; and his power, in Mercia, was ſuperior to that of Edward himſelf. Theſe two lords, being reſolved jointly to exert themſelves to reſtrain Goodwin's authority within bounds, ſteadily adhered to the perſon of the king, doing all that was poſſible, to ſupport him on the throne; and Edward, without their aſſiſtance, would have found it extremely difficult, to defend himſelf againſt the artifices of Goodwin.

The ſtate of the court.

Edward, who is honour'd with the glorious titles of ſaint and confeſſor, aſcended the throne with a temper of mind, not altogether conſiſtent with real ſanctity; for he not only abhorred Goodwin and his own wife, but alſo was deſirous of being revenged on his mother, in direct oppoſition to the rules of the goſpel. It muſt be confeſſed, his mother, who never had any great affection for him, highly diſobliged him, in eſpouſing Canute the great, the avowed enemy of her firſt husband; and alſo in conſenting, that her children, by this ſecond marriage, ſhould ſucceed to the crown of England, to the prejudice of thoſe by the firſt. Theſe things were ſo deeply impreſs'd on Edward's mind, that all her attempts afterwards, to fix him on the throne, were not able to efface them; and he no ſooner had it in his power, than he determin'd, that ſhe ſhould feel the effects of his reſentment. On a ſudden, when ſhe leaſt expected it, he came to Wincheſter, where ſhe had laid up her treaſures, and ſtripp'd her of all, except a moderate penſion, which he allowed for her ſubſiſtence. Thus Emma, the widow of two kings, mother of as many, and daughter of a duke of Normandy, little inferior to a king, was, in the latter part of her life, reduced to poverty. Sax. Ann. 1042.

Edward ſeizes on the eſtate of the queen his mother.

Edward, however, did not think this act of violence ſufficient to ſhew the contempt and averſion he had for his mother; for, ſeveral hiſtorians affirm, that he likewiſe accuſed her of incontinence with Alwin biſhop of Wincheſter, and, regardleſs of her quality, even obliged her to endure the ordeal trial. They tell us, ſhe walk'd, barefoot and hoodwink'd, over nine red-hot plough-ſhares, as the nature of that ſort of trial required; and that, eſcaping without any damage, ſhe, in memory of this deliverance, beſtowed nine manors to the monaſtery of Wincheſter, tho', from what has been ſaid, it appears ſhe had none to give. However, ſhe lived ten years, in the condition to which the king had reduced her, confined to Wincheſter, as to a priſon, where ſhe remained, till ſhe was releaſed by death, in 1052†. *He obliges her to endure the ordeal-tryal.* Brompt. Knighton.

In the mean time, Edward received certain intelligence, that a great ſtorm was beginning to gather in the north. Sweyn king of Norway, the ſon of Canute the great, being reſolved to aſſert his claim to the crown of England, made preparations for an invaſion, with all expedition, which terrify'd the Engliſh; and Edward was no leſs alarmed than his ſubjects, who endeavour'd to put himſelf in a condition to receive them. Gunilda, niece to Canute the great, was, by his order, obliged to abandon the kingdom, with her family, to prevent her contriving ſome project, in favour of the Danes; but it fortunately happen'd, that a war, which ſuddenly broke out between the kings of Denmark and Norway, diſconcerted Sweyn's meaſures, as to his deſcent upon England. In proceſs of time, Sweyn was depos'd by Magnus, the ſon of Olaus the Martyr, whom Canute the great had deprived of the kingdom of Norway. Magnus was no ſooner on that throne, than he carried the war into Denmark; upon which, the king, who was alſo called Sweyn, demanded the aſſiſtance of England. Goodwin, to keep up this war in the north, propos'd it, as his opinion, that it would be expedient to ſupply him with a fleet of 50 ſail; but Siward and Leofric, for private reaſons, prevailed on the council to reject this propoſal. However, for want of this ſupply, Sweyn was dethroned; tho' he was reſtor'd to the crown, after the death of his enemy. *Sweyn, king of Denmark, makes preparations to invade England.* *Gunilda is baniſhed.* 1043. *A war between Denmark and Norway.*

Notwithſtanding the commotions in Denmark, the pyratical Danes, putting to ſea, brought terror to the Engliſh coaſts. In 1046, with 25 ſail of ſhips, they unexpectedly ar- *The Daniſh pyrates make a deſcent upon England.*

* Ingulphus commends this lady, not only for her ſingular beauty, chaſtity, and modeſty, but her learning alſo; for, he relates, that, when he was a boy, and lived at court with his father, ſhe has often met him, as he came from ſchool, and took a pleaſure in poſing him, in logick as well as grammar. He adds, that, on ſuch occaſions, ſhe order'd her ſervant to give him money; and that ſhe was of ſo different a diſpoſition from her father, that it became a proverb, Sicut ſpina roſam, genuit Goodwinus Editham. Ingulph. p. 6. Edit. Gale.

† Malmsbury, Florence of Worceſter, Huntingdon, Hoveden, and Matthew of Weſtminſter, who lived neareſt this time, are entirely ſilent, as to Emma's miraculous purgation by the fire-ordeal.

rived at Sandwich, from whence they carried off a conſiderable booty; and then, ſailing for Eſſex, they took away with them, for ſlaves, great numbers of both ſexes, and of all ranks and conditions. The Engliſh were ſtruck with the moſt extreme dread and conſternation; but Goodwin, Siward, and Leofric enter'd into ſuch meaſures, that the Danes, alarm'd in their turn, ſpeedily retir'd, to carry on their ravages in other places.

Swane, earl Goodwin's ſon, is baniſh'd.

The retreat, however, of the Daniſh pyrates did not reſtore tranquillity to the kingdom, the ſea-coaſts being, that very year, infeſted by another enemy. Swane, the ſon of Goodwin, having deflower'd an abbeſs, whom he paſſionately loved, not daring to remain in England, on the account of this infamous fact, retreated into Denmark, where he had, in vain, expected a pardon, by the mediation of the earl his father; but, whether Goodwin was willing his ſon ſhould be puniſh'd, or that the king was inexorable, Swane did not obtain a pardon, ſo ſoon as he imagin'd. Upon this, he was ſo incenſed, that he fitted out eight ſhips, declaring war againſt the Engliſh, and committed ſuch horrible ravages on the ſea-coaſts, as exceeded thoſe of the moſt barbarous enemies. Swane's inſolence gave Goodwin's enemies an opportunity of inflaming the king's reſentment againſt the earl and his family; and, as for himſelf, he was, at a loſs, what ſteps he ſhould take, being unwilling openly to eſpouſe his ſon's cauſe, leſt he ſhould be accuſed of being an abettor of his rebellion. On the contrary, as he was extremely concerned at Swane's being declared a traytor, in this perplexity, he intreated earl Beorn, the ſon of Ulphon and Eſtrith, ſiſter to Canute the great, to employ his intereſt with the king, in the behalf of his ſon. Tho' Beorn had very warmly declaimed againſt Swane, he was prevailed upon by Goodwin to make application to the king, who complied with his requeſt, upon certain conditions. Matters being, thus, in a fair way of being compromiſed, Beorn went to Swane, with a view of perſuading him to ſubmit to the king's mercy; but Swane, ſuſpecting that the earl came to betray him, ſlew him, with his own hand, ordering his body to be thrown into the ſea. This brutal and ungrateful action, for the preſent, obſtructed a reconciliation; but the king granted him a pardon afterwards, notwithſtanding his many complicated crimes, ſo much was he afraid of the effect of Goodwin's diſpleaſure, if he had continued inflexible. Thus, Goodwin, tho' the king abhorred him, received as many favours, as if he had, in reality, the chief place in his affections; but theſe obliging offices, inſtead of producing mutual love, only fomented their averſion to one another. The earl thought himſelf under no obligations to the king, for favours that proceeded from fear; and the king's abhorrence of the earl was increaſed, in proportion as he found himſelf conſtrained to conceal it.

He plunders the Engliſh coaſts.

1048. The Normans great intereſt at court.

Beſides the king's private reſentment, Goodwin had likewiſe other enemies, who, on all occaſions, excited prejudices in the king againſt him, viz. the Normans, whoſe number and intereſt, at court, were vaſtly conſiderable. They regarded the earl, as their avowed enemy, becauſe he loudly complained of the king's friendſhip for them, making no ſcruple to affirm, that they would ſoon become as troubleſome, as the Danes; and theſe complaints were not, altogether, groundleſs. Edward, who was educated among the Normans, gave into all their manners, expreſſing ſuch an affection for them, as occaſion'd the envy and jealouſy of the Engliſh; and the Norman language was more in faſhion at court, than the Saxon. This being the caſe, the Normans grew haughty and imperious, expecting that all the world ſhould do them homage; and they, who did not obſequiouſly cringe to theſe ſpecial favourites of the king, might depend upon feeling the effects of their reſentment. Goodwin was one of thoſe, that could not ſtoop to the Normans; and ſo far was he from courting their protection, that he affected, by his continual railleries, to give them to underſtand, that he did not believe it was in their power to hurt him. Robert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, of all the Normans, had the greateſt intereſt with the king, who had removed him from a monaſtery in Normandy, to make him biſhop of London; and he afterwards advanced him to be archbiſhop of Canterbury, to the great regret of ſeveral Engliſh biſhops, who aſpired to that exalted ſtation. This prelate, being naturally of an inſolent diſpoſition, and whom the king's favours rendered till more arrogant and imperious, kept no meaſures with Goodwin, who, on the other hand, expreſs'd the utmoſt contempt for the archbiſhop; but Robert, exaſperated at this treatment, made it his buſineſs to put the worſt conſtruction on all the earl's actions, to prejudice the king ſtill more againſt him.

Robert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, is Goodwin's enemy.

At length, an unexpected accident brought earl Goodwin to the brink of ruin, as it furniſhed the king with an occaſion of being revenged on him. Euſtace earl of Bulloign, who was father to the famous Godfrey of Bulloign, who won Jeruſalem from the Saracens, making a viſit to the king his brother-in-law, was honourably received, as he had a particular affection for him. In proceſs of time, as he was on the road for France, one of his retinue, whom he ſent before, to provide him lodgings at Dover, picking a quarrel with a townſman, killed him on the ſpot. Upon this, the inhabitants, being alarmed, took up arms, in order to ſeize the murderer, who defended himſelf, by the aſſiſtance of ſome of the earl's domeſticks in his company. In the midſt of this tumult, Euſtace entered the town; and, finding his ſervants were attacked, he was obliged to eſpouſe their cauſe, without having time to be informed of the occaſion of the quarrel; but, being overpowered by numbers, twenty of his retinue were ſlain, and the earl himſelf very narrowly eſcaped with life.

Euſtace, earl of Bulloign, comes into England. Sax. Ann.

A quarrel betweeu him and the inhabitants of Dover.

Incenſed at this inſult, he returned to the king at Glouceſter, where he then kept his court, and very urgently inſiſted on ſatisfaction. Edward, complying with his demand, gave orders to Goodwin to march directly, with

He demands ſatisfaction.

Goodwin refuſes to obey the king's orders.

with ſome troops, to chaſtiſe the rioters that were under his government; but the earl boldly replied, that it was contrary to the Engliſh cuſtom to puniſh people, unheard, and that the rights and privileges of the ſubjects ſhould be inviolably preſerved; that the party accuſed ſhould be ſummoned to a trial, and, if guilty, make ſatisfaction with their bodies and eſtates, but, if innocent, be diſcharged. He added, in a very inſolent tone, that, as he was earl of Kent, it was his province to protect thoſe, over whom he governed, from the inſults of foreigners; and, ſome ſay, he even charged the king to deliver up to him the earl of Bulloign, that, if found guilty of the tumult, he might be puniſhed upon the place. Edward was exceedingly diſpleaſed with this haughty anſwer; as it was not only a downright refuſal to obey the king's orders, but alſo a cutting reproach for his partiality to foreigners. The archbiſhop and the other Normans greedily catched at this opportunity to inflame the king's reſentment, which already was but too much kindled againſt him.

The king is reſolved to puniſh Goodwin.

But, notwithſtanding Edward's indignation, he was conſtrained to ſmother it, as he was not, as yet, in a condition to puniſh, on the ſpot, a lord, whoſe power was equal to his own; for, Siward and Leofric being abſent, he durſt not attempt any thing againſt Goowin, until he ſhould be aſſured of their concurrence. In the interim, being extremely impatient of revenge, he diſpatched truſty meſſengers to them, to acquaint them with his reſolution of chaſtiſing Goodwin, and to command, or, rather, intreat them to repair to him, with all expedition.

Goodwin makes preparations, for his own defence.

How ſecretly ſoever this affair was tranſacted, Goodwin, receiving intelligence of it, took his meaſures accordingly. As he very well knew, his ruin was unavoidable, if he did not prevent the deſigns of his enemies, he muſter'd together ſome troops, which ſoon joined with others, from his ſon's government, an incurſion of the Welch, at the ſame juncture, into Herefordſhire, giving him a ſpecious pretence to levy this army; and he repreſented, that he raiſed theſe forces to expel the enemy, tho' he had received no orders, concerning the matter. In the mean time, the king, having ſummoned him to appear before a general aſſembly held at Glouceſter, he made his appearance with his ſons, tho' with ſo ſtrong a guard, that he had nothing to fear. This being the caſe, the wiſeſt of the council, being ſenſible of the danger of puſhing things to extremity, adviſed the king to conceal his reſentment. They told him, that if the earl was reſolved to inſiſt on his own defence, which was highly probable, he would gain over to his intereſt the majority of the people, who regarded him as their friend; and that, for this reaſon, the furniſhing him with a handle, for carrying his inſolence to a ſtill greater height, muſt, of courſe, be of dangerous conſequence. Purſuant to this advice, ſuch a peace was patch'd up, as was agreeable to Goodwin's deſire, i. e, he came off, by advancing ſome excuſes, that related more to his manner of acting, than the principal point in diſpute.

He is reconciled to the king.

This reconciliation was but of a ſhort duration. Edward, who could not ſit eaſy under the affronts he had received, entered upon new meaſures againſt Goodwin, by bringing over ſome of his chief friends, by preſents and promiſes. As ſoon as he had prepared matters, he convened a general aſſembly, and ſummoned Goodwin and his ſons to appear before them; but, being given to underſtand, that a deſign was formed to have them apprehended, they refuſed to make their appearance, without a paſs and hoſtages, for their ſecurity. Upon this, they were baniſhed the kingdom; and being, on a ſudden, deſerted by their principal adherents, they were obliged to ſubmit to the ſentence paſſed againſt them. Edward, not ſatisfied with being, thus, rid of Goodwin, confined the queen in the nunnery of Warwel, deſigning, in all probability, never to take her again. Goodwin retreated to the earl of Flanders, father-in-law to his ſon Toſton; but Harold embarqued for Ireland, where he expected to meet with aſſiſtance.

Being proſecuted again, he is baniſh'd.

Edward ſends away the queen.

In the interim, Goodwin, who imagin'd he was treated unjuſtly, form'd a reſolution of doing himſelf juſtice, by force, the only ſtep he could take, in his preſent condition. The earl of Flanders having ſupplied him with ſome ſhips, he infeſted the eaſtern coaſts of England, whilſt Harold did the ſame to thoſe of of the weſt; but, theſe feint attempts being ineffectual, Goodwin return'd to Flanders, where, for two years ſucceſſively, he did all that was poſſible to perſuade the earl, to grant him a powerful aſſiſtance. Baldwin, at length, furniſh'd him with a formidable fleet; and Harold fitted out a conſiderable number of ſhips from Ireland. Edward, being informed of theſe proceedings, equipp'd a fleet, with all expedition, under the command of Radulph of Mantes, his nephew, and the lord Odda. Theſe admirals receiving intelligence, that Goodwin had been ſeen off Romney-point, reſolved to purſue him; but, he had time to make his eſcape. Goodwin's deſign being, thus, baffled, by the king's vigilance, he embarqued again for Flanders, ſending Harold into Ireland. His view was to amuſe the king with a notion, that he had entirely laid aſide his project; and he kept his fleet always in readineſs to ſail, that he might embrace the firſt opportunity that offer'd. Soon after, he met with a favourable juncture, which he improved to his advantage. Whether the two admirals were deficient in fidelity or conduct, or whether by the intrigues of ſome courtiers, for the hiſtorians give us no light into this affair, Edward, on a ſudden, removed theſe two lords from the command of the fleet; and this alteration, with the breaking of ſome of the inferior officers, occaſioned ſuch diſcontents among the ſailors, that they deſerted in ſhoals. Thus, the king's ſhips, for want of hands, not being in a condition to keep the ſea, were brought up the Thames, in order to be mann'd again. Goodwin, being inform'd of this, makes a deſcent on the iſle of Wight, where he extorted great ſums of money from the inhabitants, whilſt he waited for his ſon Harold; and, upon his joining

Goodwin attempts to reſtore himſelf to his former condition, by the force of arms.

Edward fits out a fleet to repulſe him.

Goodwin comes up the Thames as far as London.

ing him, they both ſailed up the Thames, advancing towards London, the ſtation of the king's fleet. Edward, giving way to his paſſion, was deſirous of engaging them, himſelf, with the ſhips that were ready; but his council oppoſed it. They told him, that, inſtead of venturing his perſon, in an action, that might prove to be of very fatal conſequence, it was much more adviſable for him, as it was more for his own and the kingdom's intereſt, to make uſe of milder methods, to reclaim Goodwin. Notwithſtanding the wholſomeneſs of this advice, it would have been a difficult task to perſuade the king to fall in with it, had not Goodwin, who was no ſtranger to the tranſactions at court, paved the way, by making the firſt advances himſelf. He ſent the king word, that he did not come, in this manner, to fight againſt his ſovereign, but moſt humbly to intreat him, to hear what he had to offer, in his own vindication; that he appear'd in arms, only to guard himſelf againſt the inſults of his enemies; and that it ſhould always be the very height of his ambition to be the moſt loyal of his ſubjects. Edward, however, taking this meſſage to be a ſort of inſulting banter, flatly refuſed to liſten to any terms of accommodation, declaring, that he could never conſent to pardon his brother's murderer; and his obſtinate refuſal had like to have produced a very fatal effect. Goodwin's army, entirely conſiſting of foreigners, in expectation of making their fortunes, by the plunder of London, were for attacking the king's fleet, without any farther delay; but the earl, who was thoroughly acquainted with the ſentiments of the council, checqued the ardour of his ſoldiers, and his ſubmiſſive carriage, at length, had its effect upon the king. The principal lords, and eſpecially Stigand biſhop of Wincheſter, a ſteady friend to Goodwin, prevailed upon Edward to reſtore him into his favour, at leaſt, as to outward appearance; and the king even gave his conſent, that he ſhould be acquitted, by the general aſſembly of the nation, of the murder of Alfred, which was charged upon him a-new, provided he would give hoſtages for his good behaviour hereafter. Goodwin, complying with theſe terms, delivered up his ſon Ulnoth and his grandſon Hacune to the king, who ſent them into Normandy, where, he thought, he could more effectually ſecure them, than in England. Upon this, the earl and his ſons were reſtored to their eſtates and honours; and the king honourably took again the queen his wife, whom he had abandon'd, for life.

Goodwin, at length, enters into a treaty with the king, and gives him hoſtages.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury is baniſhed.

No ſooner were matters accommodated between the king and the earl, than the archbiſhop of Canterbury retired to the monaſtery of Jumiege in Normandy; but, in a little time after his retreat, he was baniſhed the kingdom, by an aſſembly-general, as an incendiary between the king and his ſubjects. Stigand was promoted to that ſee, in his room, on ſuppoſition that it became vacant, by his baniſhment, which, would not, at any rate, be admitted by the church of Rome. This was the reſult of Goodwin's affair. The earl, in all likelihood, was entirely ruin'd; and yet, to the mortification of his enemies, his diſgrace proved only the occaſion of his being rendered more potent and formidable. This very year, his third ſon Swane, having undertaken a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, died on the road, in ſome part of Syria, where he fell into the hands of robbers *.

Stigand is made archbiſhop in his room.

The court of England enjoying, from this time, a profound tranquillity, William the Baſtard, duke of Normandy, took occaſion to make a viſit to Edward; though, ſome affirm, that the king informed him, by archbiſhop Robert, that he deſigned to make him his heir, and that the duke's view, in this viſit, was to procure a confirmation of his promiſe, which is no more than a conjecture. However, during William's reſidence in England, the king gave demonſtrative proofs of his gratitude, for all the civilities he had received from him and the duke his father; and it is farther ſaid, that he alſo diſcovered to him, in private, a more ſubſtantial mark of his affection, by nominating him, in his will, for his heir and ſucceſſor. If Edward did make this will, which, it does not appear, was ever ſeen by any, it is moſt probable, he made it now, than when he lived in Normandy. Whilſt the Danes were on the throne of England, his brother Alfred and the children of Edmund Ironſide alive, how could Edward foreſee, he ſhould ever attain to the crown of England? but, when William the Baſtard was in England, Edward, being ſtill a mortal enemy to Goodwin, in his heart, notwithſtanding their ſeeming reconciliation, might have a ſuſpicion of his aſpiring to the crown, and propoſe, by this ſettlement, to diſconcert all his meaſures. After all, it is much more probable, he made no will; and that he gave the duke of Normandy no other than a verbal promiſe. However, it was this will, real or feigned, or this verbal promiſe, that furniſhed the duke with a pretence for undertaking the conqueſt of England, after Edward's deceaſe. That Goodwin knew nothing of this will is plain, from his taking no ſteps to prevent a Norman prince from aſcending the throne, tho' he was an avowed enemy to the Norman nation; and, by the way, as things ſtood, at this time, Goodwin, being almoſt equal to the king himſelf, in power, it is altogether incredible what ſome have had the front to aſſert, that Edward's will, in favour of William, was ratified by a general aſſembly.

The duke of Normandy makes a viſit to Edward.

His pretended will, in favour of the duke.

All Edward's attempts, to put a ſtop to Goodwin's growing greatneſs, were ineffectual; for the earl's power was advanced ſo high, as to render it of fatal conſequence, had not death delivered the king from this deteſted ſubject, even when he was moſt formidable. Some hiſtorians tell us, Goodwin's death was attended with extraordinary circumſtances, extremely remarkable, were they better atteſted. They affirm, that, as the king, on a certain day, ſate at table with the earl, he dropped ſome expreſſions, which evidently ſhew'd, that he had not entirely forgot the murder of his bro-

1054. Goodwin's death.

* He undertook this pilgrimage, having the deepeſt remorſe, for the murder of earl Beorn, walking from Flanders, barefoot, as far as Jeruſalem; and he died on his way home, of a cold he got in Lycia. Sim. Dunelm. p. 186.

ther;

ther; and that Goodwin, taking it for granted, they were pointed at him, riſing up, addreſs'd the king in the following words, which he pronounced, with great vehemence and emotion. "I apprehend, my lord, that you ſtill "think me guilty of the death of the prince "your brother, tho' I have been publickly ac-"quitted of it; but, to give you a freſh proof of "my innocence, I pray God, this morſel, I am "about to put into my mouth, may choak me, "this inſtant, if I had any concern in the "death of that prince". They pretend, that he had no ſooner uttered theſe words, than, attempting to ſwallow the fatal morſel, it immediately choaked him, to the inexpreſſible aſtoniſhment of the ſpectators; but, if this particular had been genuine, it would not have been omitted by the moſt authentick hiſtorians; who, tho' they acknowledge, that he died ſuddenly, as he ſate at table with the king, take no notice at all of the abovementioned circumſtances; and they were invented, in all probability, to tarniſh the reputation of the earl and his family. Harold, his eldeſt ſon, was his ſucceſſor, in all his poſts; and thoſe he enjoyed before his father's deceaſe, were given to Alfgar, the ſon of Leofric duke of Mercia.

Harold is his father's ſucceſſor.

Goodwin's death did not introduce any remarkable revolution in affairs; for Harold had the ſame friends, creatures, and intereſt with the earl his father. The only difference between them was, that the ſon was naturally more courteous and condeſcending, and treated the king with more reſpect and ſubmiſſion. Edward, perhaps, did not ſo much abhor him, as his father; but he had the ſame reaſon to be afraid of him, as Harold was not only equal to his father, as to genius and abilities, but had a ſtricter regard to honour and conſcience, and, by his obliging carriage, brought over to his party both the nobility and commons, whereasGoodwin loſt a great number of friends, by his pride and arrogance. In the mean time, the king was conſtrained to maintain a fair correſpondence with the ſon, as he had done with the father; and, tho' he had no affection for him, he durſt not declare it, leſt it ſhould occaſion a rupture, which muſt, of courſe, be of dangerous conſequence, on the account of Harold's reputation at court and among the people.

1650. Edward eſpouſes Malcolm's cauſe, againſt Macbeth.

If the exorbitant power of the Goodwin family gave the king uneaſineſs, it was, in ſome degree, balanced, by the ſatisfaction he enjoyed, from the kingdom's being free from war, ever ſince his acceſſion to the throne; but this tranquillity, ſo very agreeable to a prince of ſo pacifick a temper, was ſomewhat interrupted by a quarrel with Macbeth, king of Scotland, who had made a conqueſt of Cumberland. This little kingdom, which had, for a long time, been under the protection of the crown of England, was in diſpute between Macbeth and Malcom, a lord of the royal family of Cumberland. Edward, eſpouſing Malcolm's cauſe, commiſſioned Syward to reſtore him to his kingdom, who, by one deciſive battle, compelled Macbeth to abandon Cumberland; and he had ſcarce compleated this affair, before he was ſeized with a mortal diſtemper. As ſoon as he apprehended that he was near his end, he got upon his legs; and, ordering his armour to be put on him, he expired in that poſture, declaring it was an ignominious thing for a valiant man to die in his bed.

1055. Syward's death.

Upon the death of this earl, the government of Northumberland was given to Toſton, Harold's brother, Edward wanting reſolution to refuſe him that honour, tho' he dreaded nothing more, than the advancement of that family. Some tell us, this was done, out of policy, pretending, that the king, by ſeeming to gratify Harold, only promoted the moſt proper perſon to checque his ambition, on the account of the mutual jealouſy between the two brothers; but it does not appear, that they were at variance now, tho' they afterwards, quarrelled. it was imprudent, therefore, for Edward to entruſt any ſingle family with two ſuch important poſts, as duke of Weſſex and earl of Northumberland, which put one moiety of the kingdom in the hands of the two brothers; and, by this means, the king, tho' he, above all things, dreaded the Goodwin family, either out of weakneſs, or falſe politicks, did all that was poſſible to increaſe their power.

Toſton, Harold's brother, is made earl of Northumberland.

But beſides Edward's favours, Harold's merit and generoſity gained him daily ſuch friends, as were able to ſupport him againſt the attempts of the king himſelf. Tho' he was married to the duke of Mercia's daughter, Alfgar, his brother-in-law, behaved very coldly towards him, merely, becauſe he envied his greatneſs. This lord, being of a turbulent ſpirit, entered into a dangerous conſpiracy, and held a ſecret correſpondence with Griffin, king of Wales, to the prejudice of the publick. Edward having intelligence concerning it, cauſed him to be accuſed of treaſon, and condemned to baniſhment. Alfgar retreated into Wales, and joined his friend Griffin, who received him with open arms; and, ſome time after, making an inroad into Herefordſhire, they defeated Radulph, earl of that county, who attempted to expel them. Animated by this victory, they made farther advances, when they met earl Harold, who put a ſtop to their progreſs. Having levied an army in his governments, he boldly advanced towards them, in order to give them battle; but they quickly perceived the difference between him and Radulph; for Harold, who was ſuperior to the other, both in valour and conduct, routed them, forcing them to retire intoWales, from whence they durſt not make any incurſions, for the future. A peace being the reſult of this defeat, Harold obtained a pardon for Alfgar; and he was, by his means, at length, reſtored to his eſtate and honours. This uncommon act of generoſity procured him Alfgar's friendſhip, and added a luſtre to his reputation.

Harold's reputation daily increaſes.

Alfgar, Leofric's ſon, is baniſhed and retreats into Wales, and joins king Griffin.

Harold defeats them.

Alfgar's reſtoration.

1057. The people talk of Harold's being Edward's ſucceſſor.

The glory Harold acquired by his late expedition, his generous treatment of Alfgar, his affability and obliging temper, entirely gained him the hearts of the people; inſomuch that they began to talk openly, that, as the king had no heirs, Harold was the moſt worthy perſon to be his ſucceſſor. Such was the

affection of the Engliſh for the earl, that it gave the king the utmoſt uneaſineſs, who deſired nothing more, than his utter ruin. It is probable, that, till now, Edward deſigned to leave his crown to the duke of Normandy; for, tho' he had a nephew in Hungary, it does not appear, he had any thoughts of recalling him, or ſecuring him the ſucceſſion. However, when he found, that earl Harold aſpired to the crown, or, at leaſt, that the people had their eyes upon him, with that view, he concluded it to be in vain to ſet up a foreign prince, againſt an Engliſh earl, whoſe power and intereſt were ſo very conſiderable. This, in all appearance, was the motive, that induced him, at laſt, to ſend for Edward his nephew, the ſon of Edmund Ironſide, from Hungary. This would, doubtleſs, have been done ſooner, were it not for his intention of making the duke of Normandy his heir. Prince Edward arrived in England, in 1057, accompanied by his young ſon Edgar, with Margaret and Chriſtina his daughters, who were all born in Hungary. The arrival of the ſon of a king of England, for whoſe memory the nation had the greateſt veneration, muſt, of courſe, be very acceptable to the Engliſh; and, therefore, they, at once, regarded him, as the heir apparent to the crown, their reſpect for Harold giving way to their affection for the royal family. Indeed, this young prince's right was unqueſtionable; and, had he been on the ſpot, when it was debated, who ſhould be the ſucceſſor of Hardicanute, he, doubtleſs, would have had the preference to Edward himſelf. This was, in all likelihood, the reaſon, why the king, his uncle, left him ſo long in Hungary; but this prince, who ſeemed to be deſigned for the crown, died, ſoon after his arrival into England, leaving his juſt, tho' empty, title to Edgar his ſon, ſirnamed Atheling *.

Edward ſends for his nephew, prince Edward, from Hungary.

Prince Edward dies.

* i. e. truly noble.

The death alſo of Leofric, duke of Mercia, happened the ſame year, who is highly applauded by the hiſtorians; and Godiva, his wife, is extolled by them, above all the women of her time. It is ſaid, that this lady, to free the inhabitants of Coventry from a heavy tax, impoſed on them by her husband, chearfully conſented to engage in a very extraordinary undertaking. The earl, upon her interceſſion, aſſured her, he would relieve them from this oppreſſive burthen, provided ſhe would ride, on horſe-back, naked, from one end of the town to the other, which the burghers apprehended to be an impracticable condition; but Godiva undertook the affair, covering her body with her hair, and ſtrictly commanding all perſons to keep within doors, and from their windows, on pain of death. Notwithſtanding the rigour of the penalty, there was a man, who could not forbear taking one view of her, out of curioſity, tho' it coſt him his life; and, in memory of him, there is the ſtatue of man, looking out of a window, continually fixed in a certain

Leofric's death.

Godiva's undertaking.

houſe at Coventry †. Alfgar ſucceeded to his father's earldom, by Harold's interceſſion.

The death of prince Edward gave new life and vigour to Harold's ambition. It is certain, he left a ſon behind him, but ſo young, that it appeared to be an eaſy matter to ſuperſede him; and, beſides, it was poſſible the king might ſurvive him. Harold, therefore, was reſolved to make the beſt uſe of the preſent juncture of affairs; yet, before he openly diſcovered his intentions, he thought it convenient to procure the liberty of Ulnoth his brother and Hacune his nephew, whom his father had delivered up, as hoſtages, to the king, who were, now, in the hands of the duke of Normandy. Tho' he very preſſingly demanded them, alledging, that, Goodwin being deceaſed, there was no occaſion for their being detained any longer, and, that it was extremely unjuſt to deprive them of the benefit of an Engliſh education, it was to no purpoſe; for the king always inſiſted, that they were not in his, but the duke of Normandy's, power, and that, for this reaſon, he was the moſt proper perſon to be applied to, on the head. Harold, finding, at length, that this was Edward's final anſwer, begged leave to go into Normandy, to ſollicite the duke for their deliverance, which was very readily granted, as the king did not doubt, but the duke would ſecure him there; at leaſt, he was in hopes, that duke William would take ſuch meaſures, as would free him from all the difficulties, into which the earl might involve him.

1062. Harold aſpires to the crown.

Harold embarqued for Roan, without the leaſt ſuſpicion of danger; being ignorant of the king's intention, about the ſucceſſion; and he was no ſooner at ſea, than a ſtorm aroſe, which drove him on the coaſt of Picardy, forcing him to put in at one of the ports of the earl of Ponthieu, where he was inſtantly ſeized. When they perceived, who he was, they carried him to Gwido earl of Ponthieu, who, proud of ſuch a valuable prize, determined to ſet a round price on his head. It would have been difficult for Harold to have eſcaped, had he not, whilſt he was treating about his ranſom, found an opportunity of informing the duke of Normandy of the ſtate of his caſe. The duke, upon the receipt of the news, demanded the priſoner of the earl, giving him to underſtand, that he had no pretence for detaining a ſtranger, that was on his way to Roan, and, by a tempeſt, caſt on his coaſts. The earl of Ponthieu, upon this, enlarged his priſoner, who, directly, proceeded on his journey. Duke William, who was not ignorant of Harold's deſign on the crown of England, was at a loſs, what ſteps he ſhould take, on this occaſion. He was ſenſible, that he muſt either detain Harold, by force, or attempt to gain him, by milder methods. If he did the firſt, he apprehended, that he ſhould declare his ſentiments too ſoon, ſince it might be prejudicial to his intereſt, if the Engliſh, as

Harold embarques for Normandy.

He is ſeized by the earl of Ponthieu.

Duke William is at a loſs, how to act.

† Whether this account be genuine or not, there is a proceſſion or cavalcade made at Coventry, every year, to this day, in memory of Godiva, with a figure repreſenting a naked woman, riding through the city. The pictures of Leofric and Godiva were, likewiſe, ſet up in the windows of Trinity-Church, with this inſcription;

"I Luric, for the love of thee,
"Do ſet Coventry toll-free."

yet,

yet, ſhould come to the knowledge of his intentions of ſucceeding to the crown. Beſides, as Harold had ſo many friends in England, he was afraid, the detaining him would occaſion a rupture between that kingdom and Normandy, which would diſconcert all Edward's meaſures, in his favour; and, indeed, if Edward ſhould die, during the war, is it to be imagined, he could leave the crown to a prince, that was actually in arms againſt the Engliſh nation? Moreover, Harold being duke of Weſſex and earl of Kent, all the fortreſſes, in the ſouthern parts, were poſſeſs'd by his creatures, which would exceedingly perplex the duke's affairs. In a word, the duke was not thoroughly inform'd of Harold's proceedings, to obtain the crown; as, on the contrary, Harold was a ſtranger to the deſigns of the king and the duke. The duke alſo conſider'd, that, in impriſoning Harold, he ſhould violate the moſt ſacred rights of hoſpitality, which a great ſoul is incapable of, without offering the greateſt violence to its own dictates. Theſe conſiderations prevailed on him to take the other courſe, which was equally dangerous; for, by diſcovering his intentions to Harold, he put it in his power to prevent the execution of them. However, believing that he ſhould bring him over to his intereſt, by placing ſuch a confidence in him, he diſclos'd to him the hopes he entertained of the crown of England, founded on Edward's affection for him; and this diſcovery was attended with the aſſurance of a proportionable reward, provided he would ſupport his pretenſions. He likewiſe told him, that his aſpiring to the crown, tho' he was not of the blood-royal, was no ſecret to him; and he repreſented to him all the obſtacles he muſt expect to meet with, as well from Edgar as the other Engliſh lords, who would be jealous of his ambition. To theſe arguments he ſubjoined one that was very material, in ſo many words, declaring, that, tho' he ſhould ſurmount all other difficulties, he ſhould ſtill find him his enemy, who wanted neither money, arms, nor friends to maintain a right, he was reſolved to defend, to the laſt drop of his blood; and that, if he obſtinately purſued his firſt deſign, inſtead of ſecuring a power and grandeur, ſecond to none, but the ſupreme, he would endanger the loſs of a certain good, for the bare proſpect of that which was very uncertain.

He attempts to gain Harold, by diſcloſing to him his intentions.

Harold did not want ſagacity to diſcern, that his only method, as the caſe ſtood, was to ſeem convinced by the duke's reaſons. He, therefore, made the following reply, that, indeed, before prince Edward's arrival, he was of opinion, that, if the king died without iſſue, he was as worthy to ſucceed him, as any other lord of the kingdom; that, tho' he had formerly taken ſome promiſing meaſures, he had now laid aſide his intentions, as there were princes of the royal family in England; and, laſtly, he added, that, ſince he had acquainted him with his pretenſions and the king's ſentiments, hitherto, unknown to him, it would be much more agreeable to him, that the kingdom ſhould have, for their ſovereign, ſo great a prince as the duke, than Edgar Atheling, who ſcarce knew, in what manner to govern himſelf. The more effectually to convince him, that he was, in reality, in his intereſt, coming to terms with him, he demanded, among other things, one of his daughters in marriage. The duke took a pleaſure in complying immediately with all his requeſts; but, as the princeſs, he deſigned for him, was too young, the marriage was deferred to a time convenient. In the mean time, duke William obliged him to ſwear on the goſpels, that he would punctually perform his promiſes; eſpecially, that he would quit all pretenſions to the crown of England. Upon this, they parted, being both of them extremely well pleaſed, as to outward appearance; and Harold returned into England.

Harold pretends to be in the duke's intereſt.

He was no ſooner at liberty, than he conſider'd his oath, as extorted from him, and, conſequently, null and void. He could not apprehend, that the duke had any equitable claim to the crown, or that it was in Edward's power to transfer it to a foreigner; and, on this account, he was ſo far from having any thoughts of obſerving his engagements to the duke, that he was reſolved to exert himſelf, to render all his deſigns abortive. From this time, he made it his buſineſs to ſtrengthen his party in ſuch a manner, as effectually to prevent all the obſtacles either the king or the duke might lay in his way; and if, hitherto, he had any ſcruples in his mind, with reſpect to prince Edgar, they entirely vaniſhed now, as he conceived, by his aſcending the throne, he ſhould not, in the leaſt, injure that prince, the crown being otherwiſe diſpoſed of by his uncle the king. He was very active in ſecuring an intereſt among the principal lords of the kingdom, the duke of Normandy being abſent, and but little known in England, where the Normans were extremely deteſted. Prince Edgar, becauſe of his youth, was in no condition to oppoſe his proceedings; and, as for the king, he was ſo unreſolved, about the ſucceſſion, that he neither promoted his nephew's intereſt, nor that of the duke. Edward, being at a loſs, how to reconcile the oppoſite ſteps he had taken, viz. his promiſe to the duke of Normandy and the recalling his nephew from Hungary, ſeem'd to have nothing more in view than to paſs his days in tranquillity, without any anxiety, as to what ſhould happen, after his death. Thus, every circumſtance concurring, in favour of Harold's intentions, he did all that was poſſible to confirm the good opinion the Engliſh had of him; and, to this purpoſe, two very favourable opportunities offer'd ſoon after.

Harold takes new meaſures, to ſecure his ſucceſſion to the crown.

1063. Harold ſubdues the Welch; Sim. Duneln. Flor.

The Welch having renewed their incurſions, under Griffin their king, Harold and Toſton his brother joined their forces, to repulſe them; and ſuch was their ſucceſs, that they compelled them, at length, to dethrone Griffin and become tributary to England. Griffin, who was afterwards reſtored, renewing the war with the Engliſh, Harold, marching to the frontiers of Wales, ſo terrified the Welch, that they ſent him the head of their king; and this memorable event effectually convinced his countrymen,

men, that he deſerved to wear a crown, who knew ſo well, how to defend it.

The Northumbrians expel Toſton.

Another occurrence, alſo, added a new luſtre to Harold's reputation, as it furniſhed him with an opportunity of demonſtrating his moderation and equity, as he had already given proofs of his valour and conduct. Toſton his brother, earl of Northumberland, treated the Northumbrians with ſo much cruelty and injuſtice, that, taking up arms againſt him, they expelled him from Northumberland; and, this action being of dangerous conſequence, Harold received orders, to go and chaſtiſe them, and reſtore his brother. As ſoon as he advanced near them, the Northumbrians ſent deputies to acquaint him with the occaſion of their riſing. They aſſured him, it was not their intent to withdraw their obedience from the king, but only from an unjuſt and cruel governor, who had exerciſed a tyrannical power over them, to which neither they nor their fathers had been ever accuſtomed; and that they were determined to hazard their lives, rather than ſubmit to ſuch uſage, for the future. However, they made the moſt ſolemn declarations, that, provided the king would allow them a governor, that would make the laws and cuſtoms of their country the rule of his behaviour, nothing ſhould be able to ſhake their fidelity; and to theſe remonſtrances they ſubjoined a large catalogue of grievances, intreating Harold to prefer the peace of the publick, before the private intereſt of his family. Harold, perceiving that this affair related chiefly to Toſton, ſent an impartial account of it to the king. At the ſame time, he made interceſſion for the Northumbrians; and he not only obtained their pardon, but alſo, that Morkard, the ſon of Alfgar, duke of Mercia, ſhould be their governor. Thus, Harold, at once, gained the affections of the Northumbrians, and riveted the friendſhip between him and Alfgar, which was abſolutely neceſſary, in order to bring about his deſigns.

Harold is ſent to reſtore him, but he approves of his expulſion.

Malm.

Toſton's barbarity to his brother's domeſticks.

But if theſe actions recommended him to the reſpect and love of the people, they likewiſe exaſperated his brother Toſton, to ſuch a degree, as to render him his mortal enemy. However, as he wanted an opportunity of venting his fury on Harold's perſon, he turn'd the edge of it upon ſome of his domeſticks, whom he ordered to be cut in pieces, barrell'd up, and ſent to his brother, for a preſent; and, upon this, not daring to continue any longer in England, he retreated into Flanders.

1065. Edward makes preparations, for the dedication of the church of Weſtminſter.

In the interim, Edward was altogether unconcerned about the ſucceſſion, which he had exceedingly embroiled, by his engagements with the duke of Normandy. His thoughts were entirely engroſs'd, about the church and monaſtery of Weſtminſter, in building which he laid out the money he ſhould have expended in a journey he had vowed to take to Rome, this vow being diſpenſed with, by the pope, upon that condition. On this very ſpot, called Thorney by the Saxons, ſtood formerly a famous temple, ſacred to Apollo, which Sabert, king of Eſſex, after he had embraced the goſpel, converted into a chriſtian church, that was deſtroyed by the Danes. This church, having lain, for a long time, in ruins, Edward undertook to rebuild, with an adjacent monaſtery, which on the account of its ſituation, being weſt of London, was named Weſtminſter *. In proceſs of time, a city was built, in the ſame place, by degrees, which almoſt rivalled London itſelf; and theſe two cities, ſeparated only by a gate, have diſtinct magiſtrates and privileges, tho' they have often been confounded under the common name of London. The church and monaſtery being compleated, about the latter end of the year 1065, Edward was deſirous, that the dedication ſhould be celebrated, with the utmoſt ſolemnity; and, therefore, he convened at London a general aſſembly, at which were preſent all the biſhops and great men of the kingdom, to be witneſſes of this ceremony. At this very time, the king was ſeized with a ſudden illneſs, which carried him off, in a few days. When he perceived, that he was nearer his end, his chief care was to have the ceremony finiſhed, on the account of which he had convened the aſſembly †. As for the ſucceſſion, which was ſurrounded with ſo many difficulties, he did not concern himſelf about it. His inclination was for the duke of Normandy, tho' prince Edgar, his nephew, was the rightful heir to the crown; but Harold was poſſeſſed of the hearts and hands of the Engliſh. On the account of theſe difficulties, that were inſuperable, in his preſent condition, he reſolved to refer the deciſion of the matter to God alone.

In the mean while, Harold made the beſt uſe of his time. Almoſt all the lords of the kingdom, both ſpiritual and temporal, being aſſembled at London, he found the means to bring them to a reſolution of ſending deputies to the dying king, to deſire him to nominate him for his ſucceſſor; and they had alſo orders to intimate to him, that if he named any other, but Harold, he would infallibly involve the kingdom in endleſs perplexities, which was inconſiſtent with his wiſdom and the affection he had always expreſs'd for his ſubjects. Edward, who was, then, incapable of examining a propoſal of this nature, replied, that, as they were met, in a body, he left them at their liberty to chooſe whom they judged moſt worthy, to be their king; and he died, a few moments after, leaving the ſucceſſion as unſettled, at his death, as it had been during his life.

Edward dies in December, 1065.

This prince, who was born at Giſlip *, near Oxford, ſate on the throne 24 years, without any diſturbance from foreign enemies; tho' it cannot be ſaid, his reign was happy, becauſe he lived in continual fears, occaſioned by the

* Now Iſlip.

His character.

* It was dedicated to St. Peter; and Edward was buried in it. This fabrick was demoliſhed by Henry III. about 160 years after, who erected another, which was 50 years in building. The abbots exceedingly enlarged it, on the weſt ſide; and Henry VII. added a chapel, to the eaſt, which Leland calls, the miracle of the world.

† The great men, likewiſe, ſigned the charter of its privileges and immunities, to which, it is ſaid, the firſt great ſeal, uſed in England, was annexed; tho' Tyrrel is of opinion, that other kings might have ſeals to their charters, [illegible] defaced.

exorbitant

exorbitant power of earl Goodwin and his family. His peaceable diſpoſition, however, procured him ſome tranquillity; for, had he attempted to humble Goodwin's pride, or leſſen Harold's greatneſs, he muſt, of courſe, have plunged himſelf into difficulties. By conniving at their ſecret practices, he hinder'd them from acting in a more publick manner, obliging them to lay their ſchemes at a greater diſtance, and ſo gained time to arrive at the end of his days. He was not remarkable, either for his virtues or vices, and his natural abilities were mean; and, tho' he was highly celebrated, for his piety, and even honour'd with the title of Confeſſor, it does not appear, that he ſuffer'd on the account of religion, unleſs we ſhould conſider the mortifications he privately inflicted on himſelf, from a religious motive, as a ſort of martyrdom. It is certain, he expended, in works of charity, the ſums other princes have profuſely ſquander'd upon their pleaſures; and this, with his munificent diſpoſition, of which he, from time to time, gave extraordinary ſpecimens, procured him the reputation of a ſaint, and eſpecially among the monks, who received great advantages by his bounty. They have not only magnified his virtues, but canonized, if I may be allowed the uſe of this expreſſion, his very faults, by attempting to repreſent them, as ſo many proofs of his holineſs. Accordingly, his own hiſtorian, or rather panegyriſt, attributes his voluntary chaſtity, to a vow he made, before his marriage; and he even affirms, that Edward eſpouſed Editha, Goodwin's daughter, merely to exerciſe his virtue, under a continual temptation; but it is obvious, he acted from a contrary motive, ſince he no ſooner imagined, that it could be done with ſafety, than he abandon'd his queen. However, the notion of his ſanctity, having, by degrees, been deeply impreſs'd on the minds of the people, he was canoniz'd by pope Alexander III. by the name of Edward the Confeſſor *.

Ailred.

* About 200 years after his deceaſe.

Edward was not only eſteemed to have all the virtues neceſſary to gain his admiſſion into heaven, but he had a place alſo aſſigned him mong the ſaints of the firſt claſs. It is ſaid, that he was favoured with ſeveral revelations from God, the gift of prophecy, and many other miraculous powers; for the proof of which, ſuch frivolous inſtances are alledged, as are not worthy to be related. However, I cannot omit one ſpecial privilege, he is reported to have received from heaven, viz. that of curing the king's evil; which, it is pretended, the kings of England, enjoyed by virtue of their lineal deſcent from him †. This was the occaſion of the king's touching for the evil, at a certain time of the year; but the late king William III. of glorious memory, being perſuaded that, by the diſuſe of this cuſtom, he ſhould do no injury to thoſe that were troubled with this diſtemper, never touched any for the evil, during his whole reign. The kings of France have claimed the ſame privilege, from the time of Clovis, the firſt chriſtian king of that kingdom ‡.

King Edward's good nature has been, moſt of all, applauded; and endeavours have been made uſe of to ſet it off, from ſeveral particulars. I ſhall only take notice of two of them, as a ſpecimen of the reſt. As he one day lay down upon the bed, a domeſtick of his, not knowing that he was in the room, ſtole ſome money out of a cheſt that was open, which the king permitted him to carry off, without ſaying ſo much as a word. Soon after, the boy returning, to make another attempt, the king ſpoke to him, without paſſion, as follows: "Sirrah, it would be beſt for you to reſt con-" tented with what you have got; for, if my " chamberlain catches you, he will not only " oblige you to reſtore all you have ſtolen, but " alſo whip you ſeverely." At another time, as he was hunting, a countryman maliciouſly ſpoiling his ſport, he gallopp'd up to him, ſaying to him in anger: "By our lady, I would " have my revenge on thee, were it in my " power." Theſe are the infallible proofs of his good nature, which, according to his panegyriſts, highly exalted him above all other men.

Edward was the laſt king of Ecbert's line, tho' not the laſt Saxon king; for Harold, his ſucceſſor, was of that nation. Had not this weak prince prepoſterouſly declined familiarity with his queen, who was a chaſte as well as beautiful lady, he might, perhaps, have had iſſue by her, and ſo prevented a revolution, that enſlaved the kingdom.

Before Edward's reign, the Weſt-Saxon, Mercian, and Daniſh laws were obſerved in England, viz. the firſt, in Weſſex, the ſecond in Mercia, and the laſt in Denmark; but this prince reduced them all into one body; and, from his time, they became common to all England, being entitled, the laws of Edward, to diſtinguiſh them from the Norman laws, that were, afterwards, introduced.

† Mr. Collier has ſuch an opinion of the truth of this, which he ſtiles an hereditary miracle, that to diſpute it, he affirms, is to run into the exceſſes of ſcepticiſm. This point, however, is called in queſtion by ſome, for the following reaſons. 1. This power is commonly fixed to the lineal ſucceſſion; but this was often interrupted in thoſe days, nor was Edward himſelf the next heir. 2. According to Ailred, Edward obtained this privilege, as a ſaint, not as a king; and therefore his ſucceſſors, who were certainly no ſaints, were not entitled to it. 3. Ailred, who takes notice of many other of Edward's miracles, ſays nothing of his power of curing the king's evil being hereditary, any more than that of reſtoring ſight to the blind, or removing barrenneſs, tho' he tells us, both theſe miraculous actions were performed by the ſame touch. Laſtly, why ſhould the kings of England enjoy this privilege, above any other chriſtian princes? Beſides, if, in fact, they did, it muſt have been viſible to all, the cure immediately following the touch; whereas great numbers are never cured, and thoſe that are pretended to be ſo, not till a conſiderable time after they have been touched.

‡ Laurentius, phyſician to Henry IV. appropriates this miraculous power to the crown of France; but Dr. Tucker affirms, that the kings of France obtained this privilege, by virtue of their alliance to the royal family of England; and Mr. Collier ſays, that Lewis the Godly was the firſt that touched for the evil, 200 years after Edward III. of England.

21. HAROLD II.

Harold II. is elected by the general aſſembly.

HAD the great men, aſſembled about the choice of a ſucceſſor to Edward, nothing in their view, but to obſerve juſtice, equity, and the antient cuſtom of England, they might eaſily have known, to whom the crown was devolved. Edgar Atheling was the only prince of the blood-royal that ſurvived, and, conſequently, had the ſole right to ſit on the Engliſh throne; but Harold had taken ſuch politick meaſures, that he was unanimouſly elected, to the prejudice of the lawful heir. As for the duke of Normandy, we do not find, that his pretenſions, founded on the late king's promiſe, were at all conſider'd. It is true, the duke had never openly declared his deſign upon the crown of England, and, therefore, the Engliſh lords might be ſtrangers to it, or, at leaſt, pretend to be ſo; but had they, in reality, been acquainted with his intentions, it would only have been an additional motive to prevail on them to make choice of a king, that was better qualified, than Edgar Atheling, to defend the kingdom againſt the attacks of a foreigner.

Hiſtorians are not agreed, as to the manner of Harold's ſucceeding to the crown. Several aſſert, that he was unanimouſly elected by the Wittena-gemot, then aſſembled; and that, the day after his election, he was crowned by the archbiſhop of York *. Others tell us, he made uſe of compulſive methods, to oblige the the great council to chuſe him, after he had extorted his nomination from the late king, a few moments before his death. Some writers affirm, that Harold, regardleſs about the conſent of the nobility or commons, aſſumed the crown without any formality. This diverſity among the hiſtorians was occaſioned by their eſpouſing either Harold's, or the duke of Normandy's, pretenſions, Edgar Atheling's right being entirely diſregarded; but as there is more danger, on the account of this variety of opinions, of being miſ-led by the paſſions and prejudices of the hiſtorians, than determined by the juſtice and reaſon of the thing, I ſhall endeavour to ſet this whole affair in a clear light, by repreſenting to my reader, what may be advanced, in behalf of each of the three competitors.

* Sax. An. Hoveden, &c.

Malmſ.

Hunting. Ingulph.

Edgar's title.

As for Edgar, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that he was the only rightful heir to the crown. It may be objected, indeed, that he was born in a foreign country; but, as Edward his father was not legally baniſhed, his being forced by Canute to live in exile did not, in the leaſt, invalidate the right of his ſon.

The duke of Normandy's right.

As for the duke of Normandy, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that he aſpired to the crown of England, without ſome grounds, tho' it is not eaſy to apprehend what they were, ſo great is the diverſity of opinions about them. Some

Knyghton.

relate, that the Engliſh invited him over, to deliver them from Harold's tyranny. Others affirm, that Edward, when in Normandy, promis'd him, that, upon his acceſſion to the throne, he would make him his heir. Several authors ſay, that Edward nominated him for his ſucceſſor, in his laſt will and teſtament, which, ſome venture to aſſert, was ratified, whilſt Edward was alive, by the general aſſembly of the nation. However, it does not appear, that this will was ever produced, or that the duke had it in his hands. In all likelihood, he had no other foundation for his proceedings, than a bare verbal promiſe Edward had made him, when he was in England; and it was, doubtleſs, with a view to this promiſe, that he required Harold to drop his pretenſions. Had Edgar been placed on the throne, it is extremely improbable, that duke William would ever have attempted, on ſuch ſlender grounds, to ſnatch the crown from his head; but he was concerned with Harold, who, being no more than a private perſon, had obtained the crown, by unjuſt and indirect practices. Accordingly, he put his right in the balance with Harold's, excluſive of that of Edgar; and he concluded, that Edward's promiſe was equivalent to an election, that excluded the lawful heir. Beſides, he thought it next to impoſſible, that he ſhould miſcarry in his deſign, eſpecially as he had obliged Harold by an oath; and, therefore, indignation, revenge, and his ambition, inſpired him with a reſolution to make an attempt upon the crown of England, in ſpite of all oppoſition.

Harold's title to the crown is examined.

Harold's pretenſions, alſo, muſt be conſidered in a double view, with regard to prince Edgar, as well as the duke of Normandy. As to his election, in oppoſition to the duke, it was, in all reſpects, regular, and even the duke himſelf could have no ſolid reaſons to object againſt it; for, admitting that Edward had named him, for his ſucceſſor, either by will or otherwiſe, the nomination would not have been valid, unleſs it was confirmed by the Wittena-gemot. Some, indeed, affirm that this was done, being ſenſible of the inſufficiency of the duke's title, without it; but can it poſſibly be imagin'd, that a nation, without downright force, would ſuffer their king, by his own bare nomination, to ſubject them to a foreigner, to the excluſion of the princes of the blood-royal, or even of the moſt worthy lords of the kingdom. If this was ever the caſe, in any country, it muſt have been brought about by ſurprize, before the people had time to oppoſe it. Harold's election, then, was very lawful, at leaſt, as to the duke of Normandy, being made by the general aſſembly, whoſe power the duke could not have any right to diſpute.

But, if we compare Harold's with Edgar's title, it will give a very different turn to this

whole

whole affair. Harold's election, indeed, may be defended by those, who assert, that, during the Saxon government, the crown was elective, the nobility and people having a power to bestow it, as they pleased; but, besides the difficulties that attend this opinion, it will not justify Harold's election, even supposing it to be fact. How extensive soever some would represent the privileges of the assembly-general to be, in this respect; yet none, I believe, will affirm, they had a power to give the crown to a private person, to the prejudice of the princes of the royal family; at least, they would find it extremely difficult to produce any instances to their purpose, from the history of the Anglo-Saxons. The question, then, turns upon these two points, whether the nation had a right to elect Harold, to the exclusion of Edgar, or, whether, on this occasion, they did not stretch their power beyond its natural bounds. As I design to discuss this point, in another place *, I shall not enter upon it, at present, but only remark, that, if the nation had such a power, it was certainly abus'd at this juncture, and Edgar was treated very unjustly; but this election, however, gave Harold an incomparably better title to the crown, than it was possible for the bare nomination of Edward to give unto duke William, even on the supposition, that the above-mentioned will was as real, as it appears to be imaginary. But to return to the history.

* In the following dissertation on the government of the Anglo-Saxons.

Harold being crowned, the people, all over the kingdom, acknowledged him for their sovereign, and submitted to his authority; but, tho' his affairs, at home, were in such a situation, the case was otherwise abroad. Besides the duke of Normandy, who, before he discover'd his designs, was in a condition to put them in execution, earl Toston was making preparations to disturb his brother Harold, in the possession of the regal dignity. He could not forgive his impartial proceedings, when, to relieve the Northumbrians, he had him removed from his government; and tho' Harold's accession to the throne, one would have thought, might have render'd him more formidable, it only inflamed his resentment, being resolved to try all possible methods, in order to dethrone him. As he was no stranger to the duke of Normandy's intentions, with whom he contracted a strict friendship, being both of them married to two sisters, the daughters of the earl of Flanders, he had recourse to him, that they might consult about proper measures, against the king his brother. Doubtless, the duke spirited him up to his resolution; but we do not find, that he supplied him with troops, ships, or money, which he wanted so much himself, for his intended invasion. In all probability, it was the earl of Flanders, that furnish'd Toston with the ships, with which he infested the English coasts, especially the isle of Wight. From thence, he went and landed some troops at Sandwich; but, being told, that the king was on his march towards him, he embarqued for the north; and, entering the Humber with his little fleet, he invaded Yorkshire, making depredations, as if he had been in an enemy's country. Harold, not thinking it convenient to leave the southern parts, order'd earl Morcard to go against Toston; who, being made governor of Northumberland, in his room, was more immediately concerned to put a stop to his incursions. As for the king, he continued at London, that he might have a vigilant eye over Edgar's party, to prevent their rising, in that prince's favour. This was what he apprehended to be of the utmost consequence, being very sensible, that Edgar's usage gave great uneasiness to those, that were well affected to the antient royal family; and, therefore he highly caress'd both Edgar and his abettors. He even insinuated, that he accepted the crown, merely, because of that prince's minority, giving them to understand, that he designed nothing less than to restore it to him, as soon as he should arrive at years of maturity; and, with this view, he created him earl of Oxford, seeming to be extremely sollicitous about his education, as if it was, in reality, his intent to qualify him for the government of the kingdom.

Harold's behaviour to Edgar and his party.

In the interim, Morcard, accompanied by his brother Edwin, earl of Chester, marched with all expedition against Toston, who was, now, on the south side of the Humber; and, surprizing him in Lincolnshire, forced him, with his little army, to retreat to his ships. Toston, not being able to attempt any considerable enterprize, with such a handful of men; steer'd his course to Scotland, in hopes of a reinforcement; but, being disappointed, he set sail again, in order to make another descent upon England. He was prevented, however, by contrary winds, being driven on the coast of Norway, where he accidentally stumbled upon what he had, hitherto, sought with so much industry.

Morcard obliges Toston to retreat to his ships.

He is driven on the coast of Norway.

Harold Harfager, king of Norway, having, a little before, subdued some of the Orcades *, which belonged to Scotland, was fitting out a more powerful fleet, that he might pursue his conquests; and Toston being informed of it, waited on him directly, pretending that he came, on purpose, to recommend to him a more noble undertaking. He assured him, that he had, now, a fair opportunity of making a conquest of England, if he would only set about it; and, that there were two potent factions in the kingdom, one for Edgar, and the other for the duke of Normandy, both enemies to the king, which would facilitate the execution of this design; that he himself had a very good interest in Northumberland; and, lastly, that Harold was exceedingly abhorred by his subjects, who would certainly abandon him, as soon as a foreign army should appear in England, able to support them against him. Harfager, desirous of glory, and already anticipating, in his imagination, such a valuable prize, was easily prevail'd on to comply with this proposal; and he resolved to employ all his forces, in so important an expedition.

The king of Norway falls in with Toston's proposal.

* Now called, the isles of Orkney.

Whilst the king of Norway was active in making preparations, the duke of Normandy was equally sollicitous, about the means of seizing on the crown of England, on which his

The duke of Normandy makes pre-

parations for the invaſion of England.

his eyes had been intently fixed, for a conſiderable time, being extremely mortified to find his rival was poſſeſs'd of that dignity; and, tho' Harold ſeem'd to be firmly ſettled on the throne, he flatter'd himſelf, that it was in his power to dethrone him, ſince the way of arms was ſtill open, when all other methods proved abortive. However, he firſt ſent ambaſſadors to the king, to require him to ſurrender his crown; and, upon his refuſal, not only to charge him with the violation of his oath, but even declare war againſt him. Harold made the following reply to the ambaſſadors: "That "their maſter had no pretenſions at all to the "crown; that tho' the late king had diſpoſed "of it in his favour, a thing altogether un- "known to the Engliſh, it was contrary to "their laws, which do not allow the king to "beſtow the crown at his pleaſure, much leſs "to a foreigner; that, for his part, he was e- "lected by the general aſſembly of the nation, "and, conſequently, could not reſign their "gift, without the breach of that confidence "they had repoſed in him. As for the oath, "the violation of which was charged upon "him, as it was extorted from him, he de- "clared it was null and void, by the laws of "all the nations in the world; and, in the "concluſion, he ſaid, that he knew how to de- "fend his title, againſt all that ſhould dare to "call it in queſtion." Upon this, as the quarrel could not be decided, without blows, each party took ſuch meaſures, as were moſt likely to prove ſucceſsful.

The duke continues his preparations, whilſt Harold gains the affections of his ſubjects.

The duke's indignation, at being, thus, impoſed upon, the deſire of revenge, the ſhame of receding from his reſolution, and the pleaſing proſpect of becoming maſter of England, excited him to do all that was poſſible, to accompliſh his deſigns. Harold, on the other hand, finding that he was like to be engaged againſt ſuch a formidable enemy, thought, nothing could more effectually eſtabliſh him on the throne, than to gain over the hearts of his ſubjects to his intereſt. With this view, he leſſen'd the taxes, and order'd juſtice to be adminiſter'd with ſtrictneſs and impartiality, omitting nothing that could confirm his ſubjects in the reſpect and affection, they had already entertain'd for him; and, by theſe means, he render'd himſelf more popular than ever. The Engliſh, charm'd with his conduct, reſolved to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes, to ſupport him on the throne, to which they had advanced him; ſo that the duke perceived, he had no other way left, to bring about his ends, but to muſter up an army equal to that of the king.

The duke endeavours to raiſe money. The ſtates refuſe their concurrence. Cambd. Brit. Nor.

The duke was chiefly at a loſs, how to raiſe a ſum of money, ſufficient to bear the expence of ſuch an undertaking. To this purpoſe, he firſt convened an aſſembly of the ſtates of Normandy, in order to obtain their concurrence; but they were far from being very forward to come into his meaſures. They repreſented to him, "That the late wars had drain'd Nor- "mandy both of men and money; and that, "inſtead of being in a condition to make new "conqueſts, it would be very difficult for them "to defend their own territories againſt the "attacks of a powerful invader. Beſides, how "equitable ſoever his claim was to the crown "of England, they could not apprehend, that "Normandy would reap any advantage from "this expedition; or, in a word, that their "allegiance obliged them to ſerve in foreign "wars, in which the intereſt of their ſtate was "no way concerned." This cutting anſwer, leading him to deſpair of raiſing money, in a publick manner, he projected another, and more ſucceſsful, expedient, viz. to borrow money from private perſons; and, having prevailed upon ſome of the principal of them to contribute, on this occaſion, the reſt were inſpired with an emulation to follow their example. William Fitz-Osbern propoſed to equip 40 ſhips, at his own charge; and each of them, according to their ability, ſubſcribed very conſiderable ſums. The duke, by this method, raiſed more money, than he could have done by a publick tax; but, as he wanted more, he contracted with ſeveral of the neighbouring princes, to furniſh him with troops and tranſports, on the condition of their being entitled to lands in England, after the conqueſt of it. He, likewiſe, applied to France for aſſiſtance, tho' it was not the intereſt of that crown, that the duke of Normandy's power ſhould be augmented; yet, fortunately for the duke, king Philip, then a minor, under the guardianſhip of the earl of Flanders, did not hinder his proceedings, which a prince of greater experience would certainly have obſtructed. The court of France, indeed, diſſuaded the duke from his enterprize, but to no purpoſe.

France does not obſtruct his proceedings.

The pope approves of the duke's deſign.

In the interim, the duke, who very well knew the weakneſs of his title, attempted to varniſh it over with the colour of juſtice. With this view, he exerted himſelf to obtain the pope's approbation, promiſing, as it is reported, to hold the kingdom of England of the apoſtolick ſee. However, the biſhop of Rome very heartily eſpouſed his cauſe, ſending him a conſecrated banner*; and he ſolemnly excommunicated all that durſt oppoſe him, in the execution of his deſigns. This was extremely ſerviceable to the duke, as it not only gave him an opportunity of juſtifying his expedition, but removed the ſcruples of thoſe he attempted to engage in his favour; but it was not ſo effectual in England. Whether the Engliſh had received no account of the pope's excommunication, or whether they regarded it, as an inſtance of great partiality, it did not prevent Harold from being ſupplied with a powerful fleet and army, being in a poſture of readineſs to receive the enemy.

* With a golden Agnus Dei and one of St. Peter's hairs.

Harold diſbands his army, on a falſe information.

The charge of ſuch an army being very burthenſome to his ſubjects, after he had waited ſome months, for the duke's coming, winter approaching, he fancied, purſuant to ſome falſe informations, that he had deferred his expedition, till the ſpring; and, therefore, he concluded, he might ſafely lay up his ſhips, for the winter, and diſband his troops.

The king of Norway ranſacks Northumberland.

But, as he was on the road to London, from Kent, where he had given orders for diſbanding the army, he was told, that the king of Norway, accompanied by earl Toſton, had enter'd the Tyne, with a fleet of 500 ſail. Being

ſurprized

ſurprized at this unexpected invaſion, he drew up his army together again, in a hurry; but, before he could do it, the Norwegians had made a great progreſs. Having ranſacked the counties, on both ſides the Tyne, putting to ſea again, they landed their forces, on the north ſide of the Humber, and made horrible devaſtations. Morcard and Edwin attempted to put a ſtop to their career, with ſome troops levied in haſte; but their whole army was deſtroyed. The Norwegians, fluſh'd with this ſucceſs, beſieged York, which they quickly ſubdued; for the citizens, being in no condition to defend themſelves, thought it more adviſable to ſurrender, upon terms, than to be expoſed to remedileſs ruin. In the interim, Harold marched towards the Norwegians, with all expedition, in order to give them battle; who, having left their fleet in the Humber, advanced, northward, to compleat the conqueſt of Northumberland, before they went any farther, to the ſouth. He came up with them, at Stanford-bridge *, on the river Derwent; and, upon this, the Norwegians intrenched themſelves ſo cloſely, that there was no way of attacking them, but by the bridge, of which they were maſters. However, Harold, who very well knew, of what importance it was to come to an engagement, order'd that the bridge ſhould be attacked immediately. The Norwegians made a brave defence, tho' they were not able to withſtand the efforts of the Engliſh, notwithſtanding the ſurprizing valour of one of their own men, who, alone, defended the bridge, for a conſiderable time. At length, this courageous Norwegian being ſlain *, Harold, taking poſſeſſion of the bridge, paſſed his army over it; and, then, furiouſly falling on the enemy, after an obſtinate fight, entirely routed them. There never had been an engagement in England, between two ſuch numerous armies, each of them conſiſting of no leſs than 60,000 men; and the battle, which was a very bloody one, laſted from ſeven in the morning till three in the afternoon. Harold obtained a compleat victory, Harfager and Toſton being ſlain, on the ſpot. Of the whole army, that came from Norway in 500 ſhips, the remains were carried off in 20 veſſels, with the conqueror's leave. The booty, taken on this occaſion, was vaſtly great, as they found in the camp, not only what the Norwegians brought from Norway, but all that they had plunder'd in England. A certain author affirms, there was ſo much gold among the ſpoil, that 12 young fellows could hardly bear it on their ſhoulders; but Harold, by retaining the plunder, for his own uſe, occaſion'd diſorders in the army, that were, afterwards, very prejudicial to his affairs †. One would have thought, this prince, who was naturally generous, ſhould have ſecured the hearts of his ſoldiers, by a liberality that would not have been chargeable to him, eſpecially, at this critical juncture; but he conſidered, that, by laying out the booty on the war againſt the duke of Normandy, he ſhould, in a great meaſure, eaſe his ſubjects, whoſe affections he was deſirous of ſecuring, at all adventures. However, it was, doubtleſs, equally neceſſary to oblige his ſoldiers, nay, in the preſent caſe, the moſt expedient ſtep he could poſſibly take; for, tho' it has been often obſerved, that ſoldiers are never leſs regarded, than when, by their bravery, they have obtained, for their maſters, ſome ſignal advantages, as their own victories render them uſeleſs; yet it is as certain, that, ſooner or later, a diſcontented army will give their prince, or general, occaſion to repent of their ungrateful uſage of them.

He defeats Morcard and Edwin.

The battle of Stanford-bridge.

* Who, it is ſaid, ſlew 40 men with his own hand.

Harfager and Toſton are ſlain.

Adam Bremenſis.

Whilſt Harold was employed in the north, in regulating theſe diſorders, the duke of Normandy, who had long waited for a fair wind, at St. Valery, embarqued towards the end of September, and had a ſpeedy paſſage to Pevenſey * in Suſſex. It is related, that, leaping a-ſhore, he fell proſtrate on his face; at which, one of the ſoldiers merrily ſaid, "See, "our duke is taking poſſeſſion of England." The duke interpreted this ſaying to be a favourable omen; and, as there were none to oppoſe his landing, he, firſt of all, order'd a fort to be made, for a place of retreat, in caſe of neceſſity. Some, indeed, affirm, that he ſent his ſhips back to Normandy, to ſhew his army, that they had nothing to truſt to, but their valour; and, according to Cambden, the ſhips were burnt by the duke's order. Having continued a few days at Pevenſey, he marched along the ſhore to Haſtings ‡, where he built a ſtronger fort than the former, reſolving to wait there for the reception of the enemy, of whom he had no intelligence. Here he publiſh'd a manifeſto, containing the reaſons of his coming into England. The firſt was, to revenge the death of prince Alfred, brother to king Edward. This was a trifling pretence, if it was made uſe of; ſince earl Goodwin, the contriver of that murder, was dead, and it had never been charged upon Harold. His ſecond reaſon was, to reſtore Robert, archbiſhop of Canterbury to his ſee. This was as frivolous as the former; becauſe this prelate was baniſh'd by the general aſſembly, in the reign of Edward, and, conſequently, the preſent king was not accountable for it; and it is highly probable, this article was inſerted, to give a ſpecious gloſs to the pope's partiality, in favour of the duke. Thirdly, which was his principal reaſon, he declar'd, that he came to aſſiſt the Engliſh in bringing Harold to condign puniſhment, for preſuming to uſurp the crown, not only without any title to it, but by a direct violation of his oath. It is obſervable, he does not take notice at all of Edward's will, or even of any verbal promiſe made him by that prince; which renders this third motive of his very ſlight and trivial. Some writers tell us, the duke founded his right, on his kinſhip to Edward; but he was, no way, related, to the late king, but by Emma

The duke of Normandy invades England.

* Now Pemſey.

He publiſhes a manifeſto. Cambden.

* It was named Battel-bridge, from this engagement; and, in Latin, it is called Pons belli.
† In thoſe days the ſpoils were uſually divided among the officers and ſoldiers.
‡ The chief of the Cinque-ports, whoſe burgeſſes ſtill retain the antient title of barons.

of Normandy, who never had any right to the crown; and, beſides, the duke was a baſtard. He did not, therefore, found his hopes ſo much on his manifeſto, as on the ſtrength of his army, being very ſenſible, that if he prov'd victorious, he could eaſily enforce his reaſons. In the interim, to ingratiate himſelf with the Engliſh, he gave orders that his army ſhould injure none, that were not actually in arms againſt him; but neither this charge, nor his manifeſto gained any of the Engliſh over to his party, as they could not apprehend, he had any juſt occaſion to enter the kingdom, in this hoſtile manner, or that it would promote their advantage to eſpouſe his cauſe.

Harold returns to London.

Harold was ſurprized at the news of the Norman invaſion; but no ſooner was he informed of it, than he advanced, to give the Normans battle, whom he did not imagine to be more formidable than the Norwegians. When he arrived at London, upon the review of his army, he perceived that it was exceedingly diminiſhed, not only by his loſſes at Stanford, but the vaſt number of deſerters; but, however, all the nobles in the kingdom offer'd him their aſſiſtance, in this extremity, it being no leſs their intereſt than the king's, to repulſe theſe foreigners. Whilſt he remained at London, in expectation of being reinforced by ſome troops that were behind, the duke ſent ambaſſadors to him to require him to ſurrender the crown, and to charge him with the violation of his oath; but the king was ſo incenſed at their arrogance, that he could ſcarce refrain from uſing them with ſeverity. However, tho' he reſtrained his paſſion, he, in return, ſent the duke a menacing and inſulting anſwer; who patiently heard the whole of Harold's meſſage, diſmiſſing the ambaſſadors, without any reply.

The nobles offer him their aſſiſtance.

Ambaſſadors are ſent from the duke.

Harold encamps near the Normans.

In the mean time, Harold, having muſter'd all his forces together, encamped within ſeven miles of the Norman army, reſolving to engage them. Whilſt the armies lay ſo near each other, ſpies were continually diſpatched from both parties, to enquire into the ſtrength and poſture of the enemy; but the Engliſh ſpies ſo magnified the numbers and diſcipline of the Normans, that the principal officers began to doubt of the ſucceſs of the war. Gurth, Harold's brother, on the account of theſe reports, attempted to perſuade the king to defer the battle. He told him, "That, by this delay, "he would find that his army would become "daily more numerous, whereas the enemy's "forces would continually decreaſe; that no- "thing could be more prejudicial to the Nor- "mans, than to have their winter quarters, in "an enemy's country, where they had not ſo "much as one fortreſs to ſecure their retreat, "and from whence, in all likelihood, the want "of proviſions would oblige them to retire; "that, if he was guilty of the violation of his "oath, of which he was accuſed, he had no "reaſon to expect, that Heaven would proſ- "per his arms; that, if after all, he was ab- "ſolutely determin'd to come to an engage- "ment immediately, it would be moſt adviſa- "ble for him, not to be preſent, in perſon, at "the battle, that he might intimidate the "Normans with the dread of having a freſh "army to encounter, if they ſhould prove victo- "rious; and laſtly, that if he would entruſt "him with the command of his forces, he "would promiſe him, not, indeed, the victory, "which was entirely at the diſpoſal of Provi- "dence, but, however, to ſacrifice his life in "the ſervice of his country." The king, who was deaf to all his brother's arguments, made the following reply: "That, as he had, by his "former actions, gained the affections of the "Engliſh, he could not think of loſing them by "a diſhonourable retreat; that he rather choſe "to run the hazard of a battle, the reſult of "which was, as yet, uncertain, than tarniſh his "reputation; that, after all, the Normans were "not more formidable than the Norwegians, "and that, as he was obliged to fight, he "could never have a fairer opportunity, than "whilſt his army was fluſh'd with their late "ſucceſs; and, in fine, that he was reſolved to "demonſtrate to his ſubjects, that he was not "unworthy of the crown he wore." The duke of Normandy, perceiving, by all Harold's motions, that he was reſolved to give him battle, advanced a little forward, for the ſake of an advantageous ſpot of ground, for the drawing up of his army.

Gurth's ſpeech to Harold.

Harold's anſwer.

Whilſt they were making preparations, duke William's haughtineſs, ſeem'd, in ſome meaſure, to abate; and, perhaps, the apprehenſion of a deciſive battle, in an enemy's country, where his loſs would be irretrievable, inſpired him with ſome dread of the event. Beſides, he could not well avoid ſome previous reflections, on the blood that ſhould be ſpilt in a cauſe, that he could not be thoroughly ſatisfied was juſt, notwithſtanding his ſpecious pretences. However, before the engagement, he ſent a monk to the king, with four propoſals, which were left to his choice. The firſt was, to reſign the crown, purſuant to his oath. By the ſecond, he propoſed to return into Normandy, provided Harold would do him homage, and become his tributary. By the third, he was willing to ſubmit the whole affair to the pope's determination. Laſtly, he offer'd to decide their quarrel by ſingle combat. It is no wonder, that Harold rejected all theſe propoſals; for as to the two firſt, it is obvious they were very prejudicial to Harold. The third ſeemed at firſt view, more plauſible; but the pope having already eſpouſed the duke's cauſe, what grounds had Harold to expect, that he would be impartial in his deciſion. As for the fourth, it evidently inclined to the duke's ſide of the queſtion; ſince, in a ſingle combat, he only ventured his life, whereas Harold hazarded, beſides his perſon, the loſs of his crown. If the duke ſhould prove victorious, he would have gained a flouriſhing kingdom, as the fruit of his victory, whilſt Harold could have obtained no more than the bare glory of the conqueſt. Moreover, Harold was of opinion, that an affair of ſuch conſequence to the nation, ought not to depend on the ſtrength and dexterity of a ſingle arm; and, therefore, his anſwer was, "That God "ſhould determine on the morrow."

The duke ſends four propoſals to Harold.

The

The battle of Haſtings.

The Engliſh ſpent the night in ſinging and carouſing, as if they had been aſſured of the victory; but the Normans prepared themſelves for the battle, by devout prayers to the Almighty, for his bleſſing on their arms. At length, on the 14th of October, Harold's birth-day, but much more remarkable for one of the moſt important events, that ever happen'd in England, both armies came to an engagement. The Kentiſh men ſtood in the front of the Engliſh, which privilege they had enjoy'd from the time of the heptarchy; and the king placed himſelf in the center, reſolving to fight on foot, the more effectually to invigorate the ſpirits of the ſoldiers. The Normans being drawn up in three bodies, Montgomery and Fitz-Osbern commanded the firſt, Geoffrey Martel the ſecond, and the duke headed the third, that was reſerved for the relief of thoſe that moſt wanted aſſiſtance. The Normans began the fight with a volley of arrows, which, being ſhot upwards, appeared like a thick cloud over the heads of thoſe that were in the front of the Engliſh army; and, as their ranks were very cloſe, they made a very great ſlaughter. The Engliſh, being unacquainted with this method of fighting, were, at firſt, diſorder'd, upon which the Normans vigorouſly attack'd them; but the Engliſh immediately recovering themſelves, gave them ſo warm a reception, that they were forced to give way, in order to take breath. Soon after, the Normans renewed their attack; but they met with a brave reſiſtance, nor was it in their power to break their ranks. The Engliſh being determined to die, rather than retreat, and the Normans aſhamed of drawing back, there was no viſible advantage on either ſide, for a conſiderable ſpace; for the preſence of the commanders animating the ſoldiers, they every where fought with equal bravery, from ſeven o' clock in the morning till night.

The victory, for a long while is doubtful.

I cannot pretend to give a complete deſcription of this bloody battle, as the accounts of the hiſtorians concerning it are very confuſed; but I ſhall only take notice of two circumſtances, which they all acknowledge, got the Normans the victory. The fight had laſted all day, without any one being able to diſtinguiſh who had the advantage; when the duke projected an expedient, which turned the balance, in his favour. This prince, finding that he could not break the ranks of the Engliſh, ordered his troops to retreat, as if they were diſpirited, but, at the ſame time, to take ſpecial care to do it in good order. This being put in execution, the Engliſh, believing it to be an introduction to their victory, with reiterated acclamations, preſs'd upon the retiring enemy, and with ſo much eagerneſs, that they broke their ranks. The Normans, perceiving the ſucceſs of their ſtratagem, by a diſcipline to which they had been long accuſtom'd, cloſ'd their ranks again, ſtanding their ground; and, after this, they attacked the Engliſh, who were in great diſorder, and made a terrible ſlaughter. Harold diſtracted even to madneſs, to ſee the victory, in a moment ſnatched out of his hands, exerted himſelf to rally his troops; and he drew up on a riſing ground, near the field of battle, a conſiderable body of foot, which was augmented by the acceſſion of the flying troops. The duke, ſenſible that his victory was far from being compleat, whilſt ſuch a powerful body of the enemy kept together, ordered the Normans to fall upon them with freſh vigour; but ſo brave was their defence, and the loſs of the Normans ſo great, that the fortune of the day ſeem'd to be ſtill uncertain. Night approaching, the duke, at laſt, deſpairing of penetrating into the ranks of the Engliſh, began to conſider himſelf, as vanquiſhed, ſince he was not intirely victorious; and, in all probability, the Engliſh army might have made a ſafe retreat, by the favour of the night, if Harold had left the enemy in poſſeſſion of the field of battle. But the king, apprehending that his retiring might be prejudicial to his affairs, and ſully his reputation, was reſolved to ſtand his ground, eſpecially, as he had the proſpect of rallying the whole army, during the night, in order to renew the fight the next morning.

Harold rallies his troops.

Harold cannot thing of retreating.

The duke's ſtratagem.

In the interim, the duke, perceiving that in the night he was in danger of loſing the glory of an entire victory, made another attempt to force the Engliſh from their ſtation. In this attack, Harold was ſlain, by an arrow ſhot into his brains; which fatal accident ſo diſpirited his troops, that they betook themſelves to flight. Thus Harold's death was a ſecond reaſon of the entire defeat of the Engliſh, as it compleated the victory of the Normans. The Normans purſued the Engliſh, during the day, putting all in their way to the ſword, to prevent the trouble of guarding the priſoners; tho' the darkneſs of the night ſaved a conſiderable part of the Engliſh army, who retreated under the conduct of Morcard and Edwin. Theſe lords, having, all along, faithfully adhered to Harold, upon his deceaſe, as well as Gurth and Lewin his brothers, at length ſubmitted to Providence, after they had given, all the day, viſible proofs of their valour. In this battle the duke of Normandy loſt 6000 men, and the Engliſh a much greater number *.

Harold ſlain.

The duke of Normandy, upon this victory, which equalled the very height of his wiſhes, order'd his whole army to return thanks unto God, on their knees; and then having cauſed his tent to be pitched in the field of battle, he ſpent the reſidue of the night among the ſlain. The next day he gave orders for the burial of his dead, permitting the Engliſh peaſants to perform the ſame office to the others. The bodies of Harold and his brothers being found, he ſent them to Gith, their mother, who allowed them as honourable a burial, as the preſent circumſtances would admit, in Waltham-abbey, which was founded by Harold.

Harold's character.

Thus Harold, died with his ſword in his hand, in the defence of his own and his country's cauſe, againſt the duke of Normandy's ambition. The hiſtorians, who wrote

* The field of battle was near Heathfield in Suſſex, where the town of Battel now ſtands, ſo named from this engagement; in which, according to modern hiſtorians, upwards of 60,000 Engliſhmen were ſlain.

in

in the ſucceeding reigns, have been very ſollicitous, in beſpattering Harold's memory, to give a gloſs to the duke's pretences; but the violation of his oath was the only thing they could lay to his charge, and I have already ſhewn what he advanced, in his own vindication. They might, with more reaſon, have cenſured him, for his ſecret practices againſt Edgar, who, alone, had a right to the crown; but they have been ſo cautious, as to be ſilent, on this point, ſince all their allegations againſt Harold, on that account, might, with equal juſtice, be retorted upon the duke. However, it may be affirmed, that Harold would have been more worthy of the crown, had he not been ſo forward in aſpiring after it. He attracted the affections of the Engliſh, whilſt he was only a private man, and did every thing that could ſecure them, whilſt a king, during a ſhort reign of nine months and ſix days. He fought, within the ſpace of a few days, two memorable battles, with very various ſucceſs. In the firſt, he procured a ſignal victory over the king of Norway, by his conduct and bravery; and his defeat, in the laſt, was entirely owing to his ill-fortune. As for his other perſonal qualities, he was naturally honeſt, generous, affable, and obliging; and, in a word, adorned with every virtue, neceſſary to compleat the character of a great prince.

His iſſue.

Harold had two wives. By his firſt, whoſe name is not recorded, he had three ſons, Edmund, Goodwin, and Magnus, who retreated into Ireland, after the death of their father. By his ſecond wife, Algitha, ſiſter to Morcard and Edwin, he had a ſon, named Wolf, who was but a child, at the time of the battle of Haſtings, and was afterwards knighted by William Rufus. He had alſo two daughters. Gunilda the eldeſt, falling blind, ſpent her days in a nunnery; and the other was eſpouſed to Waldemar king of Ruſſia, by whom ſhe had a daughter, who was married to Waldemar king of Denmark.

Thus, ended the monarchy of the Anglo-Saxons, which commenced, above 600 years before, in the perſon of Hengiſt, the firſt king of Kent; and the following book will inform us, how England became ſubject to the Normans.

The State of the Church, from Ethelred II. to the Norman conqueſt.

FROM the preceding account of the tranſactions, from the reign of Ethelred II. to the end of the monarchy of the Saxons, it appears, that this period does not afford much matter for an eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. As this may be called the age of ignorance, with reſpect to Europe in general, ſo, more eſpecially, with regard to England; and, if there was occaſion, it would be eaſy to aſſign the cauſes of this univerſal ignorance, in all the chriſtian ſtates. It will be ſufficient to my preſent purpoſe, to mention one, peculiar to England, viz. the wars; for the arms of the pagans carrying all before them, ſcarce permitted to the Engliſh the profeſſion of their religion; and, conſequently, the affairs of the church, in thoſe days, muſt be in the greateſt confuſion. I ſhall, therefore, only relate a few particulars, concerning the doctrines, councils, ſees, and ſuch as were moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed among the clergy.

The opinion of the church of England, as to the euchariſt.

Tho' attempts have been often made, to prove the antiquity of tranſubſtantiation, it could never be ſhewn, that it was the doctrine of the church of England, before the time I am, now, ſpeaking of. On the other hand, it is evident, from the homilies or ſermons, which were publickly read in the churches, that the church, in thoſe very days, did not acknowledge this doctrine. There is ſtill extant a tranſlation of theſe homilies *, aſcribed to Elfric, who lived in the reign of Ethelred II. which convincingly demonſtrates, that the church of England was of a quite contrary opinion; but, that my readers may judge for themſelves, I ſhall preſent them with an extract of one of theſe homilies.

Extract of an homily, to this purpoſe.

" There is a great difference, between the " inviſible virtue of this ſacrament and the " viſible ſign. As to the latter, it is corrup- " tible bread and wine; tho', by virtue of " the divine inſtitution, it is really the body " and blood of our Saviour, after conſecration, " not in a corporeal but ſpiritual manner. The " body, in which Chriſt ſuffered, is far from " being the ſame with the euchariſtical body. " The firſt was born of the bleſſed virgin, con- " ſiſting of blood, bones, nerves, and limbs, " animated with a rational ſoul; but the eu- " chariſtical body is compoſed of ſeveral grains " of wheat. As it has neither blood, bone, " nerve, limb, nor ſoul, we are to take it alto- " gether in a ſpiritual ſenſe. In the euchariſt, " whatſoever repairs our nature, or diſpoſes " us to a better life, entirely proceeds from a " myſtick and ſpiritual operation; and this is " the reaſon of its being ſtiled a ſacrament. " That, which is the object of ſight, is corpo- " real; but the repreſentation, made to our " underſtanding, has a ſpiritual efficacy. Be- " ſides, the body of Chriſt, which ſuffer'd and " roſe from the dead, is eternal and impaſſi- " ble; whereas the euchariſt is of a corrupti- " ble nature, being ſubject to decay, through " the violence of time, and diviſible into " many parts. It is ground with the teeth,

* The tranſlation of theſe homilies, in Latin, called ſermones Catholici, into old Engliſh, is preſerved not only in the Bodleian library, but in that of Bennet-college in Cambridge.

" and

" and paſſes through the common channels " of the body; but the ſpiritual virtue of " it continues in every part. Great num- " bers receive this euchariſtical body, and yet " the virtue of the operation is not, in the " leaſt, impaired; becauſe it does not operate, " in proportion to the corporeal magnitude, " but by the means of the divine inſtitution.

" The ſacrament is only a type, the body " of our Saviour being the ſubſtance; and God " has vouchſafed to give it us, as a pledge or " earneſt, till we come at the truth itſelf, for " the holy euchariſt is the body of Jeſus Chriſt, " not corporeally but ſpiritually. St. Paul, " ſpeaking of the Iſraelites, ſaith*, I would * 1 Cor. x. " not that you ſhould be ignorant, that all our " fathers were under the cloud, and paſſed " through the ſea; and were all baptized unto " Moſes in the cloud and in the ſea; and did all " eat the ſame ſpiritual meat; and did all drink " the ſame ſpiritual drink: for they drank of the " ſpiritual rock that followed them, and that " rock was Chriſt." That rock, from whence the " water flowed, was only a type of Jeſus Chriſt, " who made this gracious promiſe to all the " faithful: If any man thirſt, let him come to " me and drink; and out of his belly ſhall " flow rivers of living water*. By which is * Joh. vii. " meant the Holy Ghoſt, which thoſe that be- 38. " lieved on him ſhould receive. The apoſtle " declares, that the children of Iſrael, who " were in the wilderneſs, eat the ſame ſpiri- " tual meat, and drank the ſame ſpiritual " drink; becauſe the manna, with which they " were ſupported, for forty years together, " and the water, flowing from the rock, were " types of the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt, " that are daily offer'd in the church. The " manna and water were the ſame with that " we now offer, not corporeally but ſpiritual- " ly; and, to apprehend this, obſerve, that " our Lord, before his paſſion, conſecrated the " bread and wine into the ſacrament of the " euchariſt, ſaying, This is my body; this is " my blood. Though his paſſion was not, as " yet, compleated, by a myſtick operation, he " changed the bread into his body, and the " wine into his blood, juſt as, before his in- " carnation, he turned the manna into his " fleſh, and the water, flowing from the rock, " into his own blood."

Anglia ſacra, p. 125. As this homily clearly proves, that the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation was not, then, believed by the church of England; ſo it is no leſs evident, that Elfric, who tranſlated it into Latin, was of the ſame opinion with the author. There is, indeed, a diſpute about the tranſlator; whom ſome take to be Elfric archbiſhop of Canterbury, whilſt others ſay it was Elfric the grammarian, ſirnamed Putta, who was archbiſhop of York. However, it is certain, they both lived in the reign of Ethelred II. and neither of them was ever accuſed of heterodoxy; but, if it ſhould be objected, that Elfric was not of the ſame opinion with the author, the contrary appears from the following paſſage, in one of the ſaid Elfric's letters to the clergy. " The ſacrifice of the eu- " chariſt is not the body, in which our Saviour " ſuffer'd for us, nor the blood he ſhed for our " ſakes; but it is the ſame body and blood " ſpiritually, like the manna which fell from " heaven, and the water that flowed from the " rock." It is, therefore, manifeſt, from the teſtimony of a prelate of the church of England, that tranſubſtantiation was not introduced into that church, in the time of Ethelred II. who aſcended the throne, in 979. The only poſſible way of evading the force of this argument is, by alledging, that the homily, above-mention'd, is fictitious; but it is much eaſier to advance than prove this aſſertion.

Invocation of the Virgin Mary, &c. Spelman. Concil. vol. 1. The caſe is otherwiſe, as to the invocation of the Bleſſed Virgin and the ſaints in glory, ſince it was practis'd in England, in this very century. This appears from Canute the great's charter to the abbey of Glaſſenbury, which takes notice of the Virgin Mary and all the other ſaints; but, as the authority of the charters of thoſe times is not univerſally acknowledged, it may be alſo proved from a litany, that was, then, publickly read in the church. In this litany, after the invocation of the holy Trinity, the following words were thrice repeated, " O holy Mary, pray for us;" and, afterwards, the ſaints were invoked, by name. When this practice was, firſt, introduced, it is obſervable, that the addreſs to the Bleſſed Virgin and the other ſaints was rather a wiſh for their interceſſion, than a direct invocation, " May the holy Virgin, the mother of God, " and all the ſaints intercede for us;" which are the words in the publick office of canonical hours, made uſe of by the Anglo-Saxons*. This office gives occaſion alſo for this remark, that tho' the leſſons, prayers, pſalms, Lord's prayer, and creed are in Latin; yet, at the end of each article or verſe, there is a paraphraſtical tranſlation, in the Saxon language, that the people might underſtand the whole ſervice.

Elfric's Canons. Among Elfric's canons, whom I have already mentioned, the XXXIIId obliges prieſts to keep by them two ſorts of conſecrated oyl; one for children, and the other for the ſick; it likewiſe enjoins that the ſick ſhould always be anointed upon their beds, having, firſt, made a confeſſion of their ſins, and that no prieſt ſhould preſume to anoint any ſick perſon, unleſs it was deſired by them. From hence, it appears, that the prieſts did not ſtay, till the ſick were in their dying agonies, before they adminiſter'd the ceremony of extreme unction.

Extreme unction.

The XXXIVth puts the authority of the four firſt general councils* on a level with that of the four goſpels; but thoſe of later ages are not treated with the ſame reſpect and veneration. From whence, it may be fairly inferr'd, that the author of theſe canons did not believe,

* Of Nice, Conſtantinople, Epheſus, and Chalcedon.

* Sancta Dei genetrix Virgo Maria & omnes ſancti Dei intercedant pro nobis peccatoribus ad Dominum, ut mereamur ab eo adjuvari & ſalvari, qui vivis & regnas Deus. Direct invocation of the ſaints, in all probability, did not prevail in England, till the tenth century; when there was, in the homily of the aſſumption of the Bleſſed Virgin, an immediate addreſs or prayer to the Bleſſed Virgin to intercede for them. Coll. Eccl. Hiſt. p. 214.

that all the general councils were infallible; as he attributes a greater authority to the four firſt, than to the other councils †.

The eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of England mentions no more than two councils, from the time of Ethelred II. to the Norman conqueſt. In all probability, the wars with the Danes prevented ſuch conventions, or, rather, occaſion'd the loſs of their acts and decrees. One of theſe councils ‡, was held at Engſham, and the other at Haba, whilſt Elphegus was archbiſhop. The following canons are the moſt remarkable.

The council of Engſham. Spel. Con. vol. 1.

The IId canon of the council of Engſham enjoins the celibacy of the clergy.

The VIIIth prohibits all perſons to do any wrong to the church, or to eject a clergyman out of his benefice, without the biſhop's conſent.

The XVIIth ordains, that every Friday ſhould be obſerved, as a faſt, unleſs it was a holiday.

The XXth obliges the people to make frequent confeſſions, and to receive the ſacrament, at leaſt, three times in the year.

The council of Haba.

The IId canon of the council of Haba orders every chriſtian to faſt three days, with bread and water, before the feaſt of St. Michael, and to give to the poor what ſhould, otherwiſe, have been eaten, in that time.

There is nothing elſe in theſe ſynods, that is worthy to be related; but I ſhall take notice of ſome of the eccleſiaſtical laws of Canute the great and Edward the Confeſſor, to ſhew the veneration theſe princes had for the clergy. The following are Canute's.

Canute's eccleſiaſtical laws.

The IVth enjoins all chriſtians to pay great reſpect to the clergy, on the account of their ſacerdotal functions.

The Vth permitted a prieſt, accuſed of any crime, to purge himſelf, by ſaying maſs and receiving the euchariſt.

The XIIth recommends celibacy to the clergy, and ranges them among the thanes of the ſecond claſs, i. e. among the gentry.

The XXth ordains, that, at funerals, the church-dues ſhould be paid, upon the breaking up of the ground; and to the pariſh, to which the deceaſed belonged, tho' he was buried in another.

By the XXIId, Sunday is to be obſerved from three o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday, till break of day on Monday.

The XXXIIId determines the times of faſting, and places, among the faſts, the vigils of the feſtivals of the Bleſſed Virgin and the apoſtles.

There are ſeveral others, about the payment of tythes and peter-pence, againſt the violation of the privileges of the clergy, and the like, in favour of the church.

Every chriſtian was likewiſe obliged, by theſe laws, to learn the Lord's prayer and the creed; and, upon their neglect, they were not allowed to ſtand godfather, receive the communion, or even to have chriſtian burial.

Edward's eccleſiaſtical laws. Spelm. p. 165.

The eccleſiaſtical laws of Edward the Confeſſor principally relate to the protection of the church and clergy.

The Iſt forbids the moleſting a clergyman, in contradiction to the privileges of the church.

The IId appoints certain days, on which all proceedings in the courts of juſtice were to ceaſe.

By the IIId, the cauſes of the church were to be tried, firſt; and the IVth ratifies the immunities of thoſe that depend on the church, and, purſuant to it, they were not obliged to anſwer any plea, &c. except in the eccleſiaſtical court.

The Vth confirms the privilege of ſanctuary to churches, extending it even to prieſts houſes.

By the VIth, whoſoever invaded the privileges of the church, was ordered to ſubmit to the ſentence of the biſhop.

The VIIth enjoins the punctual payment of tythes, and ſhews, alſo, what is to be paid; and the IXth determines the circumſtances of the trial-ordeal.

The XIIth ſettles the fine of manbote, the ſum paid to the lord, for killing any of his vaſſals; and the king's manbote is no more than that of an archbiſhop.

By the XIIIth, all treaſure, that was found, belonged to the king, unleſs found in a church or church-yard; and, in this caſe, the king had the gold, but the church the ſilver.

It is obvious, from the ſtrain of theſe laws, that the clergy took care of their own intereſt, when they were under devout and eaſy princes, or ſuch as wanted their aſſiſtance.

The clergy, at length, loſe the privilege of electing biſhops and abbots.

But tho' the Saxon kings beſtowed ſo many favours upon the clergy, they would not allow them the privilege of electing their biſhops and abbots. Whilſt the prelates acted, within the bounds of their paſtoral functions, this power was inveſted in the chapters; but, when they became wealthy and popular, and preſumed to interpoſe in civil affairs, on the account of the fiefs they were poſſeſs'd of, the kings found it to be a matter of vaſt importance, to have the ſees and abbies filled with ſuch as were attached to them, or, at leaſt, under obligations to them, for their preferments. The kings, therefore, began to concern themſelves about elections, by canvaſing or recommendation, and very frequently by refuſing to admit ſuch biſhops or abbots, as were not agreeable to them; ſo that, in the time of Ethelred II. the monks had entirely loſt their antient privilege of chuſing their abbots, as appears from Ingulphus. Ingulph. p. 63.

"In thoſe times, the monks and abbots ſeldom went to court; but, ever ſince the kings have taken the diſpoſal of the abbies into their own hands, the monks have been obliged to make intereſt with the courtiers, and ſometimes at a very great expence." This hiſtorian ſharply inveighs againſt this abuſe, tho' he was, himſelf, inſtalled, in the abbey of Croyland, by the ſole

† Whereas the modern church of Rome pays as much ſubmiſſion to the decrees of the council of Trent, as to that of Nice, believing the church, in all ages, to be equally infallible.

‡ The conſtitutions of theſe councils, which were mixed conventions, related both to the church and ſtate. Coll. Eccl. Hiſt. p. 208.

will

will and pleaſure of William the Conqueror.

Tranſlation of ſees. Dunelm.

There were only two removals of epiſcopal ſees, in all this period. That of Kirton, in Weſſex, was tranſlated to Exeter, and the biſhoprick of Lindisfarn, in Northumberland, to Durham. Aldhun biſhop of Lindisfarn, to ſecure himſelf from the Danes, went to reſide at Durham, taking with him the reliques of St. Cuthbert; and, having built a cathedral he fixed his ſee there, where it remains to this day.

The biſhops of Landaff are conſecrated by the archbiſhop of Canterbury.

In 981, the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury obtained a new juriſdiction in Wales; for Gucan, a Welch prieſt, being elected biſhop of Landaff, was conſecrated by Dunſtan; and all his ſucceſſors owned the archbiſhop of Canterbury, for their metropolitan. Some, on this account, affirm, that all the Britiſh biſhops, from that time, acknowledged the ſupremacy of the church of Rome; but it is evident, that the biſhops of St. David's, all along, exerciſed the archiepiſcopal functions in Wales, till the reign of Henry I. and that without the pall, the badge of ſubmiſſion to the papal authority.

As the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York were moſt conſiderable, among the Engliſh prelates, during the Saxon monarchy, I ſhall briefly trace the ſucceſſion of both theſe ſees; which will give great light into the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of England.

The ſucceſſion of the archbiſhops of Canterbury.

Ethelgar, Dunſtan's ſucceſſor, being archbiſhop of Canterbury, but one year and three months, was ſucceeded by Siricius, who is cenſured by hiſtorians, for adviſing Ethelred to purchaſe a peace of the Danes; but, perhaps, thoſe, who are moſt ſevere in their invectives againſt him, would, in his circumſtances, have given the ſame advice. Elfric, who tranſlated the Saxon homilies, already mentioned, was his ſucceſſor, in 995; and he was ſucceeded, in 1006, by Elphegus, who was murdered by the Danes. Lanfranc, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the time of William the Conqueror, very much queſtioned, whether Elphegus was properly a martyr, as he did not loſe his life, on the account of religion, but becauſe he would not conſent, his people ſhould be taxed, to pay his ranſom; but Anſelm, abbot of Bec, whom he conſulted, on this occaſion, aſſured him, that he, who choſe to die, rather than commit an act of injuſtice, received, by his death, the crown of martyrdom. Livingus ſucceeded Elphegus, in 1013, who was, for ſome time, kept priſoner by the Danes; and, being, at length, ſet at liberty, he retired into France, till the ſtorm was appeaſed; and afterwards he returned to his ſee, dying in 1020, having Egelnoth the good, for his ſucceſſor. In the time of both theſe prelates, St. Auſtin's monaſtery was exceedingly corrupted, by the licentious lives of the monks. The maſſacre of all the monks, except four, when Canterbury was taken by the Danes, was the occaſion of this corruption; for the ſeculars, who were admitted into their places, were willing to enjoy the revenues and privileges of the monaſtery, but without any regard to its antient rules. Their lives were not ſo regular, as thoſe of the old monks; and they gave the name of Dane to their ſuperior, inſtead of abbot, which was retained, until archbiſhop Lanfranc changed it into that of prior. But to return to Egelnoth: he raiſed the ſee of Canterbury to its former luſtre, being ſupported by Canute the great; and he was ſucceeded by Edſius, who had been king Harold's chaplain *. He govern'd the church, till 1050, either alone, whilſt his health permitted, or by a chorepiſcopus, when he was diſabled by ſickneſs, The chorepiſcopus, who performed all the functions of an archbiſhop, reſided at St. Martin's in the Fields †. Robert a Norman monk, whom Edward the Confeſſor had promoted to the ſee of London, was, by the ſame prince, appointed to ſucceed Edſius, in that of Canterbury; but, being expelled thence, as has been related, and baniſhed the kingdom by the Wittena-gemot, Stigand, biſhop of Wincheſter, was fixed, in his room. Robert appealed to the pope, againſt theſe proceedings; but Stigand, who did not wait for the pope's determination, obtained conſecration; and, notwithſtanding his ſuſpenſion, without applying to Rome for the pall, he continued to exerciſe his metropolitical functions, till he was depoſed, in the time of William the Conqueror. It is highly probable, that the Engliſh, in thoſe days, did not believe, the archbiſhops elect were debarred from the exerciſe of their functions, till they received a power from the pope, or that the bare ſuſpenſion of the pope could put a ſtop to their archiepiſcopal proceedings.

Stigand, tho' ſuſpended, and without the pall, acts as an archbiſhop.

The ſucceſſion of the archbiſhops of York is, as follows. Aldulph, who ſucceeded Oſwald, in 993, ſate in that ſee, till his death, in 1002, and had, for his ſucceſſor, Wulſtan II. who, in 1023, was ſucceeded by Elfric Putta, ſirnamed the grammarian, taken, by ſome, to be the tranſlator of the Saxon homilies. Kinſius ſucceeded him, in 1050, whoſe ſucceſſor was Aldred, who was alive at the conqueſt.

The ſucceſſion of the archbiſhops of York.

Among the famous prelates of thoſe times, Wulſtan, biſhop of Worceſter, in the opinion of ſome, was look'd upon to be a perſon of an extraordinary character, tho' Lanfranc thought him incapable of the epiſcopal office, on the account of his ignorance and ſtupidity. This, however, is not the firſt time, that weak men have been palmed upon us for ſaints. This biſhop, having been conſecrated by Aldred, archbiſhop of York, profeſſed canonical obedience to Stigand, archbiſhop of Canterbury, though he was ſuſpended by the pope. To account for this, it is pretended, that this ſubmiſſion was made to the ſee of Canterbury, and not to the perſon of Stigand; but ſuch aſſertions, as theſe, ſhould be confirmed by ſubſtantial authorities, whereas this has none at all, to ſupport it.

Wulſtan, biſhop of Worceſter.

Creſſy, p. 984.

Edmund, biſhop of Durham, was remark-

Edmund biſhop of Durham.

St. Auguſtin's monaſtery is ſtrangely corrupted.

Osbern, Hoveden, Eadmer.

* This prelate crowned or anointed Edward the Confeſſor, on Eaſter-Day; and he preached alſo, on that occaſion. Sax. Ann. 1062. This is the firſt coronation-ſermon, we meet with, in hiſtory.

† The office of chorepiſcus was extingniſhed by Lanfranc. Coll. Eccl. Hiſt. p. 213.

able, on the account of the manner of his elec-

tion,

tion. The chapter, being met to elect a biſhop, could not agree in their choice; and, upon this, Edmund, a prieſt of that church, ſaid, jocoſely, "That as they were at ſuch a "loſs, they might chuſe him to be their biſhop." Miracles being in great repute, in thoſe days, the chapter, regarding this motion, as a divine impulſe, unanimouſly elected him; and he was famous for his courage and reſolution, in reproving vice, even in perſons of the firſt rank and quality.

Engliſh miſſionaries ſent to Sweden. Jo. Magn.

We may, alſo, rank, among the illuſtrious men of that age, certain Engliſh eccleſiaſticks, who flouriſhed in Sweden and Norway. Olaus Scot-Kunung, king of Sweden, who entertained ſome thoughts of embracing chriſtianity, deſired Ethelred to ſend him miſſionaries, to inſtruct him in the faith. Sigefrid archdeacon of York, and not archbiſhop, as a Swediſh author affirms, Eskil, Gunichild, Rudolf, and Bernard, or David, undertook this miſſion. Sigefrid, who was made biſhop of Wexia, a city in the province of Smaland, baptized Olaus, tho' ſome ſay, he received baptiſm from Bernard; but the greateſt part of theſe miſſionaries were martyred by the idolatrous pagans.

Loccenius.

Sax. Gr. l. 10.

I have, in another place, tho' in a general way, treated on the diviſion of England into pariſhes; but, as I am now arrived at the end of the Saxon monarchy, I ſhall give a more particular account of this matter, and ſo conclude my hiſtory of the church of the Anglo-Saxons.

The diviſion of pariſhes.

Auguſtin, the firſt biſhop of the Saxons, to whom the king of Kent had given ſome lands, for the ſupport of himſelf and the monks he brought with him, diſpos'd of the profits of them, as well as the offerings of chriſtians, at his pleaſure; but, becauſe he wanted inſtructions, about this affair, he conſulted Gregory I. who informed him, that, in the church of Rome, the offerings were divided into four parts, one of which was diſtributed, for the maintenance of the inferior clergy; and that, in the interim, as Auſtin and his companions were monks of the ſame order, they ſhould live together, as brethren. This was, likewiſe, the manner of living, practiſed by Aidan and Finan, biſhops of the Northumbrians, who were monks as well as Auguſtin, tho' of a different order; but it does not follow, from hence, that, in all the churches, the biſhops and clergy lived in common, as ſome authors affirm. The biſhops being obliged to diſtribute a fourth part of the church's revenue, among the clergy, ſeems rather to prove the contrary. However, it is certain, the biſhops and clergy were maintained, by the profits of the church-lands and the offerings of the people.

Coll. Eccl. Hiſt.

As there was, at firſt, but one church in a dioceſe, which contained a whole kingdom, the chriſtians becoming daily more numerous, it was neceſſary, that others ſhould be built, and prieſts ſent to ſupply them. Theſe prieſts were not ſettled in any particular church, but lived with the biſhop, who ſent ſometimes one and ſometimes another, at his diſcretion, to miniſter, in the remote churches, who afterwards returned to him. Theſe churches were no more than chapels of eaſe to the principal church; and the prieſts, upon their return, delivered the offerings, they had received, into the biſhop's hands. The prieſts, in thoſe days, had no other title, but that of belonging to a particular dioceſe; for theſe rural churches were not diſtinct pariſhes, but only chapels of eaſe belonging to the cathedral.

Stillingfleet.

Theſe churches were not, at firſt, very numerous; for as the lords, who had great eſtates, were the only founders of them, ſo, for the moſt part, they built no more than a ſingle church, for the uſe of their vaſſals. However, in proceſs of time, it became neceſſary to provide for the ſtated reſidence of a prieſt in each of theſe churches; and this gave occaſion to the firſt riſe and commencement of pariſh-churches. But, leſt the prieſts, thus, fixed to one cure, ſhould be regardleſs of their dependence on the cathedral church, the biſhops ſtill reſerved in their own hands the revenues and oblations of theſe churches; which was very diſpleaſing to the founders, who were uneaſy to find, that the prieſts, who did all the duty, had ſo ſmall a ſhare of their donations. On this account, the zeal of erecting new churches began to abate, at a time that they were moſt wanted; and the biſhops, perceiving this, at length, thought it convenient to compound with thoſe that were diſpoſed to build churches, reſerving no more to the cathedral, than a third or fourth part of the revenues, with the rights of baptiſm and burial. Upon this, the number of theſe private oratories increaſed exceedingly; for there was ſcarce a great man, but built one, for the conveniency of himſelf and his vaſſals. Beſides, if a lord alienated any part of his eſtate, the purchaſers uſually built a church upon it; and the biſhops themſelves, who became very wealthy, by reaſon of the grants made to their churches, founded churches on their lands, as well for the uſe of their tenants, as to imitate the nobility, among whom they began to be ranked. Thus, rural churches abounded in all parts of the kingdom, each of which had a particular prieſt; and, by degrees, the parochial diviſion was ſettled. However, the biſhops were, for many years, poſſeſs'd of the tythes and oblations; till, at laſt, to animate the zeal of chriſtians, in building and endowing churches, they not only left to the pariſh prieſts the donations of the founders, at leaſt, the moſt conſiderable part, but allowed them to adminiſter the ſacraments in their reſpective churches. This was the occaſion of the riſe and progreſs of the parochial diviſion, which was almoſt entirely ſettled in the reign of Edgar, or, perhaps, of Canute the great. In the interval between that time and the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, there were ſome farther ſubdiviſions; but, in all probability, there were very few alterations, after the Norman conqueſt. At leaſt, it appears from ſeveral charters of the latter Saxon kings, that the pariſhes of Cambridgeſhire, Huntingtonſhire, and Lincolnſhire were the ſame, as at this day; and it is to be preſumed, the pariſhes of the others counties very nearly agreed with the modern diviſion.

Wharton's Defence of Pluralities, p. 81.

Monaſt. Angl. under Ely. &c.

Domesday-book.

A DISSERTATION ON THE Laws, Manners, Cuſtoms, and Language, OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

Moſt of the laws of Europe came from the north.

THE revolution that happen'd in Europe, about the beginning of the fifth century, is one of the moſt remarkable events in hiſtory. The Roman empire, which was almoſt as large as the known world, was then divided into two parts, one including the eaſtern and the other the weſtern provinces. The weſtern empire was, at length, reduced to nothing, by the continual incurſions of the northern nations; and the very title of emperor of the weſt vaniſhed, with his dominions. This grand revolution gave a new turn to the affairs of all Europe; as it introduced new inhabitants, who, raiſing new kingdoms out of the ruins of the Roman empire, eſtabliſhed new laws and cuſtoms. Spain was peopled with colonies of Wiſigoths, Catti, Alans, and Suevi. The Gauls were over-run with ſwarms of Wiſigoths, Burgundians, and Francs. Italy was ſo often invaded by the Heruli, Oſtrogoths, and Lombards, that the natives made no figure at all; and the Saxons, Suevi, and Batavi, being diſperſed over all Germany, ſubdued that vaſt tract of land. In fine, Britain was ſo overwhelmed with a deluge of Saxons, Angles, and Juttes, that it is extremely difficult to trace any remains of the antient Britons. It was very natural, for theſe victorious foreigners, to introduce their own laws and cuſtoms into the kingdoms they founded; and it may be taken for granted, that the laws, now in force, over the greateſt part of Europe, were derived from thoſe, theſe antient conquerors brought with them from the north. I ſhall particularly prove this to be the caſe, with reſpect to England; and what I have to offer, on this head, will be ſufficient to convince all, that are, in the leaſt, acquainted with the Engliſh conſtitution, that the preſent cuſtoms of that kingdom are generally the ſame with thoſe, that were introduced by the Anglo-Saxons.

The laws of England are derived from the Saxons.

In the ſecond book, I ſhewed, that the Saxons were no ſooner arrived in Great-Britain, than they formed a deſign of ſettling there; there; and how, at laſt, they compleated it, after a war of 150 years. This tedious war occaſion'd ſuch an animoſity between both nations, that it is not to be ſuppoſed, the Saxons derived their form of government from the Britons, whom they conquered; ſo that, in order to diſcover the origin of the laws and cuſtoms of the Anglo-Saxons, we muſt have recourſe to Germany and the northern countries, rather than the antient Britons. Indeed, there is ſuch a reſemblance between the laws of the Saxons, Francs, Suevi, Lombards, and the other northern nations, that, it evidently appears, they had, all of them, the ſame original, and were of a more antient date, than the ſeparation of theſe people. There is ſtill a greater likeneſs between the laws of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain, and of the Saxons in Germany; and an Engliſh hiſtorian, by comparing the German laws with thoſe of the Engliſh, has convincingly proved, that the Engliſh introduced into Great-Britain the laws of their own country. He even ventures to aſſert, that, before the Norman conqueſt, there was not a ſingle law in England, that was not, for ſubſtance, the ſame with thoſe of the Germans. It is certain, as the Anglo-Saxons conſiſted of three diſtinct nations, and inhabited different parts of England, there might, poſſibly, be ſome variation, in this reſpect, in the ſeven kingdoms of the heptarchy; but this variation could not be very material, becauſe theſe three nations were united in Germany, under the general name of Saxons, before they came into England. Nothing more can be concluded from hence, but that the laws, the Anglo-Saxons eſtabliſhed in England, were a mixture of thoſe of the Angles, Saxons, and Juttes; but to enquire after the origin of the Engliſh conſtitution, among the antient Britons, would be as prepoſterous, as to build without a foundation, tho' it is not impoſſible, but there might be ſome conformity in their forms of government. The laws and cuſtoms, then, brought by the Anglo-Saxons into England, are to be conſidered, as compoſed of thoſe their anceſtors introduced into Germany, as well as thoſe they found in force among the antient Germans; and what Tacitus relates,

Brady.

about the German cuſtoms, ſo exactly agrees with ſeveral of the Saxons, that, it is plain, the Saxons derived many things from the Germans, unleſs we ſhould rather chuſe to ſay, that the cuſtoms of both nations had the ſame original. But, as it would be an endleſs task, to trace theſe affairs to their common ſource, I ſhall content myſelf, with preſenting, to the reader, a plan of the government the Anglo-Saxons eſtabliſhed in England.

The Saxons had no kings in Germany, when they ſent over their firſt troops, under Hengiſt, to aſſiſt the Britons. Their territories were divided into twelve provinces, each of which had a governor, who was elected by the general aſſembly of the nation, in whom the ſupreme power was veſted. This aſſembly was ſtiled the Wittena-gemot, i. e. the aſſembly of the wiſe men *; and alſo the Mycel-ſynod or great aſſembly. Beſides the heads of provinces, they had likewiſe others that governed the cities and boroughs; and, in time of war, the aſſembly elected a general out of the twelve governors, to command the army, who was veſted with very great prerogatives, tho' we have not a full account of their number or extent. The continual jars and animoſities, between the princes entruſted with this high dignity and the other kings, ſufficiently prove, that theſe prerogatives had no certain or fixed limits.

The title of king was not uſed among the Saxons in Germany.

Hengiſt aſſumes the regal title.

Hengiſt, however, was ſooner maſter of Kent than he aſſumed the regal title; and, indeed, he could not eaſily have found any other ſo proper, as he was ſovereign over that province. It muſt be confeſs'd, the titles of duke and earl, or, what is equivalent, Heretogh and Ealdorman were then received; tho' it was long after this, before they were made uſe of to ſignify the ſupreme authority. The other Saxon leaders, upon their ſettlement in Great-Britain, aſſumed the title of king, in imitation of Hengiſt; and as the Saxon territories, in Germany, were divided into twelve governments, ſo their dominions, in England, were canton'd out into ſeven kingdoms. In Germany, indeed, each governor depended on the aſſembly-general of the nation, whereas, in England, each king was ſovereign in his petty kingdom; but yet he had ſtill ſome dependence on the Wittena-gemot of his own ſtate; and there was alſo a general aſſembly of all the ſeven kingdoms, eſtabliſhed by mutual conſent, to determine the affairs of the whole body, which was termed the heptarchy.

The form of government the Saxons eſtabliſhed in England.

A Wittena-gemot in each kingdom.

Theſe firſt kings, the moſt of their ſubjects being Saxons, durſt not claim a deſpotick power, which was contrary to the cuſtoms of their own country; and, therefore, they eſtabliſh'd, or, rather continued a Wittena-gemot, in each of their kingdoms. As for what related to the common intereſt of the ſeven kingdoms, it was debated in a general aſſembly of the nation, at which all the kings and great men of the nation were preſent. The rights and privileges of this aſſembly-general are not particularly known; tho', in all probability, they very much reſembled thoſe of the ſtates-general of the united provinces. Each king was ſovereign; but yet he put in execution the reſolutions made, in common, to which he had conſented, either in his own perſon, or by his deputies.

The nature of the Saxon government.

From what has been ſaid, we may form a judgment of the government of the Anglo-Saxons. It was ſo far monarchical, as each kingdom had a particular king; and it was likewiſe ariſtocratical, as no laws were made, without the conſent of the aſſembly-general. Several authors aſſert, that it was, in ſome reſpects, democratical too; but this opinion ſhall be fully examined, in the ſequel. In the interim, to give us a more clear and diſtinct light, into the nature of their government, it will be requiſite to take a view of the various orders and degrees of men, among the Anglo-Saxons.

The ſeveral orders of men among the Saxons.

The king.

As for the king, I ſhall, hereafter, have occaſion to ſpeak of his power and prerogatives.

The queen.

The queen was the ſecond perſon in the ſtate, tho' ſhe had no concern in the government; and, if the queens ſometimes ſign'd charters, with the kings their husbands, it was rather a compliment to their rank, than a thing of any conſequence or neceſſity. Saxburga, queen of Weſſex, was the only one, that was poſſeſſed of the ſovereignty, during the whole period of the Saxon government; and yet, we are aſſured by ſome hiſtorians, that ſhe was depoſed, purely on the account of her ſex. We have already ſeen, how, becauſe of Brithrick's death, the ſame Weſt-Saxons deprived the queens of Weſſex of their antient prerogatives. The title of queen, in its original meaning, ſignifies, a companion, in Latin Comes; tho' it was afterwards applied to thoſe who were neareſt the king's perſon, and, at length, in a more general ſenſe to the great lords. Accordingly, in the old French romances and poets, we meet with Li queen de Flandre, Li queen de Leiceſter, for the earls of Flanders and Leiceſter; but, in proceſs of time, the term count or earl being ſubſtituted in its room, it was appropriated to the women. At laſt, it obtained a more reſtrained ſignification, denoting only the companion of the king, or the queen; and this appellation is common to all queens, whether they hold their dignity, by virtue of their husband's right, or their own.

Remarks on the meaning of that term.

The princes.

The king's ſons and the princes of the blood royal were the next, in precedency, who were named Clyto, from a Greek word, ſignifying illuſtrious. It is not eaſy to apprehend, why the Saxon princes affected a Greek title; one would have rather imagined, it was derived from ſome old Saxon term, if Edgar's title of Totius Angliæ Baſileus did not evidently ſhew, that they had a view to the Greek. By degrees, Clyto was made uſe of, alone, to ſignify a prince of the royal family; and the antient Engliſh hiſtorians very commonly call the king's ſons Clytones or Clytonculi, tho' afterwards Atheling, a Saxon term, from Athel, i. e. noble, was uſed in its place. As for the termination

A remark on their title Clyto.

* Accordingly, the parliament is, to this day, ſometimes called, the wiſdom of the nation.

Ing,

Selden's titles of honour.

Ing, it ſignifies deſcent according to Malmsbury. "The ſons of the kings of England, he tells "us, uſually aſſumed names, that expreſſed "their extraction. Thus Edgar's ſon took "the name of Edgaring, Edmund's ſon, Ed-"munding, &c. but they had all of them the "ſame common title, viz. that of Atheling." As the French, which ſettled in Gaul, came from Germany, it is highly probable, the termination Ing in the words, Merovingians and Carlovingians, i. e. the poſterity of Merovius and Charles, is derived from the ſame original.

Ealdorman.

Ealdorman was the name of the fourth degree. In its primary meaning, it ſignifies an aged man, tho', at length, it was applied to perſons of the greateſt diſtinction; probably, becauſe ſuch were inveſted in the higheſt offices, who were moſt qualified for them, by long experience. Accordingly, in the old teſtament, the elders of Iſrael, Moab, and Midian are the chief men of their reſpective nations; and Senator, Senor, Signor, Seigneur, in Latin, Spaniſh, Italian and French, are terms of the ſame import and meaning. The ealdormans, then, in England, were the principal nobles, who diſcharged the higheſt offices, and, conſequently, had the largeſt eſtates. As they were generally honoured with the government of the counties, the term ealdorman, in proceſs of time, was made uſe of to ſignify the governor of a county or city. Whilſt the heptarchy continued, they only held theſe offices, during the king's pleaſure, tho' afterwards they had them, during life, at leaſt, for the general; but this did not prevent the ealdormans being removed, on ſeveral occaſions, as we have already ſeen, in the reigns of Canute the great and Edward the Confeſſor. Upon the Danes being ſettled in England, this title of ealdorman was changed into that of earl; and that of earl was alter'd into count by the Normans; but, for reaſons too prolix to be here inſerted, the Daniſh term earl is ſtill in uſe in England, in the ſame ſenſe as that of count in other countries.

Several ſorts of ealdormans.

Some of theſe ealdormans were only governors of a province or county; but others held their province, as an eſtate of inheritance, and as a fee of the crown, it being always conſidered, as a parcel of the ſtate. In the reign of Alfred, we had an inſtance of the laſt ſort of ealdormans, who were extremely rare in England. This prince beſtowed unto earl Ethelred the inheritance of Mercia; and Elfleda, his widow, was poſſeſs'd of it, in the reign of Edward the elder. Edward, indeed, diſpoſſeſs'd his niece Alfwina, upon Elfleda's death; but this was brought about, by compulſive methods. Malmsbury tells us, "That Edward "the elder united the kingdoms of Mercia "and Weſſex; tho' he was only titular king "of the former, becauſe it had been given to "Ethelred." The ſame hiſtorian alſo ſhews us the nature of this lord's title to Mercia, when he relates, "That Alfred the great gave Lon-"don, the metropolis of Mercia, to Ethelred, "who had married his daughter Elfleda, to "hold it of him, by fealty and homage." From hence it appears, that Ethelred held Mercia, as a fee, as Octa and Ebuſa formerly held Northumberland of the crown of Weſſex, as the ſame writer informs us. In like manner, the dukedoms and earldoms, in France, which were, originally, no more than bare governments, were made hereditary, on the condition of doing homage for them. Theſe ealdormans were, likewiſe, called Reguli, ſubreguli, principes, patricii, and even ſometimes reges*. But, as for thoſe who were only governors, they derived their title from the county which they governed, which was alſo ſometimes expreſſed by the Latin word, Conſul. The firſt adminiſter'd juſtice, in their own name, applying, to their own uſe, all the revenues of their reſpective counties; whilſt the laſt acted in the king's name, and had only a certain part of the profits, ariſing from their government. Earl Goodwin, notwithſtanding his grandeur, in other reſpects, was an ealdorman of the latter rank. To theſe we might add a third ſort of ealdormans, who received the title, without ſo much as a government, on the account of the nobility of their extraction, out of which number their governors were, for the moſt part, elected; and hence it came to paſs, that the title of ealdorman was ſometimes made uſe of to ſignify no more than a perſon of quality.

*Dufreſne.

As for the ealdormans of cities and boroughs they were only inferior magiſtrates, who acted in the king's name, and depended on the ſuperior ealdormans or earls; and the name of ealdorman, or alderman, is ſtill applied to theſe ſubordinate officers, whilſt the others enjoy the the title of earl or count.

Dukes or Heretoghan.

The office of an ealdorman was entirely civil, having no relation at all to military affairs; tho' there was in every province a duke, who commanded the militia. The title of duke is modern, being derived from the Latin term, Dux; for this officer was called Heretogh* by the Saxons, and he had no concern with civil matters. His employment alſo was very different from that of an earl, of whom he was independent. The Saxon Annals ſtile Hengiſt and Horſa Heretoghan, or dukes, becauſe they were ſent over into Great-Britain, to be commanders in the war; whereas they always attribute, to Octa and Ebuſa, the title of ealdorman, on the account of their being governors of Northumberland, under the kingdom of Kent, tho' they might alſo be termed dukes, as they had the command of the army. Accordingly, the hiſtorians ſometimes call the very ſame perſon, by both theſe names, when he was both a duke and an earl, which was often the caſe, towards the end of the heptarchy. Thus, the governors of Weſſex, Mercia, and Eaſt-Anglia, are indifferently ſtiled dukes or earls; tho' I cannot imagine, why the title of duke is never given by the hiſtorians to the governor of Northumberland, ſince it is evident, from the example of Syward, whom Edward the Confeſſor commiſſioned to manage the war with Cumberland, that ſome of them had the command of the armies.

*i.e. Public leader or captain.

There

Ealdorman of all England.

There were, likewiſe, among the Saxons, three very important offices, or dignities, two of them of a civil, and the third of a military nature. The firſt was that of ealdorman of all England, the ſame with the chief juſticiary, viceroy, or guardian of the realm, which very few ſubjects were inveſted with; for this officer was ſo great, that he was even honoured with the title of Half-kyning or demi-king. We find only two lords, in the hiſtory of the Anglo-Saxons, who were advanced to this dignity, viz. Athelſtan earl of Eaſt-Anglia and Ailwin his ſon, to whom the title of Totius Angliæ Aldermanus was aſcribed.

Chancellor.

The next high office was that of chancellor, a term derived from the barbarous Latin word cancellare, becauſe he cancelled what he pleaſed in grants or petitions. He finally determined all cauſes, that were brought into the king's court, and drew up, as well as ſigned, all his charters. The firſt chancellor, taken notice of in the Saxon hiſtory, was Turketul, couſin to Edward the elder, who was afterwards abbot of Croyland; tho' I am apt to think, this office is of more modern inſtitution.

Tyrrel. Introd. p. 73.

Selden's titles of Honour, p. 505.

Kyning's-hold, or, Generaliſſimo.

The third great officer was the general of the army, in Saxon Kyning's-hold, i. e. the king's general, who was the chief duke or generaliſſimo, like the high-conſtable of France. This office laſted no longer than during the war; for, in times of peace, the holds or dukes of each province were entruſted with the care of the militia.

High-ſheriffs, or Viſcounts.

The high-ſheriffs of counties were the next to the earls and dukes, who were placed over ſuch counties, as had no earls, and adminiſtred juſtice in the king's name. They were termed, in Latin, ſummi præpoſiti, cuſtodes provinciarum, and at length, vicecomites, whence the title of viſcounts is derived, not that they were under the earls or counts, but becauſe they performed the office of one. Indeed, in ſome counties, there were both earls and high-ſheriffs; but Selden is of opinion, that ſuch counties were, on the account of ſome peculiar privilege, under the immediate juriſdiction of the king. As for the name of ſheriffs, it was applied to thoſe inferior officers, who diſcharged the duty of the antient viſcounts, who have been, for a long time, ranked among the peers of the realm.

Thanes.

Next to the high-ſheriffs were the Thanes, which, in the Saxon language, ſignifies a miniſter or ſervant. There were two ſorts of thanes, maſs thanes, i. e. eccleſiaſtical thanes, and werold thanes, i. e. lay-thanes. The thanes, in general, were ranged into three claſſes. The firſt were the king's thanes, who did homage to the king only, being immediate tenants of the crown; and of theſe was the body of the greater nobility compoſed, who were afterwards called the peers of the realm. The dukes, ealdormans, and viſcounts were thanes of the firſt claſs, as were alſo all the immediate tenants of the crown, tho' they were not inveſted in any offices; but the Normans changed the term thane into baron, calling thoſe lands baronies, which the Saxons ſtiled thane-lands, and it has been the cuſtom in England, for a long time, to attribute to all the chief nobility the general title of barons, becauſe the great men were thanes. The middle thanes were of the ſecond claſs, who were ſo named, becauſe they held the middle rank, who, for the general, held their lands of the earls or barons; and the Normans termed them vavaſors, and their lands vavaſories. The third ſort of thanes held their lands of the middle-thanes, and were, no more than gentlemen, being diſtinguiſhed from the common people, as they lived upon their own eſtates, and were of no particular profeſſion. I am not inſenſible that ſeveral authors take the title of gentleman to be equivalent to that of the nobilis; and, therefore, ſuppoſe they were a part of the nobility, and the affinity between the words gentleman and gentilhomme ſeems to countenance this opinion. But, without engaging in this diſpute, I ſhall only remark, that there is a material difference between a gentilhomme of France and a gentleman of England. In France, as there is no more than one body of the nobility, every gentilhomme is a member of that body, and no leſs noble than a duke, whereas a gentleman in England, can, at beſt, be ranked no higher, than among the ſecond degree of nobles, or gentry. Beſides, many perſons of mean extraction are ſtiled gentlemen in England, who, doubtleſs, could have no pretenſions to the title of gentilshommes in France.

Selden's titles of Honour.

Selden.

Ceorles.

The loweſt rank among the Saxons, viz. the freemen, was that of the ceorles, i. e. merchants, artificers, countrymen, &c. from whence the word churl or carle, an opprobrious name given to people of mean condition, is derived. The ceorls were equally free, as to their perſons, with the thanes of the third claſs, but not as to their lands; for the thanes held ſuch eſtates as were ſtiled bock-land or free-land, conveyable by deed or otherwiſe, whereas the ceorles had only ſoc-land or lands of the plow, which they could not alienate, as they were no more than farmers. Thoſe were the principal ceorles, and were called ſoc-men, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe who were not wealthy enough, to attain that honour, or procured their ſubſiſtance by ſome trade. All, that were inferior to thanes, except ſlaves, enjoyed the title of ceorles, who were as free, with reſpect to their perſons, as the ealdormans and thanes themſelves; and it was poſſible for them to obtain the dignity of a thane of the third claſs, if they had the good fortune to be able to purchaſe five hydes of land, a houſe with an encloſed court, a kitchen, a hall, and a bell to call their domeſticks together.

Two ſorts of ſlaves.

The loweſt order among the people, were the ſlaves or bond-men, ſome of whom were in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, ſlaves, becauſe they had no eſtates, and their lords had the ſole profit of their labours, who, on that account, maintained them; but there were other ſlaves, who might properly be called ſervants, as they held ſmall holdings, at the pleaſure of their lords, in conſideration of their doing ſuch ſervile country works, as were preſcribed them. As to the original

original of these slaves, some think, they were the posterity of the meaner sort of Britons, who submitted to slavery, to save their lives, during the furious proceedings of the first Saxons in England. Others think, they were the descendents of those the Saxons brought with them, as slaves into England. However, these prædial bond-men, not altogether so much enslaved, as the others, had the management of their lord's lands; which was somewhat advantageous to them, tho' they could not leave the place of their residence, to settle in another, without the consent of their lord. They were afterwards termed villains, i. e. villagers, from the villages in which they resided; and there are, in several parts of Germany, such peasants, who are subject to great drudgery, and, for the most part, treated severely by their lords. When a slave was admitted to his freedom, he was, at once, consider'd as a Ceorle, and not ranked among a new order of men, as some have imagined. they were, indeed stiled Freolætan, i. e. freedmen; but this was only to distinguish them from those that were born free, who had not, however, any peculiar privileges. The lords, among the Anglo-Saxons, had not the power of life and death over their slaves; and, if they crippled or maimed them, they incurred a penalty, the legislators in this case, in some degree, imitating the law of God tho' it was unknown to them *.

Freeholders.

All, that were not slaves and villains, were freemen and freeholders; tho' this term, freeholder, commonly denotes the thanes of the second and third class, and the ceorles.

Burghers and aldermen.

The burghwitan or burghers were the inhabitants of towns, who were governed by magistrates, called aldermen, chosen out of their own body, and had also the privilege of forming themselves into corporations, for the encouragement of arts, and especially, trade and commerce; and, with this view, it pass'd into a law, that the merchant, who had cross'd the wide-sea three times, should be admitted to the honour and privileges of a thane. I cannot apprehend, what is meant by the wide-sea, unless it be the German ocean; since America was not, as yet, discovered. Ever since these times, merchants have been highly esteemed in England; and very often those, who are remarkable, on the account of their commerce, have the honour of knighthood conferred upon them by the king.

I shall, now, proceed to consider the government of the Anglo-Saxons, and particularly the manner of their administration of justice; and, to this purpose, it will be requisite to treat of the different courts of justice, they erected in England, from whence we shall be enabled to come at the original of those, now established in that kingdom.

The COURTS of JUSTICE.

I Have already shewn, that Alfred the great divided England into shires, the shires into trythings, laths, or wapentakes, these into hundreds, and the hundreds into tythings; i, e. he settled the limits of the former divisions, making some alterations. That he only regulated the division of the kingdom into shires is evident, because there were earls of Somersetshire and Devonshire, in the reign of Ethelwulph, according to Asser, who lived, about that time; but Alfred, who united the seven kingdoms into a monarchy, divided his dominions into more parts, and with greater proportion. The shires contained a whole province, subject to an earl or count, and were, therefore, termed counties. Some of these shires being divided into tythings, laths, or wapentakes, which are different names for the same thing, each of these divisions consisted of three or four hundreds of families, and each hundred was subdivided into tythings. The courts of justice were adapted to these several divisions, i. e. there was a court for each tything, hundred, &c. that justice might be administer'd at an easier charge, as well as with greater dispatch and punctuality.

The tything-court.

The tything-court, which consisted of ten heads of families, who were sureties for one another, as each of them was for all that were under him, was the lowest of all the courts. Every person in the kingdom was register'd in one of these tythings; and none, except those of the first rank, had the privilege, of having their single family made a tything, for which they were responsible. Each tything had a president, called a tything-man or burgh-holder, who held a court, as occasion offer'd; the proceedings in which were, as follows.

If any person accused of a crime absconded, the other nine sureties were bound for his appearance; and, if the guilty party ran away, he could not be received into any other town, burgh, or village, without a testimonial from his tything, for if they admitted him, without one, they were liable to punishment. By the laws of king Edward, the tything was allowed 31 days, to search after the criminal; and, if he could not be found, the tything-man, with two of his own tything, and nine of the three next tythings, viz. of each the chief tything-man, and two others, purged themselves, by oath, of the offence and flight of the malefactor; and, if they refused to swear, the offender's tything was obliged to make satisfaction, in his stead.

This court was often held, not only to determine differences among the members of the tythings, but also to guard against such, whose behaviour was suspicious, on whose account, the rest were in danger of incurring the penalty. The person, thus suspected, was

* There were two sorts of villains in England, a villain in gross, being immediately bound to the person of the lord and his heirs, and a villain regardant to a manour, i. e. annexed to a manour; but there are not any villains now, tho' the law concerning them stands unrepealed, to this day. The copy-holders are the successors of these villains, who, tho' they enjoy several privileges, in other respects, still retain one mark of their original servitude, as they are not entitled, by their copyholds, to vote at elections.

under obligations to find ſecurity for his good behaviour, and if he could not do it he was confin'd. This court terrified the people of mean condition, as it was not poſſible for them to eſcape the puniſhment due to their offences. Indeed, before it was erected, they might ſhift their quarters, by reaſon of their obſcurity; but the caſe was otherwiſe, now, as they were obliged to bring a teſtimonial from their own tything, in order to be regiſter'd in any other.

Theſe ten heads of families, of whom the tything-court was compoſed, had the name of free-burghs, i. e. free pledges, burgh ſignifying a ſurety or pledge. Thus, the word neighbour in its original meaning, is a near pledge; and burman, in all probability, which ſignifies a neighbour, among the Dutch, is derived from the ſame original, viz. the ſame German cuſtom, which was, as it were, a model to king Alfred. Gonzalez de Mendoza, an Auguſtin monk, in his hiſtory of the cuſtoms of China, written in Spaniſh, aſſures us, that the like cuſtom, is in uſe, at this day, in that empire. So remarkable is the conformity between the practice of the Chineſe and the Anglo-Saxons, with reſpect to theſe tythings or reciprocal pledges, that it is ſurprizing, how two nations, ſo remote from each other, and who never had the leaſt communication, ſhould agree ſo exactly, in this point.

Hiſt. de los ritos y coſtumbres de la China. l. 3. c. 10.

The next court was that of the hundred, which was held once a month, having, for its preſident, one of the principal aldermen of the hundred. The biſhop, or archdeacon, was obliged to ſit with him to determine, in conjunction with the other judges, all the eccleſiaſtical and civil affairs of the hundred.

The hundred-court

The third court, was that of the trythings, in which were decided the cauſes between private perſons of different hundreds of the ſame trything; and, beſides this court, every thane of the firſt rank, or baron, held one that reſembled it, to determine the controverſies between his vaſſals, from whence our preſent court-baron derives its original.

The trything-court. Lambard. Dugdale.

But when a ſuit depended between men of different trythings, it was tranſmitted to the county court, ſtiled, in Saxon, ſhire-gemot, or folcmote, which was called twice a year, or oftener, if occaſion required. The biſhop and the earl or ealdorman preſided in this court; but, in the earl's abſence, the high-ſheriff or viſcount ſupplied his place. In it were regiſter'd all the tythings of the county, with the names of the members. Eccleſiaſtical cauſes were commonly tried, in the firſt place; thoſe in which the king was concerned, next, and, laſt of all, ſuch as related to private perſons. William the Conqueror diſpenſed with the biſhops being obliged to ſit in this court, allowing them to hold courts of their own, for eccleſiaſtical matters. Appeals were made from the tything-courts to the ſhire-gemot; and, in this court, all perſons, of what degree ſoever, took the oath of allegiance to the king.

The ſhire-gemot, or folcmote.

Notwithſtanding the power of this court, it was inferior to that of the king; becauſe the king himſelf preſided in it, either in perſon, or by his high-chancellor. In the king's court, the falſe decrees of the other courts were examined; and it was, probably, in this, that Alfred condemned to death 44 judges, as has been already related. From this court, the common-pleas and king's bench derived their original.

The king's court.

I proceed, now, to the Wittena-gemot or general aſſembly of the nation; but, as there have been warm diſputes, about the exiſtence, origin, nature, and authority of this great court, it will be convenient to take notice of the ſeveral opinions about it. For my part, as I am entirely unconcerned in all the controverſies, relating to this ſubject, I ſhall fairly and impartially ſtate the reaſons advanced, on both ſides of the queſtion; and, that I may ſet this affair in the cleareſt light, I ſhall diſtinctly conſider, 1ſt, the origin of this aſſembly; 2dly, who were the members of it; 3dly, its authority; and 4thly, its power, with reſpect to eccleſiaſtical affairs.

I. The Origin of the WITTENA-GEMOT.

Some affirm, that the Wittena-gemot owes its riſe ſo the conceſſions of kings.

SOME believe the Wittena-gemot or parliament in England to be of a later date, than the regal power; and that it owes its firſt riſe to the condeſcention of the kings. They affirm, that as the ſovereigns were graciouſly pleaſed, from time to time, to ſummon the principal men of the nation, to conſult with them, about affairs of importance, it, at length, became a cuſtom; and that, in proceſs of time, the people, making the beſt uſe of a favourable opportunity, claimed a right to this privilege of having a parliament, tho', at firſt, it entirely depended on the king's pleaſure. The chief reaſon they aſſign, as the foundation of this aſſertion, is, becauſe, till the time of Edward the Confeſſor, England was ſcarce ever, or but a very little while together, united into one ſtate, being, during the heptarchy, divided into ſeven kingdoms, which were ſo many diſtinct ſtates. Egbert united no more than four of theſe kingdoms; and the Danes afterwards ſubdued Northumberland, Mercia, and Eaſt-Anglia, ſharing the lands among them; ſo that, from the Saxon conqueſt to the ſecond Daniſh invaſion, it does not appear, that England was united into one body, except in the ſhort reigns of Edwy, Edgar, and Edward the Martyr, and the government did not continue long in that poſture. When the Danes renewed their ravages in the reign of Ethelred II. the kingdom was ſoon divided into two parts, between the Danes and the Engliſh. Indeed, upon the death of Edmund Ironſide, the kingdom was re-united by Canute the great; but this union expired with his reign, the kingdom being, once more, divided among his ſons. In a word, they aſſert, that England was never entirely united into one kingdom, till the time of Edward the Confeſſor; and they, alſo, prove, from the ſeveral ſorts of laws, viz. the Weſt-Saxon, Mercian, and Daniſh, that the Saxon heptarchy is altogether chimerical; and that, therefore,

therefore, the preſent parliament cannot poſſibly be derived from an aſſembly-general of England, which had no exiſtence, at all, during the dominion of the Saxon kings.

The adverſaries to this opinion reply, that they confound the Wittena-gemot or parliament of each of the ſeven kingdoms, and that of the whole heptarchy, conſidered as one body and ſtate, which ought to be carefully diſtinguiſhed; and that, tho' the laſt never had a being, the preſent parliament might take its riſe from the other. They farther add, that, if each kingdom had its own Wittena-gemot, thoſe of Suſſex and Weſſex became one, when theſe two kingdoms were united under Ina; and that when Ecbert annexed Kent and Eſſex to his dominions, the four kingdoms of Weſſex, Suſſex, Kent, and Eſſex made but one ſtate, and, conſequently, had but one parliament. In proceſs of time, as this kingdom was enlarged, by the conqueſts of Alfred the great, Edward, and Athelſtan, the Wittena-gemot proportionably increaſed, in its members, till, at length, it included all England, in the reigns of Edwy, Edgar, and Edward the Martyr. The wars with the Danes, in the time of Ethelred II. did, doubtleſs, affect this regulation, England being, again, divided into two parts; but Canute the great re-united the kingdom, and, of courſe, there was, upon this, no more than one Wittena-gemot, which was again divided into two, tho' but for a very ſhort ſpace, under Harold and Hardicanute. In fine, after Harold, by the intereſt of earl Goodwin, was placed on the throne of Weſſex, there was but one Wittena-gemot, in all England, till the Norman conqueſt.

To prove, then, that the preſent parliament is not derived from the Wittena-gemot of the Saxons, it is neceſſary, either to aſſign the time, when parliaments commenced, after the conqueſt, or to deny, that there ever was a Wittena-gemot, in each of the kingdoms of the heptarchy. The former of theſe is next to impoſſible, unleſs we depend upon mere conjectures, inſtead of ſubſtantial arguments; and as for the latter, the aſſertors of the antiquity of parliaments advance ſeveral proofs, for the exiſtence of a Saxon Wittena-gemot, which they apprehend to carry along with them demonſtrative evidence. The firſt is founded on the title of the laws of Ina, king of Weſſex, which begins, thus: "I Ina, by the grace of "God, king of the Weſt-Saxons, with the "advice of Cenred my father, Hedda my "biſhop, with all my ealdormans, ſeniors, and "wiſe men of my nation, willing to eſtabliſh "good order in the ſtate, have ordained, &c." From whence it appears, that Ina, in making his laws, conſulted with the general aſſembly of Weſſex. That the ſame was eſtabliſhed in Mercia is evident from Bertulph's charter to the abbey of Croyland, in which are theſe words, "With the unanimous conſent of the preſent "council, aſſembled at Kingsbury, to debate "the affairs of the nation." The king ſubſcribed this charter, after the biſhops and lords, in the following manner: "I Bertulph, in the "preſence of all the biſhops and great men of "my kingdom;" which, convincingly, proves, that it was granted in the Wittena-gemot of Mercia. The ſame evidence might be produced, with reſpect to each of the other kingdoms; but, they ſay, the caſe will not admit of any diſpute.

The proofs for a Wittena-gemot in each kingdom.

They farther undertake to make it appear, that there was a general Wittena-gemot of the ſeven kingdoms, from the very name of heptarchy, which implies, that all the kingdoms had ſomething in common; and, conſequently, that there was an aſſembly-general, to determine all their common affairs. For example, how could they elect their monarchs or generals, without ſuch an aſſembly? but they advance more direct proofs of this matter. Several authors affirm, there was a general aſſembly, held in Gloceſterſhire, in which Ina, king of the Weſt-Saxons, was elected monarch of the Anglo-Saxons, by the intereſt of Sebba, king of Eſſex, who was preſent at it, with all the other kings. They alſo produce, from Ingulphus theſe words, in Witglaph king of Mercia's charter, "In the pre-"ſence of Ecbert, king of the Weſt-Saxons, E-"thelwulph his ſon, and the biſhops and great "lords of England, aſſembled at London;" which plainly ſhews, that this aſſembly was a general Wittena-gemot of the nation.

The proofs of a general Wittena-gemot of the whole heptarchy.

As to the objection, about the diverſity of the laws, during that period, they anſwer, that as Mercia and Weſſex were ſeparate ſtates, it is no wonder they ſhould have different laws, much leſs, that the Danes ſhould introduce their own laws into their conqueſts; but that it does not follow, from hence, that there was not a particular Wittena-gemot for each kingdom, or an aſſembly-general for all the ſeven. This inference is no leſs abſurd, than it would be to conclude, from the diverſity of laws and cuſtoms in the united provinces of the low-countries, that there was not a convention of the ſtates in each province, nor an aſſembly of the ſtates-general.

The anſwer to the objection, from the diverſity of the laws.

Beſides, they argue for the confirmation of theſe proofs, from the conformity, in this particular, between England and the other kingdoms of Europe. The Saxons had ſuch aſſemblies in Germany, as well as the Oſtrogoths, and after them, the Lombards in Italy; and the Francs had their field of Mars or May, ſanes, or parliaments, and the Spaniards their cortez, there being no other form of government, at that time, in Europe.

They farther add, that, in order to prove, that theſe aſſemblies are of a later date, than kingly power, it muſt be ſhewn, who were the ſovereigns, that, firſt, eſtabliſhed them in each kingdom; but what reaſon can be aſſigned, why all the European kings ſhould, at the ſame time, become ſo very condeſcending to their ſubjects? ſince it is, doubtleſs, much more reaſonable to imagine, they would rather have all agreed in aboliſhing, than in granting a privilege of this nature.

II. The

II. The Members of the WITTENA-GEMOT.

IT is univerſally owned, that the greater nobility, viz, the Ealdormans and thanes of the firſt rank, who were afterwards called earls and barons, were members of the Wittena-gemot; but the chief point in diſpute is, whether the thanes of the ſecond and third rank, and the ceorles, of whom the houſe of commons is compoſed, had a right to ſit in that aſſembly, by their repreſentatives, or not. Tho' the ſolution of this queſtion ſeems to be entirely unneceſſary, as the commons, now, inconteſtably enjoy this privilege; yet it is certainly of ſome conſequence to enquire, whether they uſurped this privilege, or received it, by the gracious conceſſions of the kings, or whether it be of the ſame antiquity with the royal power. Some are of opinion, that it would be dangerous to acknowledge, they derived this privilege, from the favourable indulgence of their ſovereigns; leſt the ſame power, which granted it, ſhould be led to revoke it, when occaſion offer'd, which was actually the caſe, in the reign of king James I. * and, indeed, it is evident, the principal and genuine motive of all the attempts, againſt the commons, in the preſent argument, and even of ſtarting this queſtion, was, to gratify ſuch of the kings, as have endeavour'd to enlarge the bounds of the royal prerogative.

The 1ſt argument againſt the commons.

However, they who aſſert, that the commons had no right to ſit in the Wittena-gemot, during the time of the Saxon kings, alledge, in defence of their opinion, firſt, that the under thanes or ceorles were not proprietors of land; and, therefore, they could have no concern in the regulation of the affairs of a country, which properly belonged to the king and the nobility. They add, that as nobles of the firſt rank might diſtribute their lands, on their own terms, it is not to be imagined, that they would place their tenants, on a level with themſelves, or agree to make their vaſſals their companions. Beſides, they affirm, that people, in theſe days, were not in the ſame condition, as at preſent; that, notwithſtanding their freedom, it was confined within narrow limits; that they were under greater ſubjection to the nobles, than at this day; that they ſerv'd in the wars, as foot-ſoldiers who were conſidered, as ſervants, and ſtiled knechter i. e. ſervants in the Saxon language.

The anſwer to it.

To this argument, the advocates for the commons reply, that ſince the nobles, who held their lands of the king, had a right to ſit in the Wittena-gemot, the commons, who held their lands of the nobles, were entitled to the ſame privilege alſo. They add, that the principal buſineſs of the aſſembly-general was to enact laws, as well for the people as the nobles, viz. to ſettle the rights of the ſubjects, to preſerve the publick tranquillity, and to levy taxes, of which the people paid the moſt conſiderable part; and, conſequently, it was very reaſonable in itſelf, as well as agreeable to the cuſtom of the Saxons, that people ſhould give their conſent to all the reſolutions made, on theſe occaſions. They farther alledge, that if the people had no concern in the debates of the great council, it is not to be imagined, that it ſhould expreſs ſuch a tender regard for their rights and privileges, and be ſo ſollicitous in preventing their being oppreſs'd by the grandees; ſince it is notorious, that mankind, in general, eſpecially the great, uſually exert themſelves to increaſe, but never to diminiſh their own power and authority.

Another argument againſt the commons.

But, as this diſpute turns upon matter of fact, which cannot be determined by bare reaſonings, both parties attempt to eſtabliſh their reſpective opinions, by authorities; and, with this view, they inſiſt on certain terms, to be found in the charters of the Anglo-Saxon kings, and in the hiſtorians who ſpeak of the government of the Anglo-Saxons. I ſhall begin with the teſtimonies that are produced to prove, that neither the commons, nor their repreſentatives, were members of the general aſſembly.

Firſt of all, it is affirmed, that the very name of Wittena-gemot evidently declares, that the great council conſiſted only of ſuch as were ſtiled Wittan, which, in its preciſe meaning, is the ſame with majores natu, ſeniores, or ealdormen, i.e. the earls and barons, or, in the language of the Saxons, the ealdormen and king's thanes, eccleſiaſticks and laicks; and, to this purpoſe, they cite a paſſage out of Bede's Eccleſiaſtaical Hiſtory, as tranſlated by Alfred. Bede tells us, that king Oſwald made application to the majores natu of Scotland, for a biſhop; and Alfred renders theſe majores natu, by Ealdormen. The ſame hiſtorian, in the ſame place, ſays, that Oſwald made uſe of ſuis ducibus & miniſtris, for interpreters, which Alfred tranſlates by his Ealdormans and thanes. From hence, they conclude, that the term Wittan ſignifies no more than ealdormen and barons, or in general, the chief men of the nation; and that, therefore, the Wittena-gemot was entirely compoſed of ſuch perſons. For the farther confirmation of this point, they alledge, that the hiſtorians render the word Wittan, in Latin, by principes, optimates, proceres, magnates, duces, comites, præpoſiti, miniſtri regis, nobiles & milites, which can, at no rate, be applied to the people or their repreſentatives.

Bede l. 3. c. 3.

The anſwer to it.

Their adverſaries, in anſwer to this objection, advance the ſame authorities to prove, that the greater nobility were not the ſole conſtituent parts of the Wittena-gemot; and they aſſert alſo, that the very expreſſions, quoted by the contrary party, ought not to be ſo reſtrained to the nobility, as to exclude the magiſtrates and chief men among the people. To confirm their aſſertion, they quote innumerable paſſages from the Latin authors, in which the words principes, nobiles, &c. are to be taken in their ſenſe and meaning.

* This prince often intimated to the commons, that he believed it to be in his power to revoke their privileges, which he apprehended to have no other foundation, than the royal conceſſions of his predeceſſors.

The

The others again reply, that the term, people, is capable of two different ſenſes; firſt, as it ſignifies a nation, in general, and then, by magnates, proceres, &c. they own, may be underſtood the chief men of the people, or the whole nation; but the other meaning of the word, people, is reſtrained to a part of the people, as diſtinguiſhed from the nobility. This is the ſenſe to which the cited paſſages muſt be applied; whereas, according to them, there are no ſuch expreſſions to be met with in Latin authors, as optimates plebis, but always populi, i.e of the people in general. Moreover, they affirm, that their adverſaries are obliged to prove, that the word, people, muſt be taken in that ſenſe, in the cited paſſages, unleſs they would take for granted the very point in queſtion.

The advocates for the commons, on the contrary, freely acknowledge, that theſe expreſſions principally mean noble perſons; but yet they aſſert, their meaning is not to be limited to nobles of the firſt rank. In England, indeed, they grant, the greater nobility, or peers of the realm, are a diſtinct order from the leſſer nobility, who are ranked among the commons; tho' they will not allow it to be a conſequence, that the Latin expreſſions are to be explained, by this diſtinction, which is not made uſe of, in any other country. For example, in France, the meaneſt gentilhomme is as much a nobleman, as the higheſt lord; ſince there is but one body of the nobility in that kingdom.

It were to be wiſhed, that this enquiry had not been reduced to a grammatical diſpute; but, as I have undertaken to give an impartial ſtate of the caſe, I thought my ſelf obliged to take notice of the arguments, on both ſides of the queſtion, tho' drawn from the meaning of certain expreſſions. However, from what has been ſaid, by one party, it plainly appears, that the great lords had a right to ſit in the Wittena-gemot, which is univerſally acknowledged; tho' it does not ſeem to be a neceſſary conſequence, that the commons were excluded, the very point in diſpute. On the contrary, the arguments, advanced by the other party, rather prove, that the reaſons, for the excluſion of the commons, are not ſatisfactory, than that they actually were members of the Wittena-gemot. I ſhall proceed, therefore, to another ſort of arguments, in favour of the commons.

Another argument, in behalf of the commons.

The firſt is founded on the words of Henry of Huntingdon, who ſays: "King Sigebert growing incorrigible, the great men and people of "Weſſex, aſſembled together, in the beginning "of the ſecond year of his reign, unanimouſly "conſented to depoſe him." They infer, from this paſſage, that, as the people are placed, in oppoſition to the great men, the commons muſt be underſtood; and, conſequently, that they gave their votes in the aſſembly-general.

To confirm this matter, they cite a paſſage in another hiſtorian, who affirms, "That, in the "reign of Edward the elder, were aſſembled "the biſhops, abbots, the faithful ſubjects or "vaſſals, the great men and the people, in the "kingdom of Weſſex." They aſſert, that, by the fideles or faithful ſubjects, which may be explained by vaſſals or liege-men, muſt be meant the people, as diſtinct from the nobles, as the fideles and the people are actually diſtinguiſhed from the great men.

They alſo quote another, in Ethelwulph's charter of tythes, viz. "Theſe things were "granted by the king, barons, and people."

Theſe proofs are confirmed by two charters, the firſt of which is that of king Ethelred, in behalf of the abbey of Wolverhampton, which concludes, thus: "Theſe are the decrees of Sigeric "archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the court held "before king Ethelred, the archbiſhop of York, "the biſhops, abbots, ſenators, the chiefs, and "people of the whole country."

In the other, granted by Edward the Confeſſor, to the abbey of Weſtminſter, are theſe words: "I have ordered, therefore, this char-"ter of my donation to be read, on the day of "the dedication of the ſaid church, in the pre-"ſence of the biſhops, abbots, earls, and great "men of England, and before all the people."

Anſwer againſt the commons.

To invalidate theſe proofs, the oppoſers of the commons ſay, firſt, that the moſt of theſe hiſtorians lived, when the commons ſate in parliament; and, therefore, they repreſent the affairs of the Anglo-Saxons, according to the practice of their own times. Secondly, they obſerve, as to the charters, that they were originally writ, in Saxon, and, conſequently, theſe Latin quotations are no more than tranſlations; which muſt be compared with their originals, in order to form a judgment of their faithfulneſs, whereas they are all loſt. For example, the word, baron, occurs in thoſe charters, which was never in uſe among the Saxons, being introduced by the Normans. Thirdly, they farther alledge, that ſome of the cited paſſages only prove, that the decrees of the Wittena-gemot were made, in the ſight of the people, who, perhaps, expreſs'd their being pleaſed with what was tranſacted, by ſhouts and acclamations. This evidently appears, they tell us, from the charter of Ethelwulph, above-mentioned, which runs, thus: "There were preſent the "archbiſhops and biſhops of England, Buthred "king of Mercia, Edmund king of Eaſt-Anglia, "and a great number of abbots, abbeſſes, "dukes, earls, and great men, of the whole "kingdom, and, of other faithful ſubjects, a "great multitude, who all approved of this "royal act, to which the dignified perſons ſub-"ſcribed their names." As the great men, alone, ſigned the charter, they argue, that their approbation, alone, was neceſſary. Beſides, what can be the meaning of a great multitude of faithful ſubjects? Was it the whole body of the people? This will not be ſaid by thoſe who aſſert, that the commons ſate in the Wittena-gemot, by their repreſentatives, as at this day; and, indeed, this great multitude cannot well bear that conſtruction, being much more capable of being applied to crowds of people, met together to ſhout and make acclamations. Finally, they remark, that, in all the foreſaid paſſages, the term, fideles, is ſtrangely miſapplied, when it is made to ſignify the repreſentatives of the commons; ſince it extends to all ſubjects, in general, as well to the body of the nobility, as of the people.

Another more direct argument for the commons.

The advocates for the commons, that they may, more directly, prove their aſſertion, quote

other paſſages, in which the meaning of theſe expreſſions is limited to the repreſentatives of the people, by the term procuratores; for, in a charter, dated 811, it is affirmed, that Cenulph, king of Mercia, convened, in order to dedicate the monaſtery of Winchelchomb, "the great men of the kingdom, the biſhops, procuratores, &c."

The anſwer to it.

To this, it is replied, that the occaſion of this aſſembly was only the dedication of a church and monaſtery, on which account, he called together a great number of people, and, particularly, ſuch as were diſtinguiſhed by their birth or employments; but, admitting it to be a real Wittena-gemot, the term, procuratores, is too general to denote the repreſentatives of the people, unleſs it be joined with ſome other word to reſtrain its ſignification.

The reply to that anſwer.

In order to do this, the other party cite a paſſage, in a charter granted by king Athelſtan to the abbey of Abingdon, in 931, which concludes, thus: "Granted at the royal vill Ætwelope, in "the preſence of the biſhops, abbots, dukes, "earls, and patriæ procuratoribus." Now, they ſay, theſe patriæ procuratores muſt, of courſe, be the repreſentatives of the people; but their adverſaries affirm, this is no more than a conjecture, unleſs they could prove it to be an expreſſion commonly made uſe of, in that time.

The laſt argument in favour of the commons.

Laſtly it is advanced, in behalf of the commons, that there are, at this day, ſeveral hamlets *, which ſend repreſentatives to parliament; becauſe, if they had not a right to this privilege, when they were cities or boroughs, it is highly improbable, they ſhould have received it, ſince they were become ſo mean and inconſiderable.

The anſwer.

To enervate the force of this argument, it is replied, that it is altogether inconcluſive, unleſs it could be prov'd, that theſe boroughs, now hamlets, were reduced to their deſpicable condition, before the conqueſt; and, even in this caſe, it would not be ſufficient, ſeeing they might be rebuilt and deſtroyed again, during the civil wars, with which England was ſo often infeſted, after the commons were admitted to the right of ſending repreſentatives to parliament.

The advocates for the commons, to all their other arguments, ſubjoin, that, in all the other European ſtates, the people made a part of the general aſſemblies. Tho' I have, hitherto, only preſented to the reader's view the reaſons, on both ſides of the queſtion; yet I cannot paſs over this laſt argument, tho' I have no view of invalidating the reſt, without this remark, that it has not the leaſt foundation. This I ſhall prove, at leaſt, with reſpect to France, by the authority of three writers, who had the reputation of being thoroughly acquainted with the cuſtoms of that kingdom.

Mezeray's Abſtract, &c. of the Cuſtoms of the VIIIth Century.

The firſt is that of Mezeray, who, treating on this ſubject, expreſſes himſelf, thus: "I find "there were three ſorts of aſſemblies, in thoſe "days; the general courts of the provinces, the "champs de mai, at which were preſent the "ſeniores and majores natu of the people, "where military affairs were chiefly debated; "and the conventus, colloquia, parliaments, "where the biſhops, abbots, and other great "men met, to make laws and regulate the af-"fairs, relating to the adminiſtration of juſtice, "the civil government, and the publick reve-"nues, &c. Theſe two laſt aſſemblies were "confounded together." From hence, it appears, that none, except the great men, were members of the parliaments; but, as it may be objected, that, by the ſeniores and majores natu at the champs de mai, are meant the repreſentatives of the people, I ſhall relate what preſident Fauchet obſerves, on the ſame occaſion.

Fauchet's Antiquities of France, l. 6.

This learned author takes notice of a ſpeech that was ſhewn him, under the name of Boniface, archbiſhop of Mayence, in which that prelate repreſented to Pepin, that the Gauls omnium ordinum, of all orders and degrees, had placed him on the throne. "This ha-"rangue, that hiſtorian aſſures us, is, doubt-"leſs, a forgery. Firſt, becauſe the Francs "never ſtiled themſelves Gauls. Secondly and "chiefly, by reaſon of the terms, omnium or-"dinum, which were not uſed, in thoſe days; "for none but biſhops, abbots, earls, and no-"bles ſate in the general courts or parlia-"ments; and the earls, commiſſioners, or de-"legates, laid before the aſſembly the com-"plaints of the people, in their reſpective ter-"ritories.

Paſquier Recherches, &c. l. 2. c. 7.

Paſquier is ſtill more expreſs and particular on this ſubject, who ſays: "Altho' ſome, who "pretend to be well vers'd in the hiſtory of "France, think, that the aſſembly of the ſtates-"general is of a very long duration, and fix the "liberties of the people on this foundation; "yet both theſe aſſertions are groundleſs. I "freely own, that formerly in Gaul, before "the conqueſt of Julius Cæſar, there were ge-"neral aſſemblies, which he continued, under "a pretence, very familiar to the Romans, of "leaving us in the poſſeſſion of our antient "rights and privileges; but the common peo-"ple, who were regarded, as ſo many cyphers, "had not a place in any of theſe aſſemblies. "We may, alſo, meet with, under the firſt and "ſecond families of our kings, ſolemn conven-"tions, called parliaments, the principal ſinews "of our monarchy; but to theſe none, except "the princes, great lords, nobles, and dignified "churchmen were ſummoned. Now, in our "aſſemblies of the three eſtates, not only the "the common people have a right to ſit with "the clergy and nobility, but are the beſt and "moſt numerous part. How, then, was it "brought about, that, within ſome centuries "of years, the commons have been admitted "to a place in our conventions, in which the "affairs of the kingdom, in general, are de-"bated. This I ſhall endeavour to account "for." Upon this, he proceeds to aſſign the reaſons, why the common people were called to parliaments, the original of which he dates, from the reign of Philip le Bel, which commenced, in 1286. So far, then, is the former practice, in France, from countenancing the opinion of the advocates for the commons of England, that, on the contrary, it directly confutes it.

* As Gatton in Surrey, and ſeveral boroughs in Devonſhire, Cornwall, &c.

Having,

Remarks on this diſpute.

Having, thus, taken a view of the ſtate of this controverſy, the reader will, I doubt not, be ſurprized, that the arguments, on both ſides, ſhould be founded on bare conjectures; ſince he might naturally have expected, they would have had a more ſolid foundation. However, from what has been ſaid, he may form a judgment of this affair; as I have not omitted any thing material, of what has been alledged, pro and con, tho' I have have done it, in a very compendious manner.

Seeing moſt of the arguments, in the preſent diſpute, are drawn from the charters of the Anglo-Saxon kings, I ſhall offer one remark, which deſerves to be conſidered, before we paſs ſentence, viz. that the authority of all theſe charters is called in queſtion by the beſt Engliſh hiſtorians; becauſe the uſe of charters, in England, was unknown, in the time of the Anglo-Saxons. When the king made a grant of any thing to the church, or to a private perſon, he put them in poſſeſſion, by delivering to them a green turf, bough, or the like. Ingulphus tells us: "Formerly, the poſſeſſion of lands was "given by bare words, without any charters or "other writings; as they only delivered to the "donee or purchaſer a helmet, ſword, horn, or "cup and ſometimes a ſpur, bow arrow, &c." From this cuſtom, it is inferr'd, that the charters, under the name of the Anglo-Saxon kings, were all forged, in later times; but, to account for the many charters that bear date, before there were any made uſe of, they alledge a matter of fact, which, if genuine, ſufficiently, anſwers their purpoſe. They aſſure us, that William the Conqueror, perceiving that many of the crown-lands were alienated, particularly to the monaſteries, ſummon'd the abbots to appear before him, to produce their titles to their eſtates. Some of them, who had nothing to plead, but a long poſſeſſion, being ejected, becauſe the king would allow no title valid, except it was in form, a great number of monks began to forge charters, giving them all the plauſible gloſſes in their power. Theſe that were produced, in Latin, king William rejected, it being vaſtly improbable, that the Saxon kings ſhould grant their charters in a language, very little underſtood and ſtill leſs uſed, in their days; but, whether this be fact, or not, it is evident, that ſeveral of theſe charters, repreſented by ſome to be authentick, were forged, long after the date they bear; at leaſt, it would be very difficult to prove, that thoſe, from whence the arguments, to decide the preſent controverſy, are taken, were made, in the time of the Anglo-Saxons.

Hiſtory of Croyland.

From the whole, it appears, that this is a very intricate point, and that there is not the leaſt probability of its being ever ſet in a clearer light; ſince almoſt all the antient monuments were buried in the ruins of the monaſteries, either before or after the Norman conqueſt.

III. The Authority of the WITTENA-GEMOT, and the Affairs therein debated.

THis ſubject cannot be treated on, to purpoſe, unleſs we conſider the three following queſtions, which are as warmly diſputed, as any of the preceding.

I. In whom the legiſlative power was veſted?

II. Whether the king could levy taxes, without the conſent of the Wittena-gemot?

III. Whether the aſſembly-general had a right to elect and depoſe their kings?

1. In whom the legiſlative power was veſted?

The higheſt aſſertors of the royal prerogative affirm, that the legiſlative power entirely reſided in the king; and, to prove this, they appeal to the terms made uſe of by the Saxon kings, which ſeem to declare, that they were the ſole enactors. To this it is replied, that, tho' there is no mention made of the conſent of the Wittena-gemot, it does not, therefore, follow, that it was not neceſſary; any more than it would be reaſonable to infer, at this day, from thoſe expreſſions, the ſtatutes of king Charles I. or II. that theſe ſtatutes were enacted, without the conſent or authority of parliament; and to prove, more directly, that the conſent of the Wittena-gemot was neceſſary, in enacting laws, they quote ſeveral authorities to ſhew, that the king acted nothing, in this reſpect, without the conſent of the eſtates.

The firſt is taken from the title of the Weſt-Saxon laws of king Ina, which declares, that they were enacted, "with the advice and con-"ſent of the biſhops, great men, earls, wiſe-"men, ſeniors, and people of the whole king-"dom."

Ecbert ſays, in one of his charters, "I Ec-"bert, king of the Weſt-Saxons, cum licentia "and conſenſu, with the permiſſion and con-"ſent of our whole nation, and the unanimous "advice of all the great men, &c."

But, if it be objected, that this is a charter, not a law, the teſtimony of king Alfred is produced, who, in the title of his laws, ſpeaking as if he acted, by his ſole authority, concludes, thus: "I Alfred, king of the Weſt-Saxons, "ſhewed theſe laws to my wiſe-men, who "ſaid, they all liked or were well pleaſed, that "they ſhould be obſerved."

At the end of king Athelſtan's laws, we are told: "All theſe things were confirmed and "decreed by a general aſſembly, held at Graet-"ly, at which was preſent archbiſhop Elfin, "with all the great men king Athelſtan could "aſſemble together."

The title of ſeveral of his other laws runs, thus: "Theſe are the laws, that were inſtitut-"ed by the wiſe-men at Exeter;" and thoſe prefixed to the laws of Edgar and Ethelred II. are delivered in almoſt the very ſame terms.

In a charter of Canute the great, granted to the abbey of St. Edmunds-bury, are theſe words: "I Canute, king of the whole iſland of Al-"bion and many other nations, by the advice "and decree of the archbiſhops, biſhops, ab-"bots, earls, and all my other faithful ſubjects, "have

" have ordained, &c." This authority is the more valid, as Canute ſucceeded to the crown, by the right of conqueſt, and, conſequently, would not have ſought the concurrence of the eſtates, if it had not been agreeable to the antient cuſtoms of the kingdom.

In a word, it is affirmed, that, if the expreſſions of ſome of the kings ſeem to intimate, that they acted, by their ſole authority, they are not to be taken in a literal ſenſe, being explained by thoſe of other kings, who acknowledge, they acted in conjunction with the Wittena-gemot; ſince it is highly improbable, that ſovereign princes would ever own their power to be limited, if it was not, in reality, reſtrained within certain bounds. If it be a fair conſequence, from ſuch words as theſe, that the kings made laws, without the conſent of the Wittena-gemot, it will follow, by parity of reaſon, that the king is inveſted with abſolute power, in this reſpect, at this very day; becauſe, in ſome particular acts, he declares, that he wills and requires, altho' it is notorious, his will would be of no force, without the conſent of both houſes of parliament.

The ſame reaſonings are applied to the ſecond queſtion, or the impoſition of taxes; for tho' ſome paſſages, at firſt view, ſeem to imply, that the Saxon kings raiſed money, by their own authority, we are not to imagine, that this was done, without the conſent of the Wittena-gemot, which, we have ſeen, was neceſſary, on other occaſions. 2. The levying of taxes.

I ſhall not enter upon the third queſtion, about the electing and depoſing of the kings, in this place, becauſe I ſhall have an opportunity of treating on theſe points, under the article of the ſucceſſion.

IV. The Authority of the WITTENA-GEMOT, in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.

BEfore the Anglo-Saxons embraced chriſtianity, it was one of their fundamental conſtitutions, which Tacitus aſcribes alſo to the antient Germans, that all the important affairs of the nation were determined, by the conſent of the aſſembly-general; and, therefore, it is no wonder, that in religious matters were ſettled in their Wittena-gemots, as I have, above, obſerved, ſince they are of the greateſt importance to mankind, in general. Accordingly, Edwin, king of Northumberland, before he eſtabliſhed the chriſtian religion in his dominions, conſulted his wiſe-men, i.e. his Wittena-gemot; and the maxim, that no laws are of any force, without the conſent of the whole nation, has been, all along, conſider'd by the Engliſh, as the foundation of their liberty and government. Bede.

The eccleſiaſtical affairs, that related to the clergy alone, as a diſtinct body from the laity, were left to the ſole management of the eccleſiaſticks, in their councils or ſynods; but thoſe which concerned the body of people, as chriſtians, were regulated in the mixed conventions, conſiſting of the chief men of the clergy and nobility. Thus, they acted in conformity to the rules of equity. They thought it unjuſt to enact civil laws, that obliged the clergy, as members of the ſtate, without their approbation; as they likewiſe believed it to be unreaſonable, that the clergy ſhould make eccleſiaſtical laws, to bind the laity, as chriſtians, without the conſent of the Wittena-gemot or the repreſentatives of the nation. They proceeded, in both theſe inſtances, on the ſame principle of juſtice; and, accordingly, the Wittena-gemots were, for the moſt part, mixed aſſemblies, which determined all affairs of importance, as well eccleſiaſtical as civil. The Wittena-gemot was a mixed aſſembly.

I ſhall produce a few inſtances, from the laws of the Anglo-Saxons, to prove this point, the caſe being too plain, to require a copious enlargement. In 673, a council was held, in which Theodore, archbiſhop of Canterbury, preſided; and ten canons of the antient general councils were ratified, as has been already related. Now, this aſſembly was not, merely, an eccleſiaſtical ſynod; becauſe, beſides the biſhops, " all the kings and great men of Eng- " land were preſent," as an hiſtorian informs us; and, therefore, it was a mixed council, a Mycel-ſynod, a real Wittena-gemot. The terms council and ſynod, at preſent, are appropriated to eccleſiaſtical aſſemblies; but, in the time of the Anglo-Saxons, they were applied to all ſorts of great aſſemblies. Thus, in the reign of Edward the elder, an aſſembly was held, which ſettled the articles of a treaty between that prince and Guthurn, to whom Alfred had given Eaſt-Angla, which was evidently an affair ſtate; and yet this very aſſembly enacted ſeveral eccleſiaſtical laws, which, in the preamble, are termed ſenatus-conſulta, being made by the Witan, i. e. the great men of Weſſex and Eaſt-Anglia. Among theſe laws, beſides ſeveral that were entirely political, there are ſome that have the following titles, " Of apo- " ſtates, of the puniſhment of perſons in holy " orders, of inceſt, of faſts, &c." which plainly ſhew, that theſe political aſſemblies enacted laws, about religious affairs. An hiſtorian tells us, that king Athelſtan called a council, which enacted many laws, both eccleſiaſtical and civil; and, conſequently, it was not an aſſembly of eccleſiaſticks, ſince it has never been pretended, that the clergy were inveſted with a power to make ſecular laws. Proofs of it. M. Weſt.

It is alſo made apparent, from ſeveral particulars, that the biſhops were both elected and deprived by the Wittena-gemot. Wilfred, biſhop of York, was choſen by the two kings of Northumberland and the general council of that kingdom, according to Heddius, the author of his life; and Wulſtan was made biſhop of Worceſtor in curia, i. e. the great aſſembly, which was ſtiled the court or the king's court. Ingulphus, abbot of Croyland, ſays: " For many " years, there has not been an election abſo- " lutely free and canonical; but all eccleſia- " ſtical dignities were conferr'd by the king's " court, according to their pleaſure." The Wittena-gemot often elected biſhops,

As the biſhops were elected, ſo they were likewiſe degraded by the Wittena-gemot. Brithelm, biſhop of Dorcheſter, being made archbiſhop and deprived them.

and deprived them.

biſhop of Canterbury, was deprived of that ſee, by king Edgar, to make way for Dunſtan; and Osbern, the monk, gives the following account of this tranſaction: "Within a few days, after Brithelm had been promoted to the ſee of Canterbury, not thinking himſelf qualified for this great dignity, he departed to his former church, by the command of the king and the people." Another author tells us: "Edgar obliged Brithelm to deſcend, the ſame way he aſcended; for, having called a council, on this very occaſion, he objected ſeveral articles againſt him, and, by the order and conſent of his barons, ſent him back to the church of Dorcheſter." In the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, Robert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was ejected, by a decree of the Wittena-gemot; and the papal power could not procure the election of Stigand, who was choſen in his room, to be made null and void, nor prevent the Engliſh from owning his archiepiſcopal authority, tho' he was ſuſpended by the pope, during the government of the Saxons.

Jo. Wallingford.

From theſe inſtances, it appears, that the Wittena-gemot was an eccleſiaſtico-political aſſembly, in which all affairs, both of church and ſtate, were debated; tho' ſoon after, under the Norman kings, the clergy aſſumed the privilege of ſettling, a-part from the laity, in eccleſiaſtical aſſemblies or ſynods, all matters relating to religion.

I now proceed to treat of the king, in particular, viz. his prerogatives, revenues, and ſucceſſion to the crown.

Of the KING.

The power of the kings was limited.

I Have, already, ſhewn, that the Saxon government, in Germany, was ariſtocratical; and that they had only a general to command their armies, in time of war. The Saxon leaders, upon their conqueſts in Great-Britain, aſſumed the title of king; tho' they were conſider'd by their ſubjects, at firſt, as on a level with their governors in Germany, whoſe power was far from being abſolute or deſpotical. Some, indeed, aſſert, that theſe firſt kings had an unlimited power, by the right of conqueſt; from whence, they conclude, that the privileges of the Engliſh ſubjects are either conceſſions of the kings, or uſurpations of the people. This argument would have had ſome force, if the privileges of the Britons, who were conquered, had been the point in diſpute; but the queſtion relates to the privileges of the Saxons or Engliſh, who were themſelves the conquerors, ſince there remained, in the country they ſubdued, a very ſmall number of Britons, who were regarded, as ſo many ſlaves. Now, as it cannot be ſaid, the Anglo-Saxons loſt any of their antient rights, by their own conqueſts, it follows, they continued in the ſame ſtate they were in before, in Germany, i. e. a free people, under the conduct of their head or chief, whoſe power was limited by law.

Doubtleſs the regal authority, by degrees, exceeded its original bounds in England, as well as in other kingdoms; but, the hiſtory of the Anglo-Saxons being extremely imperfect, I ſhall only take notice of ſome of the chief prerogatives enjoyed by their kings, during the Saxon government.

One of the principal prerogatives of the Saxon kings was the power of appointing the earls, viſcounts, judges, and other officers, as well civil as military; tho' ſome affirm, that the dukes or holds of each province were elected by the Shire-gemot or aſſembly of the county. It is highly probable, the king might remove theſe officers, at his pleaſure, of which there are ſeveral inſtances in hiſtory; but yet it is not abſolutely certain, becauſe, tho' ſuch officers were turned out by the king, it is not a neceſſary conſequence, that he did this, without the the conſent or previous ſentence of the Wittena-gemot.

Another conſiderable prerogative of the crown was, that no laws could be made in the Wittena-gemot, without the royal aſſent, the executive power being committed to the king.

The king had likewiſe a power to pardon malefactors, with reſpect to ſuch offences as related to the publick; but, as to thoſe which concerned private perſons, the king's pardon did not prevent the offended party, from inſiſting on ſatisfaction for the injuries he had received. This ſatisfaction was termed Wiregeld, i. e. a compenſation made to the perſon injured, or his friends and relations. From hence, was derived the cuſtom in England, at this day, of appeals, in the caſe of murder; and for the ſame reaſon, the following clauſe is uſually inſerted, in all pardons, "ita tamen ut ſtet rectus in curia "noſtra, ſi quis adverſus eum loqui voluerit."

The coining of money was alſo one of the royal prerogatives, which he could grant, by charter, to whom he pleaſed, as ſeveral of the Saxon kings did to the two archbiſhops and others; but the king could neither enhance nor debaſe the coin. The Mirror of Juſtices recites it, as an antient law, that the king could not change the money, nor coin any other than ſilver, "without the conſent of all the counties."

It does not appear, whether it was abſolutely in the power of the Saxon kings, "to make war or peace," without the conſent of the Wittena-gemot. Indeed, the power of making war, as at preſent, was not of any importance, ſince the king could not raiſe money, to carry it on, without the conſent of the eſtates; but the caſe is otherwiſe, as to the making of peace, becauſe the ſafety of a whole kingdom depends upon a good or bad treaty, as has been too often verified by experience. Theſe two prerogatives, tho' commonly joined together, are very different, as to their effects; for the people may, by refuſing their conſent, as to the raiſing of of money, hinder the fatal conſequences of an unjuſt or unneceſſary war; but how is it poſſible for them to prevent the effects of a pernicious peace, that is made, without their knowledge?

The king's revenues.

The king's revenues were divided into three branches. The firſt conſiſted in certain things, the ſtate ſupplied him with, for the ſupport of

his houſhold, viz. corn, hay, cattle, and the like, which were uſually paid in kind. The ſecond branch was the produce of the demeſnes, or lands annexed to the crown, for publick uſes; and the king could not alienate any part of them, not even to the church, without the conſent of the eſtates. Accordingly, the antient charters of the Saxon kings, to the churches or monaſteries, were confirmed by the principal members of the Wittena-gemot, who ſigned them in this manner: "I. N. have ſubſcribed, "confirmed, approved, corroborated, &c." That this branch of the king's revenue was applied to publick uſes will appear, if we conſider, that, ſo lately, as the reign of Richard II. about the end of the XIVth century, the parliament ordered, that, for the future, the revenues of the king's demeſnes ſhould be employed in defraying the charge of his wars. The third branch, as at this day, conſiſted in certain taxes, laid on the people, upon preſſing occaſions, by the Wittena-gemot.

The kings, during the heptarchy, were not ſo fond of pompous titles, as their ſucceſſors, being all of them ſatisfied with that of king of their reſpective kingdoms; and the prince, who was elected monarch, did not, therefore, imagine, that he had a right to diſtinguiſh himſelf. Egbert, even upon his obtaining the ſovereignty over the ſeven kingdoms, never altered his former title of king of the Weſt-Saxons; Athelſtan was the firſt that ſtiled himſelf, Imperator; and Edmund was contented with, Rector and Gubernator Angliæ. Edgar aſſumed the title of king of the whole iſland of Albion; Canute the great took upon him that of king of Albion and many other nations; and ſome affected a Greek title, as Edgar, who ſtiles himſelf, Totius Angliæ Baſileus.

The coronation of the kings.

As for the coronation of the Anglo-Saxon kings, there was not any fixed time for that ceremony, either during the heptarchy, or after its diſſolution, it being performed, when they apprehended it to be moſt convenient. Before Egbert, the kings of Kent were crowned by the archbiſhops of Canterbury, thoſe of Northumberland by the archbiſhops of York, and the reſt by the biſhop of their capital; but, after he had united the heptarchy, at leaſt, four of the kingdoms, the archbiſhop of Canterbury laid a claim to this privilege, which, tho' cuſtomary, was, far from being neceſſary. Accordingly, even after this union, ſeveral kings were crowned by the archbiſhop of York and other biſhops; and, ſome affirm, Harold placed the crown on his own head. Sweyn, the firſt Daniſh king, was not crowned at all, tho' his authority was owned; and Edgar reigned, ſeveral years, in Weſſex, before his coronation. Edward the Confeſſor did not receive this ceremony, till ſix months after his proclamation, which is an evident proof, that it was not, in thoſe days, believed to be abſolutely neceſſary; and, conſequently, they who date the beginning of the reigns, from coronation-days, only occaſion great confuſion in chronology. This method of computation is ſo much the more uncertain, becauſe ſeveral kings repeated the ceremony of their coronation, at different times, as, particularly, Cerdick, the firſt king of Weſſex. The kings, at firſt, were crowned in the open air*, not in a church; and the hiſtorians expreſly tell us, that Athelſtan, Edmund, and Edred received the crown, in this manner.

* In the market-place of Kingſton upon Thames.

The form of the crown.

As for the form of their crowns, it was not extremely curious, at leaſt, not uniform; which appears from ſeveral impreſſions of the heads of the kings, taken from old Saxon coins, given us by Cambden and Spelman; for ſome have only a diadem of pearls, others a coronet with ſix rays or points, having flower-de-luces between, or pearls upon them, and Edward the Confeſſor has an imperial crown. This variety plainly proves, that, in England, as well as other kingdoms, there was not, in thoſe days, a ſtanding form for the crowns, but that each of the princes pleaſed his fancy.

The Succeſſion to the crown, in the time of the ANGLO-SAXONS.

Three opinions about the ſucceſſion.

THere are three different opinions, as to this article. The firſt is, that the crown was, all along, hereditary; the ſecond, that it was always elective; and the third, that it was neither hereditary nor elective, but that the kings might leave it, by will, to any of their ſons or relations, at their pleaſure. Tho' each of theſe opinions is ſtifly maintained, by its advocates, it is much more difficult to eſtabliſh any one of them, than to confute the others; on account of the imperfection of the hiſtory of the Anglo-Saxons, and, perhaps, their irregular proceedings, in this very particular. The arguments of the reſpective parties are, as follows.

The proofs of the crown's being hereditary.

The firſt aſſert, it is ſufficient to take a curſory view of the hiſtory of the Saxon heptarchy to be convinced, that the crown continued in the family of the firſt kings, whilſt there were any any male-heirs in being; and that, afterwards, there was no variation, in this reſpect, as the race of Egbert ſate on the throne, to the time of Edward the Confeſſor. Indeed, the Daniſh kings are to be excepted; but, as they uſurped the crown by force of arms, they ſay, no conſequence can be drawn from it, againſt their opinion.

The proofs for its being elective.

The ſecond attempt to prove, that the crown was elective, from the ſame hiſtory, as the lineal ſucceſſion was often interrupted; and, indeed, they produce inconteſtable proofs, that the king's brother frequently ſucceeded, before his ſons, and that remote branches of the royal family were preferred to the neareſt, inferring, from hence, that the people were veſted with the right of election. They add, that tho' the father was ſucceeded by the ſon, and ſometimes even for ſeveral generations, it is not a neceſſary conſequence, that the crown was hereditary; any more than that the imperial crown of Germany is ſo, becauſe it has remained, in the houſe of Auſtria, 250 years. To ſupport the right of election, they cite ſeveral paſſages in the hiſtorians, who ſay, "electus eſt in regem, he

he was elected king," when they ſpeak of the kings that ſucceeded their fathers.

The anſwer.

To this, it is replied, that, indeed, the lineal ſucceſſion was ſometimes interrupted, by the means of fraud and violence; but that it ſtill preſerved its rights, ſince, in a little time, it was reſtored to its former condition. I take it to be needleſs to mention the particular inſtances, on which both parties found their aſſertions, as they have been already related in the hiſtory; and, beſides, the reader may, at his leiſure, ſee the ſucceſſions, in one view, in the genealogical tables of the Anglo-Saxon kings. As for that expreſſion, "he was elected," it is only made uſe of by authors, who wrote, long after the time of the Saxons, without conſidering the conſequences, as they only occaſionally touched on this head; and beſides, they affirm, that they have not faithfully tranſlated the original words in the Saxon Annals, ſeng to rice, which properly ſignify, regnum capeſſit, he took upon him the kingdom.

That the crown was at the king's diſpoſal.

They, who maintain the third opinion, object againſt the firſt, that the crown was not, therefore, hereditary, becauſe of its long continuance in one family; which they prove, from the foreſaid inſtance of the houſe of Auſtria. To the ſecond they alledge, that it does not follow, from the crown's not being hereditary, that it was elective; ſince there is another way, excluſive of both theſe, viz. that the kings nominated, whom they pleaſed, for their ſucceſſors. In confirmation of this, they inſiſt, on the practice of France, where, they ſay, the kings, ſo low as ſome of the ſecond royal family, have, thus, diſpoſed of their dominions, which was the real occaſion of ſo many diviſions in that kingdom; for, according to them, if it had been the right of the eldeſt ſon always to ſucceed his father, it is not to be imagined, that younger brothers would ſo often have appeared in arms, to force the elder to ſhare their fathers dominions with them. They alſo obſerve, that, had the crown of France been elective, it is improbable, that the French would have always elected as many ſovereigns, as the former king had left ſons; and, from the whole, they conclude, that the frequent partitions, during the firſt and ſecond royal families, were entirely made, by this diſpoſing power of the kings. Accordingly, Mezeray, ſpeaking of Aribert, king Dagobert's brother, expreſſeth himſelf, thus: "But as Aribert was young, and the "king his father had, perhaps, left him no part "of his dominions, in his will, Bernulph, his "mother's brother, in vain, attempted to pre-"vail on the Neuſtrians, to riſe in his favour." This cuſtom, as antient as the French monarchy itſelf, which, they pretend, has been made appear, is, doubtleſs, an argument, that the Anglo-Saxons had the like; ſince they lived at the ſame time, and came, as well as the Francs, from Germany, in the ſame century. If it be objected, that there were not any ſuch partitions made in the kingdoms of the heptarchy, they anſwer, there were ſome, tho' not very many. The kings of the heptarchy, being no more than petty princes, in compariſon of thoſe of France, took particular care not to divide their dominions, leſt there ſhould have been as many kingdoms as cities; tho' ſome of them, notwithſtanding, did make partitions of them. Penda, king of Mercia, before his death, placed Peda, his ſon, on the throne of Leiceſter, having erected that city and the adjacent country into a kingdom; and Ethelred, his ſon and ſucceſſor, gave Merowald, his brother, a part of his dominions, with the title of king of Hereford, which little kingdom Merowald left to his brother Mercelm. Oſwy, king of Northumberland, gave the kingdom of Deira to Alfred his natural ſon, as Ethelwulph did the kingdom of Kent, in his life-time, to Athelſtan; and, to the ſame purpoſe, they produce Ethelwulph's will, by which he ſo abſolutely diſpoſed of his dominions to his four ſons, that they were to ſucceed each other, without any regard to their iſſue, which was, accordingly, put in execution.

The anſwer.

To this it is ſaid, that the princes, who were crowned, in their fathers life-time, were no more than ſo many viceroys; and that they who ſucceeded, by virtue of a will, in oppoſition to the eſtabliſhed order, were not admitted to the crown, without the authority, or, at leaſt, the conſent of the eſtates, which ſuppoſes a right of election in the ſubjects.

However, it is not ſo eaſy a matter to anſwer the argument, drawn from the proceedings of Canute the great, who, in the latter part of his reign, made uſe of all poſſible methods to convince the Engliſh, that he did not deſign any innovations in the government; and yet it is notorious, that he diſannulled his marriage-articles with Emma of Normandy, by appointing Harold to ſucceed him, in his will, whereas, according to the foreſaid contract, Hardicanute was the heir apparent to the crown. This inſtance ſeems to ſhew, that it was entirely in the king's power to make choice of his ſucceſſors; and tho' ſome diſputes aroſe, about this affair, after his deceaſe, it, at leaſt, proves that this prince believed, he had a power to diſpoſe of the crown, by will. The ſame inference may be drawn, with reſpect to Edward the Confeſſor; for whether he actually made a will, in behalf of the duke of Normandy, or only deſigned it, or gave him no more than a verbal promiſe, it is evident, he thought he had a right to ſettle the ſucceſſion, in that manner.

Theſe are the reaſons, for the three ſeveral opinions, in this important enquiry, which I call ſo, with a view to thoſe, who take it to be an affair of importance; for, as to myſelf, I cannot apprehend, that there is any neceſſity of having recourſe to the cuſtoms of the Anglo-Saxons, as a ſtandard for thoſe, that are to be obſerved, at this day.

The three opinions may be united.

It would not, perhaps, be impoſſible to form an idea of the Anglo-Saxon government, as to the ſucceſſion, by uniting the three opinions concerning it. It ſeems to me a very juſt inference, in favour of the firſt, that the crown was hereditary, from the reaſons, above, recited; and, with reſpect to the ſecond, it may be granted, that, upon extraordinary occaſions, the Wittena-gemot, conſidering itſelf, as the ſupreme legiſlator, aſſumed an abſolute authority. As to the third, it may be affirmed, that the kings had

had a power of nominating their ſucceſſors, provided their choice was confirmed by the great council of the kingdom; and, accordingly, the kings, that were not the next in blood, always made the beſt uſe of the conſent of the eſtates, to make amends for the irregularity, in their acceſſion to the throne. This is alſo evident from Alfred's will, at the end of his Life publiſhed by Spelman *. By reconciling theſe three different opinions, the rules, for fixing the ſucceſſion, in the time of the Anglo-Saxons, will be found to be much the ſame with thoſe, at this day. It is confeſſed, that the crown is hereditary; but the parliament in extraordinary caſes, claims a power of interrupting the ſucceſſion, and ſettling it on a more diſtant, to the prejudice of a nearer branch of the royal family. The hiſtory of England, ſince the conqueſt, affords us many inſtances, to this purpoſe, without inſiſting on thoſe of our own times. If it be objected, that the right of the king and parliament to ſuch a power is not univerſally granted, it may be replied, that, till the contrary is determined by a lawful authority, it is reaſonable to believe, that this power is lawfully veſted in the nation. They then, who attempt, to prove that the crown was elective, in the time of the Anglo-Saxons do very little, in favour of the parliament, which does not pretend to a power of interrupting the ſucceſſion, except on extraordinary occaſions; as, on the other hand, they who labour to ſhew, that the crown was hereditary, at that time, do not exceedingly prejudice the authority aſſumed by this auguſt body, in particular caſes. As for thoſe, who endeavour to make it appear, that the Saxon kings had an abſolute power to diſpoſe of the crown, as, in all probability, they do not pretend, that the preſent kings of England are veſted with it, they, in my opinion, debate a queſtion, that has more of curioſity in it than importance.

Of the Laws of the ANGLO-SAXONS.

Several ſorts of Saxon laws.

THere were not any laws common to the ſeven kingdoms, during the heptarchy, each of them having its own in particular; tho' it is highly probable, there was a great reſemblance among them all, as the inhabitants of the ſeven kingdoms were derived from the ſame German original. The firſt laws taken notice of, in hiſtory, are thoſe of Ethelbert, king of Kent, enacted about the time of the converſion of the Saxons; and we have likewiſe an account of thoſe of Ina, king of Weſſex and Offa king of Mercia; but doubtleſs, ſome of the other kings made laws, tho' they are not tranſmitted to us by the hiſtorians.

Bede, l. 2. c. 3.

The laws of Alfred and Edgar.

Upon the diſſolution of the heptarchy, Egbert's ſucceſſors either explained or extended thoſe already eſtabliſhed, or made new laws; the moſt famous of which are thoſe of Alfred the great, collected, according to his own confeſſion, from the beſt he could find, and eſpecially the laws of Ina and Offa. Edgar very ſtrictly put the laws of Alfred in execution, with his own additions and amendments; tho' it muſt be obſerved, that, when England was divided into two kingdoms, viz. Weſſex and Mercia, each of them having diſtinct laws, Canute the great obtained the conſent of the Wittena-gemot to thoſe, introduced, by the Danes into Northumberland and Eaſt-Anglia, There were, then, in England three ſorts of laws, the Weſt-Saxon, Mercian, and Daniſh, till Edward the Confeſſor united them all into one body †. As I propoſed only to give a general view of the government of the Anglo-Saxons, it will be ſufficient to mention ſome circumſtances, relating to their laws, which, in my opinion, merit the curioſity of thoſe who are ſtrangers to the Engliſh conſtitution.

The Saxon laws were either civil or criminal. The firſt of theſe concerned the lands or eſtates, which were of two ſorts, viz. Bocland and Socland. Bocland reſembled the lands, which we term Allodial, as it was free and hereditary, and alſo capable of being diſpoſed of by the proprietor, tho' he held it by a feudal tenure or in fee of a ſuperior lord, being properly what was, in other places, ſtiled Feudum honoratum; and this ſort of land was poſſeſſed by the nobility and the moſt conſiderable among the commons. Socland was in the hands of the ceorles, which they held of the lord, by the payment of a certain annual rent, or the performance of certain perſonal ſervices, being the ſame with a rural fief. I do not conceive it to be neceſſary, to enquire into the original of fees; becauſe it would carry me too far, and there is nothing, in this reſpect, peculiar to England. I ſhall only obſerve, that, according to Selden, they take their riſe from the North, being introduced into Germany, Italy, France, Spain, and England, by the Northern nations who ſettled in thoſe countries. It would likewiſe be too tedious a digreſſion, to enumerate all the laws, concerning the Bocland and Socland, eſpecially, as they are affairs, which are very abſtruſe and myſterious, to the generality of readers; and I ſhall, therefore, proceed to what is much more intelligible, and, conſequently, entertaining, namely, the criminal laws of the Anglo-Saxons.

The criminal laws. Juries.

Purſuant to the regulations of Alfred the great, all perſons, accuſed of any crime, enjoyed the privilege of being tried by their peers, which the Engliſh have preſerved, to this day, being one of the moſt valuable a nation can be poſſeſs'd of; for it protects the ſmall from the

* Ego Ælfredus-----totius Weſt-Saxoniæ, nobilitatis conſenſu pariter ac aſſenſu, Occidentalium Saxonum rex, &c. which plainly ſhews, that, tho' the king had the power of diſpoſing the crown, by will; yet it could not be done, without the aſſent and conſent of the eſtates.

† Theſe ſeveral ſorts of laws, eſtabliſhed in different parts of England, were the ſame in ſubſtance, differing rather in their mulcts, than in their canon, i. e. in the quantity of fines and amerciaments, than in the courſe and frame of juſtice. Reliq. Spelm. p. 49.

oppreſſions

oppreſſions of the great, and even from the caprice or paſſion of the king himſelf, of which there are ſeveral inſtances in the hiſtory of England. To form a right notion of the term, peer, it muſt be conſider'd, that there are, in England, only two degrees or orders of men, viz. the peers of the realm and commons. The dukes, marqueſſes, earls, viſcounts, barons, archbiſhops, and biſhops are peers of the realm, as well as peers among themſelves; ſo that the loweſt baron is the peer of the higheſt duke. All the reſt of the people are placed among the commons; inſomuch, that the meaneſt artificer is the peer of all below the rank of a baron. To be tried by one's peers, therefore, means, that the peers of the realm are judged by thoſe of their own order, i. e. the other lords; and that the commons are tried by the members of their own body, who, in this reſpect, are his peers or equals, how much ſoever they may differ, as to their birth or fortune. Indeed, every peer of the realm had a right to give his vote, at the trial of another peer; but the commons are tried by no more than twelve perſons of their own rank, whoſe verdict extends no farther than the matter of fact; upon which, the judge condemns or acquits the party accuſed, according to law. This privilege has been continually enjoyed by the Engliſh, from the time of Alfred the great; and, perhaps, that king only revived a cuſtom that had been, time out of mind, eſtabliſhed by the Saxons *.

Means of finding out the truth.

When the crime was not fully proved, or there was not ſufficient evidence to condemn or acquit the perſon accuſed, they had recourſe to ſeveral other means, to diſcover the truth. Firſt, they made uſe of an oath, which was adminiſter'd to the ſuſpected party, in order to prove his innocence; and he was not only obliged to take an oath himſelf, but to bring with him a certain number of perſons, to this day, called compurgators, who alſo, upon oath, atteſted his innocence.

Ordeal trials.

The ſecond means was the trial-ordeal †, i. e. by fire or water; and the fire-ordeal was of two ſorts. The perſon accuſed either held in his hand a red-hot piece of iron, from one to three pounds weight, according to the nature of his crime, or the evidence againſt him; or elſe he walked, barefoot and blindfold, over nine red-hot plough-ſhares, placed at certain diſtances. If he eſcaped, unhurt, he was declared innocent; but, if burnt, he was pronounced guilty. Perſons of quality were tried by the fire-ordeal; as is evident from the caſe of Emma, mother to Edward the Confeſſor. The trial, by water-ordeal, upon which were put peaſants and ſlaves, was made either by cold or ſcalding water. In that, by cold water, the party ſuſpected, having his hands and feet tied together, was thrown into a pond or river. If he ſunk, he was deemed guilty; whereas, if he floated on the ſurface of the water, he was declared innocent ‡. When ſcalding water was the teſt, the perſon accuſed plunged his arm into it, as far as the wriſt, and ſometimes up to the elbow. The trial, by cold water, was introduced by Lewis le Debonnaire and pope Eugenius II. inſtead of an oath, which was often the occaſion of perjury; and the Engliſh copied after their example.

Single combate.

Single combate was the third means of trial. When the evidence, againſt the perſon accuſed, was not ſufficient to convict him, he was allowed to vindicate his innocence, by challenging his accuſer to a ſingle combat; and, if the party was a woman, ſhe might ſubſtitute one, in her room, who was ſtiled her champion. This cuſtom did not prevail, in England, till the latter end of the Saxon monarchy, tho' it continued a long time in that kingdom.

Corſned.

The fourth method of trial was to give the perſon ſuſpected a bit of bread and cheeſe, conſecrated wirh a great number of ceremonies, who was obliged to take an ounce of each, faſting; and it was believed, if he was guilty, it would choke him, but, if innocent, he would ſwallow it with eaſe. The imprecation, pronounced, upon the delivery of the bread, after he had received the communion, runs thus: "May this bread, or this cheeſe, ſtick in his "throat; may his face turn pale, his limbs be "convulſed, and a dreadful alteration appear "in all the parts of his body, if he is guilty; "but, if innocent, may he eaſily ſwallow this "bread, or this cheeſe, conſecrated in thy "name, that all may know, &c." This method of trial was evidently taken from the waters of jealouſy among the Jews; and they, who forged the circumſtances of earl Goodwin's death, already related, in the reign of king Edward, had, doubtleſs, a view to this cuſtom. The bread, or cheeſe, being conſecrated, was ſtiled corſned, from the word ſnide or ſnidan, to cut a bit off, and corſe, to curſe, becauſe they believed, it entailed a curſe upon the guilty perſon. The church not only approved of all theſe means of trial, but preſcribed the ceremonies and forms of prayer; and the biſhops and prieſts officiated on theſe occaſions. There is a law of Canute the great, to the following purpoſe: "If a man be accuſed of murder, or "of having any concern in it, let him prove "his innocence to the relations and friends of "the perſon deceaſed; and, if there be occa-

Numb. vi.

* Sir William Temple tells us, that there are not wanting traces of this cuſtom, from the very inſtitutions of Odin, the firſt leader of the Aſiatick Goths or Getæ into Europe, as well as founder of that mighty kingdom round the Baltick ſea, from whence all the Gothick governments, in theſe north-weſt parts of the world, were derived. Accordingly, it is known to be as antient in Sweden, as any records or traditions of that kingdom, and ſtill remains in ſome provinces. The Normans introduced the terms jury and verdict, with many other law-terms; but the trials, by twelve men, are expreſly mentioned, in the firſt laws of Alfred and Ethelred.

† Somner derives this word, from Or a privative particle and Dal diſtinction or difference; ſo that it denotes an impartial judgment.

‡ Or, rather, on the contrary, which was really the caſe, ſinking was a ſign of innocence, and ſwimming of guilt. All theſe trials, which were carried on with great ſolemnity, and always under the management of the clergy, continued in practice, long after the conqueſt, being never publickly diſcountenanced, till the third year of the reign of Henry III.

" ſion, let him be put on the trial of the corſ-
" ned." It is, indeed, matter of amazement, that the Saxons and other nations, among whom theſe ridiculous cuſtoms prevailed, could, for ſo many ages, fancy, thoſe means of trial to be infallible; ſince one would naturally have imagined, that the numberleſs experiments of their uncertainty ſhould have convinced them of their error.

When the charge was clearly proved, the law ordained ſeveral ſorts of puniſhment, according to the nature of the offence; which principally conſiſted in fines, payable to the injured party, the earl, or the lord. Some crimes, however, were capital, viz. treaſon againſt the king or lord, wilful murder, and theft; but, tho' treaſon was death by the law, the perſon, convicted of it, might redeem his life, by paying the valuation of the king's or lord's head. Coining of money was not, at firſt, a capital crime, tho' the penalty, on the account of its pernicious conſequences, was very conſiderable; but Ethelred II. made it death, leaving it, at the ſame time, in the king's power to commute the puniſhment, for a fine. As for murder, the laws diſtinguiſh between that which was wilful and man-ſlaughter; the former of which, being the effect of premeditated malice, was puniſhed with death, and the puniſhment of the latter was only pecuniary. Theft or robbery was, in proceſs of time, made capital, tho' the firſt laws, to this purpoſe, permitted the thief to redeem his head, by a ſum of money.

Treaſon.

Coining.

Murder, and man-ſlaughter.

Theft.

All other offences were only fined, till the reign of Canute the great, who enacted that, in the caſe of adultery, the woman's noſe and ears ſhould be cut off; and that the adulterer ſhould be baniſh'd the realm. The fines were ſettled by law, according to the quality of the injured party, from the king to the peaſant; and, with reſpect to the malefactors, from an ealdorman to a ſlave. On ſome extraordinary occaſions, perſons, convicted of capital crimes, might redeem their lives, by giving to the king a part of their eſtates; but this was ſeldom the caſe, unleſs the quality or power of the criminal render'd it difficult or dangerous to put the laws in execution, of which the trial of earl Goodwin is a remarkable inſtance. This lord, as we have already ſeen, in the reign of king Edward, having enter'd the Thames, with a fleet, the king was obliged to reſtore him to his honours; but, as he had been baniſh'd by the aſſembly-general, it was neceſſary, that he ſhould be recalled alſo by their authority. Some formalities, therefore, were requiſite, in order to prevent his being called to an account hereafter; and this was the method of their proceedings. The earl being arrived at London, where the Wittena-gemot was aſſembled, the king himſelf, as his accuſer, ſaid: " Thou tray-
" tor, Goodwin, I charge thee with the death
" of my brother Alfred, whom thou haſt moſt
" traiterouſly murdered." The earl replied: My
" lord, with all due reverence, I have neither
" murder'd nor betrayed your brother, and I am
" willing to refer my caſe to the judgment of
" your court." Upon this, the witneſſes being produced and examined, Leofrick, duke of Mercia, ſpoke, as follows: " It appears evident
" to me, that prince loſt his life, by the advice
" of earl Goodwin; but, as he is one of the
" moſt powerful lords in the kingdom, in my
" opinion, 12 of us earls, who are his friends
" and relations, ſhould preſent as much gold,
" as we can carry in our hands, to the king,
" and ſupplicate for his pardon and reſtoration
" to his honours, upon his taking the oath of
" allegiance." This propoſal being agreed to, 12 of the lords preſented a ſum of money to the king, which being accepted by him, he granted the earl a pardon; but the whole of this proceſs was a mere farce, becauſe Goodwin previouſly knew, what would be the reſult of it, or he would never have ſubmitted to their ſentence.

Other crimes were only fined.

Before I conclude this article of the laws of the Anglo-Saxons, it will be convenient to remark, that ſeveral falſely imagine, upon the peruſal of them, that the murder of the king, as well as of any other ſubject, was only puniſhable by a fine; but this error proceeds from confounding wilful murder and man-ſlaughter together, which ought to be careſully diſtinguiſhed, as they are in the laws of England, to this day; for Athelſtan's law *, which ſettles the fines for taking away the life of any man, from the king to the ſlave, relates to man-ſlaughter only, wilful murder being always conſider'd, as a capital crime.

The Cuſtoms and Manners of the ANGLO-SAXONS.

THE Anglo-Saxons introduced into England the virtues and vices of their country, tranſmitting them to their poſterity. Their valour, by which they obtained their conqueſts, both at home and abroad, was their diſtinguiſhing quality; for they were inured to arms, from their infancy, and it may be affirmed, that war was their only profeſſion. They even came to their Wittena-gemots, in an armed poſture; and they expreſs'd their approbation of what was there propoſed, by ſtriking their javelins, one againſt another. The ſword, club, battle-ax,

* In this law, the heads of all orders and degrees of men were valued, this valuation being termed, Wiregild, in the Saxon language. The king's head was valued at 30,000 thrimſa's, i.e. 360 l. each thrimſa, the ſame with peninga or ſceat, being ſuppoſed to be equivalent to 3 d. of our money; one half of this fine was paid to his relations, and the other to the ſtate. A prince's head was valued at 15000 thrimſa's; a biſhop's and ealdorman's at 8000; a general's at 4000; a ſpiritual and temporal thane's at 2000; which ſhews, that a thane was vaſtly inferior to a baron, whoſe valuation was, at leaſt, as high as that of a biſhop; and a ceorle's head was valued at 267 thrimſa's, unleſs he was poſſeſſed of five hides of land, and then his valuation was equal to that of a thane. Mr. Cambden's calculation of the Saxon money ſtands, thus: a peninga is three of our pence; a ſhilling 3 peninga's or 15 d; a pound 48 ſhillings, or three of our pounds; a manca, mancuſa, or marca 12 pence; and a manca of gold 30 peninga's or 7 s. 6 d.

or

or bill, and javelin were their uſual military weapons; and, as they did not uſe bows and arrows, their battles were more deſperate and bloody. Having darted their javelins, they immediately came to a cloſe engagement; and their dexterity, in handling their arms, gave them a ſignal advantage. It is certain that, towards the end of their monarchy, they were often defeated by the Danes, and, at length, by the Normans; but is there any nation, how valiant ſoever, that has not met with the like viciſſitudes and revolutions? A coward was looked upon to be the moſt ignominious character, of all others, among the Saxons; and their exalted opinion of martial valour was the reaſon, why it was ſo extremely difficult to bring about a reconciliation, after a quarrel. As each party dreaded the name of a coward, ſhould he make the firſt overtures of peace, the quarrel was continued, from father to ſon, and very ſeldom ended, but with the utter extinction of one of the families *. It is no wonder, then, that the Saxons, who were of ſuch a warlike temper, being alſo accuſtomed, from their childhood, to fear neither blows nor wounds, and, on all occaſions, animated by the examples of their relations and friends, ſhould encounter dangers, and even ſtare death in the face, with all imaginable intrepidity and reſolution. Accordingly, there never was a nation more remarkable for bravery than the Saxons; and all the world knows, that this is the diſtinguiſhing character of the Engliſh, at this very day.

The Saxons were extremely devoted to religion, even before their converſion to chriſtianity, being the moſt zealous, in the ſervice of their gods, of all the other pagan idolaters, as they ſacrificed their priſoners of war on their altars; and, no ſooner had they embraced the goſpel, than they diſcover'd the ſame devout ſpirit and temper, in a ready compliance with the dictates of the monks, their firſt teachers. It was their misfortune, that they did not attain to the knowledge of the chriſtian faith, before it was corrupted and disfigured by the monkiſh ſuperſtitions; for, as the Saxons were illiterate, and, conſequently, incompetent judges of the inſtructions they received, they implicitly ſurrender'd themſelves up to the management of their ſpiritual guides; which was the occaſion of their mighty zeal in founding and endowing monaſteries. They were taught, that the eſſence of religion conſiſted in enriching the monks, or, at leaſt, that it was an effectual means to ſupply all other defects; and, therefore, it is, that, in the two firſt centuries after their converſion, there were ſo many ſaints of diſtinguiſhed birth and fortune. Indeed, ſince ſanctity might be purchaſed, at ſuch an eaſy rate, it is no wonder, the rich and great put in their claim for it; but, all the while, notwithſtanding their giving into ſuch miſtaken notions, there is a remarkable ſtrain of piety and devotion in all their proceedings. This natural byas to religion was, doubtleſs, the reaſon, why ſo many kings embraced a monaſtick life; and they, who are acquainted with the Engliſh, at this day, will freely acknowledge, that no nation can produce more inſtances of fervent and ſubſtantial piety. As I reſided, for a long time, in England, I can venture to aſſert this, with the greater boldneſs and aſſurance. It muſt be owned, that, of late, libertiniſm in religious affairs has prevailed in that kingdom; but it is unreaſonable to paſs a judgment on the whole nation, from a few that are infected by it; eſpecially, ſince we know, that one man makes more noiſe in the world, by his dangerous maxims, than many thouſands of holy and upright chriſtians.

Common ſwearing was not practiſed among the Saxons.

The Anglo-Saxons were ſo little addicted to ſwearing and blaſphemy, the common vices of the preſent age, that they had not ſo much as a law, againſt this profane cuſtom; whereas we find, among their laws, ſevere penalties, againſt ſuch as broke the ſabbath, or did not even obſerve a religious faſt.

They were given to drunkenneſs. Edgar's law, about it.

Drunkenneſs was the reigning vice of the Anglo-Saxons, who uſually drank out of large cups, and took exceſſive draughts, till Edgar order'd particular marks to be made in their cups, at a certain height; and, if they filled them above it, they incurred a penalty; but this law did not continue in force, for any conſiderable time.

The ſciences.

The Engliſh, in general, before the Norman conqueſt, were not very famous, for their learning; but this muſt rather be aſcribed to their education, which was entirely martial, than to the want of genius or capacity. Beſides, it muſt be conſidered, that the ſciences did not greatly flouriſh, during the monarchy of the Saxons, at leaſt, after the union of the ſeven kingdoms.

They reckon'd time by nights.

I ſhall conclude my diſcourſe, on this ſubject, with the two following obſervations. Firſt, the Anglo-Saxons reckoned time, by nights, a cuſtom ſtill retained by the Engliſh, in ſome particular expreſſions. Thus, inſtead of two weeks, they ſay a fortnight or 14 nights; and Mezeray makes the ſame remark, with reſpect to the antient Francs. This, with ſeveral other uſages common to both nations, is a ſtrong preſumption, that the Francs and Saxons were derived from the ſame original; and it is, in ſo many words, aſſerted by Sir William Temple, in his Introduction to the Hiſtory of England.

The Saxon dikes.

Secondly, the Anglo-Saxons uſually divided their lands, by large and deep ditches; and even the kings commonly raiſed ramparts, with large ditches, to ſeparate their dominions from thoſe of the neighbouring ſtates, when there were no mountains or rivers, to ſerve for boundaries. Offa's dike, which parted Mercia from Wales, was 24 miles long; and that, between the Thames and the Severn, divided Mercia from Weſſex, being ſtiled Woden's-dike, tho'

* Theſe quarrels are what we term, deadly feuds, i. e. ſuch as end in death. The 38th law of Alfred, about theſe deadly feuds, allows men to take ſatisfaction on their enemies, even without the preſence of an officer; nay, if one man killed another, his kindred revenged his death upon any of the murderer's relations, which is the preſent practice of the Indians, till king Edmund made a law, that the murderer, alone, ſhould bear the deadly feud, i. e. the reſentment of the relations of the party ſlain.

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it is now contracted into Wandsditch, Mercia and East-Anglia had the same sort of boundaries; and the East-Anglians made another ditch, seven miles farther into the country, to inclose their conquests over the Mercians. The first was termed Devil's-dike, tho' on what account, I cannot apprehend; and the other was called the Seven-mile-dike. This custom was derived from the antient Saxons; and we are informed by some historians, that the Saxons of Sleswick threw up a rampart, from sea to sea, to defend themselves from the Danes, who were possess'd of the Cimbrick Chersonesus or Jutland. Pepin, king of France, was, for a long time, prevented from entering into Saxony, by one of these ramparts; tho', he, at length, conquered this difficulty, that was almost insuperable.

The Language of the ANGLO-SAXONS.

The several dialects of the Anglo-Saxon language.

THE English tongue was, originally, very like the Danish, since the antients indifferently call them Cimbrick, Scandinavian, and Gothick; but this language was not the same with the Saxon. They spoke, at first, in the parts, north of the Thames, pure English or Danish, but, in the southern, pure Saxon; tho' both these nations could understand one another. In process of time, especially, after the union of the seven kingdoms, Saxon prevailed over all the kingdom, as the kings were Saxons; and, by degrees, English or the language of the Angles was disused, particularly, in common conversation. The Danes, indeed, afterwards, brought their language, with them; but this was a modern Danish, being a mixture of the language of the neighbouring nations, and it was chiefly used in Northumberland, Mercia, and East-Anglia, which were subdued by the Danes. It is true, Canute the great, to please the English, published his laws in Saxon; tho' the Danish tongue was still retained in the north, where most of the inhabitants were of that nation. As it was spoke at court, during the reigns of Canute and his two sons, it became necessary for the West-Saxons, who adopted several words and idioms of it into their own language; but in the time of Edward the Confessor, Saxon was in reputation again at court, and the people of the north were under a necessity of learning it, as the Gascoigns, in France, are obliged to learn French.

In Edward's reign, the Norman language was also introduced into England; for, as his mother was a Norman, and he had resided many years, at the court of Normandy, he had a high esteem for that language; and the vast numbers of Normans, that flock'd into England spread it among persons of distinction, who were ambitious of speaking it correctly. The Norman tongue was, then, a mixture of Danish and French; and as the latter, at length, prevailed, the former, viz. the antient Danish, daily lost ground. William the Conqueror was no sooner seated on the throne, than he exerted himself to propagate his native tongue over the kingdom; and, by publishing his laws in Norman, and settling multitudes of Norman families in England, he made it as common as the Saxon.

The language, then, of the Anglo-Saxons, before the conquest, was a mixture of 1. British or Celtick; 2. of Latin, which was common in Great-Britain, when the Saxons arrived; 3. of the antient English or Danish; 4. of the modern Danish 5. of pure Saxon; and 6. of Norman mixed with Danish or French. They, who have nicely examined into this affair, distinguish three principal dialects, in the Anglo-Saxon language. The first was compounded of British, Latin, and Saxon, but chiefly of the last; and the only remains of this dialect, tho' in use, above 300 years, is a fragment of the writings of Cedmon the monk, inserted in Alfred the great's translation of Bede's Ecclesiastical History. The second dialect, which may be stiled Dano-Saxon, was used in the North, from the first invasions of the Danes to the Norman conquest; and there are still, in some libraries, two manuscript versions of the gospel, in this language. The third dialect consisted of the other two and the Norman, which was chiefly introduced, in the reigns of Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror; and a vast number of French words was added to it, particularly, after Henry II's accession to the throne. They, who are strangers to the English tongue, will be apt to imagine, that, as it is compounded of so many languages, it is incapable of any extraordinary beauties; but the English affirm, that their language, for this very reason, must be the more beautiful and expressive, as they have only adopted the most polite and refined part of other tongues. However, they have a very great value for their own language; and, if a foreigner may be allowed to give his opinion, I think on a very just foundation.

Sterling-money.

I shall conclude this article, with just touching on the word, Sterling, which is applied to English money. Some will have it to be deed from the town Striveling or Sterling in Scotland; where they say, but without any grounds the best and purest money was formerly coined. Others, with far greater probability, think, it comes from the Saxon term, steore, i. e. rule or standard; so that, according to them, Sterling-money means no more, than money made in conformity to a settled standard. Cambden and some others take this name to be of a more modern date, as they derive it from certain Flemish workmen, who, in the reign of king John, were called into England, to reduce the money to its due fineness, being more expert, in this, than the English; and as they were termed Easterlings, because their country lay eastward of England, it is alledged, that the money they coined was stiled Easterling or Sterling, i.e. made by the Easterlings or Flemish, and consequently finer than what had been, hitherto, coined. Brady.

THE

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK VI.

The Norman line; from William the conqueror, to the death of king Stephen; containing the ſpace of 88 years; with the ſtate of the church, during that period.

WILLIAM I. ſirnamed the Baſtard, or Conqueror.

Reflections upon the duke of Normandy's expedition againſt England.

WHoſoever takes an impartial view of the duke of Normandy's expedition, againſt England, will be at a loſs to paſs a judgment, whether the grounds, boldneſs, or ſucceſs of it, do moſt deſerve his admiration. As to the firſt of theſe, it muſt, of courſe, be matter of aſtoniſhment, that he ſhould build his pretenſions on ſo ſhallow a foundation, as the bare will of king Edward; ſince he never attempted to produce any evidence, in proof of this point. It is no leſs difficult, to apprehend, how a prince, ſo famous for his ſkill in politicks, ſhould determine to maintain his right, by the force of arms, in ſpite of a train of difficulties that lay in his way; for, in all appearance, no deſign was ever more raſhly projected, or with a leſs probability of being ſucceſsful. The forces, in Normandy, were vaſtly inferior to thoſe of England; nor had the duke any fortreſſes or friends in that kingdom, to encourage his enterprize. After he had landed a numerous army, there was not ſo much as a ſingle lord, that declared for him; nay, he had all imaginable reaſon to believe, that they inviolably adhered to the intereſt of Harold. Perhaps, ſome of them might be diſpleaſed, on the account of his uſurping the crown, which properly belonged to prince Edgar; but none of them blamed him, for ſupplanting the duke of Normandy, as they were entirely ſtrangers to his pretenſions, ſo far were they from having any thoughts of depoſing their king, that they had lately convinced him of their loyalty, for his perſon and government, by their zeal and alacrity, in his defence againſt the king of Norway; and the oppoſition, the duke might have reaſonably expected from the neighbouring princes, was abundantly ſufficient to divert him from his reſolution. It was evidently the moſt adviſable ſtep they could take, to checque his ambition; and the French, in particular, could not, without counter-acting the moſt obvious political maxims, avoid exerting themſelves, to blaſt an attempt, ſo very prejudicial to them, if it ſhould meet with ſucceſs. Beſides, were he aſſur'd, that all the princes, his neighbours, would have ſtood neuter, his project was, after all, embarraſs'd, as the ſtates of Normandy refuſed to aſſiſt him, in an expedition, which they apprehended to be unjuſt and unreaſonable. Laſtly, is it not extremely ſurprizing, that all theſe difficulties ſhould, unexpectedly, vaniſh, in an inſtant; and that the greateſt obſtacles, in his way, ſhould contribute to the accompliſhment of his intentions. Tho' the ſtates of Normandy would not ſupply him with money, private perſons voluntarily furniſhed him with larger ſums, than he could have expected from the ſtates; and the court of France not only permitted him to proceed, without any moleſtation, but even aſſiſted him, in obtaining a crown, which might hereafter put him on a level with his ſovereign, or, at leaſt, in a condition to diſpute his ſupremacy. All the other neighbouring princes ſeemed to have an emulation who ſhould be the moſt active, in promoting a project, that muſt, of conſequence, prove fatal to them; and the earls of Bretaign and Anjou, a very little before, his avowed enemies, interpoſe in his favour. In a word, in a few months, he had a numerous army, 1000 tranſport-ſhips, and money in abundance; and Harold's late victory over the king of Norway, which, one would have thought, ſhould have defeated all his hopes, was as ſubſervient as any one event, to the duke's purpoſe. Harold, in that action, loſt his beſt troops, and diſobliged the reſt, by refuſing them part of the ſpoils; and the ſame victory inſpired him with a contempt for the Normans, which was the occaſion of his ruin. Were it not for this, he would have declined an engagement with the duke, purſuant to his brother's advice; and then the Norman army muſt have daily decreaſed, in an enemy's country, where there was no poſſibility of having reinforcements; and, if the duke, compelled to fight, on unequal terms, had

been entirely vanquiſh'd, what could he have advanced, to vindicate his raſh and unjuſt expedition? but the ſucceſs of this deſign has led the hiſtorians to repreſent it in another light, which otherwiſe they would have infallibly cenſur'd. The duke of Normandy, by a ſingle battle, conquer'd a country, which neither the Danes, Saxons, nor even the Romans could ſubdue, without numberleſs engagements, and after ſeveral ages; which ſhews, that he was under the immediate direction of the Almighty, the only giver of victory, who exalts or deſtroys kingdoms, at his pleaſure. The Divine Being, doubtleſs, employ'd this conqueror, as his inſtrument, to render the Engliſh nation more glorious than ever; and, indeed, it was the firſt ſtep, by which England, hitherto, almoſt unknown to the reſt of the world, arrived to its preſent grandeur and glory, as the ſequel will inform us. I ſhall, therefore, before I enter upon his reign, conſider, by what degrees Providence advanced him to the throne of England, who was 42 years of age at the battle of Haſtings, and had been 33 years duke of Normandy.

The affairs of Normandy, from Rollo to William the baſtard

Normandy, one of the largeſt and moſt flouriſhing provinces in France, was poſſeſs'd by the Normans, ever ſince Charles the ſimple reſigned it to Rollo the Dane, the firſt duke. This prince and his immediate ſucceſſors were not ſo ſollicitous of enlarging the dukedom, as ſecuring it to their poſterity; and, by the means of numerous colonies of their own country, who, by reciprocal marriages, incorporated with the natives, the two nations became one people, under the common name of Normans, a name the French gave to the foreigners ſettled in Neuſtria, which, from them, was alſo called Normandy. The firſt dukes made it their principal ſtudy to gain the affections of their ſubjects; and, by their wiſdom, juſtice, and moderation, not only ſtifled the ſeeds of rebellion, that might lurk in the breaſts of the antient inhabitants, but made proviſion againſt the ſecret practices of the kings of France, who were not a little diſpleaſed to find ſuch a noble province torn from their monarchy; and, accordingly, the attempts of the French to recover it, always proved abortive, as the dukes of Normandy, by reaſon of their intereſt in the hearts of their ſubjects, were in a capacity to defend themſelves.

There were ſeven dukes, from Rollo to William the Baſtard; but Richard II. who was the fourth, is one of the moſt illuſtrious. By his firſt wife, Judith of Bretaign, he had three ſons Richard, Robert, and William; and, after her deceaſe, he enter'd into a double alliance with Canute the great, by giving him in marriage Emma, widow to Ethelred II. king of England, and taking himſelf Eſtrith, ſiſter to that prince. However, ſo highly was he enamour'd with a young damſel, named Pavia, that he divorced Eſtrith, in order to marry his miſtreſs. By his ſecond wife, he had two ſons, William earl of Arques and Mauger archbiſhop of Roan.

Upon his death, he was ſucceeded by his ſon Richard, inſpite of all the efforts of this younger brother, Robert, to ſupplant him. Robert being, thus, diſappointed was obliged to deſiſt; or, as ſome relate, he took a more effectual method, to put his deſign in execution, by procuring his brother to be poiſoned, who, having reigned two years, left him the dukedom. Whether duke Robert's crime was never fully proved, or his prudent conduct cancell'd all remembrance of it, it is certain, he obtained an intereſt in the affections of his ſubjects, at home, whilſt his valour rendered him famous abroad; and, by his aſſiſtance, Henry I. king of France was fixed on the throne, notwithſtanding the pretenſion of Robert, his brother, who was ſupported by a powerful faction. This prince, on the account of the intrigues of Queen Conſtance, their mother, in favour of her youngeſt ſon, being obliged to demand the duke of Normandy's aid, having an interview with him at Roan, was, at firſt, ſupplied with 500 ſpearmen; and theſe were ſoon followed by a more numerous body of troops, with the duke at their head, who placed Henry on the throne, having forced the younger brother to be ſatisfied with Burgundy. The king, full of gratitude, proteſted, that he would never forget this ſignel piece of ſervice; and, to demonſtrate the ſenſe he retained of the favour, he annexed, to the dutchy of Normandy, the cities of Chaumont and Pontoiſe, which then belonged to the crown of France.

It would be foreign to my preſent purpoſe, to give a particular account of duke Robert's wars with the Norman lords who revolted, or againſt the duke of Brettany, who refuſed to pay him homage; it is ſufficient to ſay, in general, that he ſubdued the rebels, and reduced the duke of Brettany to his allegiance; and, as to his deſign of doing juſtice to his couſins, the loſs of Ethelred II. and how it miſcarried, I have already related it, in the reign of Canute the great.

It is not eaſy to apprehend, why this prince, who had ſuch an affection for his people, ſhould entertain no thoughts of marriage; ſince he could not but foreſee, that his dying, without iſſue, would occaſion great miſchief and confuſion. There were, in Normandy, ſeveral branches of the ducal family, who might, in this caſe, put in their claims to the dukedom; and, in all probability, their ſeveral pretenſions would introduce a civil war into the ſtate. However, the duke was reſolved never to marry; and one would have imagined, that this reſolution was the effect of an inſenſibility for the fair ſex, were it not for his paſſionate love of a young damſel, with whoſe graceful mien he was charmed, as he ſaw her dancing. The damſel, who was called Arlotta *, a ſkinner's daughter of Falaiſe, thinking herſelf highly honour'd by the duke's addreſſes, eaſily yielded to his ſollicitations. It is reported, that, the firſt night the duke lay with her, ſhe dreamt, that her bowels were extended over all Normandy and England, which dream had a very natural interpretation afterwards, if it was not invented after the event. Robert had, by this miſtreſs, a ſon, named William, who, it is ſaid, the moment of his birth, having laid hold on ſome ſtraws, griped them ſo faſt, that they were obliged to unclinch his fiſt, before he would part with them. Upon this, the good women, there preſent, concluded,

* From whence, it is ſuppoſed, the name, harlot, is derived.

Chron. of Normandy.

cluded, that he would hereafter prove a great acquirer, ſince he began ſo early. Robert trained up his young ſon, with all imaginable care, as he deſigned him for his ſucceſſor; but, whilſt he was intent on his education, he took a fancy to go a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem. Some look'd upon this act of devotion to be the effect of his remorſe, for the murder of the duke his brother, being deſirous to make attonement for his crime, by this ſort of penance. However, before he ſet out, he took all the neceſſary ſteps, to ſecure the ſucceſſion to his ſon William; and, with this view, he called together the ſtates of Normandy, conjuring them, that if he ſhould depart this life, whilſt abroad, they would accept of his ſon William, for their ſovereign. The ſtates did all that was poſſible, to diſſuade the duke from his journey; but, when they found, that their arguments were to no purpoſe, they promiſed him, upon oath, that they would obſerve his directions, and, accordingly, they ſwore fealty to William, as the preſumptive heir of the duke his father. Upon this, Robert made Alain duke of Bretaign, his relation and vaſſal, ſeneſchal of Normandy, giving him a commiſſion to govern, during his abſence, with an abſolute authority; and then, taking his ſon with him to Paris, he committed him to the care of the king of France, who took the charge of his education; but, before he left the French court, he obliged William to do homage to the king, as if he had been actually poſſeſs'd of the dukedom.

The duke's abſence was the occaſion of commotions in his dominions, to appeaſe which, the duke of Bretaign was under a neceſſity of exerting his authority, with ſome ſeverity; but, whilſt he was ſollicitous, in reſtoring the publick tranquillity, he was diſpatched by poiſon, and a report was raiſed, that duke Robert died, on his way to Jeruſalem. Tho' this news wanted confirmation, it occaſioned troubles, ſo much the more dangerous, as there was not any perſon, in Normandy, in a condition to compoſe them; for they, who had the management of affairs, were themſelves engaged in factions, which had been in agitation, ever ſince the duke's departure, and, by this means, increaſed the confuſion.

In the mean time, ſome of the duke's domeſticks arrived, who confirmed the news of his death; and, now, ſeveral of the principal lords, of the ducal family, began to cabal openly, how they ſhould exclude the baſtard from the ſucceſſion. The moſt plauſible artifices were made uſe of, to accompliſh their end; but the ſtates declared, they could not ſet him aſide, without the guilt of perjury, and reſolving to acknowledge William, for their ſovereign, they immediately ſent ambaſſadors to the king of France, to demand the young prince. From the moment that Henry was aſſured of the duke's death, the ſhame of doing a diſhonourable action, and deſire of being maſter of Normandy, kept his mind in ſuſpence. He had entertained hopes, that the troubles in that dukedom, would redound to his advantage, and he formed ſome projects, on this occaſion; but when he perceived, that the ſtates of Normandy had declarde, in favour of duke William, he judged it to be convenient, for the preſent, to defer the execution of his deſign. Accordingly, the king, concealing his intentions, ſent home the young prince; and no ſooner was he arrived at Roan, than the ſtates ſwore allegiance to him, appointing Raoul de Gace, conſtable of Normandy, to be his governor.

Notwithſtanding duke William's arrival, the lords, who laid claim to the ducal crown, did not drop their pretenſions; for they imagined, that it was a piece of downright injuſtice to prefer a baſtard before them. However, as they who held the reins of government, were men of great conduct and intereſt, being alſo look'd upon, as ſupported by the crown of France, the claimants durſt not publickly avow their intentions; and, in the interim, king Henry was on fire, to make the beſt uſe of theſe diviſions. Duke Robert's death had effaced the remembrance of his ſignal obligations to that prince; and, not being able to withſtand the temptation any longer, he directly beſieged the Caſtle of Tillireres, to which he had ſome pretenſions. This place, being fortified and well ſtock'd with ammunition, would have held out a long time, if the duke's miniſters had not given orders to the governor, to ſurrender, on condition the caſtle ſhould be demoliſh'd; and Henry, very readily accepting theſe terms, commanded the walls to be levelled to the ground, tho' they were immediately rebuilt, under the pretence, that there was an ambiguous clauſe, in the articles of capitulation. Upon this, the king took poſſeſſion of Argentan, and, marching to Falaiſe, ſubdued that town, with eaſe; and he would have made farther advances, if Raoul de Gace, with a numerous army, had not obliged him to retire, which gave the conſtable an opportunity of retaking Falaiſe, the French not having had leiſure to lay in any ſtores. Chron. Norm.

As ſoon as the lords, who aſpired to the dukedom, found, that the king of France made war againſt duke William, they began to declare their reſpective deſigns. Roger de Treſney, ſtandard-bearer of Normandy, and ſprung from one of Rollo's uncles, was the firſt that appeared. Having acquired great riches in Spain, where he had, for many years, been engaged againſt the Saracens, he returned home, during duke Robert's abſence, and was no ſooner informed of his death, than he reſolved to ſeize on the dukedom. Indeed, he, for ſome time, deferred the execution of his project, from an apprehenſion, that the king of France was in duke William's intereſt; but being convinced of the contrary, by king Henry's proceedings, he muſtered ſome troops together, thinking, that all the dukes forces would be employed againſt France tho' he found himſelf miſtaken, being defeated and ſlain by Roger deBeaumont, who commanded the duke's army. Malmſ.

Nothwithſtanding this example William earl of Arques, ſon to Richard the II. by Pavia, being animated to this undertaking, by the king of France, was ſo hardy as to ſend a defence to the duke; but the duke, at the head of his army, preſs'd him with ſo much vigour and reſolution, that he compelled him to incloſe himſelf

ſelf in the city of Arques, where he beſieged him. Henry, who had ſpurr'd him on to this enterprize, thought, he was under an obligation, in point of honour, to aſſiſt him; and, with this view, he marched into Normandy, where he received two defeats, being forced, at laſt, to abandon the rebel, who, upon the taking of the city, was ſent into exile.

Guy of Burgundy, grandſon to duke Richard II. by his daughter, was the next, that made an attempt upon the dukedom, and indeed, he was within an ace of ſurprizing the duke, who was then at Valognes, without any guard, being altogether inſenſible of what was in agitation againſt him; but a fool, whom the conſpirators did not ſuſpect, overhearing their deſign, travelled, all night, to acquaint the duke with it, who had but juſt time to put on his cloaths, in order to make the beſt of his way for Falaiſe; and he was ſo cloſely purſued, that it would have been impoſſible for him to have eſcaped, his horſe not being able to carry him thither, were it not for the aſſiſtance of a gentleman, whom he accidentally met with, on the road. This conſpiracy ſeemed to be of ſuch a dangerous conſequence, that he applied to the king of France; and Henry, either out of generoſity, or for ſome other private reaſons, being unwilling to ſuffer the young prince to be oppreſs'd, ſupplied him with ſome troops, which put him in a condition to give the enemy battle. Guy being vanquiſhed, and taken priſoner, the duke, by a generous action, as glorious as the victory it ſelf, very freely gave him a pardon.

Chron. of Normand. Mezeray.

William Guerland, earl of Mortagne, and another William, earl of Eu, ſon to a natural brother of Richard II. had ſome thoughts alſo of depriving the young prince of his dukedom; but they were prevented, by his vigilance, and ſentenced to perpetual baniſhment.

The duke's courage and conduct, in all theſe commotions, led his ſubjects to entertain great hopes concerning him; and the neighbouring princes apprehended him to be a perſon of uncommon merit, who might, hereafter, give them ſome trouble. The king of France, in particular, was extremely jealous of him; and to make amends for his overſight, in aſſiſting him againſt Guy of Burgundy, he raiſed him up another enemy, the earl of Anjou. At firſt, indeed, he only aided him in a ſecret manner; but at length he openly eſpouſed his quarrel, commencing fierce war againſt the duke, which continued ſeveral years, tho' at laſt, it turned to the diſadvantage of both the allies; for duke William having proved victorious, in two ſucceſſive battles, they ſued for peace, to obtain which the king of France was obliged to ſurrender the caſtle of Tillieres, which he had taken, during the duke's minority.

As the duke was beſieging Alenzon, during this war, ſome of the inhabitants came upon the walls, with skins in their hands, to reproach him for the baſeneſs of his birth, his mother being a skinner's daughter; but the duke was ſo highly incenſed, at this inſult, that he ſwore, by the ſplendor of God, his uſual oath, that he would be revenged; and, accordingly, when he afterwards became maſter of the town, he put out the eyes, and cut off the hands and feet of 22 of the inſolent Burghers.

Henry, dying ſoon after this war, had, for his ſucceſſor Philip I. his ſon, a minor, under the guardianſhip of Baldwin, the fifth earl of Flanders, who had juſt married his daughter, Matilda, to the duke of Normandy; and as the earl was regent to the king, and father-in-law to the duke, he made uſe of all neceſſary precautions, to eſtabliſh a good underſtanding between both theſe princes, which continued many years.

Duke Willlam, in the mean-time, endeavoured to extinguiſh the remains of rebellion among his ſubjects, by baniſhing great numbers, who, for the moſt part, retir'd into Pouille, to Robert Guiſcard, a Norman gentleman, who made a ſplendid figure, in that country. As the duke's relations, by his father's ſide, gave him the greateſt uneaſineſs, he compelled almoſt all of them to abandon Normandy; and confiſcating their eſtates, he beſtowed them to his mother's relations, in order to raiſe the mean circumſtances of that family. Robert, his brother, by the mother's ſide, received the earldom of Mortagne, which William Guerland had forfeited; Odo, his brother, was enriched by his bounty, being alſo made biſhop of Bayeux; and, two of their ſiſters, were married to the earls of Aumale and Albemarle.

Mauger his uncle, archbiſhop of Roan, was not only concerned in all the plots againſt the duke, but even proceeded ſo far, as to excommunicate him, on pretence of the too near relation between him and his wife Matilda, who was his firſt couſin, being daughter to Eleonora, his father's ſiſter. The duke was reſolved to be revenged on this prelate, as ſoon as his affairs ſhould be ſettled; and, accordingly, having called together the biſhops of Normandy, at Liſieux, he charged him with ſeveral miſdemeanours, particularly, his ſelling the conſecrated chalices, to ſquander the money in luxury; and, as he exerted his utmoſt intereſt, to ſupport theſe accuſations, Mauger was ſolemnly degraded, and Maurillus elected in his room.

The duke, having, thus, ſubdued, or diſperſed, all his enemies, he might have paſſed the remainder of his days, in profound tranquillity, having nothing to fear, either abroad or at home; but this quiet, which only ſecured his preſent poſſeſſion, was far from contenting his avarice and ambition. It was, probably, with a view of new acquiſitions, that he made a viſit to king Edward his couſin, who, having no iſſue, perhaps, gave him ſome hopes of being his ſucceſſor; and it is generally believed, that he promiſed him, during his abode at his court, to make a will, in his favour. Tho' the duke never produced this will, nor any evidence for it, it is agreed on, by all the hiſtorians, he made it the foundation of his expedition againſt England; and we have ſeen, in the preceding book, what ſteps he took, to ſupport his pretenſions, till the battle of Haſtings.

Hoved. Dunelm.

I ſhall, now proceed to ſhew, how, by the ſucceſs of that day, he gained the crown of England, and the methods he made uſe of, to ſet-

tle

1066. tle himſelf on the throne, in ſpite of all oppoſition.

The duke's conduct, after the battle of Haſtings. W. Pictav.

It is natural to believe, that the Engliſh were in the greateſt conſternation, after their defeat, at Haſtings, and the loſs of their king, being deſtitute of men, arms, ammunition, and, what was worſe, of a chief to command them and ſupply their preſent neceſſities. On the contrary, the victorious Normans were advanced near London, the capital; Harold's ſons had retreated to Ireland; and Edgar Atheling was not only too young, but wanted ſpirit and reſolution to aſſiſt them, on this preſſing occaſion. The earls Morkard and Edwin, indeed, were retired to London, with a part of the fugitive army; but the Conqueror allowed them no leiſure, to take proper meaſures, for the ſervice of their country. Thus, the affairs of the Engliſh lay in the moſt diſmal confuſion, all the methods, they could take, being clogged with inſuperable difficulties. The duke of Normandy was already on his march to London, in order to increaſe the terror of the Engliſh; but he was diverted from this deſign, by the following reaſons. He conſidered, that altho' the loſs of a battle might have aſtoniſhed the Engliſh, it was not likely, that it would altogether diſpirit them; that as their caſe was not, as yet, deſperate, they might eaſily raiſe freſh armies; that, if this was done, and he ſhould receive but a ſingle defeat, he was not provided with a place of retreating, nor had he any opportunity of ſending for ſuccours from Normandy. He, therefore, reſolved to beſiege Dover, before he made any farther advances; and this cautious proceeding, even after his victory, is an evident proof of the boldneſs, or rather raſhneſs, of his enterprize. Dover was naturally a place of great ſtrength, and, beſides, a great number of Engliſh officers and ſoldiers had retired thither, after the battle; ſo that it was capable of holding a long ſiege. However, ſuch was the conſternation of the beſieged, that they ſurrender'd the town, in a few days; and no ſooner had the duke taken poſſeſſion of it, than he order'd it to be more ſtrongly fortified, ſpending eight days there, to forward the works, after which he ſet out for London.

Kent ſends deputies to the duke.

Some authors relate, that, as the duke was on his march, at the head of his army, he had a diſtant view of a vaſt multitude approaching him, each of them having a branch or bough in his hand, who, appearing like a moving foreſt, at firſt, ſomewhat alarmed him; but he ſoon found, they were deputies from the county of Kent, attended with great crowds of people, who came to aſſure him of the ſubmiſſion of that county, and to demand the preſervation of their antient privileges. They add, that the duke gave them a very gracious reception, and granted their requeſt; but, as William of Poictiers, who was then with the duke, takes no notice of this occurrence, we have reaſon to believe, the whole ſtory to be fictitious *.

The Londoners are in great confuſion.

Whilſt the duke lay before Dover, or was on his way towards the Thames, the confuſion, at London, was, every moment, increaſed, on account of the diverſity of opinions, which prevented them from coming to any final reſolution. Some thought it moſt adviſable, to ſubmit to the duke immediately; others, that it was expedient, before they ſubmitted, to enter into a treaty with him, for the ſecurity of the privileges, not only of the city, but of the whole kingdom; and ſome attempted to prove, that there was ſtill a poſſibility of retrieving their affairs, as the winter, which was already begun, would allow them time to concert meaſures, for their defence, and they were extremely ſollicitous, about having Edgar Atheling placed on the throne. Edwin and Morkard were the chief of the laſt party; but they could not, with all their art and intereſt, perſuade the citizens to fall in with their deſign, who would be prevailed on no farther, than to ſhut their gates againſt the duke, till they ſhould be able to fix upon ſome reſolution. In the interim, the duke, approaching the city, encamped in Southwark, which is ſeparated from London by the Thames; and expecting, that his being ſo near them would oblige the Londoners to a voluntary ſubmiſſion, he lay ſtill, for ſome days. However, the event did not anſwer his expectation; for Morkard and Edwin made uſe of this opportunity to ſpirit up the people to ſally out, in order to ſurpriſe the Normans. This ſally was eaſily repulſed, tho' it convinced the duke, that he muſt alter his meaſures, by vigorouſly attacking this great city which he could have but very little proſpect of ſubduing, if he allowed the inhabitants time to recover from their amazement. However, he was at a great loſs, how he ſhould proceed, and not without reaſon; for, by his late victory, he was far from attaining his ends. He was poſſeſs'd of no more than one caſtle, lying in an extreme part of the kingdom, and all the reſt of the country was againſt him; beſides, the Engliſh might raiſe an army, in ſeveral remote counties, without the leaſt oppoſition. He could not advance towards the center of the kingdom, without cutting of all communication with Dover, which was of dangerous conſequence; and it was next to impoſſible for him to carry on the ſiege of London, during the winter. Moreover, the ſituation of that city render'd it neceſſary for him to leave a conſiderable number of forces, on the ſouthſide of the Thames, which would exceedingly impair his army; and a ſiege of that importance, which, in all probability, would laſt ſeveral months, muſt, of courſe, have put it in the power of the Engliſh to put their affairs in a poſture of defence, as well as to muſter troops in other parts of the kingdom. At this rate, the duke would have been obliged to conquer England, inch by inch, like the Romans, Saxons and Danes; whereas he was not in a condition to ſupport ſuch a tedious war. His only method, then, was to make the beſt uſe of the preſent conſternation of the Londoners, and to bring them into ſubjection, rather by terror than force; and, accordingly, poſting himſelf at Wallingford, he continually ſent out detach-

The duke approaches London.

* Tyrrel obſerves the improbability of this ſtory, from the green boughs, in the beginning of November; and Somner has likewiſe confuted it in his treatiſe of Gavel-kind.

1066. ments, to plunder the counties adjacent to London, by which means, he intercepted their proviſions, and prevented them from laying in any ſtores. He likewiſe reduced Southwark to aſhes, to ſhew them what they might expect, if they would not, in time, ſubmit to his laws; but, perhaps, all his attempts would have been ineffectual, if the clergy, who were in London, had not diſconcerted all the meaſures of Morkard and Edwin againſt him.

Morkard and Edwin attempt to place Edgar on the throne.

The view of theſe lords, and other lovers of their country, was to place Edgar Atheling on the throne. They aſſured the people, that the only means, of avoiding the impending danger, was, in the firſt place, to recover from their preſent ſtate of anarchy and confuſion; that, whilſt they wanted a head, who had a right to command, it was impoſſible to take any effectual ſteps, againſt the Normans, who were already at their gates; but that the caſe would be otherwiſe, if they had a king, who would diſpatch his orders into all parts of the kingdom, to levy forces, which would teach the duke, at his coſt, that a ſingle victory was not ſufficient to make him maſter of England; whereas, if they remained inactive, the whole kingdom would infallibly become ſubject to a foreign yoke; and, in a word, that prince Edgar had an undoubted title to the crown of England, and, conſequently, in juſtice, ought to be fixed on the throne. The majority of the people approved of the earl's propoſals; but

The clergy oppoſe them.

the clergy openly rejected them, being unwilling to hazard their eſtates and tranquillity, by a war. Edgar was ſcarce in a condition to protect them; but the duke of Normandy had the reputation of a religious prince, and his enterpriſe had received the pope's approbation. Theſe reaſons were ſufficient to prevail on all the clergy, who were then at London, with both the archbiſhops at their head, to cabal among the people, in order to prevent Edgar's election; for they formed hopes, that their ſubmiſſion to the duke of Normandy would prove more advantageous, than a tedious war. But, whatever were their motives, it is certain they made ſuch a ſtrenuous oppoſition, that Edwin and Morkard, deſpairing of ſucceſs in their deſigns, retreated into the north, being perſuaded, it would be a long time, before the duke could follow them. Upon their departure, Stigand, archbiſhop of

Both the archbiſhops and prince Edgar ſubmit to the duke.

Canterbury, directly waited on the duke at Berkhamſtead; as did alſo, ſoon after, Aldred, archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of Wincheſter, and, at laſt, prince Edgar himſelf, who acted by their advice and direction. The duke, receiving them very graciouſly, granted all their requeſts, among which there were ſome that concerned the whole kingdom; and it is even aſſerted, that he confirmed his promiſes by an oath. The hiſtorians do not tell us, what the terms were theſe prelates obtained from the duke; but, we may be ſure, the intereſts of the church were remember'd, in a particular manner. However, they ſwore allegiance to the duke, and induced prince Edgar to follow their example; and, by their means, ſeveral perſons of diſtinction made their ſubmiſſion, ſo that the Londoners were, in a few days, abandon'd by thoſe, whoſe aſſiſtance would have been moſt wanted by them, if they had enter'd into a reſolution of ſtanding up, in the defence of their city. 1066.

The duke approaches London.

The citizens continuing ſtill in ſuſpence, the duke advanced nearer London, as if he deſigned to beſiege it, being ſenſible, that it would be of the laſt conſequence to his affairs, to be poſſeſs'd of the metropolis, before the reſt of the kingdom had taken any ſteps, to his prejudice; and the magiſtrates, in their naked and defenceleſs condition, thought it moſt adviſeable to come out of the city to meet him, in order to preſent him with the keys of the gates. The duke was pleaſed to receive them very graciouſly; and, it is affirmed, that he promiſed, upon oath, to preſerve their rights and privileges. Having proceeded ſo far, eſpecially as they perceived, from the whole ſtrain of his actions, that he aſpired to the crown, they judged it to be expedient, in their preſent circumſtances, to anticipate his wiſhes; and, accordingly, after they had held a conſultation with the lords ſpiritual and temporal, that had already ſubmitted, they unanimouſly reſolved to place him on the throne. Having, in a body, therefore, waited on the duke they made him an offer

The magiſtrates of that city preſent him with the keys.

They offer him the crown,

of the crown, repreſenting to him, "That, "as they had always lived under a regal go- "vernment, they apprehended him to be the "moſt worthy of their choice and approbation "to be their king and governor." The duke, on this occaſion, not conſidering, or, at leaſt, pretending to forget, that he had invaded the kingdom, with an armed force, by reaſon of his pretenſions to the crown, at firſt, ſeemed to have ſome doubts, whether he ſhould accept of that dignity. He told them, that their propoſal was of ſuch importance, that it was convenient for him to adviſe with his friends, before he gave them an anſwer; but the reſult of the matter was, that he ought not, at any rate, to refuſe an honour, freely offer'd him by the Engliſh, ſince his refuſal would put it out of his power to reward his followers, who had eſpouſed his cauſe, purely, with a view of fixing him on the throne. They, therefore, intreated him not to reject, what was ſo providentially thrown in his way, and which had coſt him ſo much blood already; and the duke, readily falling in with their pleaſing ſollicitations, in anſwer to the Engliſh lords and magiſtrates of London, declared, "That he was "willing to conſent to their requeſt." Upon this, he accepted the crown, as their gift, tacitly owning a right of election in the people of England, tho' the manner of his election ſeemed to intimate, that he was of the contrary opinion; and, indeed, is it to be ſuppoſed, that the magiſtrates of London, with a few biſhops and temporal lords, had a right to diſpoſe of the crown, without the conſent of the eſtates? However, the duke appointed the chriſtmas-day enſuing to be the day of his coronation; and, as this ſolemnity was to be celebrated at London, he order'd a fortreſs to be built, with all expedition, which he gar-

which he accepts.

riſon'd

1066. riſon'd with Normans, having a ſuſpicion of the inhabitants.

His Coronation. Stigand, archbiſhop of Canterbury, tho' he was ſuſpended by the pope, as an intruder into that ſee, in the room of Robert, who was never canonically deprived, continued to exerciſe the archiepiſcopal functions; yet the duke, being under obligations to the pope, and alſo deſirous of avoiding the objections, that might be raiſed againſt his coronation, if performed by a ſuſpended biſhop, would not receive the crown, from the hands of Stigand. He, therefore, made choice of Aldred, archbiſhop of York, for this purpoſe, who, before he placed the crown on the duke's head, asked the Engliſh, whether they would have the duke of Normandy for their king? All the people having expreſſed their conſent, by acclamations, the biſhop of Conſtance put the ſame queſtion to the Normans, who anſwered, in the ſame manner. From hence, it appears, that the duke, at that time, reſolved to make the Engliſh and Normans one people; ſince the conſent of the Normans was asked, before he was crowned king of England; and the ſequel evidently ſhews, that this was his real intention. The archbiſhop of York, having placed the duke on the throne, adminiſter'd to him the oath uſually taken by the Saxon kings; the ſubſtance of which was, "That he would "protect the church and its miniſters; that "he would govern the kingdom with equity; "that he would enact juſt laws, and order "them to be ſtrictly put in execution; and "that he would prohibit all rapines and un-"juſt judgments." Malmsbury adds, "That "he promiſed to behave himſelf mercifully "towards his ſubjects, and that he would go-"vern the Engliſh and Normans by the laws;" and, if this was really the caſe, it follows, that this prince had already determined to ſettle the Normans in England. However, ſome authors aſſure us, that king William took no oath at all, having refuſed to lay himſelf under ſuch a reſtraint to thoſe whom he conquer'd; but, in all probability, they are miſtaken. King William accepted of the crown, as a gift, and, conſequently, had no reaſon to diſpenſe with the uſual oath. Beſides, as none, except the Londoners, had, as yet, ſubmitted to his authority, can it be imagined, that a prince of his ſagacity ſhould ſo ſoon diſcover to the Engliſh, that he deſigned to reign over them, in an arbitrary manner; and, finally, tho' he is ſirnamed the Conqueror, it is evident, that he never openly pretended to poſſeſs the kingdom by the right of conqueſt, being, on all occaſions, extremely cautious, as to the proof of this point.

He takes the uſual oath.

Among all the fortunate turns, that attended the execution of the duke's deſign, that, which I am about to relate, is one of the moſt ſurprizing. Indeed, the battle he won gave him an opportunity of approaching London; but, tho' it would have been next to impoſſible for him to have taken that city, if the burghers and the reſt of the kingdom would have done their duty, it was ſurrender'd to him, and the crown placed on his head. However, as he was crown'd, without the conſent of the whole nation, one would have thought, it would have been very difficult for him to have compleated the conqueſt of a country, which had oppoſed the Romans, Saxons, and Danes, for ages together; and yet, no ſooner was it known, that he had been crowned at London, than he was, in all places, owned to be the king of England, without the leaſt oppoſition, tho' no one could tell, by what right or title, he could poſſibly lay claim to that crown. In all appearance, if the Engliſh had been reſolved to elect a king of their own nation, either Edgar or any other, king William would have been expoſed to a great number of difficulties. Let us, for once, ſuppoſe, that this elected king had muſter'd an army together, in a remote part of the kingdom, how exceedingly muſt it have embarraſs'd king William's affairs? He could not leave London and Dover, without running a great riſque of loſing the metropolis; and, if he ſhould remain in London, the enemy would have had an opportunity of augmenting their forces. The bare mention of this conſideration is ſufficient to ſhew, how extremely lucky it was for the Conqueror to meet with no reſiſtance; and the reader will, I doubt not, be naturally led to reflect on a thouſand other obſtacles, in king William's way, if the Engliſh, even after the battle of Haſtings, had not wanted reſolution to withſtand him. It is obvious, that the more one conſiders this enterprize, it ſeems to be ſo much the more extraordinary, if not ſupernatural.

1066. 1067. The king diſtributes Harold's treaſures. W. Poict.

The firſt thing king William did, after his coronation, was to ſeize on Harold's treaſure, which he had laid up at Wincheſter. He diſtributed one part of it among the chief officers of his army, and another he gave to the churches and monaſteries; and the pope alſo had a ſhare, either in return for money he had lent the king, or in gratitude for his favours, at his firſt ſetting out about his expedition. He likewiſe ſent the late king's ſtandard to Rome, not only as a ſort of homage to the holy ſee, but as a teſtimony, that his enterprize was undertaken, with the pope's approbation. Harold's treaſures being, thus, diſpoſed of, it became neceſſary to deviſe ways and means to fill the king's coffers; and, with this view, the cities and corporations, as well as the moſt wealthy of his ſubjects, were given to underſtand, that it was expedient for them to compliment their new maſter with ſome ſuitable preſents, which propoſal, being chearfully agreed to, brought in a very conſiderable ſum.

The cities and corporations make him preſents. W. Poict.

He is jealous of them.

The king's moderation, at firſt, led the Engliſh to hope, that they ſhould enjoy ſolid happineſs, under his reign; for he order'd the principal officers of his army to treat them with chriſtian tenderneſs and compaſſion, and to refrain from all inſults and outrages, leſt they ſhould provoke them to take up arms. He iſſued out the moſt ſevere edicts againſt ſuch of the ſubalterns and ſoldiers, as ſhould violate the chaſtity of the women, or, in the leaſt, injure the natives; and he afterwards, in the moſt publick manner, confirmed their privileges.

1067. vileges. If we might form a judgment of princes from their manifeſto's or edicts we ſhould be apt to conclude, that they had the ſtricteſt regard for juſtice and equity; but how often does it happen, that ſuch declarations are no more than ſo many words of courſe. Indeed, they generally produce a preſent effect, which is, for the moſt part, the only end propoſed by them; and, accordingly, the Engliſh were inclined to confide in king William's magnificent promiſes, ſuffering themſelves to be tranſported with this ſeeming indulgence. Theſe auſpicious beginnings prevail'd on them to believe, that the Conqueror, like Canute the great, would do all that was poſſible, to gain the hearts of his ſubjects, that he might reap the fruits of his conqueſt, in peace and tranquility.

However, the king was apprehenſive, that their ſubmiſſion proceeded rather from fear, than a ſincere reſpect for his perſon and government; for a few days after his coronation, he retired from London to Berking, not daring to continue in that city. He was equally jealous of the reſt of the kingdom; and, therefore, he placed ſtrong garriſons in Haſtings, Dover, and Wincheſter, the more effectually to ſecure their ſubjection. The Engliſh were ſo far from being alarmed at theſe proceedings, that they conceived them to be abſolutely neceſſary, in the beginning of ſuch a grand revolution; and they, who had, hitherto, refuſed to ſubmit to his authority, reſorted to him, in ſuch crowds, that Edwin and Morkard were obliged to drop their ſchemes, for the defence of their country. As they entertained a raiſed opinion of the king's ſincerity, they ſwore allegiance to him, at Berking, who exerted himſelf to preſerve in them theſe loyal ſentiments; for he not only aſſur'd them of his protection, but even, in their preſence, conferred upon prince Edgar large poſſeſſions, who was the idol of the Engliſh, being commonly ſtiled England's darling.

Edwin and Morkard ſubmit to his authority.

He founds Battel abbey. M. Paris.

The victory of Haſtings redounding ſo much to the king's glory, he was willing to tranſmit the fame of it to poſterity; and, therefore, he founded a church and abbey, on the very ſpot where Harold was ſlain; giving orders, that, as ſoon as they were finiſhed, the church ſhould be dedicated to St. Martin, and the abbey named Battle-abbey *. It is true, he pretended, that the having Harold's ſoul and his own pray'd for was his view, in this foundation; but, in all appearance, it was as much the reſult of the love of glory as devotion. Thus, he paſſed the three firſt months of his reign, to the mutual ſatisfaction of the Engliſh and Normans; as the former believed, they loſt very little, by the late revolution, and the latter, that the king would make good his engagements to them, upon their ſubmiſſion.

The king carries with him into Normandy ſeveral Engliſh lords. Malmſ.

King William's precautions having proved ſucceſsful, he reſolved to go to Normandy, to appear there, in his new grandeur; which, as things ſtood, was not only a needleſs but very dangerous proceeding. However, to prevent any revolts, during his abſence, firſt, he placed ſtrong garriſons of Normans in all the caſtles; and, ſecondly, he took along with him the Engliſh lords, whom he chiefly ſuſpected, viz. Stigand, Morkard, Edwin, Waltheoff ſon of Siward, formerly earl of Northumberland, with ſeveral others of the prime nobility. Theſe lords were not inſenſible, that he allowed this honour, in order to be as ſo many hoſtages, and add to the glory of his triumph; tho' they durſt not refuſe to comply, leſt it ſhould increaſe his ſuſpicion. Before he left England, he appointed Odo, biſhop of Bayeux, and William Fitz-Osbern, to govern the kingdom; and there was no end of the rejoicings among his old ſubjects, upon his arrival in Normandy. He kept his chriſtmas † at Feſcamp, where the French ambaſſador ‡, attended with a great retinue of nobles, came to congratulate him, in his maſter's name, upon his acceſſion to the throne of England. On this occaſion, the king affected to make the moſt magnificent appearance; and he paſſed the reſt of the winter in Normandy.

1067.

He appoints two regents.

The regents oppreſs the people. Malmſ.

During his Reſidence among the Normans, Odo, his brother, and William Fitz-Osborn, to whom he had committed the regency of England, abuſed the authority, with which he had entruſted them; for wholly intent about enriching themſelves, by all poſſible methods, they were ſo far from redreſſing the grievances of the Engliſh, which they ſuffer'd from others, that they oppreſs'd them, by continual acts of tyranny, themſelves. One would have imagined, from their indiſcreet management, that they had received inſtructions to excite the people to withdraw their allegiance, that they might incur the puniſhment; but the moſt prudent ſtill continued to behave in a dutiful manner, being perſuaded, that the king, at his return, would rectify theſe diſorders, tho' others were reſolved to make the beſt uſe of his abſence, in order to attempt the recovery of their liberty. The Kentiſhmen were the firſt that revolted, inviting to their aſſiſtance Euſtace, earl of Bulloign, who endeavour'd to ſurprize Dover-caſtle; but his deſign proving abortive, he retreated to his ſhips, leaving the Kentiſhmen to the mercy of the regents, who treated them with the utmoſt ſeverity.

Edric's revolt.

The king returns.

However, Edric, an Engliſh lord, ſirnamed the foreſter, taking up arms, in the county of Hereford, uſed with cruelty, all the Normans in his way; and no ſooner was the news of it brought to the king, than he embarqued for England, committing the government of Normandy to Matilda his Wife, and Robert, his eldeſt ſon. His return, indeed, allayed the ſtorm, raiſed by his abſence; but, from this time, he conſider'd the Engliſh, in general, as ſo many ſecret enemies, who only waited for an opportunity of revolting. The king's opinion was not, without a foundation; for if we reflect on his temper, and the ſtate of Engliſh, it will plainly appear, that it was ſcarce poſſible

* In this abbey was preſerved an antient liſt of all the noble families, that came over with king William, called Battle-abbey-roll; of which Stow and Hollingſhead have given us copies, tho' with ſome little variation.

† Or rather his eaſter, ſince he went over in March, and returned the beginning of the following winter.

‡ Rodolph the potent, father-in-law to the king of France.

there

1067. there ſhould be that mutual confidence between them, which was neceſſary to their common tranquillity. The king was naturally ſuſpicious, and the preparations for his expedition had run him vaſtly in debt; being likewiſe obliged to reward, in a liberal manner, the officers who had engaged in his ſervice; and all this muſt be done, at the expence of the Engliſh. Beſides, he was of a covetous temper, extremely deſirous of great ſums of money, not to expend, for the good of the publick, but to hoard up in his coffers; and, in a word, ſuch was his partiality to the Normans, that he very often was deaf to the complaints of the Engliſh againſt them, tho' they abuſed his favours; and, on the contrary, the Engliſh were exceedingly prejudiced againſt the Normans. This miſunderſtanding, between both nations, which took its riſe, in the reign of king Edward, and was fomented by earl Goodwin and Harold his ſon, became ſtill greater, ſince the late revolution; for, in ſpite of all the king's endeavours, to recommend moderation to his countrymen, they inſulted the Engliſh, whom they conquered. Moreover, ſo weak was the foundation, on which king William built his right to the crown, that the Engliſh muſt, of courſe, be led to believe, that the chief motive of his deſign upon England was, to gratify his avarice and ambition; and, finally, the conduct of the regents, in his abſence, rendered it highly probable, they would not have dared to carry their rapines, to ſuch an extravagant height, if they had not been aſſured of their maſter's approbation. Indeed, the lenity of his government, for the three firſt months of his reign, had, in ſome meaſure, diſſipated all their fears; but, when they found, that, after his return, he not only neglected to puniſh the regents, for their male-adminiſtration, but even approved of their behaviour, they openly expreſſed their uneaſineſs, and, in all parts of the kingdom, vented their murmurs and complaints. Upon this, the king made uſe of all poſſible precautions, to prevent the diſcontents of the Engliſh from flaming into an open rupture; and, as he was naturally inclined to ſeverity, he entered upon very ſevere meaſures, being prompted to it by the Normans, whoſe intereſt it was, that the Engliſh ſhould be reduced to their allegiance, rather by force, than by milder methods. This is the moſt plauſible light, in which the duke's proceedings can poſſibly be repreſented; tho' there are ſome, who aſſert, that it was his intention to enſlave the Engliſh, before he had received the leaſt provocation. However that be, it is certain the mutual confidence, between the king and his new ſubjects, was ſoon interrupted; and he now had nothing elſe in view, but to eſtabliſh himſelf on the throne, not being very ſollicitous, whether the means, he made uſe of, were agreeable to juſtice and equity.

Reaſons for the miſunderſtanding, between the king and the Engliſh.

Matilda's coronation.

The birth of prince Henry.

Soon after the king's return, Matilda, his wife, came over into England, and was crowned with great ſolemnity, being alſo, the ſame year, delivered of a ſon, named Henry; for her other ſons, viz. Robert, Richard, and William were born in Normandy, the eldeſt of whom was about twelve years of age.

1068. The king had not, as yet, rewarded his friends, that had voluntarily aſſiſted him, in his enterprize againſt England, who, beſides their ſalaries, expected a requital, in proportion to their reſpective ſervices; and, his ordinary revenues not being ſufficient to anſwer theſe demands, he was under a neceſſity of having recourſe to the unfortunate Engliſh, reſolving upon an expedient, namely, reviving the Danegelt, which muſt, of courſe, be very ungrateful to them. The king evidently foreſeeing, that this tax, which was aboliſhed by Edward the Confeſſor, would occaſion diſcontents, to prevent any ill effects, careſs'd the principal Engliſh lords, as far as was conſiſtent with the reſervedneſs of his temper. He was moſt jealous of earl Edwin, who, by reaſon of his birth, dignity, and perſonal merit, was exceedingly reſpected by his countrymen; and, to ſecure his friendſhip, he promiſed him one of his daughters in marriage. Edwin was ſo delighted with this propoſal, that, inſtead of increaſing the preſent commotions, he did all that was poſſible, in order to appeaſe them; but Aldred, archbiſhop of York, was not ſo eaſily managed. This prelate had ſuch an exalted opinion of the king, that, on all occaſions, he gave him the higheſt encomiums; but, upon his renewing a tax, which was ſo odious to the nation, he began to alter his ſentiments. He ſent a perſon to repreſent to the king, in his name, the pernicious effects of this proceeding; but he ſeverely reprimanded him, for preſuming to deliver ſuch a meſſage. It is ſaid, Aldred, on this occaſion, curſed the king and all his family; and, perhaps, his reſentment was the cauſe of ſome troubles in the north. This, at leaſt, ſeemed to be the king's ſenſe of the matter, who diſpatched one of his officers, to attempt to pacify that incenſed prelate; but his death, happening, at this juncture, freed the king from his apprehenſions, and the Danegelt was levied, with all imaginable rigour. From this time, the Engliſh conſidered him, under the deteſted idea of a Conqueror, and nothing was to be heard, but murmurs and complaints; whilſt the king, on the other hand, treated them, as ſo many rebels againſt his authority.

1068. The king, to reward his troops, revives Danegelt.

The archbiſhop of York ſends a remonſtrance to the king.

Aldred's death.

Danegelt is levied.

Before I deſcend to a particular account of the troubles, in this reign, it will be convenient to remark, that the hiſtorians are exceedingly divided in their opinions, as to the cauſes of them. Some fix the whole blame on the Engliſh, as if he was, at length, obliged to uſe violent methods, when he found thoſe, that were milder, ineffectual; but others look upon all their revolts to be the natural effect of his ſevere uſage. To determine this point, it would be previouſly neceſſary to enquire into the extent of a king's power, who obtained a crown, in the manner, above, related, and into the nature of that obedience due from a people, whoſe ſubmiſſion was partly voluntary, and partly the effect of force and compulſion; but, even in theſe enquiries, we ſhould find the ſame diverſity of opinions, as in the former. I ſhall, therefore, only obſerve, that among the hiſtorians, who treat of William the Conqueror, ſome have ſet off his good qualities, to the ut-

The different opinions, about the king's treatment of the Engliſh.

1068. moſt advantage, whilſt they have but very ſuperficially touched upon his faults; but others have been as induſtrious, in painting all his actions, in the blackeſt colours, and even aggravating thoſe that might be eaſily juſtified. That the Conqueror uſed the Engliſh very ill is acknowledged, even by the greateſt advocates for his cauſe; tho' they alledge, in his vindication, that it was neceſſary for him to treat them, in that manner, as they were always inclinable to revolt; but others impute the ill treatment of the Engliſh entirely to the king's covetous temper, their revolts being occaſioned by their grief and deſpair. Since, then, authors are ſo divided in their ſentiments, as to this matter, I ſhall content myſelf with a plain narrative of ſuch facts, as are unconteſted, leaving the reader at his liberty to judge of them, as he ſhall think moſt agreeable to reaſon.

Fl. Wor. Hunt. As the caſe ſtood between the king and his new ſubjects, it is no wonder, they made ſome attempts to ſhake off a foreign yoke, which they apprehended to be intolerable; and, accordingly, they began to make inſurrections, eſpecially, in the weſtern parts, where the inhabitants of Exeter refuſed to ſwear allegiance to the king, and to admit a Norman garriſon. William, to put an immediate ſtop to this evil, marched to Exeter, in perſon, tho' in the midſt of winter, to reduce it to obedience; and, when he advanced near that city, ſome of the chief inhabitants waited on him, to petition him for a pardon, in the name of the corporation, and to give him hoſtages; but, in the mean time, the ordinary ſort of townſmen, getting the aſcendent, diſapproved of their proceedings, reſolving to ſtand up, in defence of the city. Gith, king Harold's mother, ſpirited them up to this reſolution; ſo that William found himſelf obliged to beſiege the town, in form, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the ſeaſon. No ſooner had his army begun to batter the walls, than the citizens implored the king's mercy; which he was pleaſed to grant them, being, at length, prevailed on, by the ſollicitations of the clergy, who very urgently importuned him for a pardon. Gith made her eſcape into Flanders, with a prodigious ſum of money; and, to keep the citizens in awe, for the future, he ordered a caſtle to be built in the city, leaving it to the care and management of Baldwin, ſon to earl Gilbert, with a Norman garriſon.

Exeter revolts.

The inhabitants ſubmit, and receive a pardon.

The king builds a caſtle.

The king finds out means to pay his debts. The king could not defer any longer the payment of his debts, nor the rewards he had ſo often promiſed his troops; but the money raiſed by the late tax, tho', at firſt, appropriated to this uſe, being paid into the treaſury, he could not think of parting with it, even on this preſſing occaſion. He judged it to be abſolutely neceſſary to have a reſerve, to ſupply him, on any ſudden emergency, eſpecially, as the behaviour of the Engliſh gave him reaſon to dread a general revolt; and, therefore, he was reſolved to take other ways and means, for the preſent exigency, which exceedingly heightened the diſcontents of the Engliſh. He ſent commiſſioners into all the counties of the kingdom, to enquire, who they were that eſpouſed the cauſe of Harold, and to confiſcate their eſtates; which the Engliſh loudly exclaimed againſt, as a very unjuſt proceeding. They alledged, that, when they appeared in arms for Harold, he was actually poſſeſſed of the throne, being elected at a time, when it was not ſo much as known, that William had any pretenſions to the crown; that, before the battle of Haſtings, they had never ſworn allegiance to the duke of Normandy, and, conſequently, could not forfeit their eſtates, becauſe they fought againſt him; that, provided they had been guilty, they had made an ample ſatisfaction for their fault, by a voluntary ſubmiſſion, which he was pleaſed to accept of, and even to promiſe the preſervation of their rights and privileges. Theſe arguments were very ſtrong and concluſive; but, at this juncture, William had his eyes more intent upon policy than juſtice, his view being not ſo much to puniſh them, for their pretended crime, as to have a plauſible pretence to raiſe money, and to put it out of their power to do him any prejudice, by depriving them of their eſtates.

1068.

This fact is very ſlightly paſs'd over, by the advocates for the Conqueror; and, to divert the reader's attention from it, they repreſent, in the moſt lively colours, as an act of juſtice, the king's reſtoring a confiſcated eſtate to an Engliſh lord, who made it appear, that he never took up arms againſt him *. However, this was, doubtleſs, one of the moſt remarkable events of this reign, ſince the forfeited eſtates paſs'd into the hands of the Normans and other foreigners, who, by this means, became more conſiderable, than the Engliſh themſelves; and, from them, many noble families, ſtill in being, derive their original. Theſe confiſcations were extremely ſerviceable to the king, firſt, as they enabled him to pay his debts, and reward his followers; and, ſecondly, as they gave him an opportunity of ſtocking the counties with thoſe, whoſe intereſt it was to ſupport him on the throne.

Edwin and Morkard revolt. Vital. An. Sax. Dunelm. By this laſt ſtep, for his own ſecurity againſt the Engliſh, he rendered himſelf ſtill more diſagreeable to them; and they were ſollicitous, about finding proper expedients, for the recovery of their eſtates. Edwin, earl of Cheſter, thought himſelf under an obligation, to attempt the reſtoration of the almoſt irrecoverable affairs of his country. The king, indeed, had made him a promiſe of one of his daughters in marriage; but ſo far was he from having any proſpect of its being accompliſhed, that the king ſeemed to want a pretence, for involving him in the common ruin. Morkard his brother, earl of Northumberland, being much in the ſame circumſtances, readily joined him;

* The Conqueror had given Sharnburn, in Norfolk, to Warren the Norman; but Edwin, the lord of it, proving that he did not appear in arms for Harold, it was reſtored to him. Tyrrel diſputes the truth of this fact, becauſe this eſtate is not mentioned in Dooms-day-book, as belonging to the ſaid Edwin.

and,

1068. and, as their intereſt was very great, they ſoon muſter'd an army together, which was reinforced by Blethwin king of Wales, their nephew, with a conſiderable body of troops. The king, as he had reaſon to fear this revolt would be general, drew up his forces, with the utmoſt expedition, to cruſh it, in its embryo. Whilſt he was on his march, towards the rebels, he fortified the caſtle of Warwick, making Henry de Beaumont governor, who was alſo the firſt earl of Warwick, and he likewiſe built Nottingham-caſtle, to ſecure a retreat, in caſe of neceſſity; and then he proceeded on his way to the north, in order to engage the rebels, or lay ſiege to York, which had eſpouſed their cauſe.

Brady.

They, upon their ſubmiſſion, receive a pardon.

In the interim, the two earls, expecting that the reſt of their countrymen would follow their example, were exceedingly diſappointed, the king's great vigilance and the ſuperiority of his forces having diſconcerted all their meaſures againſt him; and they were, in this extremity, obliged either to abandon the kingdom, or ſubmit to his mercy. The latter of theſe they thought fit to make choice of; and the king, notwithſtanding his reſentment, was pleaſed to grant them a pardon, with a view of reclaiming them, by this act of clemency. However, he purſued his march towards York; but the inhabitants, being in no condition to oppoſe him, alone, came out to meet him, in order to preſent him with the keys of their city. Upon this, the king pardoned them, as to corporal puniſhments; tho' they were forced to pay a large fine, and had alſo the mortification of ſeeing a caſtle built in their city, garriſon'd with Normans. Archil, a Northumbrian lord, one of the principal rebels, upon delivering up his ſon, as an hoſtage, was received into favour; and Egelwin, biſhop of Durham, who was likewiſe concerned in the revolt, made his peace with the king.

York is ſurrender'd to the king, who builds a caſtle in it.

The king's clemency terrifies the Engliſh.

William's clemency to the chiefs of this rebellion might have produced a good effect, if it had been, in like manner, extended to thoſe that were leſs guilty; but, as he impriſon'd great numbers, who had not the leaſt concern in the late revolt, he gave occaſion to think, that his mercy to the authors of it was entirely a ſtrain of his policy. This proceeding terrified the whole nation, and the more, when they found that the king had ordered caſtles to be built at Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Cambridge; and Morkard, with the other Northumbrian lords, dreading, that he had only deferred their puniſhment, to a proper opportunity, retreated into Scotland. Earl Coſpatrick, who inſpired Edgar Atheling with the ſame ſentiments, with that prince and his mother and ſiſters, fled for protection to the court of Scotland; and Malcolm Mocmoir, who was then on the throne, treated them with the reſpect due to their quality. He, ſoon after, married Margaret, Edgar's eldeſt ſiſter, from whom deſcended Matilda, grandmother to Henry II. in whoſe perſon the royal families of the Saxons and Normans were united.

He orders caſtles to be built, in ſeveral places.

Several lords, with prince Edgar, retreat into Scotland.

Malcolm marries Edgar's ſiſter.

1069. William ſeemed to be not at all diſpleaſed, at being, thus, rid of his ſecret enemies; but, as their retreat was a plain proof of the diſaffection of the Engliſh, he determined to try all poſſible means, to prevent the effects of their reſentment. In the firſt place, he deprived them of their arms; and, ſecondly, he prohibited them from having any lights in their houſes, after eight o' clock, at night. At this hour, a bell was rung, to put them in mind of extinguiſhing their lights, and covering their fires, under the penalty of a great fine; and, for a long time, the ſound of this bell, called Curfew †, was very grating to the ears of the Engliſh, as it was a remembrancer of their abject and deplorable condition. If they diſobeyed this order, they were inſtantly puniſhed, as if they had committed a very heinous enormity; ſo that this bell was a ſignal, which, being daily repeated, continually reminded them of the ſweets of liberty under their antient kings, as well as of their preſent miſery. This oppreſſive action, as well as a thouſand others they daily ſuffered, not only from the king himſelf, but from the foreigners diſperſed over all parts of the kingdom, rendered the lives of the Engliſh an inſupportable burthen; and yet this is the view, that ſeveral hiſtorians give us of their affairs, at that time.

1069. The king deprives the Engliſh of their arms, and eſtabliſhes the Curfew.

† Couvre-feu or Coverfire.

Harold's ſons make a deſcent into Somerſetſhire. Dunelm.

In the mean time, Goodwin, Edmund, and Magnus, ſons to Harold, made a deſcent into Somerſetſhire; and the only reſiſtance, they met with, was from Eadnoth, formerly maſter of the horſe to the king their father, who was willing, on this occaſion, to demonſtrate his loyalty to William; tho' his zeal proved fatal to himſelf, ſince he was ſlain in the battle, and the enemy made off with a very rich booty.

The Engliſh and Normans complain of each other.

If we may give credit to the hiſtorians, who eſpouſe the cauſe of the Engliſh, England was, at this time, in truly deplorable circumſtances; as the Normans, with the king's conntenance and approbation, conſtantly committed outrages againſt them. However, other authors, advocates for the Normans, aſſure us, that the Engliſh, being impatient under a foreign yoke, were incenſed againſt the Normans, in general; and that, almoſt every day, the bodies of aſſaſſinated Normans were found in the woods or high-ways, without any poſſibility of detecting the murderers, ſo inviolably were the Engliſh attached to one another. In all probability, the king was of this opinion, ſince, in a ſevere edict he publiſhed, on this occaſion, he ordered, that, upon a Norman's being ſlain or robbed, the hundred, in which the fact was committed, ſhould be reſponſible for the crime, and pay a large fine. This law had been, for ſubſtance, in force, from the time of Alfred the Great *; but the circumſtance, that exaſperated the Engliſh was, that William's edict was made in favour of the Normans only.

The king publiſhes an edict, in favour of the Normans.

* In the time of the Danes, if the body of an unknown perſon was found murdered, it was taken for granted, it was a Dane, and the hundred paid the mulct; ſo that king William only changed the name of Dane into that of Norman. Bacon's Hiſt. c. 40. p. 62.

Not-

1069.

Several Normans leave England.

Notwithſtanding the king's partiality to his countrymen, ſeveral of them deſired leave to return into Normandy; and he readily granted their requeſt, having, firſt, fully diſcharged their arrears, and rewarded them, even above their expectation; tho' all this was done, at the expence of the Engliſh.

Robert Cumin is made governor of Northumberland. Dunelm.

Upon this, the miſunderſtanding between the king and his new ſubjects daily increaſed; for the king complained, that the Engliſh were glad of any opportunity for revolting; whilſt they, conſidering themſelves, as unjuſtly oppreſſed, loudly expreſſed their uneaſineſs. The Northumbrians, eſpecially, who, as has been ſhewn, in ſeveral parts of this hiſtory, had been unaccuſtomed to ſervitude, as they were, in a manner, their own maſters, could not refrain their expoſtulations, on every occaſion, and very often uſhered in their complaints with an inſurrection. Their turbulent temper, and their neighbourhood to Scotland, rendering the king very jealous of them, he appointed Robert Cumin, a Norman lord, to be their governor, being a perſon of a rugged diſpoſition. The Northumbrians received this news, juſt as they were preparing to put their project, of calling in the Danes, in execution; for ſome of them, who had retired into Denmark, had perſuaded king Sweyn, that he might eaſily make a conqueſt of England, aſſuring him, that the inhabitants of Northumberland, in particular, would aſſiſt him in his enterprize. Sweyn had equipped a fleet of 200 ſail, which was ready to embarque, when Cumin, with 700 Normans, took poſſeſſion of his government; and, leſt his arrival ſhould obſtruct their deſigns, the principal contrivers of the plot were reſolved to diſpatch both the governor and his attendants. Tho' Cumin was no ſtranger to their intentions, he had ſuch a deſpicable opinion of their force, that he would not take warning; and, in the interim, the conſpirators, having ſecretly drawn together ſome troops, ſurpriſing him at Durham, in a defenceleſs condition, put him and all his followers to the ſword. Soon after this, the Daniſh fleet arrived, under the command of Osborn, the king of Denmark's brother; and all the male-contents joined the Daniſh general, who had already landed his troops. Edgar Atheling, Coſpatrick, Merleſweyn, and all the other lords, who had retreated into Scotland, brought him conſiderable reinforcements; and Osborn, as all the Northumbrians fell in with the Danes, and the king had no forces, in thoſe parts, capable of withſtanding ſuch a formidable army, marched directly towards York. The Norman garriſon, there, entered into a reſolution of holding out, to the laſt, being confident, that the king would come to their relief, with all poſſible expedition; and, with this view, they ſet on fire the ſuburbs, at the foot of the caſtle, that the houſes might not be of any ſervice to the beſiegers. However, the fire, ſpreading farther than was intended, a great part of the city was conſumed to aſhes; and the cathedral-church, the monaſtery of St. Peter, and a famous library begun by archbiſhop Ecbert, about the year 800, entirely periſhed in the flames. In the mean time, the Danes enter'd the city, without the leaſt oppoſition; and, no ſooner were they maſters of it, than they attacked the citadel ſo briskly, that they took it, at the firſt aſſault, putting the garriſon to the ſword. Upon this, the Daniſh general, being informed, that the king was reſolved to march againſt him, encamped on an advantageous piece of ground, leaving earl Walthoff in York, with an Engliſh garriſon.

1069.

The Northumbrians call in the Danes.

Cumin is ſlain.

The Danes land, and are joined by the male-contents.

They beſiege York.

The news of this invaſion alarmed the king, who was afraid, the Danes had been invited over by the body of the Engliſh nation; and, therefore, he durſt not leave the heart of the kingdom, leſt his abſence ſhould occaſion inſurrections in it; tho' it was no leſs dangerous to neglect the affairs of the north. In this perplexity, he judged it moſt expedient to pacify the Engliſh; and, accordingly, he recalled ſeveral from baniſhment, reſtored others to liberty that were under confinement, and affected, by ſome inſtances of ſeverity, to repreſs the inſolence of the Normans. Having, in ſome meaſure found the good effect of theſe proceedings, he ſent his queen and the princes into Normandy, and then ſet out, in order to engage the Danes. So highly was he incenſed againſt the Northumbrians, that he ſwore, by God's ſplendor, he would utterly extirpate them, without any regard to age, ſex, or condition; and, as ſoon as he came into Yorkſhire, he began to put his menaces in execution, by dreadful devaſtations. In the interim, the Danes kept their poſts; and he durſt not attack them, being very ſenſible, that, by hazarding a battle, he ſtaked his all againſt little or nothing. For this reaſon, he concluded it to be moſt adviſable, as things ſtood, to bribe the Daniſh general; and, with this view, he diſpatched private emiſſaries, to offer him a round ſum of money, with leave to plunder the country along the ſea-coaſt, provided he would depart, before winter was over. Osborn accepted of this propoſal, retreating in the beginning of the ſpring; for which he was ſeverely puniſhed by the king his brother. Upon the departure of the Danes, William marched to York, in order to beſiege it, which was defended by an Engliſh and Scotch garriſon, under the command of earl Walthoff; who, by his courage and conduct, made ſuch an obſtinate reſiſtance, that the king deſpaired of compleating this ſiege, when the want of proviſions obliged the beſieged to come to a capitulation. The king, notwithſtanding his reſentment, readily granted honourable terms to the earl, whoſe valour had ſo often attracted his admiration; and, as a farther teſtimony of his eſteem for him, he gave him in marriage his own niece, daughter to the counteſs of Albemarle, creating him alſo earl of Northampton and Huntingdon, and afterwards of Northumberland. Earl Coſpatrick was likewiſe received into favour; but the other officers and ſoldiers of the garriſon were treated with ſeverity, and he laid a heavy fine upon the citizens of York. The ſiege being over, and the king perceiving it to be in his power to be revenged

1069.

The king dreads an univerſal revolt.

He bribes the Daniſh general, to depart the kingdom.

The king lays ſiege to York. Malmſ.

Walthoff bravely defends it, capitulates, is pardoned, and marries Judith, the king's niece.

1070. venged on the Northumbrians, he ravaged their country in ſo barbarous a manner, that he did not leave a ſingle houſe ſtanding between York and Durham, for ſixty miles together; for he did not ſpare even the churches and other publick buildings, according to William of Malmsbury, who was himſelf a Norman. His pretence, for theſe devaſtations, was, to prevent a ſecond Daniſh invaſion; but the courſe of his actions evidently ſhews, that his deſign was, to gratify his revenge, and to intimidate the reſt of the kingdom. If we may believe the hiſtorians, it is impoſſible to give a juſt and full deſcription of the miſeries of the northern counties; for the lands lay without tillage, the houſes were levelled to the ground, and the inhabitants died, in heaps, after their laſt attempts to prolong their miſerable lives, by eating of the moſt unclean animals, and ſometimes even human fleſh.

The king ravages Northumberland. Malmſ. Dunelm.

1070. The calling in of the Danes effectually convinced the king, that he ſhould never enjoy the crown in peace, till he had reduced the Engliſh ſo low, as not to be in a condition to execute any plots againſt him; and, therefore, he reſolved to humble all thoſe that had any intereſt with them, to prevent their deſigns. It is certain, this ſcheme could not be put in execution, without doing injuſtice to many innocent perſons; but, at this time, it is plain, William's ſole aim was his own ſecurity, being altogether regardleſs, about the lawfulneſs of the means. Purſuant to his reſolution, he directly removed the Engliſh from ſuch poſts or employments, as gave them any influence or authority over their countrymen; and then he ſeized on all the baronies, as well as the fiefs of the crown, in general, diſtributing them among the Normans and other foreigners, that followed him into England; but, as the laſt were not ſo numerous, as thoſe whom he had deprived of their eſtates, it may be ſaid, that he loaded them with benefits, in order to diſpoſſeſs the Engliſh of all the crown-lands. How profuſe the king was, in his diſtributions, will appear from the following inſtances. Robert, his brother by the mother's ſide, had, for his ſhare, the earldom of Cornwall, in which he had 288 manors, beſides 558 in other counties. Odo, biſhop of Bayeux, his other brother, was made earl palatine of Kent and high juſticiary of England, having 180 fiefs in Kent alone, and 255 in ſeveral other places. William Fitz-Osborn received, for his reward, the whole earldom of Hereford; and Hugh Lupus, the king's nephew being, his ſiſter's ſon, was preſented with the county palatine of Cheſter, to hold it with the ſame ſovereign power, as his uncle held the crown. Alan Fergeant, duke of Bretaign, William's ſon-in-law, was put in poſſeſſion of all Morkard's eſtate, with the ſame royal prerogatives, as were granted to the earl of Cheſter. Roger de Montgomery had, firſt, Arundel and Chicheſter, and afterwards Shropſhire; Walter Giffard had Buckinghamſhire, and William Warren the county of Surrey; and Eudes, earl of Blois, had the lordſhip of Holderneſs. Roger de Guader, a Bretaign, was made earl of Norfolk and Suffolk and lord of Norwich; and the king gave to Henry de Ferrars Tutbury-caſtle, and to William, biſhop of Conſtance, 280 fiefs, which he left, at his death, to Robert Mowbray his nephew. It would be an endleſs task to enumerate all the king's donations to the foreigners, at the expence of the Engliſh; but what has been already ſaid ſufficiently proves, that his view, in theſe proceedings, was, to deprive his new ſubjects of their eſtates. This, then, was a remarkable epocha, when, to make uſe of the language of the hiſtorians, the whole kingdom was delivered into the hands of foreigners; and, we may be ſure, they ſuffered none to hold any lands of them, except thoſe of their own nation. Accordingly, for the future, we ſhall hear no more of ealdormans or thanes, but of counts or earls, viſcounts, barons, vavaſſors, and other titles borrowed from the Norman or French tongue; ſo that it may be truly affirmed, that England became Norman; and, perhaps, even the very name itſelf would have been changed into that of Normandy, if, for ſome private reaſons, which I ſhall take notice of hereafter, the Normans, ſettled in England, had not been deſirous of being reputed Engliſh, and even affected that title.

1070.

The king's ill treatment of the Engliſh.

He gives their places and eſtates to the Normans.

Brady.

The Engliſh nobility were not the only ſufferers, by theſe ſteps of the Conqueror; for the clergy themſelves met with almoſt the ſame uſage. The Saxon kings had granted to ſeveral biſhops and abbots fees, exempt from all military ſervice, denouncing, in their charters, imprecations againſt ſuch of their ſucceſſors, as ſhould preſume to violate theſe privileges; but William, who was a prince that had no regard for the grants of his predeceſſors, cancelled all theſe immunities; for the church-lands were obliged, in time of war, to ſupply a certain number of horſemen; and ſuch of the clergy, as refuſed their quota, gave the king, what he wanted, a pretence for removing them, in order to place foreigners, in their room. Beſides, he quarter'd almoſt all his troops upon the monaſteries, ſo that he maintained his army, without any charge; and he kept ſpies, in all the religious houſes, to inſpect the actions of the monks.

The king violates the charters of the clergy.

The king, being ſtill uneaſy, entered upon a project, which drew on him the curſes of the people, eſpecially the monks; for, being told by his emiſſaries, that ſeveral perſons had ſecured their money and plate in the monaſteries, he gave orders, that all the religious houſes ſhould be ſtrictly ſearched; and, that every thing, of value, ſhould be carried off, on pretence of its being the property of the rebels. Some authors aſſure us, that the very ſhrines of the ſaints and conſecrated veſſels were taken away; and yet it is extremely probable, that the only motive of the zeal of the eccleſiaſticks, in placing this prince on the throne, was, to ſecure their effects; but they had now too much reaſon to acknowledge, that they were egregiouſly miſtaken in their politicks.

He ſeizes on the money and plate in the monaſteries.

However, the king did not ſtop here; for the great credit of the biſhops and abbots, with the people, led him to reſolve upon removing thoſe, whom he moſt ſuſpected; and,

Several biſhops and abbots are depoſed.

1070. that he might manage this affair, without being directly concerned in it himſelf, he ſent for two legates from Rome, who held a council at Weſtminſter, in which every thing was determined to his ſatisfaction. Stigand, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was degraded, as an intruder into that ſee; becauſe Robert, his predeceſſor, was not canonically depoſed. This, indeed, ſeems to have been done, purely out of complaiſance to the pope, ſince it does not appear, that the king had cauſe for complaint againſt him; but Agelman, biſhop of Eaſt-Anglia, who reſided then at Helmham, Algerick, biſhop of Durham, and ſome others, who were depoſed by this council, fell a ſacrifice to his jealouſy; and of thoſe, againſt whom nothing could be alledged by this aſſembly, the king, by his ſole authority, baniſhed ſome, and impriſoned others, aſſigning no other reaſon, for theſe illegal proceedings, but his good pleaſure. Having, thus, removed all thoſe that were diſagreeable to him, he fill'd their places with Normans, or other foreigners, being pleaſed with any, except the Engliſh. He promoted Lanfranc, an Italian, who was abbot of a monaſtery at Caen, to the archbiſhoprick of Canterbury, and Thomas, a canon of Bayeux, to that of York; three of his chaplains were made biſhops of Wincheſter, Helmham, and Selſey; and he put Norman abbots into the monaſteries, from which the Engliſh were ejected. After all, it muſt be confeſſed, that the king made choice of perſons of known merit, to fill up the vacancies.

Ingulph. Hoved.

Lanfranc is made archbiſhop of Canterbury. Hoveden.

I would not have any of my readers imagine, that I have, in the leaſt, aggravated matters, in my account of king William's treatment of the Engliſh, or that I have affected to copy after thoſe, who were ſollicitous to ſully the reputation of that prince. They, that will give themſelves the trouble of conſulting the original authors, will find, that I have not mentioned a ſingle circumſtance, that is not to be met with in the hiſtories, written, during his life, or ſoon after his death, by thoſe who have taken the greateſt pains, to juſtify his conduct; and, conſequently, the aſſertion of ſome modern writers, that king William never acted, as a Conqueror, but made the antient laws and conſtitutions of the realm the invariable rule of his proceedings, is entirely groundleſs.

The Engliſh perceiving, that it was the king's deſign to reduce them to the loweſt degree of miſery, ſome of the principal thought it high time, now or never, to make a vigorous attempt, to prevent their utter ruin. Fretheric, abbot of St. Alban's, was one of the moſt active among them, who exerted himſelf, on this occaſion; and, by the means of his wealth and intereſt with his countrymen, a freſh plot was laid, to expel the king and the Normans. The conſpirators proceeded, with ſo much caution and ſecrecy, that they raiſed an army together, before the king had received any intelligence of their proceedings; and, this army being grown very numerous, in a few days, the abbot ſent for Edgar Atheling out of Scotland; and, having placed him at the head of the male-contents, who acknowledged him for their ſovereign, he was proclaimed in all the places, of which they were maſters. This daring enterprize gave the king the greateſt uneaſineſs, who lived in a continual dread, that ſome ſudden revolution would deprive him of the fruits of all his labours. He communicated his ſentiments to Lanfranc, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who adviſed him to treat the Engliſh, in a more gentle manner; and he even aſſured him, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to enter into a negotiation with the revolters, leſt the flame, which was already kindled, ſhould ſpread over the kingdom. The king, falling in with his advice, after many fair promiſes, prevailed on the leaders to come to a conference at Berkhamſted, at which he was preſent; and, having calmly heard, and promiſed to redreſs, all their grievances, he ſwore on the holy evangeliſts, that he would eſtabliſh the antient laws of the realm, which went under the name of Edward, his benefactor. Upon this, the male-contents diſmiſſed their troops, believing they had no farther occaſion for them, tho' the king had not the leaſt thoughts of obſerving his oath, which he conſidered, as extorted; for, ſoon after, he ordered a great number of the revolters to be apprehended; and, having put ſome of them to death, he baniſhed or impriſoned the reſt. Edgar retreated into Scotland, and others fled for refuge into Ireland, Denmark, and Norway. The abbot of St. Alban's retired to the iſle of Ely, where he died with regret; but no ſooner was the king informed of it, than he ſeized on and rifled his monaſtery, which he would have entirely demoliſhed, if Lanfranc had not perſuaded him, to deſiſt from his deſign *.

1071. Edgar is proclaimed.

The abbot of St. Alban's is the author of a revolt.

The king's late ſeverity having made various impreſſions on the minds of the Engliſh, ſome of them were ſo thunder-ſtruck, that they reſolved to bear all their hardſhips patiently, leſt they ſhould increaſe them, by fruitleſs attempts; but others, not ſo paſſive, determined, at all hazards, to free themſelves from the Norman yoke, which they apprehended to be altogether inſupportable. The latter of theſe repair'd to the iſle of Ely, which was convenient for them; not only as there was a rich monaſtery there, whoſe abbot was in their intereſt, but as the iſland was ſurrounded with a very ſtrong moraſs, which was proper to ſhelter them from the king's deſigns, as ſoon as they ſhould be ſupplied with a ſufficient number of men to defend it. Edwin and Morkard choſe to join them, not daring to confide in the king's promiſes any longer; but Edwin, having ſet out for Scotland, in order to ſpirit up his party in that kingdom, was murthered on the road, by ſome of his own men. However, Morkard, his brother, found, in the iſle

1071. Another revolt. Dunelm.

The revolters retreat to the iſle of Ely.

* Matthew Paris is the only author, that gives any account of this revolt, in the life of Fretheric, and, therefore it is, by ſome, called in queſtion; but, as it is not to be ſuppoſed, that he invented this ſtory, it is probable he found it in the annals of the monaſtery of St. Alban's. Tyrrel remarks, that Edgar Atheling could not be concerned in it; ſince he had retreated into Scotland, near two years before, and did not return to England, until three years after.

of

1071. of Ely, a great number of perſons of diſtinction, with Egelrick and Walter, biſhops of Durham and Hereford, who were unanimouſly reſolved, to oppoſe, with all their might, the king's deſpotick power; and, as multitudes of male-contents daily flock'd to them, they made choice of, for their general, Everard *, nephew to the biſhop of Peterborough, who had the reputation of being the braveſt and moſt valiant ſoldier in the kingdom. He was baniſhed in the reign of Edward, for ſome outrages he had committed, in his neighbourhood; and, having retired into Flanders, his valour raiſed him to poſts of great honour. His father's death obliging him to return into England, he found his eſtate had been diſpoſed of to a Norman; and, not being able to obtain the reſtitution of it, by a legal proceſs, he expelled the foreigner, by force, and took poſſeſſion. He came to Ely, to avoid the king's reſentment, where he was choſen, by the revolters, to be their commander; and, as he was very remarkable, for his courage and conduct, ſuch perſons being as formidable to the king, as thoſe, who tamely ſubmitted to his arbitrary proceedings, were contemptible, he created in his mind the greateſt perturbation. The honour, the Engliſh had lately conferred on Everard, having animated him with freſh ardour, he made all the neceſſary preparations for a vigorous defence, plainly foreſeeing, it would not be long, before he ſhould be attacked by the king's forces. Whilſt he was laying in ſtores, he took care to fortify all the acceſſible places of the iſland, and did every thing elſe, that could increaſe the difficulties of the ſiege. William, no ſtranger to his enterprizing genius, marched towards him, with all poſſible expedition, expecting to ſurprize him; but Everard had already guarded againſt his entrance into the iſle, by ordering a wooden caſtle to be built in the moraſs, which could not be aſſaulted, and defended the only paſſage to the beſieged. However, William was ſtill reſolutely bent on a ſiege, or rather a blockade, being in hopes of reducing them by famine, and having all the beſieged at his mercy; ſince that, which prevented his approaches, was an invincible obſtacle to their flight. On this account, he built a bridge over the moraſs, two miles long, which cut them off from any proſpect of ſuccours.

* Hereward.

They are blocked up by the king. M. Paris.

Notwithſtanding this, the king was as far from gaining his point, as ever, though he ſpent a great deal of time about the ſiege; ſince the rebels were plentifully ſtock'd with proviſions. This delay was not a little mortifying to the king, not only as it was a bar to his preſent deſign, but as it prevented him from marching againſt the king of Scotland, who had made uſe of this opportunity, to invade the northern counties; but, when he almoſt deſpaired of ſucceeding in his enterprize, a lucky expedient render'd him maſter of the place.

The king of Scotland invades the north.

As the monaſtery of Ely held ſeveral manors, without the limits of the iſle, which ſupplied them with the beſt part of their revenues, the king was adviſed to ſeize on them, in order to reduce the monks to their allegiance; and he had no ſooner done this, and diſtributed the lands among his courtiers, than Thurſtan, the abbot, not being able to withſtand the importunate clamours of the monks, reſolved upon performing a conſiderable piece of ſervice for the king, in order to regain his favour. With this view, he privately ſent him a propoſal, that he would enſure to him the iſle of Ely, and all that were in it, and alſo pay him a thouſand marks, on condition that he would reſtore the lands of the monaſtery. The king accepted this offer, and the abbot performed his promiſe, tho', in what manner, we are not informed by the hiſtorians; who only tell us, that the revolters, by the abbot's treachery, were obliged to ſubmit to the mercy of their ſovereign.

The abbot of Ely-monaſtery treacherouſly delivers up the iſle to the king.

1072.

Everard was the only perſon, that had the fortune to eſcape, who forced his way thro' a certain paſs with his ſword, in ſpite of the guards. Of thoſe that were taken, ſome had their eyes put out, or their hands cut off, and others were confined in different priſons; and, among the laſt, was earl Morkard, with Egelrick, biſhop of Durham, who, having excommunicated the king, was ſent to Abingdon, where he was ſtarved to death. The monks of Ely too were chaſtiſed, tho' they had obſerved the articles of capitulation, with the utmoſt punctuality; for, when they came to pay the money, according to agreement, upon its wanting a ſingle groat, they were fined another thouſand marks; and, beſides, the king quarter'd upon them forty knights, whom they were conſtrained to ſupply with all neceſſaries.

Hoveden. M. Paris. Baker.

In the mean time, Malcolm continued his devaſtations in the north, with a barbarity altogether unworthy of a chriſtian prince, if we may believe the account, which the Engliſh hiſtorians give concerning it. They affirm, that the Scotch ripp'd up the bellies of women with child, cut the throats of the old men, and toſs'd young children into the air, to receive them on the points of their ſwords; but, in all probability, theſe things have been exceedingly aggravated, as well as the number of the Engliſh ſlaves, that were carried into Scotland, where, it is ſaid, every houſe had one. Coſpatrick, then governor of Northumberland, not being in a condition to withſtand the king of Scotland, making an inroad into Cumberland, revenged on the Scots the calamities their countrymen had brought upon the Engliſh; tho' this enterprize did only ſo much the more incenſe Malcolm, who, on that very account, carried on, with the greater fury, his ravages in Northumberland. William was not a little diſturbed at theſe inſults; but, before he took any ſteps, to put a ſtop to them, he determined to compleat the affair of Ely, which, in his opinion, was of the greater importance. However, it was no ſooner ended, than he marched into Galloway, tho' he only fatigued his army, to no purpoſe; for Malcolm, who was, at this time, in Scotland, attempted to prolong the war, in hopes of ſome new troubles in England, of which he might take the advantage; and the ſame conſideration obliged William to conclude it, with all poſſible expedition. The moſt ſpeedy method, to accompliſh this, he apprehended,

The king of Scotland continues his ravages.

Coſpatrick invades Cumberland.

1072. The king marches into Scotland. An. Sax. Ingulph. Hoveden. Polydore Virgil.

1073. prehended, was to purſue the Scots into the heart of their country, that the dread of a battle might conſtrain them to ſtrike up a peace; and, accordingly, Malcolm, unwilling to hazard a battle, in his own kingdom, having offered to enter into a treaty, William was not in the leaſt ſuſpence, whether he ſhould accept of the propoſal. Moreover, ever ſince the battle of Haſtings, he ſeemed to be utterly averſe againſt running any riſque; and, as this was the reaſon of his declining an engagement with the Danes before, in all appearance, he acted now, upon the ſame grounds, with reſpect to the Scots. However that be, the boundaries of the two kingdoms were ſettled *, by this treaty; and Malcolm did him homage. Some Engliſh authors † pretend, this homage was done for all Scotland; whereas the Scotch aſſert, it was only for Cumberland, and, indeed, with the greateſt probability; for it is not to be imagined, that Malcolm, who had never met with the leaſt repulſe, ſhould do homage for his whole kingdom. I am not inſenſible, that ſome are of opinion, that William had a right to demand it; but the diſcuſſion of this point will come in, more properly, hereafter.

The two kings enter into a treaty.

Several Engliſh families ſettle in Scotland.

Malcolm's hoſpitable treatment of the Engliſh refugees invited great numbers of them into his dominions, where ſome of them continued, having obtained ſettlements there; and, from them, ſeveral conſiderable families, at this day in Scotland, derive their original. Some farther add, that the Engliſh, with their language, brought thither the titles of duke, earl, and baron; but Buchanan will have it, that they were in uſe, before that time. He readily grants, that the Engliſh introduced into Scotland luxury, pride, wantonneſs, drunkenneſs, and other vices, to which, he ſays, the Scotch were, hitherto, ſtrangers. Earl Coſpatrick was one of the principal of the refugees, who was removed from his government, under the pretence of his being concerned in Cumin's death, tho', after that, he had done William very ſignal ſervices; and he was ſucceeded by earl Walthoff, the only Engliſh lord, that had any intereſt in the king, for which he was chiefly indebted to his wife, who was his niece, tho' even he did not remain long in his favour.

Walthoff ſucceeds Coſpatrick, as earl of Northumberland.

1073. The king of France invades Normandy. An. Sax. Malmſ.

As the French did not, in the leaſt, interrupt king William in his proceedings, notwithſtanding the late commotions in England, he flatter'd himſelf, they would be ſtill leſs inclined to give him any diſturbance now, as he was firmly ſeated on his throne, having entirely ſubdued his Engliſh ſubjects; but, on a ſudden, Philip's jealouſy reviving, the king of England's proſperity gave him the greateſt uneaſineſs. He blamed himſelf, for his want of politicks, in not aſſiſting the Engliſh male-contents, and reſolved to make attonement for his fault, by attacking Normandy; and, doubtleſs, he entertained hopes, that the Engliſh would, by this means, be induced to revolt, and ſo detain William in England. However that be, he unexpectedly invaded Normandy, without any declaration of war; and no ſooner did William receive the news of it, than he went over with an army, wholly compoſed of Engliſh, not daring to take his Norman troops out of England, who were abſolutely neceſſary for the ſecurity of his conqueſt. He retook Mans, and all the province of Maine, which had lately revolted, the Engliſh being ambitious of ſerving him faithfully, in Normandy, tho' he had treated them in their own country, with the greateſt ſeverity; inſomuch that Philip, not meeting with the ſucceſs he expected, concluded a peace with the king of England. 1073.

Soon after this treaty, Edgar, weary of living abroad, returning home, made his ſubmiſſion to the king, who received him graciouſly, granting him an allowance of a pound of ſilver a day; and, from this time, he continued in conſtant obedience to the king. If he had any reaſon to complain, it was not ſo much of William, as of the Engliſh, who, upon Edward's deceaſe, had preferred a private perſon before him; for it was Harold that deprived him of the crown, who, if he could have ſecured it, would have made his ſon his ſucceſſor, without any regard to the rights of the Saxon prince. On the contrary, it muſt be acknowledged, Edgar was under the ſtrongeſt obligations to William, on the account of his clemency, who had admitted him into his good graces, notwithſtanding the jealous apprehenſions he might juſtly entertain concerning him. Edgar Atheling ſubmits to the king.

During the king's abſence in Normandy, Gregory VII. the boldeſt and moſt enterprizing pope, that ever ſate in the pontifical chair, diſpatch'd his nuntio, to ſummon him to do him homage, alledging, that England was a fief of the holy ſee; and he likewiſe inſiſted on the arrears of Peter-pence, which had not been paid, for many years. Some aſſert, that the pope's demand, as to the firſt article, was reaſonable, being the very condition on which William had obtained his approbation of his expedition into England; but others found the pope's ſovereignty over that kingdom, on the voluntary grant of Romeſcot, or Peter-pence, made to the church of Rome by Ina and Offa kings of Weſſex and Mercia, which they take to be a real tribute, by which they became feudatories to the ſee of Rome; and, finally, there are ſome, that date this ſovereignty no higher, than from the time of Ethelwulph's journey to Rome. However, the true ſtate of the caſe ſeems to be this, that, altho' William, whilſt his enterprize was in agitation, made no ſcruple of owning the pope's claims; yet, as it was now compleated, and he found himſelf firmly ſettled on the throne, he altered his ſen- The pope demands homage of the king. Hoved. Eadm. Brady.

* Hector Boetius tells us, that, in memory of this peace, there was a ſtone-croſs erected, in the middle of the mountains of Stanemore, in Yorkſhire, which the Engliſh ſtile Rere-croſs, and the Scots Rey-croſs, i. e. royal croſs, having the arms of both kings engraven on the ſeveral ſides of it, which was, as a boundary, between the two kingdoms; and ſome remains of this croſs are to be ſeen, at this day.

† Hollingſhed and other modern authors. Ingulphus barely relates, that he did homage, without acquainting us with the reaſons, why he did ſo.

timents.

1073. timents. He, in ſo many words, told the nuncio, that he held his crown of none, but God and his ſword, and that he would not render it dependent on any perſon alive; and, upon the nuncio's preſuming to denounce menaces againſt him, he iſſued out an edict, to prohibit all his ſubjects, from ſubmitting to any pope, without his conſent, or receiving any orders from Rome, without his leave. His view, in this, was to convince Gregory, who had then a competitor, of the danger to which he ſhould expoſe himſelf, by perſiſting in his claims; but, at the ſame time, he promiſed to pay off the arrears of Peter-pence, and to be more punctual, for the future; and, by this reſolute anſwer, he obliged the pope to drop his pretenſions.

The king reſolutely refuſes to perform it.

1074. The king's long ſtay, in Normandy, was the occaſion of a freſh conſpiracy in England, which was ſo much the more dangerous, as the principal Norman lords were the authors of it. Ralph de Guader, a Bretaign, earl of Suffolk, and Roger de Bretevil, earl of Hereford, having reſolved to unite their two families, by the marriage of Ralph with Roger's daughter, the king, for ſome private reaſons, put a ſtop to their proceedings. The earls, not daring to compleat this marriage, whilſt the king was in England, accompliſh'd their deſign, in his abſence, making a ſplendid feaſt, on the occaſion, to which they invited ſeveral perſons of quality, and earl Walthoff, among the reſt. At the ſame time, they formed a project of depoſing him, being ſenſible, that it was the only method to avoid the effects of his reſentment; and, taking this to be a proper opportunity, for engaging their gueſts in the plot, as ſoon as they perceived them to be heated with wine, they began to diſcourſe about the king, chuſing to dwell on ſuch ſubjects as had a tendency to incenſe them againſt him. They expreſs'd a tender concern for the abject and deplorable condition of the Engliſh; and, to work upon the Normans, they reminded them of William's ſevere government, who, by exceſſive taxes laid on their eſtates, took from them, with one hand, what he gave them with the other. Finding, at length, that this ſort of language was heard, with a pleaſing attention, they openly declared, that it was inglorious for perſons, of their rank and dignity, to continue in ſubjection to a baſtard, who had uſurped both the crowns he was poſſeſs'd of; and ſuch diſcourſes, as theſe, having inſenſibly made an impreſſion upon men, who, in their cups, fancied, that nothing was difficult or impracticable, they came to a reſolution of taking up arms, in order to oppoſe the king's return into England. Earl Walthoff, being warmed with liquor, inconſiderately conſented to the plot, as well as the reſt; but, the next day, having recovered the uſe of his reaſon, he began to reflect, that he had engaged in an enterprize, which, inſtead of reſtoring the Engliſh to their liberty, would infallibly increaſe their miſery. He plainly foreſaw the difficulties, that would naturally attend this raſh undertaking; and that, if it ſhould prove ſucceſsful, England would be ſo far from receiving any advantage by it, that it would become a prey to ſeveral petty tyrants, who would compleat its deſtruction. Beſides, he was very ſenſible, that, if the conſpiracy miſcarried, he, in particular, ſhould fall a ſacrifice to the king's reſentment, as he was an Engliſhman, whilſt the foreigners might meet with ſome mercy from him; and he likewiſe conſider'd, that William had pardoned him once already, and diſtinguiſhed him, by many favours, from the reſt of his countrymen. Theſe conſiderations leading him to a hearty repentance for his fault, he informed Lanfranc of what was tranſacted; and, having advanced his being intoxicated with the fumes of wine, as an excuſe for his indiſcretion, he intreated him to intercede for his pardon. The archbiſhop adviſed him to repair to the king immediately, and to make a diſcovery of the whole affair, giving him encouragement to expect a pardon, without much difficulty, for a crime, that was committed, in ſuch circumſtances, and of which he ſo ſoon repented, and even wrote a letter to the king, in his favour; and Walthoff, falling in with his advice, waited on the king, who received him very graciouſly, and pardoned his imprudence, after he had given a full account of the conſpiracy that was formed againſt him.

1074.

The Normans form a conſpiracy againſt the king. Malmſ. Hoved. An. Sax. M. Paris. Fl. Wig.

Earl Walthoff engages in the plot.

He repents of it,

and is pardon'd.

The king, being exceedingly alarmed at this news, reſolved to return to England, with all poſſible expedition, to put a ſtop to theſe proceedings; but the plot was ſtifled almoſt in its very birth, by the vigilance of the biſhop of Bayeux, the regent. The two earls were ſo impolitick, in their meaſures, that they could not even join the troops, each of them had muſter'd together; ſo that Ralph de Guader was obliged to retire to Norwich-caſtle, where he was directly beſieged; but, as he deſpaired of a pardon, if he fell into the hands of the king, without waiting for the reſult of this ſiege, having made his eſcape, he retreated into Denmark. After this, the caſtle was, for ſome time, defended by his counteſs, tho', at length, ſhe ſurrendered, upon terms; and ſhe was permitted to follow the earl, her ſpouſe, who had already obtained a powerful aid from the king of Denmark, to ſupport the revolters. Accordingly, ſoon after, a Daniſh fleet appeared on the coaſt of England; but, the Engliſh not being inclined to take up arms, they immediately ſteer'd their courſe home.

The plot is ſtifled in its birth.

In the interim, king William, upon his return into England, being given to underſtand, that there were ſtill ſome remains of the conſpiracy, in the weſtern counties, marched thither, with all ſpeed, and ſeverely puniſhed all whom he, in the leaſt, ſuſpected. Some were hang'd, and others had their hands and feet cut off; and they, that met with the moſt gentle uſage, were baniſhed the kingdom. Earl Walthoff alſo, notwithſtanding his pardon, being apprehended and carried to Wincheſter, was publickly beheaded, and buried under the ſcaffold. It is ſaid, that the king diſpatched him, for the ſake of his vaſt eſtate; but others add, that Judith, his wife, was very active in promoting his ruin, by falſe reports to the king, that ſhe might be at liberty to marry another.

The king puniſhes ſome of the conſpirators. Hoved. Ingulph.

Walthoff is beheaded. Ingulph.

1074. However that be, the tragical fate of this valiant earl was univerſally lamented; for every one imagined, that his puniſhment was too great for ſo minute a crime, even tho' he had not received the king's pardon. In proceſs of time, his body was removed to Croyland-abbey, where, it is reported, it wrought ſeveral miracles; and, accordingly, he was reverenced by the people, as a real martyr. The abbot of Croyland, having encouraged this belief, was ejected, by the king's order, Ingulphus, a monk of Montevraud, being placed in his room; and yet this very Ingulphus, notwithſtanding his obligations to William, relates, in his hiſtory of Croyland, that miracles were performed at Walthoff's tomb.

He paſſes for a martyr.

The Engliſh are treated with great ſeverity.

Tho' the Engliſh were ſo far from being concerned in the late conſpiracy, that they refuſed to join the male-contents; yet the king, taking it for granted, that they had ſecretly fomented the rebellion, deprived ſome of them of their eſtates, and others of their liberty. From this time, William of Malmsbury dates the ſervitude of the Engliſh; and, tho' a Norman, he evidently ſhews, that, from this period, the king had not the leaſt regard for them. This prince's ſeverity, then, to his Engliſh ſubjects, was certainly very great and univerſal; ſince this author looks upon, as comparatively trifling, all that he had, hitherto, done, with reſpect to the ſpiritual and temporal lords.

1075. William goes over to Normandy. Hoved. Hunt.

William's precautions having, at length, ſettled his affairs at home, he went over to Normandy, to be revenged on Ralph de Guader, who had retreated to his city of Dol in Bretaign; for, having ſeized on all his eſtates in England, he was reſolved alſo to deprive him of his hereditary poſſeſſions. With this view, he laid ſiege to Dol, tho' to no purpoſe, as the defence of the beſieged had given time to the king of France to come to their aſſiſtance; ſo that William, being diſappointed, returned to England, where, during the remainder of that and the following year, nothing material was tranſacted, except that a council was held at London, which determined the precedency of the biſhops.

He beſieges Dol.

1076.

1077. Robert, the king's ſon, wages war againſt his father. Malmſ. Hoved. Fl. Wig.

The king had, now, a fair proſpect of a long and uninterrupted tranquillity, when a war, unexpectedly, broke out between him and his eldeſt ſon Robert. Robert, being encouraged by the king of France, pretended, that the king, his father, was obliged to reſign Normandy to him, by virtue of a poſitive promiſe he made to that purpoſe; and, upon this, he attempted to render himſelf maſter of the dutchy, treating, with great ſeverity, thoſe, who would not own him for their ſovereign. William, aſtoniſhed at his audaciouſneſs, inſtantly drawing an army together, entirely conſiſting of Engliſh, for the reaſon, above, related, ſet out for Normandy, to oppoſe his ſon's proceedings; but, Robert ſtill purſuing his deſign, with vigour and reſolution, William was conſtrained to carry on the war, in form, as he found, that his own ſon was not an enemy to be ſlighted or deſpiſed. The king, falling into an ambuſh, was forced to hazard his life, as much as the meaneſt officer; and, as he diſtinguiſh'd himſelf, by his valour, Robert, who did not know him, taking him to be the moſt formidable of his enemies, attacked him, wounded him in the arm, and diſmounted him with his lance. William was in the laſt extremity, when, by good fortune, his ſon diſcovered him to be his father, by a mark on his arms; but, upon this diſcovery, the young prince, directly alighting, raiſed him, and ſet him on his horſe, that he might eſcape the preſent danger. In the mean while, the Engliſh troops meeting with rough treatment from the Normans, William was compelled to retreat in diſorder. Robert was ſo deeply concerned, on the account of his being ſo very near the point of killing his father, that, to demonſtrate the ſincerity of his ſorrow for it, he ſubmitted himſelf entirely to his mercy; but this generous action made no impreſſion on the mind of the king, who never afterwards had any affection for him. Some hiſtorians tell us, that, in the firſt emotions of his paſſion, he even denounced a curſe againſt him, which, notwithſtanding his ſon's dutiful and ſubmiſſive behaviour, he would not be prevailed on to retract. Indeed, he gave him a kind reception; but he brought him with him into England, under a pretence of ſending him at the head of an army againſt Scotland; and, the next year, he received a commiſſion to march againſt the Scots, who had renewed the war.

1077.

He wounds his father, without knowing him. Hoved.

He ſubmits. M. Paris. Pol. Virg. Dunelm.

1078. Robert is ſent to fight againſt the Scots.

Robert did nothing remarkable, in this expedition, except the founding of Newcaſtle upon Tyne, in the ſame place, where the abbey of Monkceſter ſtood, famous for the auſterity of the monks; for this war was concluded by a treaty between the two nations.

He founds Newcaſtle.

Before the army was disbanded, William, to make ſome amends for the expence of raiſing it, employed it againſt Wales, in order to chaſtiſe the Welch, for ſome incurſions into his dominions; but the Welch princes, being in no condition to reſiſt him, voluntarily made their ſubmiſſion, obliging themſelves to pay an annual tribute to the crown of England.

The Welch do homage to the king.

About this time, William built the famous tower of London, the more effectually to ſecure the fidelity of the citizens, of whom he had, all along, entertained jealous apprehenſions. Some will have it, that this citadel was founded by Julius Cæſar; but it is no eaſy matter to prove, that Cæſar was ever in London, much more, that he undertook this work, of which he does not make the leaſt mention, in his Commentaries.

William builds the tower of London.

Upon the peace with Scotland, and ſubmiſſion of the Welch, a ſcene of tranquillity was opened, which continued ſome years, during which, the king attempted to regulate the affairs of the kingdom; for, ever ſince his acceſſion to the throne, England was in the greateſt confuſion, by reaſon of ſeveral alterations in the government, as well as in the laws and methods of the adminiſtration of juſtice; which was ſtill increaſed, with reſpect to the debts of private perſons. The creditors were of opinion, that the new poſſeſſors of eſtates were obliged to diſcharge the debts of thoſe that had been ejected, and to them did the debtors refer the creditors for their money; but the new proprietors declined

The king's conduct, during the peace. Malmſ.

1078. clined to meddle in affairs, that were liable to ſo many frauds, pretending, that the king had given them a grant of the lands, free from all demands; beſides, as the proceedings at law, among the Normans, were different from thoſe among the Engliſh, they were at a loſs, how to proceed, eſpecially, as the king, had not, as yet, determined any thing, as to this point.

Whatever regulations, he had hitherto made, related only to ſuch caſes, wherein his own intereſt was concerned; for it does not appear, that he had given himſelf any trouble, about private perſons. Indeed, they, who have been moſt ſollicitous to extol all the actions of this prince, take notice of his ſtrict juſtice, as an argument of his affection for his ſubjects; but, then, it muſt be conſidered, that this ſtrictneſs was as advantageous to the king, as to the people, ſince the permitting crimes to paſs, unpuniſhed, exceedingly tends to the prejudice of the ſupreme authority; moreover, offences, in thoſe days, were, for the moſt part, puniſhed by pecuniary fines, all the profit accruing to the king, who deprived the earls, barons, and biſhops of the ſhare they enjoyed, under the Saxon kings.

However, it cannot be denied, that William's reigning paſſion was an inſatiable avarice; for he was indefatigable, in the inventing of means to gratify his covetous temper. I have already ſhewn, how he impoveriſhed the Engliſh; but, in this, he acted, rather more for the advantage of the Normans and other foreigners, than for his own; and, therefore, he thought it reaſonable, that thoſe of them, that were proprietors of eſtates in England, ſhould be ſubject to the ſame impoſitions, as the Engliſh themſelves. But, that he might proceed in this affair, with the greater regularity, being deſirous of knowing the preciſe value of every private perſon's eſtate, he ordered an exact ſurvey to be made of the lands, goods, and chattels of all his ſubjects; which contained the number of acres in each man's eſtate, as well as the ſum he was uſually taxed, not only, during the Saxon monarchy, but ſince the late revolution. This ſurvey alſo gave an account of every one's ſtock of cattle, horſes, ſheep, &c. how much ready money he was maſter of, and what debts he owed, or were owing to him; for theſe ſeveral particulars were, very methodically, ranged in the Doomſday-book, i. e. the book of the day of judgment, probably ſo called, becauſe the means of the Engliſh were canvas'd and examined, in that book, as the actions of all men will be, at that awful day. This general regiſter, which ſome term, the great terror of England, was laid up in the exchequer or king's treaſury, to

Hoveden.

The Doomſday-book.

Pol. Virg.

be conſulted on occaſion; i. e. as an author obſerves, as often as they were diſpoſed to enquire, of how much more wooll they might fleece the Engliſh flocks. The king's orders, about this ſurvey, were executed, with the utmoſt punctuality; ſince the commiſſioners, as well as private perſons, could expect nothing, but the moſt exemplary puniſhment, if they were guilty of any fraud, or even of the leaſt connivance *. 1078.

It is obvious, that this ſurvey was not taken, merely, to ſatisfy the king's curioſity; and the taxes, that he afterwards laid on almoſt all the effects of private perſons, clearly demonſtrate, that he was reſolved to deprive the Engliſh of every thing, that was not abſolutely neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence. William, conſidering England, as a conqueſt, imagined, that he was the great proprietor of all the lands in the kingdom; and, therefore, it is natural to conclude, that his revenues bore a proportion to the eſtates of the Engliſh and his own avarice. Without entering upon the ſeveral branches of his revenues, I ſhall only remark, in the general, that they annually amounted to 400,000 l. ſterling; which ſum, according to a moderate computation, is equal to five millions now. Beſides, he had a vaſt number of perquiſites, as mulcts and fines; tho', it is very obſervable, that no part of all this money was expended, for the ſupport of his ſtanding army; for he obliged the new proprietors of the eſtates, that were taken from the Engliſh, to maintain his troops, who very willingly complied with this condition, as their preſent poſſeſſions were entirely the fruits of his bounty. The king, by this means, kept ſixty thouſand men, in arms, ready to march, upon the firſt notice, without any charge to himſelf; and, for this reaſon, it is no wonder, that he was look'd upon to be the moſt wealthy prince in his time, ſince his revenues ſo vaſtly exceeded his expences, as he ſpent but a very inconſiderable part of the annual profits of the kingdom.

The king's revenues.

The king having, thus, ſettled his revenues, attempted to gratify his extreme fondneſs for hunting, which had almoſt as great a ſway over him, as his covetouſneſs, and led him to the commiſſion of many acts of injuſtice. By theſe, I do not mean the laws he publiſh'd on that account, which were exceedingly ſevere and rigorous; for, in this, he only acted, like ſeveral other princes, who puniſh the violation of the laws of the game, as if they were the moſt capital crimes, and will ſooner pardon the murder of a man, than the killing of a ſtag. What, I now point at, was the prodigious deſolation the king order'd to be made in Hampſhire, above thirty miles in compaſs, the very

1079. The king's extreme fondneſs for hunting.

He makes the New Foreſt, Paris.

churches

* This ſurvey was begun in the fourteenth, and finiſhed in the twentieth year of William's reign, having ſent, as commiſſioners, ſome of the principal earls and biſhops, who, by the verdict or preſentment of juries, or perſons ſworn in every county and hundred, took an account of the particulars, above, related, according to the value, in the time of king Edward, expreſs'd in the Doomſday-book, by T. R. E. viz. Tempore Regis Edwardi. As the chief intent of this ſurvey was, to give the king an exact account of his lands or demeſnes, and alſo what were held by the tenants in chief or of the crown, in every county, the king's name was firſt ſet down, and then all the great men in order, that held in chief. All England, except Weſtmoreland, Cumberland, and Northumberland, was deſcribed, with part of Wales, in two books, called the great and little Doomſday-book, now in the exchequer, the little book containing only Norfolk, Suffolk, and Eſſex. This being the higheſt record in the kingdom, it was then, and is, to this day, a deciſive evidence in caſes, wherein there may be occaſion to conſult it.

1079. churches and houſes being demoliſhed, for the habitation of wild beaſts *; and, if we may give credit to ſome hiſtorians, he did not, in the leaſt, conſider the loſſes the proprietors of the lands and houſes ſuffer'd, on this occaſion, or allow them any ſatisfaction. This tract of ground, formerly called Ytene, was afterwards named the New-Foreſt. Some authors affirm, that he had a farther view, in this undertaking, than barely the diverſion of hunting, viz. to give a free acceſs to the troops, which, in caſes of neceſſity, he might ſend for from Normandy; but this motive, which ſeems to be very trifling, was, doubtleſs, invented by the advocates for the Conqueror, who imagine, that he always acted on the principles of prudence and policy; as if princes were not as ſubject to their paſſions, as private perſons. Others, having remarked, that two of his ſons and one of his grandſons loſt their lives, in this very foreſt, by extraordinary accidents, have concluded it to be the vengeance of Heaven, for the injuries offered to the proprietors of the lands.

Ordic. Vital.

His great affection for Normandy. Baker.

The king's vaſt affection for Normandy had, alſo, a reigning influence over his actions in England; for, being of opinion, that Normandy was the model of perfection, he endeavour'd to aboliſh the Saxon, in order to eſtabliſh the Norman laws; and, perhaps, he would have purſued this point, with greater zeal and aſſiduity, were it not, that he was informed, that, as the laws of England were diſtinguiſh'd by the name of Edward, his benefactor, all the world would abhor his ingratitude. However, he made ſeveral innovations in the Engliſh laws, and the methods of the adminiſtration of juſtice. Particularly, he would not ſuffer the biſhops to preſide in the ſhire-gemots or county-courts, aſſigning them a court of their own, under the pretence, that eccleſiaſtical and civil affairs ſhould not be confounded; but his main view was, to deprive the biſhops of their ſhare of the mulcts and fines. He likewiſe erected ſeveral new courts, extremely inconvenient for the Engliſh; not only, by reaſon of their ignorance of the rules and practice of theſe courts, but becauſe, as they always attended the prince, the ſuitors were obliged to follow him, wherever he removed, in order to carry on their actions. After all, there was one court, which proved very advantageous to the people, as it was deſigned to moderate the rigour of the laws, viz. the court of exchequer, which continues to this day.

1080. He erects new courts. Pol. Virg.

He attempts to aboliſh the Engliſh language. Ingulph.

William not only obliged the Engliſh to try their cauſes in theſe courts, but alſo to make uſe of the Norman, in order to aboliſh the Engliſh language; and, accordingly, he founded ſchools in all the cities and boroughs, where Norman was taught, forcing the parents, under ſevere penalties, to ſend their children to be educated in theſe places. I have already had occaſion to obſerve, that the Norman language was very difficult, and not eaſily to be underſtood, even by the French themſelves, on account of the great mixture of Daniſh and French. However, the king made it his principal ſtudy, to introduce and ſpread his native tongue; and if thoſe, that had any buſineſs at court, did not ſpeak Norman, they were treated with diſreſpect, as perſons that had not the leaſt complaiſance for the king. William, the more effectually to conſtrain the Engliſh to learn Norman, publiſhed his laws in that language; the ignorance of which was not admitted, as a ſufficient plea, in behalf of the offenders. Some pretend, that it was the king's intent, in this proceeding, to enſnare the Engliſh, by laying them under a neceſſity of committing treſpaſſes, which were uſually puniſhed, by mulcts and confiſcations, for his benefit; but, if this was not, in reality, the ſtate of the caſe, as, it muſt be confeſſed, it cannot be proved, his avarice and the means he made uſe of, to accumulate wealth, are but too juſt grounds for ſuch an accuſation. 1080.

To return to my ſubject. Some authors aſſert, that, notwithſtanding all his endeavours, he was not able to introduce the Norman language into England; but that, on the contrary, the Normans, at length, learnt to ſpeak Engliſh, their ſmall number being obliged to give way to the bulk of the nation. Others attempt to make appear, that the Norman was eſtabliſhed, upon the ruins of the Engliſh tongue. Tho' the proof of each of theſe aſſertions be extremely difficult; yet it is very certain, the language, uſed in England, after the conqueſt, was not preciſely the ſame with that which was ſpoken, under the Saxon monarchy. However, it cannot be ſaid, that the Normans ſpoke Engliſh, or the Engliſh Norman, but rather that a third language was formed, that was a mixture of both; nevertheleſs, all publick acts were in Norman, till the time of Edward III.

A remark on the Engliſh tongue.

Such was William's partiality for the Normans, that he expreſs'd it, on all occaſions; and Ingulphus, abbot of Croyland, give us an inſtance of it, that is very remarkable. He tells us, that he appeared one day before the council, the king being preſent, to demand ſome lands belonging to his monaſtery, then poſſeſs'd by Talboys, a Norman, who had ſettled there ſome monks of his own nation. The king, as the hiſtorian adds, having examined the original charter or grant of the abbey-lands, at firſt, acknowledged, that the demand was juſt and reaſonable; but no ſooner had Talboys alledged, that the monks, he had ſettled on theſe lands, were Normans and well affected to the king, whereas thoſe of Croyland were Engliſh, than he determined this affair, in favour of the Norman, being byaſs'd by his intereſt and natural inclination; for the former prompted him to do all that was poſſible, to prevent the revolt of the Engliſh, and the latter, to be partial to the Normans.

1081. The king's partiality to the Normans. Ingulph.

* No leſs than thirty-ſix pariſh-churches were demoliſhed. In this foreſt are now nine walks, each of them having a keeper; two rangers, a bow-bearer, and a lord-warden. On the north ſide of Malwood-caſtle is the oak, that buds on Chriſtmas-day, and withers again before night. Camb. Add. to Hamp.

What

1081. What has been, hitherto, related, ſufficiently ſhews, that the Engliſh did not complain of their oppreſſions, without reaſon; tho', poſſibly, their impatient behaviour was the occaſion of them. However that be, it is evident, that they were reduced to the laſt extremity, whilſt they had the mortification to ſee the Normans enriched by their ſpoils. The following inſtance will convince us, how much they were pillaged by thoſe, that were the particular favourites of the king. Odo, biſhop of Bayeux,
1082. brother to William, by his mother's ſide, who had not lived in England, above 15 or 16 years, fancied himſelf to be in a condition to purchaſe the papacy; and, with this view, having bought a magnificent palace at Rome, he reſolved to convey all his treaſures thither, and make it the place of his reſidence, that he might be in readineſs, upon the pope's death, to put his project in execution. That he might proceed, with the greater caution and ſecrecy, he ſet out, during the king's abſence in Normandy, for the iſle of Wight, where his ſhips lay ready for him; but being forced, by contrary winds, to continue, ſome time, in the iſland, he could not embarque, ſo ſoon as he expected, which diſconcerted all his meaſures; for William, having received intelligence of his deſign, came over, with all expedition, and ſurprized him, juſt as he was upon his departure and going to ſail. He ordered his officers to ſeize him directly; but, as fear and reſpect deterr'd them from doing their duty, he took him priſoner with his own hands. The prelate, to no purpoſe, pleaded the privileges of his order; for the king told him, that he did not ſeize on him, as a biſhop, but as earl of Kent, commanding him to be impriſoned; and, upon this, all his effects were confiſcated to the king's uſe, having been proved to be guilty of numberleſs rapines and extortions.

1084. The death of the queen. Malmſ. Hoved. As nothing material was tranſacted, in this or the following year, I ſhall proceed to the year 1084, in which we meet with the death of Matilda, William's queen, and the king's preparations againſt a foreign invaſion. The Engliſh, who had retreated to Denmark, having perſuaded king Canute, that their countrymen only wanted an opportunity to ſhake off the Norman yoke, he formed a deſign of ſubduing England, to which kingdom, he apprehended, he had ſome plauſible pretenſions, eſpecially, when ſeconded by an armed force. Accordingly, he equipped a fleet, and levied ſome troops, which preparations alarmed William; ſince the advices from Denmark aſſured him, that they were made againſt him. As he durſt not place any confidence in the Engliſh, he muſter'd up an army of foreigners, laying a tax of ſix ſhillings upon every hyde of land in England, which was three times as much as the Danegelt; but, whether Canute was diverted by William's vigilance, in England, or by ſome other unexpected accident, he dropped his deſign, without making any attempt to put it in execution. William, upon this, diſbanded his army, tho' he did not refund the money, that was raiſed for their pay; but, on the contrary,

The king of Denmark deſigns to invade England. Hoved.

he impoſed a new tax, on account of the order of knighthood, he was willing to confer on Henry, his youngeſt ſon; for the Norman cuſtom of making the prince preſents, when he knighted any of his ſons, was too advantageous, not to be introduced into England. 1084.

The king might eaſily lay any burthens on his ſubjects, ſince all his orders of this kind were punctually obſerved; for the Normans were afraid of oppoſing his will, leſt they ſhould loſe their eſtates, as they acquired them, by a bare act of his good pleaſure, and the Engliſh were in no condition to throw off the Norman yoke. There was ſcarce a lord of that nation, that was not either impriſoned or baniſhed; and thoſe of them, that ſtill preſerved their liberty, were watched ſo narrowly, that the leaſt oppoſition, or even grounds of ſuſpicion, was ſufficient to compleat their ruin. Edgar Atheling, who ſeemed to be the moſt formidable, entirely depended upon his penſion from the king; and, ſince his voluntary ſubmiſſion to the Conqueror, he had forfeited the affections of the Engliſh, who now entertained a very deſpicable opinion concerning him. A certain hiſtorian does not ſcruple to aſſert, that he was, in ſome degree, fooliſh; and, to prove his ſtupidity, he aſſures us, that, for a horſe which the king beſtowed him, he remitted his penſion, the very means of his ſubſiſtence. Perhaps, the ill ſtate of Edgar's affairs, and the dread of falling a ſacrifice to the king's jealouſy, led him to reſolve upon a journey into the eaſt, to fight againſt the Infidels; and, having eaſily obtained the king's leave, he ſet out, attended with 200 knights, who, being deprived of their eſtates in England, were willing to try their fortunes in foreign countries; and, after he had ſpent two years in thoſe eaſtern parts, where, it is ſaid, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by many valiant exploits, he returned to England, having refuſed the eſtates and honours, that were offer'd him by the emperor of Conſtantinople, on the account of his bravery.

The ſtate of England. Malmſ.

1085. Edgar ſets out for the eaſt, to fight a- the Infidels.

William being made eaſy, upon Edgar's departure, as to any apprehenſions on his ſcore, it was univerſally believed, that, for the future, he would apply his thoughts to peace, to which he had been a ſtranger, almoſt from his very nativity; beſides, he was ſo corpulent and unwieldy, that a quiet life ſeemed to be abſolutely neceſſary for him. However, theſe were far from being the ſentiments of the king himſelf; for, on a ſudden, he ſet about ſome mighty preparations, and, ſoon after, embarqued for Normandy, in order to begin a fierce war with France; but Philip, to avert the impending ſtorm, offered ſome propoſals, which were followed by a truce. William, on the account of his corpulency, having taken this opportunity of going thro' a courſe of phyſick, a jeſt of king Philip's was the occaſion of breaking the truce. This prince only enquired of one, that was come from Roan, "Whether the king of Eng-
"land was, as yet, delivered of his great belly?"
But William, being informed of the matter, ſent him word, "that, as ſoon as he ſhould
"be up again, he would come and offer, in

1086. William begins a war with France.

A truce.

It is broken by a jeſt.

1087.

"the church of Notre Dame at Paris, 10,000 "lances, inſtead of wax-lights*." His menaces quickly paſs'd into deeds; for, marching in the very hotteſt time of ſummer, he ravaged the Vexin in a horrible manner, and then laid ſiege to Mantes; and he was ſo highly incenſed, that, after he had taken it, he reduced it to aſhes, without even ſparing the churches, in one of which, two hermits were conſumed in the flames. The warmth of the ſeaſon, and the great fire, which he ſtood very near, to ſee his orders put in execution, threw him into a fever, which interrupted his progreſs; and, whilſt he was on his return to Roan, in leaping a ditch, on horſe-back, he ſo bruiſed the rim of his belly, againſt the pummel of his ſaddle, that the violence of the blow exceedingly increaſed his diſtemper. Being diſabled, by this accident, from remounting his horſe, he was carried in a litter to Roan, where, the malignity of his fever daily increaſing, he apprehended, that he was not far from the end of his days; and he no ſooner found, that he was paſt all hopes of recovery, than he began ſeriouſly to reflect on all the paſt actions of his life, and to view them in their proper colours. He order'd large ſums to be given to the poor and to the churches, particularly, towards rebuilding thoſe of Mantes, which he had deſtroyed; and he reſtored to liberty all the priſoners, among whom were Morkard and Ulnoth. This laſt, who was brother to king Harold, had been confined in Normandy, from his childhood, being delivered up by earl Goodwin, as an hoſtage, to Edward the Confeſſor; but it was not, without extreme difficulty, that the like favour was obtained for the biſhop of Bayeux, the king's brother, becauſe he had ſworn, that he would never releaſe him; tho' he was, at length, prevailed on by the importunities of his friends. Being on the point of death, having commanded his principal officers to ſtand round his bed, notwithſtanding his weakneſs, he made a long harangue, in which he enlarged copiouſly on the great reputation he had acquired, by his martial exploits; yet he, at the ſame time, owned, that he had uſurped the crown of England, and was guilty of all the blood, that was ſpilt on that occaſion; and, therefore, he added, that, as he durſt not bequeath a crown, to which he had no right, he left it to the diſpoſal of the Almighty; tho' he could wiſh, that William, his ſecond ſon, ſhould wear it after him. In his will, made juſt before he died, he left the dutchy of Normandy to Robert, his eldeſt ſon; not ſo much on the account of his affection for him, as becauſe he foreſaw great obſtacles in the way, if he ſhould diſpoſe of it otherwiſe. Henry, his third ſon, had no more, for his ſhare, than an annuity of 5000 marks †, with all his mother's effects. It is reported, that, the young prince complaining of his being ſo meanly provided for, the king told him, by a prophetick ſpirit, that he ſhould, in proceſs of time, be king of England, and ſurpaſs his brother in wealth and glory; but that God ſhould communicate himſelf to ſuch a prince, as the Conqueror, is altogether incredible.

William conſumes Mantes to aſhes.

He is taken ill, and alſo hurts himſelf againſt his ſaddle. Ord. Vital.

He gives alms, and ſets all the priſoners at liberty.

He acknowledges, that he uſurped the crown of England. Malmſ. Pol. Virg.

1087.

Tho' the dying king had left his crown to the diſpoſal of the Almighty, he did all that was poſſible, to ſecure it to his ſecond ſon; for he wrote a very preſſing letter to Lanfranc, upon that head, and order'd his ſon William, even before his death, to deliver it with his own hands; being, doubtleſs, apprehenſive, that he would meet with too ſtrenous an oppoſition in England, if meaſures were not previouſly taken, to gain the conſent both of the Engliſh and Normans. Having, thus, ſettled his temporal affairs, he cauſed himſelf to be removed to the village of Hermentrude, on the other ſide of the Seine, over-againſt Roan, that he might, with the leſs interruption, take care of his ſpiritual concerns; where he departed this life, on the 9th of September, in the 61ſt year of his age, after a reign of 42 years in Normandy and 21 in England; and, if we may give credit to ſome of his hiſtorians, he expreſs'd, on his death-bed, a ſincere ſorrow for all his injuries to the Engliſh. His body was removed to Caen, without any ceremony, and interr'd in the abbey-church, which he had founded, purſuant to his own deſire; and, Robert being then in Germany, and William in England, his youngeſt ſon, Henry, took care of the funeral. His corpſe was but poorly attended, for ſo great a perſonage; for his principal officers abandon'd him, before he expired, ſome to make their court to Robert, and others to William; but an extraordinary occurrence render'd the funeral of this monarch extremely remarkable. Juſt as they were going to lay him in his grave, Anſelm Fitz-Arthur, a Norman Gentleman, ſtands up and forbids the burial, in that place, claiming the ground, as his inheritance; alledging, that the deceas'd had built the church upon it, without paying him for it. Upon this, they were conſtrained to deſiſt, according to the laws of the country, in order to examine the validity of his pretenſions; which being ſufficiently proved, Henry was obliged to ſatisfy his demands, and then the corpſe was interr'd.

His death. Ord. Vit.

Brompt.

Thus, lived and died William I. ſirnamed the Baſtard and Conqueror, if this latter title may be properly applied to him, which ſome of the hiſtorians call in queſtion. They, that maintain the affirmative, found their opinion upon his having no other right to the crown, except that of conqueſt, as well as upon the ſeverity of his government, which was, all along, arbitrary; but others aſſert, that his election entirely cancelled his right of conqueſt. The great uncertainty of this affair gives occaſion to compare him, in this reſpect, to the emperor Auguſtus, who, it is ſaid, obtained the empire, neither by conqueſt, uſurpation, inheritance, nor election, but by a ſtrange mixture of them all; however, how much ſoever William may be accuſed or juſtified, as

Remarks on the ſirname of Conqueror.

* Alluding to the cuſtom of lying-in-women, in thoſe times, who uſually offer'd lighted candles at their churching.

† Vitalis tells us, he left him only 5000 marks, in money.

to

1087. to the manner of his acceſſion to the crown, it is certain, he ſecured the poſſeſſion of it, by ſuch politick methods, as are practiſed by the moſt able princes, tho' they ſeldom are agreeable to the principles of juſtice and equity.

William's character. Malmſ.

The hiſtorians exceedingly differ in their accounts of William's character. Some of them, conſidering him only, as a Conqueror, have highly applauded his courage and conduct, having thrown a veil over his other actions; but others, taking the ſame conqueſt to be no other than a downright uſurpation, and reflecting on the means he made uſe of, to preſerve it, have not ſcrupled to repreſent him, as a real tyrant; and, perhaps, they are both of them in the right, ſince this monarch had an uncommon mixture of good and bad qualities. He was reputed to be one of the wiſeſt princes of his time, being always vigilant and active, as reſolute in executing, as he was bold and undaunted in forming his deſigns. He had the ſagacity to ſee danger at a diſtance, and, for the moſt part, prevented it; but, when that was not poſſible, after his utmoſt efforts, no man could face it, with greater intrepidity; but, on the other hand, his covetouſneſs and partiality for the Normans put him upon many projects, that are not to be juſtified.

In his younger years, he was handſome and well-proportioned, and he had rather a ſtern and majeſtick than a mild and engaging countenance; tho', upon occaſion, he could aſſume ſuch a ſweet and gentle aſpect, as was not eaſy to be reſiſted. We may form a judgment of the ſtrength and vigour of his conſtitution, from the account of the hiſtorians concerning him, that none, but himſelf, could bend his bow; yet the ſame authors are divided in their ſentiments, as to his chaſtity. Some aſſure us, that, after marriage, he never gave the queen any grounds for jealouſy; whilſt others affirm, that he kept, for his miſtreſs, a clergyman's daughter, who was ham-ſtringed, by Matilda's order. However that be, after he was king of England, it is obſerved, that hunting was his ſole diverſion. He was an excellent œconomiſt, the affairs of his family being under the moſt perfect regulation; tho his expences bore no proportion to his dignity and fortune. Nevertheleſs, upon ſolemn occaſions, he was ſo fond of magnificence, that he affected to appear in all his grandeur. He ſeldom failed of being crowned every year, at the three great feſtivals of Chriſtmas, Eaſter, and Whitſontide, which he generally kept at Glouceſter, Wincheſter, and Weſtminſter; and, at theſe times, he kept a ſplendid court, was much more eaſy of acceſs and liberal of his favours. The great men of the kingdom uſually attended him, during theſe ſolemnities; but it is not to be ſuppoſed, that it was to hold a Wittena-gemot or parliament, as ſome do imagine; for it is not, in the leaſt, probable, that, after he had deprived the Engliſh of their eſtates, he ſhould leave them in poſſeſſion of the greateſt of their privileges. It is yet more unlikely, that he ſhould transfer this right to the Normans, to whom he beſtowed the Engliſh eſtates, as it was in his power to grant them, on his own terms; and it is evident, from his natural temper, that he would never voluntarily render himſelf dependent on any of his ſubjects; however, if the Wittena-gemot did ſubſiſt, in his reign, we may be ſure, its authority was exceedingly diminiſhed, and its nature very different from the general aſſemblies, in the time of the Saxons. 1087.

Some hiſtorians highly extol this prince's clemency, becauſe he very often only puniſh'd the Engliſh rebels, by the confiſcation of their eſtates. It muſt be acknowledged, that this is true, with reſpect to perſons of diſtinction; ſince it does not appear, that, beſides earl Walthoff, who was publickly beheaded, and Egelwin, biſhop of Durham, who was ſtarved in priſon, any of the principal Engliſh lords were put to death, in this reign; but the caſe is otherwiſe, as to perſons of an inferior rank. It is certain, that vaſt numbers of theſe were ſacrificed to William's reſentment, whilſt many others had their eyes put out, or their hands and feet cut off, or were condemn'd to perpetual impriſonment, for very minute crimes. All the hiſtorians are agreed, that his taking away the life of earl Walthoff was a very heinous and diſhonourable action, as he had beheaded him, for a crime he had already pardoned; but but this inſtance of ſeverity was, in ſome degree, attoned for, by his moderation to prince Edgar, who had often furniſhed him with pretences to diſpatch him, as a ſacrifice to his jealouſy. Perhaps, the little merit of this prince was the ſole motive of his clemency; tho', after all, in my opinion, we ought not to rob him of the honour due to him, on that account, ſeeing we are ignorant of the grounds of his lenity towards him. Whatever deſpicable ſentiments the king might entertain, with regard to his perſonal qualities, yet, it muſt be own'd, he was formidable, by reaſon of his birth; for he was the only ſurviving prince of the royal family of the Saxons, and had been made uſe of, as a handle, to ſeveral inſurrections in the kingdom.

His iſſue.

William had, by Matilda, daughter to the earl of Flanders, four ſons and five daughters. Robert was duke of Normandy; and Richard was kill'd by a ſtag, in the New-Foreſt, or, according to others, he catched, as he was hunting, a diſtemper, which carried him off, in his father's life-time. William aſcended the throne of England, being ſucceeded by Henry, his brother. Cicely, his eldeſt daughter, was abbeſs of the nunnery of Caen; and Conſtance was married to Alain Fergeant, duke of Bretaign. Adela was wife to Stephen, earl of Blois, by whom ſhe had a ſon of the ſame name, who ſucceeded to the crown of England; but Margaret, who was promis'd to Harold, died young. Alphonſo, king of Gallicia, married the fifth, whoſe name was Eleanor; tho', it is ſaid, ſhe continued a virgin, after marriage, being entirely devoted to the ſervice of God, and ſpent her days, in the conſtant exerciſe of prayer.

2. WIL-

2. WILLIAM II. ſirnamed Rufus.

WILLIAM II.

WHilſt the Conqueror was taken up, in Normandy, with the thoughts of dying, William, his ſon, was, in England, very induſtriouſly employed, in ſecuring the crown for himſelf, purſuant to his father's intentions; and ſo much the more expedition was neceſſary, on this occaſion, as he had reaſon to apprehend, that his brother's coming, in time, would defeat his deſign. It was, therefore, his buſineſs, in the firſt place, to gain an intereſt in the Normans, who, doubtleſs, would have the chief ſway in the enſuing election, as they were poſſeſs'd of all the fiefs and places in the kingdom; tho', at the ſame time, the Engliſh were not to be neglected, leſt, by joining Robert's friends, they might incline the balance to his ſide. In the mean while, William was beloved neither by the Engliſh nor Normans; for the former found him, from their own experience, to be too like the king, his father, and the latter, having a ſtill farther knowledge of him, dreaded his rough temper. On the contrary, Robert might alledge the right of primogeniture; whereas William had nothing, to ſupport his pretenſions, but the bare deſire of the late king, which was far from being an expreſs nomination; and, in all probability, it would have proved ineffectual, if the minds of the people had not been prepared, before the news of his death. It was with this view, that he ſent over his ſon, with all ſpeed, that, in conjunction with Lanfranc and ſome other lords, he might concert proper meaſures; Eudo, the high-treaBrompton. ſurer, and Lanfranc, archbiſhop of Canterbury, did him ſingular ſervice, at this critical juncture. The firſt of them not only ſecured Dover, Wincheſter, Pevenſey, Haſtings and ſome other places on the ſouth coaſts; but he likewiſe delivered up, to prince William, all the late king's treaſures, amounting to 60,000 l. in money, beſides plate and jewels of a much greater value. Lanfranc, who had the love and eſteem of the Engliſh, as well as the Normans, was ſo ſucceſsful in his endeavours, that, in a little time, he prevailed on the principal lords of both nations, to come over to his party; and other means were not wanting, to induce the people to eſpouſe William's cauſe. A report Daniel. was induſtriouſly ſpread abroad among the Engliſh, that this prince had made a firm reſolution, to govern in a very different manner from the king, his father; that he would regard their juſt complaints, and aboliſh the too rigorous laws, enacted, ſince the late revolution, particularly, thoſe relating to the game; and, finally, that he would reſtore them, in part, their eſtates and antient privileges. On the Brompton. other hand, it was repreſented to the Normans, that the beſt way, to keep their preſent poſſeſſions, was to confirm the Conqueror's choice of a ſucceſſor; and that the young prince, being fixed on the throne, would, of courſe, maintain their cauſe, ſince his and their rights ſtood on the ſame foundation, viz. the will of the late king. Robert, being abſent, had but a few friends, that were active, in his behalf, being afraid to make an open declaration of their ſentiments; for they foreſaw the bad conſequences of ſuch a proceeding, if, upon his return, he ſhould not be willing to ſupport them. Beſides, they had none to be their leaders, Ulnoth and Morkard being detained in priſon, by William's order, Hoveden. notwithſtanding his father's directions to the contrary, leſt they ſhould head the Engliſh, whom he ſuſpected to be his enemies; and, all William is crowned. theſe circumſtances being improved to the beſt advantage, by his adherents, he was crowned Eadmer. the 27th of September, 18 days after his father's deceaſe. Ord. Vit.

His character. This prince, ſirnamed Rufus, from his having red hair, was 30 years of age, when he received the crown; and, in all likelihood, his good fortune was occaſioned by Robert's diſobliging the king, his father, who never could forgive his revolt. Indeed, as to William, he was, in no reſpect, ſuperior to his elder brother; ſince the only quality, for which he was remarkable, was his courage, tho' it was ſcarce to be diſtinguiſhed from a brutal fierceneſs. His extreme ill-nature, as it had never been corrected by education, very often prompted him to commit baſe and unworthy actions; for, being trained up to arms, from his youth, at a court, where he daily beheld inſtances of ſeverity and deſpotick power, he was a complete brute in his behaviour. Beſides, he was altogether indifferent, as to religion; and the whole ſtrain of his conduct ſhew'd, that he had not the leaſt regard for honour or honeſty. He was as covetous as his father; but, whereas the father accumulated wealth, purely, for the ſake of hoarding it, the ſon was deſirous of money, merely, to ſpend it profuſely, being, in all his vain expences, guided more by caprice than reaſon. However, he had the art to conceal his inclinations, in the beginning of his reign; and his ſubjects took pleaſure in obſerving, that, for ſome time, he paid a deference to the prudent counſels of Lanfranc, who was univerſally beloved and eſteemed. This conſideration led Hoved. the Engliſh to entertain hopes of a happy change in their fortune, and prevented them from falling in with the ſollicitations of thoſe, who attempted to perſuade them to eſpouſe Robert's cauſe.

1088. But tho' the confidence, William placed in the archbiſhop, was of ſervice to him, with reOdo forms a conſpiracy againſt William. ſpect to the Engliſh, it gave him ſuch diſturbance from another quarter, as even ſhook him on his throne. Odo, his uncle, biſhop of Bayeux, who Malmſ. was lately releaſed from priſon, was, to the laſt Hoved. degree, uneaſy, at Lanfranc's being in ſuch fa- Dunelm. vour at court; for he had harbour'd a ſecret Ord. Vit. animoſity againſt that prelate, ever ſince he adviſ'd the king to ſeize him, juſt as he was upon the point of embarquing for Rome. This, with

1088. with a deſire of ruling again, as he had formerly done, put him upon projecting, how to depoſe the king, and place Robert on the throne, who was lately returned to Normandy, that prince's birth-right furniſhing him with a plauſible pretence, to countenance his enterprize. As ſoon as he had reſolved upon this undertaking he engaged in the plot ſome of the principal Norman lords; and, indeed, without their concurrence, the Engliſh were unable to promote his deſign; but, theſe leading the way, and ſeveral others being brought over to his party, it was an eaſy matter for them, to prevail on the Engliſh to come into their meaſures; for, as the moſt of them were deprived of their eſtates, in the late reign, they expected, that the diſſenſions between the two brothers would turn to their advantage. In order to confirm both the Engliſh and Normans in their reſolution, Odo aſſured them, that it was impoſſible to enjoy any happineſs, under the government of a capricious and brutiſh prince, who had neither religion nor honeſty; that, if they did not immediately exert themſelves, to avert the impending evil, they would allow him time to eſtabliſh himſelf upon the throne, and then, perhaps, they would never meet with another opportunity, ſo favourable as the preſent; and that, in juſtice, the crown ſhould be given to Robert, as he was the firſt-born, who was alſo a a prince of great uprightneſs and generoſity. The prelate, at the ſame time, ſet off, to the utmoſt advantage, his mild and gracious diſpoſition; which encouraged them to hope, that they ſhould, at length, under a king poſſeſs'd of ſuch agreeable qualities, attain the tranquillity, they ſo earneſtly deſired.

Whether the right of primogeniture had any weight with theſe lords, or, whether William's ill temper prevailed on them to wiſh for a new maſter, they readily fell in with the biſhop's ſcheme; and each of them promiſed to do all that was poſſible, to put it in execution, provided Robert would aſſiſt them, and bring over with him ſuccours from Normandy. Odo, being, thus, aſſured of the aſſiſtance of the Norman lords, whom he apprehended to be more capable of ſerving Robert, than the Engliſh, he ſent word to that prince, that nothing was wanting, but his preſence with a body of Norman troops, to put him in poſſeſſion of the crown, his brother had unjuſtly uſurped. The duke, at once, determined to accept of this advantageous propoſal; but, not having money, ſufficient to ſupport the charge of ſo great an undertaking, he borrowed ſome of his brother Henry, mortgaging the whole country of Cottentin, for his ſecurity; upon which, he acquainted his uncle, that he would infallibly come over to England, with all expedition, intreating him to make the neceſſary preparations, for the execution of their deſigns.

Robert borrows money of his brother Henry. Brompt.

The conſpirators take up arms.

No ſooner were the Norman lords certified of Robert's reſolution, than they began to move with vigour and activity. The biſhop of Conſtance, with Mowbray, his nephew, ſecured Bath and Barklay-caſtle, and fortified Briſtol, in order to make it their chief magazine. Roger Bigod ſeized on ſeveral places in Norfolk; and Grantmenil did the ſame in Leiceſterſhire. Roger de Montgomery, William, biſhop of Durham, Bernard of Newark, Roger Lacy, and Ralph Mortimer made themſelves maſters of Worceſterſhire; and, in a word, there was not a ſingle lord, among the conſpirators, that did not take poſſeſſion of ſome city. Had Robert come over, at this juncture, in all probability, he would have dethroned his brother; but his natural indolence, together with his extravagance, in ſquandering his money, on things altogether unneceſſary, prevented his making any uſe of ſo fair an opportunity. In the mean while, William, who was of a quite different temper, left nothing unattempted, to ſtifle the conſpiracy; and the moſt effectual means, to this purpoſe, he found to be, the gaining the Engliſh to his intereſt, in promoting which, Lanfranc was very ſerviceable to him. This prelate, who, in the late reign, had treated them in an obliging manner, made uſe of his credit with them, to engage their adherence to the king, on this occaſion; and, by his ſollicitations, he brought back to their duty ſuch as had already revolted, and confirmed the reſt in their allegiance; ſo that, in a very ſhort time, he was in a condition to ſend out a fleet, whilſt, with an army of Engliſhmen, he marched againſt Odo, his uncle, whom he juſtly apprehended to be the author of the rebellion. The biſhop had fortified himſelf in Kent, where he ſecured Rocheſter and Pevenſey; but, being informed of the king's approach, he ſhut himſelf up in the latter, expecting that he ſhould be able to hold out, till the duke of Normandy ſhould come to his aſſiſtance; but, having more fire than true courage, and as he had neglected to make the neceſſary preparations, for his defence, the caſtle was taken, in a few days, by the vigorous attacks of the king. Odo could obtain his pardon, on no other condition, but his obliging Rocheſter to ſurrender, which was defended by the principal Norman lords, under the command of Euſtace, earl of Bulloign. Being conducted to the gates of Rocheſter, by his outward expreſſions, he ſeemed willing, that the governor ſhould deliver up the city; but Euſtace, obſerving, by his looks, that he did not ſpeak, as he meant, detained him, as a priſoner, which furniſhed him with a plauſible excuſe, for the violation of his promiſe.

1088.

Lanfranc is very ſerviceable to the king.

The king attacks Odo. Sax. An. Ord. Vit. Hoved. Brompt.

William, upon this, deſpairing of being maſter of Rocheſter, by Odo's means, reſolved to beſiege it; and he lay ſix weeks before the town, to no purpoſe, the beſieged continuing to make a brave and vigorous defence; but, at length, a contagious diſtemper, which daily carried off great numbers of them, conſtrained them to come to a capitulation, tho' it was not an eaſy matter to agree upon the terms. However, at laſt, after many debates, the king granted them leave to march off with their horſes, without giving them any hopes of being ever reſtored to their eſtates and places. The biſhop of Bayeux, being, by this means, reduced to a very low condition, retreated to the duke of Normandy, who entruſted him with the adminiſtration of the affairs of the dutchy. During the ſiege of

He lays ſiege to Rocheſter. Hunting.

1088. Rocheſter, the duke might eaſily have made a diverſion into ſome other part of the kingdom; but the inexcuſable negligence of that prince deprived him of the advantage of ſuch a favourable opportunity; for, inſtead of coming himſelf into England, with a force proportionable to the greatneſs of his enterprize, he only ſent over a ſingle ſhip with a handful of ſoldiers, who were all taken and drowned.

Robert's negligence. Brompt. Hoved.

The king beſieges Durham, and baniſhes the biſhop.

William, being now poſſeſs'd of Rocheſter, marched his army towards Durham, to chaſtiſe the biſhop, who was one of the revolters; but, as the garriſon of that place was very weak, the city was ſoon forced to ſurrender, and the biſhop, with all the other rebels, was ſent into baniſhment. Thus, this conſpiracy, tho' it had a very dangerous aſpect, was cruſh'd, by William's reſolution and conduct; for he equally made uſe of policy, as well as force, in bringing the conſpirators to reaſon. He had, by his addreſs, gained over Montgomery and ſeveral other Norman lords, whoſe defection was extremely prejudicial to Robert's party, having, by his ſecret emiſſaries, aſſured them, that they were very impolitick, in taking any ſteps againſt him; that, ſince they held their eſtates, by no other right, but that, by which he acquired the crown, it was evidently their intereſt to eſpouſe his cauſe. On the other hand, he diſcovered the greateſt prudence, in beginning with his uncle's deſtruction, who was the author of the conſpiracy; but his ſucceſs, on this occaſion, was chiefly owing to his expedition.

William oppreſſes the Engliſh. Hoved. Eadmer. Malmſ.

As the Engliſh had been ſo ready to aſſiſt William, in his extremity, they naturally expected to be rewarded, in proportion to their ſervices; but they ſoon found, that all their hopes were vain and imaginary. Whilſt he wanted their aſſiſtance, he amuſed them with fair promiſes; but, his turn being ſerved, he entirely forgot them; nay, he even began to oppreſs them, with ſeveral impoſitions, in which he ſhew'd ſtill leſs moderation than the king, his father. Lanfranc gave him ſome gentle admonitions on the head, who could not forbear reminding him, to make good his engagements; but, how careful ſoever the archbiſhop might be, in uſing the moſt reſpectful language, William was highly offended, and asked him, in an angry tone, and with an oath, "Whether he thought it poſſible for a "king to perform all his promiſes?" From this time, Lanfranc was entirely out of favour, tho' his diſgrace was of a ſhort continuance; for he died ſoon after, lamented by both nations, as one of the moſt worthy prelates, that had filled the ſee of Canterbury, ever ſince the converſion of the Saxons.

Lanfranc is diſgraced, for admoniſhing him about it, but he dies ſoon after.

The king's tyrannical proceedings.

Whilſt Lanfranc was alive and at court, his venerable preſence was ſome cheque to the king's inclinations; but, upon his death, he threw off all reſtraint. Particularly, he gave great indulgence to his natural deſire of heaping up money, in order to ſpend it in a vain and profuſe manner; and, being avaricious without frugality, covetous and yet prodigal, he was always in want, and under a neceſſity of inventing continually new ways and means for raiſing money, to ſupport his extravagance. One of his methods, never before practiſed in England, was to ſeize upon the vacant benefices; for, not being content with the firſt-fruits, he appropriated the whole profits to himſelf, without filling them; and, after he had diſpoſed of every thing, that was convertible into money, he ſold them to the higheſt bidder, without any regard to their merit or capacity. No ſooner was the ſee of Canterbury vacant, by Lanfranc's death, than he ſeized on the temporalities, keeping them in his hands, for four years together; and he acted in the ſame manner, with reſpect to the biſhopric of Lincoln, and all others that became vacant, in his reign. As they, who have written the life of this prince, were, moſt of them, monks or eccleſiaſticks, they have, on that account, publiſh'd the ſevereſt invectives againſt him; and, ſince they ſo frequently inſiſt on this topick, it may be reaſonably preſumed, that this was one of the chief motives, which induced them to ſully his reputation, to the utmoſt of their power. However that be, his proceedings occaſioned loud clamours, among the clergy, tho' the king did not, in the leaſt, regard them; and it was to no purpoſe for them, to carry their complaints to the pope. The court of Rome, in the preſent poſture of affairs, durſt not interpoſe, in their behalf, the church being rent by a ſchiſm, in which England had not, as yet, engaged; beſides, Urban II. to whom the Engliſh clergy made application, was then wholly taken up about his project of recovering the Holy Land, in which he propoſed to engage all the princes in Chriſtendom; and, therefore, it was impracticable for the pope, as well as inconſiſtent with his intereſt, to fall upon William, at this critical juncture.

1088.

He ſeizes on the vacant benefices.

1089.

1090. As William was now poſſeſs'd of a crown, which he had no juſt grounds ever to expect, one would have thought, this ſingle conſideration ſhould have prevailed on him, to do all that was poſſible, to render his brother eaſy, under the injury he had offer'd him, in invading his right; but neither duty, nor fraternal affection, could preponderate his deſire of being maſter of all his father's dominions; for he was no ſooner ſettled on his throne, than he reſolved upon the conqueſt of Normandy. Perhaps, his view, in this undertaking, was not only to gratify his covetous temper, but alſo to be revenged on the duke, for his attempt to dethrone him. However, after extraordinary preparations, he made a deſcent into Normandy; and he ſpeedily ſubdued St. Valeri, Albemarle and ſome other places, whilſt Robert, who had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of any ſuch deſign, was in no condition to oppoſe him.

William invades Normandy. Malmſ. Hoved. Brompt. Ord. Vit.

Robert implores aid from the king of France, who is bribed by William.

Robert, in this extremity, was obliged to apply to the king of France, who came, in perſon, to aſſiſt him; but William, who knew how to make uſe of cunning, as well as force, found the means to gain Philip's friendſhip, who left Robert expoſed, as before, to the inſults of his brother. The king of France's retreat put the duke's affairs in a worſe poſture than ever, as he had his ſole dependence upon his aid; and William not only took from him ſeveral

1090. several other places, but also bribed some of the burghers of Roan, who promised to surrender to him the metropolis of Normandy.

Robert is assisted by his brother Henry,

In the interim, Robert had no prospect of any assistance, except that of Henry, his youngest brother; and he had very little grounds to expect any favour, even from him; for he was incensed against the duke, for having taken possession of Cottentin, before he had discharged his debt, and was making preparations, to do himself justice, by force of arms; but, upon Robert's promising to give him satisfaction, when the war was over, he dropp'd his design, and even espoused his cause. Henry, being informed of the plot, that was in agitation at Roan, enter'd the city, on a sudden; and, seizing on Conon, the chief of the conspirators, he threw him, headlong, from a tower; by which bold adventure, he quash'd the conspiracy, and so prevented the loss of Robert's capital, and, in all probability, of his whole dominions.

who saves Roan.

1091. The king and duke enter into a treaty. Flor. Wig. Ord. Vit. Malms.

Upon this, William was obliged to strike up a peace with his brother. According to the articles of the treaty, Robert was under obligations, to deliver up to the king the country of Eu and the towns of Feschamp and Cherburgh, with all the places he was possess'd of, on the coast of Normandy; and William, on his part, was to assist the duke, in reducing the province of Maine, which had revolted, to restore to the Normans all their confiscated estates in England, and to grant some certain fiefs to his brother in the same kingdom. Lastly, it was mutually agreed on, that, if either of them died, without an heir, the survivor should succeed to all his dominions; and this agreement was solemnly sworn to by 12 barons, on each side, the brothers seeming to be thoroughly reconciled.

Henry seizes on Michael's Mount. Malms.

But, whatever satisfaction the king and duke received from the late treaty, prince Henry was not a little disgusted at it, as he perceived, that his case was not at all considered, in this transaction, and that there was no likelihood of Robert's being punctual, in the performance of the promise he made him; and, therefore, conceiving it to be lawful to do himself justice, he directly took possession of St. Michael's Mount. This sudden and surprizing occurrence alarmed Robert, who, being unwilling to leave a place of such importance in the hands of his brother, desired William's aid, to retake it; who, tho' he was altogether unconcerned in the affair, at once, joined his brother, in besieging or rather blocking up the mount; which, being situated on a rock, and having the advantage of the sea's flowing round it, twice a day, was render'd inaccessible.

William's adventure. Knyghton.

Whilst the two brothers lay before this place, William, as he was riding, alone, some distance from the camp, espied two horsemen coming from the mount; and, being naturally of a daring and impetuous temper, he rid up to them, resolving to take one of them prisoner, that he might get intelligence of the state of the besieged. The soldiers, finding, that they had only a single person to encounter, made a brisk defence; and, upon the first attack, kill'd his horse under him, which fell upon him in such a manner, as to prevent his rising. This accident would have been the occasion of his death, if, the very moment one of the soldiers was going to dispatch him, he had not cried out, "Hold, rascal, I am the "king of England"; but, these words commanding their fear and respect, they help'd him up, and gave him one of their horses. Having nimbly vaulted into the saddle, he address'd himself to the person that dismounted him, as follows: "Come, thou shalt be my "soldier, for the future, and shalt receive the "reward of thy valour".

1091.

Tho' the king and duke had made but a very slow progress in the siege, Henry was in great distress, for want of water; yet, as he was no stranger to Robert's good-nature, he did not despair of some relief, by representing to him, that it would be more glorious to subdue him by arms, than by thirst. Robert, upon this, generously sent him a tun of wine, permitting him to fetch as much water, as would supply his necessities. William, having upbraided him, on this account, he replied: "What is the quarrel between us and our bro- "of that consequence, that we should suffer "him to perish by thirst? We may stand in "need of a brother hereafter; but where "shall we meet with another, when this is de- "stroyed by our means?" However, William, being displeased with this act of generosity, which he apprehended to be very weak and ill-timed, quitting the siege, returned to England; tho' Robert carried it on, in spite of all difficulties, till, at last, he obliged his brother to surrender, upon terms; and Henry, having liberty to go, where he pleased, wander'd up and down, for some time, without any fixed place of residence, attended only by a chaplain and three or four domesticks.

Robert's generosity to Henry.

He takes the mount.

About the same time, Robert banished Edgar Atheling from Normandy; and William prohibited his return into England. The historians have not taken notice of the cause of his disgrace; for they only tell us, that he retreated into Scotland, his usual place of refuge, in his misfortunes.

Hoved.

During William's absence in Normandy, Malcolm Mocmoir, king of Scotland, made an incursion into Northumberland, carrying off a great booty. The northern people were extremely uneasy, at the king's stay abroad, whilst his frontiers were rifled by foreigners; and their complaints hastened his return. Upon his arrival, he directly set about mighty preparations, in order to be revenged on the king of Scotland; but, left Robert, who had taken Michael's Mount, should, in the mean time, seize on his castles in Normandy, he invited him to come over to his assistance, pretending that his valour and experience were absolutely necessary, to conclude the war, in an honourable manner; and, to engage him the more effectually, he promised, that, as soon as this affair was ended, he would punctually perform his part of the late treaty. Robert, being prevailed on by these motives, came speedily over, and accompanied his brother into Scotland.

How-

1091. However, the ſucceſs of this affair was not anſwerable to William's preparations; for the greateſt part of the fleet he had equipp'd, to ravage the coaſts of Scotland, was deſtroyed by a ſtorm; and his army, for want of proviſions, and the roads being impaſſable by bad weather, was exceedingly diminiſhed, in marching over the moraſſes and mountains. He often repented of the preſent undertaking, on the account of theſe loſſes; and, indeed, they would have proved very fatal to him, if Malcolm, dreading the conſequences of a war, which had brought the enemy into his own kingdom, had not thought it more adviſable, to oblige William to leave Scotland by fair means, rather than by compulſive methods. Accordingly, he ſent propoſals, which, being joyfully accepted, were ſoon followed by a treaty of peace. The conditions were, that Malcolm ſhould pay William the ſame homage, his father had done; that the 12 manors, he had in England, before this rupture, ſhould be reſtored to him; and that William ſhould allow him, yearly, 12 marks, for all his other claims. Prince Edgar, who was employ'd in this negotiation, having acted, to the ſatisfaction of both parties, William and Robert received him into favour, and permitted him to return into England. The war being now compleated, the duke expected, that his brother would immediately make good his engagements to him; but finding, at length, that he only amuſed him, taking Edgar along with him, he returned to Normandy.

Edgar is reſtored to favour. Hoved. Brompt.

Whilſt William was in Scotland, Robert Fitz-Hamon, gentleman of the bed-chamber, ſubdued Glamorganſhire in South-Wales. He had aſſiſted Jeſtyn, lord of Glamorgan, againſt Rees, king of Wales, on certain terms, to which he ſhew'd no regard, as ſoon as the war was over; but Fitz-Hamon, to revenge this breach of faith and do himſelf juſtice, muſtering ſome friends together, attack'd Rees, ſlew him in the fight, and ſeized on his country; and 12 knights, that attended him, in this expedition, were, each of them, rewarded with a manor, to be enjoy'd by them and their poſterity *.

Fitz-Hamon conquers Glamorganſhire. Welch Chron.

1092. The next year, prince Henry ſurprized Domfront, a ſmall town in Maine, where he retired, in expectation of ſome better fortune.

William orders Carliſle to be rebuilt.

The king, from the frequent incurſions of the Scots into the northern parts of England, apprehending it to be neceſſary to ſtop their progreſs, by a ſtrong barrier, order'd the city of Carliſle upon Tyne to be rebuilt, which had been demoliſh'd by the Danes, and lay in ruins, for 200 years together; and, having repeopled it, he endowed it with great privileges, which are preſerved to this day †. About this time, the ſee of Dorcheſter was tranſlated to Lincoln, and that of Wells to Bath, with the king's conſent, tho it was not obtained, without a conſiderable ſum.

The proceedings of this monarch were abſolute and arbitrary; and he daily renewed taxes and impoſitions, on various pretences. Every occurrence was improved, as a handle, to levy money on the cities, boroughs, and private perſons, without any regard to the Normans, more than the Engliſh. As none durſt preſume to oppoſe his oppreſſions, the people waited for no other remedy, for their intolerable evils, except the king's death, which they heartily prayed for, in private; and the king's being ſeized with a diſtemper, at Glouceſter, which he himſelf look'd upon to be mortal, gave them ſome hopes, that their prayers would prove ſucceſsful. The near view of death, and the exhortations of the biſhops that attended him, led him to reflect on his paſt actions; and he ſeemed to be firmly reſolved to correct the miſmanagements in the government, if it ſhould pleaſe God to reſtore him to health. The prelates, taking this to be a favourable opportunity, admoniſh'd him to fill the vacant benefices; they aſſured him, that, by applying the church's revenues, contrary to the intent of the donors, he greatly endanger'd his ſalvation. The king's weak condition render'd him very willing to comply with all their deſires; and, accordingly, he nominated Robert Bloet, one of his counſellors, to the ſee of Lincoln, and Anſelm, abbot of Bec in Normandy, to that of Canterbury, who was not eaſily perſuaded to accept of that dignity. As he was a zealous aſſertor of the rights of the church, and no ſtranger to William's indifference, as to theſe matters, he apprehended that the archbiſhoprick would be too weighty a burden for him, in his reign; but, at length, he was, by the ſollicitations of the biſhops and the king's ſeeming repentance, brought to a compliance. Before his conſecration, he intreated William to reſtore to the church of Canterbury all that belonged to it, in the time of Lanfranc, for which he had his poſitive promiſe; but William no ſooner perceived, that he was in a fair way of recovery, than he delayed matters, in order to avoid the performance of it. At laſt, as the archbiſhop continually preſs'd him on this head, he openly declared, that it was his intent, that not only the preſent poſſeſſors of the church-lands, to whom he had given them, but their poſterity alſo ſhould enjoy them, and he even told the archbiſhop, that he expected his concurrence; but as Anſelm could never think of conſenting to what, he took to be a downright prevarication, a great conteſt aroſe between the king and him, which proved very vexatious to them both.

1093. He falls ill. Dunelm.

He ſeems to be penitens.

He makes Anſelm archbiſhop of Canterbury. Hunting. Knyghton. Brompton. Brady.

In the interim, William, whoſe repentance was entirely produced by the fear of death, being perfectly recovered, forgot all his promiſes, and returned to his old courſe of life. The priſoners, he had commanded to be releaſed, were,

He continues to oppreſs his ſubjects.

* In a book written, on this ſubject, by Sir Edward Stradling or Sir Edward Manſel, for it is aſcribed to both, are the names of the twelve knights, among which were Richard Granvil, Pain Turbevil, Oliver St. John, Robert de St. Quintin, and William Stradling, names in uſe at this day. Vid. Cambd. Glamorganſhire.

† Carliſle, the Luguballum, Lugubalia, or Luguvallium of the Britons and Romans, and the Luel of the Saxons, is ſituated near the confluence of the rivers Eden, Peterill, and Caude, and not on the Tyne; and the colony of huſbandmen, ſent thither by William Rufus, are, by all records, ſaid to be the firſt, that till'd the lands in the parts adjacent.

by

1092. by his order, more closely confined; and those, that had been actually enlarged, were again imprisoned. Extortion, injustice, and rapine were in as great reputation, as ever; and none had any concern in the administration of justice, but such as were more sollicitous to make their own fortunes, than to discharge the duties of their respective posts. All were impoverish'd, except those, who had the management of the publick money; and it was absolutely necessary to sacrifice honour and conscience, to become a court-favourite, since informers were the only persons that met with any encouragement. These irregular proceedings obliged many honest men, to resolve upon abandoning their native country, in quest of that tranquillity they could not find at home; but the king, by an edict, which prohibited all persons to depart the kingdom, without his leave, deprived them of the liberty of putting their designs in execution.

P. Virg.

The king of Scotland arrives at Gloucester.

Whilst England was in these miserable circumstances, Malcolm, king of Scotland, came to Gloucester, according to an agreement he had made with William, to settle some affairs, that were not determined in the late treaty. No sooner was the king informed of his arrival, than he sent him word, that he expected, in the first place, that he should do him homage. Malcolm replied, that he was willing to do it, on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, according to custom; but William insisted on its being done in Gloucester, giving him to understand, that it was not in a vassal's power to appoint the place, where he should do homage. Malcolm, upon this, returned home, without seeing him, being incensed at his haughty behaviour; and he was scarce arrived in Scotland, before he invaded Northumberland, being the fifth time he had ravaged that country, revenging, on innocent subjects, the injuries he pretended to have received from their sovereign. Robert de Mowbray, a person remarkable for courage and conduct, being then governor of the northern parts, finding that the king's forces were at too great a distance, got together a body of troops, with such expedition, that he attack'd the Scots, at a time they least expected it; and, having put them into disorder, they gave way, without making scarce any resistance. Malcolm and Edward, his eldest son, distracted even to madness, to see their army retreat so tamely, attempting to rally them, were slain on the spot; tho' the Scotch historians pretend, that the English were indebted, for their victory, to a notorious piece of treachery*. Perhaps, the reason of this was, because the Scots suffered themselves to be so suddenly surprized; but, however

Brompt. Dunelm. R. de Hag. Fl. Wig.

He returns home, and then invades Northumberland.

Robert de Mowbray surprises the Scots.

Malcolm and his son are slain. Hoved. Brompt.

that be, the late fatal battle introduced innumerable evils into Scotland. Malcolm had with him a general, named Walter, whom, as a reward for his services, he promoted to be the steward or great master of his household; from whom descended the family of the Stuarts, who, for a long time, reigned in Scotland, and, for above a century, in England †. Margaret, Malcolm's queen and sister to Edgar Atheling, survived the melancholy news of the death of her husband and son, no more than three days. Tho' Malcolm had left three sons, of age to succeed him, the Scots placed Donald, his brother, on the throne; and he was no sooner possess'd of the crown, than he expelled all the English out of the kingdom, and Edgar Atheling, among the rest, who, with Malcolm's sons, his nephews, retired into England.

1092.

The original of the royal family of the Stuarts.

Donald is made king of Scotland.

Donald, immediately after his coronation, towards the end of summer, made a descent into England, and revenged Malcolm's death, in a barbarous manner; but, as soon as William received intelligence of it, he dispatched an army into the north, under the command of Duncan, natural son to the late king of Scotland. Upon their approach, Donald made a speedy retreat into his kingdom; but he was so eagerly pursued, that he could not avoid an engagement; and, his army not being near so numerous as that of the English, he was defeated, and forced to take sanctuary in one of the Hebrides ‡, whilst Duncan, making the best use of this juncture, obtained his crown.

He invades England,

but is defeated.

About the same time, the English army marched into Wales, to put a stop to some new commotions, that were raised in that quarter; but this war proved fatal to the Welch, who lost part of their country, after Rees, their king, had been slain in a battle.

1093. The war with the Welch.

The affairs of Scotland and Wales being happily concluded, it was not long before William found another occasion, to exert his activity. Robert, his brother, incensed against him, because he had not performed the articles of their treaty, was making preparations, and, as the king imagined, with a view of retaking the places he was possess'd of, pursuant to the same treaty; upon which, without any regard to his engagements to the duke, he resolved to bring an army into Normandy, to secure his fortresses, and enlarge his conquests. As he went to his ships, he passed thro' Hastings, and visited Battle-abbey, ordering the church to be consecrated, which was dedicated to St. Martin, according to his father's directions. Upon his arrival, he was desirous of holding a conference with the duke, in order to amuse

1094. William wages war against his brother Robert. An. Sax. Fl. Wig.

* Boethius and Buchanan relate, that Malcolm, having reduced the castle of Alnewick to extremity, the besieged, who were obliged to surrender, only desired, that the king, in person, would receive the keys of the city; which were brought by a soldier, upon the top of a lance, who, standing within the wall, thrust the point of the lance, into the king's eye, just as he was going to take them; and that, upon this, Edward his son, falling too rashly upon the enemy, had the misfortune to receive a wound, of which he died soon after.

† Cambden tells us, that Malcolm made Walter steward of the whole kingdom of Scotland; and that he was Fleanl's son, by Nesta, daughter to Griffith ap Llewelin, prince of North-Wales, Flean being the son of Banquo, that was slain by Macbeth.

‡ A cluster of isles, generally believed to be no more than 44, in number; tho' those, that have travelled over them, reckon them to be above 300. The inhabitants call them Inch-Gall, who retain the manners, customs, and habits of the antient Scots, and speak the Irish language; but the English give them the name of, the western isles.

1094. him again with fair promiſes; but, the firſt interview being ineffectual, they agreed upon a ſecond, in the preſence of the 24 barons, who had ſworn to ſee their treaty put in execution. William's ſole view, in this, was to overawe the barons, that they might eſpouſe his cauſe; but, perceiving, that, on the contrary, they openly declared their ſentiments, in favour of Robert, he determined to begin his hoſtilities. He, at once, became maſter of ſome places, by bribing the governors; but Robert, being ſupplied with ſuccours from France, recovered Argentan, and took the garriſon priſoners, conſiſting of 800 men; and then he laid ſiege to the caſtle of Holms, which ſurrender'd, at diſcretion. William, finding, from theſe ſucceſſes, that he was in great danger of being, at length, a loſer by the war, if the French troops continued in his brother's ſervice, reſolved to try the virtue of preſents, being ſenſible, from experience, that Philip was not proof againſt bribery; but, having already laid exceſſive taxes on the kingdom, it ſeemed to be impracticable for him to raiſe a ſufficient ſum, for this purpoſe. However, as he had a very fertile invention, on ſuch occaſions, he projected a method, that fully anſwer'd his expectation; for, under the pretence, that he was in extreme want of a reinforcement, he diſpatched orders into England, to levy 20,000 men, with all poſſible expedition. In conſequence of this, care was taken to preſs ſuch, for ſoldiers, as were in good circumſtances, or could not conveniently leave their families; and, when theſe recruits were juſt upon the point of embarquing, the high-treaſurer acquainted them, from the king, that they might, all of them, upon the payment of ten ſhillings a-piece, repair to their reſpective habitations. Theſe ſoldiers, being forced into the ſervice, were, to a man, tranſported with joy, at the thoughts of their being releaſed, at ſuch an eaſy expence; whilſt William, by this means, made up a ſum of 10,000 l. ſterling, with which he bribed the French, to retire from the camp of the duke, his brother.

The French aſſiſt Robert.

Dunelm.

They are bribed by William.

1095. The war with the Welch. Chron. Cambr.

The retreat of the auxiliaries would, in all appearance, have been attended with the loſs of all Robert's dominions, if the king had not been obliged to return into England, to put a ſtop to the ravages the Welch were making in Shropſhire and Cheſhire. This diverſion could never have happened, at a more unſeaſonable juncture, as it prevented the king from the conqueſt of Normandy, when he thought that he was ſure of it; and, therefore, he left that country, with extreme regret, after he had been reconciled to Henry, his brother, who came over with him into England.

The king's two expeditions into Wales.

Upon his arrival, he marched into Wales, where he rebuilt the caſtle of Montgomery; and, at his approach, the Welch, according to cuſtom, retired among the mountains, where it was impoſſible to attack them; and, as he was a ſtranger to the intricate windings of this hilly country, he loſt ſo many men, by obſtinately purſuing the enemy, that he was, at laſt, conſtrained to deſiſt from his deſign.

However, notwithſtanding the difficulties of this expedition, he reſolved upon a ſecond, the ſame year, after he had reinforced his army with new levies; but ſcarce had he entered Wales, before he was diverted from his enterprize, by an affair of greater importance. 1095.

Robert de Mowbray, being elated, on the account of his ſignal ſucceſs over the Scots, imagined, that William could not ſufficiently reward him, for that valiant undertaking; but the king, who had not the leaſt ſpark of generoſity in his nature, expreſs'd ſo little gratitude, on this occaſion, that the earl's lofty ſpirit prompted him to reſent the treatment he received; and nothing leſs would gratify his revenge, than an attempt to dethrone his ſovereign, in order to place the crown on the head of Stephen, earl of Albemarle, nephew to William the Conqueror. He had engaged, in this conſpiracy, a great number of lords, who were equally diſguſted, at the ſevere and haughty uſage they met with from the king; and William was informed of theſe proceedings, as he was on his march to Wales; but, this war ſeeming to be trifling, in compariſon of the plot, that was forming in the north, he ſteered his courſe thither, reſolving to cruſh, at once, the author of this revolt, before he could be join'd by the reſt of the conſpirators. The rebels, foreſeeing that he would advance towards them, laid an ambuſh for him on the way, which would have infallibly ſucceeded, were it not that William de Tunbridge, one of their number, apprized him of it; and, upon this, the king, continuing his march, went and beſieged the caſtle of Banborough, which was inveſted by Mowbray. This place, which was not only very ſtrong, but alſo well ſtored with neceſſaries, holding out longer, than was expected, he determined to change the ſiege into a blockade, that he might go in queſt of the other revolters, who were already up in arms; and, therefore, he built, near Banborough, a fortreſs, which he named Mal-voiſin, or bad neighbour, to cut off the beſieged from the poſſibility of a reinforcement. Mowbray, ſoon after, going out of the caſtle, upon a falſe information, had the misfortune of falling into the hands of the beſiegers; and, no ſooner was the king informed of it, than he ordered the priſoner to be conducted cloſe up to the walls of Banborough; and that, if the enemy refuſed to ſurrender, his eyes ſhould be put out, before their faces. Upon this, the caſtle was delivered up, on certain conditions; and Mowbray was impriſoned in Windſor-caſtle, where he remained 30 years. His accomplices, in the revolt, were treated with equal ſeverity; for Roger Lacy was diſpoſſeſs'd of all his eſtates, and Hugh, earl of Cheſter, redeemed his life, with the ſum of 3000 l. ſterling. The count of Eu, chuſing to vindicate his innocence, by ſingle combate, againſt his accuſer, being vanquiſhed, had his eyes put out, and was forced to endure caſtration; William of Arles was ſentenced to be hanged, tho' he proteſted that he was innocent, with his dying breath; and all the reſt, to a man, were condemned to various puniſhments.

Mowbray is the author of a revolt. Malmſ. Hoved. Dunelm. Brompt.

William was in great danger of falling into an ambuſh.

He lays ſiege to Banborough, and builds Mal-voiſin. Hunting. Hoveden.

Mowbray, being taken, is impriſon'd.

All his accomplices are puniſhed.

This commotion being appeaſed, another aroſe, occaſioned by the revival of the quarrel between

1095. between the king and the archbiſhop of Canterbury. William had very little regard to the immunities of the church, which Anſelm inſiſted on, in too imperious a manner; for he even preſumed to own Urban II. to be the lawful pope, tho' he was no ſtranger to the king's ſentiments, in favour of Clement, in direct contradiction to a law, enacted in the late reign, that no perſon ſhould acknowledge any pope, without the king's conſent. Anſelm did not pay the leaſt deference to that order, pretending, that the king had no right to concern himſelf about eccleſiaſtical affairs; but, by the way, what grounds had the archbiſhop, for aſſuming the power of determining that affair, for the whole church of England? The king was not of ſuch a paſſive temper, as to ſubmit to his ſubject; and, having given him ſome rough uſage, on the account of his haughty behaviour, he deſired leave to take a journey to Rome. William, at firſt, denied his requeſt, tho', at length, he was brought to a compliance, thinking his abſence would be an happy riddance of ſo troubleſome a prelate; but, that he might not depart, without ſome farther marks of his diſpleaſure, he ſent an officer after him, who, overtaking him, juſt as he was upon the point of embarquing, ranſack'd his baggage, and rifled him of all the money he could find, pretending, that it was contrary to law, to carry the coin out of the kingdom. The king, upon Anſelm's departure, ſeized on the temporalities of the archbiſhoprick, enjoying them, to the day of his death; tho' the archbiſhop continued, for ſome time, at Rome, where he exerted all his art and intereſt, to excite the pope againſt the king; but, perceiving, at the long-run, that Urban would not interpoſe, in his behalf, he retired to a monaſtery, at Lyons, where he reſided, till he was recalled into England, in the ſucceeding reign of Henry I.

The quarrel between the king and Anſelm. Dunelm. Hunting. Hoved.

1096. Urban II. was, about this time, ready to diſcloſe the grand deſign, which had employed his thoughts, for a conſiderable while, viz. the famous Cruſado, which was undertaken, to recover the Holy Land from the Saracens; but this important tranſaction is ſo notorious, that it is entirely needleſs to enter into particulars. It will be ſufficient to obſerve, that Peter, the hermit, was the projector of this ſcheme; that pope Urban II. held, upon it, the council of Clermont; and, that vaſt numbers, of all nations and conditions in Europe, were deſirous of engaging in it. The badge, they wore, was a red croſs wrought in their habit, and appearing on their ſhoulders; from whence they were called the Croiſes, or the croſs'd, and the expedition, the Cruſade. Their motto was, It is God's will; and the principal perſons of the Croiſes were Hugh of France, Godfrey of Bulloign, Raimund of Tholouſe, count of St. Giles, Robert, earl of Flanders, Baldwin, earl of Haynault, Bohemond, prince of Tarentum, Tancred, his nephew, and Robert, duke of Normandy. The laſt of theſe was extremely fond of making a figure in a war, which was ſo very remarkable; but he wanted money, to defray the neceſſary charges. He had no other way, to ſupply this defect, than to borrow a ſum of the king, his brother, and pawn Normandy, for his ſecurity, who very gladly accepted the propoſal; but, as the kingdom was exhauſted by his late levies and impoſitions, he was obliged to make uſe of other expedients. The moſt expeditious method, in his opinion, was to deſire the riches of his ſubjects, particularly, the nobility and clergy; and his requeſt, having the force of a command, ſuch, as would not fall in with it, were compelled to a compliance, without any reſpect of perſons. This proceeding furniſhed the lords with a handle, for treating their vaſſals in the ſame manner; and ſeveral eccleſiaſticks either were, or pretended to be, under a neceſſity of melting down the church-plate, and even the ſhrines of the ſaints.

The holy war. Dunelm. Flor. Wig. Eadmer.

1096. Robert mortgages Normandy to the king, his brother. Hoved. Malmſ.

Let us ſtop here, for a moment, to reflect on the oppoſite tempers and characters of the king and the duke. The latter ſcruples to oppreſs his ſubjects, in order to carry on an expedition approved of by all the world, chuſing rather to mortgage his own dominions; whilſt the former makes no conſcience of extorting money from his people, merely, to gratify his own ambition; which abundantly proves, how exceedingly the Conqueror injured the Engliſh, in preferring the younger before the elder brother.

The different tempers of the king and the duke.

William, upon Robert's departure, immediately took poſſeſſion of Normandy, and demanded of the king of France the French Vexin, which, he alledged, was a branch of the dutchy; but this demand was the occaſion of a war, which ended, the next year, in a treaty of peace.

William's war with France.

1097. William, having eaſily made himſelf maſter of Normandy, ſet about the conqueſt of Wales; and, after extraordinary preparations, he thought he could not fail of proving ſucceſsful, as he expected to ſurprize the Welch, reſolving to extirpate all their males, whoſe neighbourhood had given him ſo much diſturbance; but he was, at length, notwithſtanding his ſanguine hopes, diſappointed. Tho', by the aſſiſtance of ſome deſerters, he had penetrated, a conſiderable way, into that difficult country, his loſs of men exceeded that of the enemy; ſo that he was obliged, once more, to drop this deſign.

His war with the Welch. Brompt. Hoved. Hunting. An. Sax.

1098. In a little time after, upon a new revolution in Scotland, William ſent an army thither, under Edgar Atheling's command; for Donald, who was dethroned, recovered his crown, and, in his turn, not only depoſed Duncan, but forced him to abandon the kingdom. The moſt of the Engliſh hiſtorians aſſert, that William, as ſovereign lord of Scotland, made himſelf an umpire, in this affair; and that, in juſtice to Edgar, Malcolm Mocmoir's eldeſt ſon, he diſpatched his troops into Scotland, to place that prince on the throne. However, without ſtaying to canvas this point, I ſhall only take notice, that Edgar Atheling, with the help of the Engliſh army, put Edgar, his nephew, in poſſeſſion of the crown of his anceſtors; and that William could not undertake this expedition, in perſon, by reaſon of the revolt of the province of Maine,

The affairs of Scotland.

1098. Maine, which conſtrained him to repair thither, and lay ſiege to the capital.

The Engliſh invade Wales. Chr. Gal. An. Sax. Hoved.

In the mean while, Wales was again expos'd to the inſults of the Engliſh, or rather Normans; for Owen, a Welch lord, father-in-law to Griffith and Cadagan, kings of Wales, having been affronted by his ſons-in-law, privately invited the earls of Cheſter and Shrewſbury into his country, promiſing them a large booty. The earls, having raiſed ſome troops, were received, by Owen, into Wales, where they committed inexpreſſible cruelties; and both the kings, being, thus, ſurprized, were obliged to retreat into Ireland; upon which, the Engliſh penetrated, as far as the iſle of Angleſey, deſtroying all before them, with fire and ſword. Whilſt they were in the height of their outrages, Magnus, king of Norway, who had, juſt before, ſubdued the iſle of Man, chanced to come thither, and was deſirous of landing; but the Engliſh attempted to prevent him, and the earl of Shrewsbury was ſlain, in the skirmiſh, his death being conſidered, as a juſt judgment, for the horrible barbarities he committed in the iſle. This accident having thrown the Engliſh into diſorder, they were compelled to retire from the ſhore; but Magnus, after he had landed, perceiving that they had left him nothing to plunder, put to ſea again, and the Engliſh made off with their booty.

The king of Norway attempts to land in Angleſey. Pol. Virg. Hoved. Brompt. Du Cheſ.

William rebuilds London-bridge, Weſtminſter-hall, and a wall round the tower.

Theſe little advantages bore no proportion to the calamities of the Engliſh, in this very year; for, beſides a great ſcarcity, occaſioned by bad weather, which continued ſeveral months, the king laid heavy taxes upon them, ſo much the more grievous and inſupportable, as the money was to be expended in works that were unneceſſary, or, at leaſt, might be deferr'd to a more convenient ſeaſon. He not only rebuilt London-bridge, which had been carried away by an unuſual flood, but engaged in other undertakings, that were vaſtly expenſive. He raiſed a new wall round the tower, and built a magnificent hall at Weſtminſter, 270 foot long, and 70 broad; tho' William, when he returned from Normandy, was pleaſed to ſay, it ſcarce deſerved the name of a bed-chamber, in compariſon of what he intended. It is related, that his ſole view, in this edifice, was to have a pretence for raiſing money; and that, for the ſame reaſon, he would have ordered it to be pull'd down, in order to have been made more ſpacious, if he had not been prevented by other affairs.

1099. William relieves Mans. Malmſ. Dunelm. Hunting. Sax. An. Daniel.

About midſummer, as William was hunting in the New-Foreſt, he received information, that Hely, count de la Fleſche, had taken, by ſurprize, the city of Mans, and was then beſieging the caſtle, which would ſoon be conſtrained to ſurrender, if it were not ſpeedily relieved. Upon this, the king, breaking off his ſport, ſent the meſſenger back, with all expedition, giving him orders to aſſure the beſieged, that he would be with them in eight days; and, at the ſame time, he turned his horſe towards the ſea-ſide, crying out, "Let him, that loves "me, follow me," and arrived at Dartmouth, that very day, where he expreſſed a great deſire of embarquing immediately; for, upon the maſter of the ſhip's acquainting him, that, on the account of a contrary wind, he could not put to ſea, without manifeſt danger, William replied, "Tuſh, ſet forward, thou never yet "heardeſt of a king that was drowned;" and, having obliged him to ſail, he ſafely arrived at Barfleur. The very next day, he ſent for his troops in Normandy, to attend him, on the road to Mans; and, in a few days, he marched to the relief of the beſieged. By this prodigious expedition, he not only relieved the caſtle, but took the count of Fleſche priſoner; and, being fluſh'd with his ſucceſs, he could not forbear jeſting on the misfortune of his enemy. However, the count, far from being dejected, bravely anſwer'd, that he had no reaſon to boaſt of an advantage, which he gained, by ſurprize; and that, if he were again at liberty, he would convince him, that it would not be ſo eaſy a matter to conquer him, at another time. The victorious king, upon theſe words, in point of honour, releaſed him, on the ſpot, declaring, "that the only return, he "deſired, was, that he ſhould do his worſt;" and then he returned to England, with all imaginable ſpeed, and purſued his diverſion, which this affair had interrupted. 1099.

The ſame year, the Croiſes took Jeruſalem, by ſtorm, putting 40,000 Saracens to the ſword; and, when they proceeded to elect a king, to govern the country they had ſubdued from the Infidels, the majority of the leaders of the chriſtian army gave their votes, for Robert duke of Normandy; tho' this prince, for ſome private reaſons, refuſed to accept their offer *; and afterwards they made choice of the famous Godfrey of Bulloign, who, by his courage and conduct, had exceedingly contributed to the ſucceſs of that expedition. The Croiſes take Jeruſalem.

1100. The earl of Poitiers mortgages his dominions to the king. Malmſ. Ord. Vit.

Fortune ſeemed, now, to delight, in heaping favours on William; for, having obtained Normandy, by a fortunate turn, he met with a fair opportunity of becoming maſter of the dutchy of Guienne and earldom of Poitou. William, earl of Poitiers, was reſolved to join the many princes, that had engaged in the holy war, with a powerful reinforcement; but, as he could not accompliſh his deſign, without a vaſt expence, he had recourſe to the king of England, for the ſum he wanted, propoſing to mortgage his dominions, for his ſecurity. William, gladly embracing ſuch an advantageous propoſal, raiſed the money, with all poſſible expedition; and he determin'd to carry it himſelf to the earl, that he might, at the ſame time, enter into poſſeſſion of Guienne and Poitou, two of the richeſt provinces in France; but, whilſt he was making preparations for his voyage, he was diſpos'd to take the diverſion of hunting in the New-Foreſt, where an unexepected death put a period to all his projects.

* At leaſt, it paſs'd current in England, as we ſhall ſee, in the year 1106; the motive of his refuſal is ſaid to be an expectation of the Engliſh crown; and the hiſtorians remark, that, after this, he never proſpered in any of his undertakings.

It

1100.

William is accidentally ſlain, as he was hunting. Hoved. Malmſ. Brompt. Knyghton.

It is reported, that, as the king was juſt going to mount his horſe, he was informed, that a certain monk had dreamt a dream, which portended ſome great misfortune to him; yet, as he paid very little regard to ſuch preſages, he anſwered, in a jeſt, that he evidently ſaw, that the monk wanted money, and, therefore, order'd him 100 ſhillings; tho' he directed him to dream better dreams, for the future *. Whether this is to be conſidered, as an omen, or as the mere effect of chance, it is certain, that very day, towards evening, William, having wounded a ſtag, was, with full ſpeed, purſuing the game, when Walter Tyrrel, a French knight, ſhooting at the ſame ſtag, pierced the king through the heart; upon which, he inſtantly dropp'd down dead, without ſpeaking a word †. The murderer, tho' he was conſcious of his own innocence, made his eſcape, as no one attempted to apprehend him; for all the king's attendants were employ'd about him, whoſe body was laid in a cart, which accidentally paſs'd by, and carried to Wincheſter, where it was interred, the next day. Henry, his brother, to forward his own meaſures, to ſecure the crown, diſpatched the funeral; which was celebrated, without much ceremony, as no one lamented the loſs of a prince, that had ſo ſmall an intereſt in the love and eſteem of his ſubjects.

William Rufus's character.

Thus, William Rufus departed this life, on the ſecond of Auguſt, in the year 1100, in the 44th year of his age, having reigned 12 years, 10 months, and 20 days; and his tragical end, on the very ſpot where one of his brothers and a nephew fell, by extraordinary accidents, occaſion'd many reflections. It was generally believed, and reported, the Almighty was pleaſed, in this manner, to take vengeance of the Conqueror's family, for his deſolating the country, ſo very unaccountably, to make the New-Foreſt; but, without having recourſe to his father's crimes, the ſon had guilt enough of his own, to juſtify his being taken off the ſtage of this world, by an uncommon death; and, accordingly, the hiſtorians have not ſcrupled to range William, among thoſe princes, who were far from adding any luſtre to the crown of England.

This prince inherited all his father's vices, tho' he was a ſtranger to his virtues. Indeed, William I. made ſome attonement for his blemiſhes, by his ſtrict temperance and chaſtity; but, as for William II. it appears, that he was neither religious, chaſte, nor temperate. He was prodigal of his favours to his courtiers and ſoldiers, as well as he affected great pomp and magnificence, in his buildings and habit. It is related, that, his valet bringing him, at a certain time, a new pair of breeches, which coſt no more than three ſhillings, he was extremely diſpleaſed, and, in a paſſion, gave him orders never to buy him a pair, that coſt him leſs than a mark; and, it is ſaid, he was content with a worſe pair, being valued at that price. If we may give credit to the accounts concerning him, he had neither honour, conſcience, faith, nor religion; and he was even ambitious of expreſſing an open contempt of theſe noble principles. It is affirmed, that 50 Engliſh gentlemen accus'd of hunting and killing the king's deer, having, one day, paſs'd through the fire-ordeal, unhurt, he ſwore, "that "he could not believe, that God was a righteous "judge, ſince he protected ſuch perſons;" and Eadmer, who lived in his time, tells us, that he took money from the Jews at Roan, to force thoſe, that received baptiſm, to relapſe into Judaiſm ‡. Malmsbury aſſures us, that William, having ordered ſome biſhops and rabbins to diſpute, in his preſence, about religion, he declared to the rabbins, that he would be circumciſed himſelf, if their arguments appeared to him to be more concluſive, than thoſe of the chriſtians; tho', as the hiſtorian obſerves, it is to be preſumed, this was done, in order to ridicule them; and he is likewiſe charged with denying Divine Providence, as well as publickly maintaining, that prayers, addreſs'd to ſaints, were vain and impertinent.

Eadmer.

Remarks on the account the hiſtorians give us of his character.

But, that we may form a true judgment of the teſtimony of theſe hiſtorians, who were either monks or eccleſiaſticks, it muſt be conſidered, that it is very poſſible, they may have aggravated his faults; becauſe he was the firſt king of England, that ſeized on the church's revenues, without any regard to the clamours of the clergy. This, they apprehended, to be an unpardonable crime; and, perhaps, their inveterate prejudices againſt him might induce them to imagine,

* The monk dreamt, that he ſaw the king gnaw a crucifix, with his teeth, and, that, when he was going to bite of its legs, the image ſpurn'd him to the ground; but, as he lay groveling on the earth, a flame of fire proceeded out of his mouth, with much ſmoke. Malmſ.

† The caſe is, thus, according to Sir John Hayward. As the king was hunting at Choringham, in the New-Foreſt, he ſlightly wounded a deer, with an arrow; and, ſtopping his horſe, to look after the deer, he held his hands before his eyes, that the ſun-beams might not dazzle his ſight; but, another deer croſſing the way, Sir Walter Tyrrel, ſhooting at it too careleſly, or too ſteadily at the king, he ſtruck him full in the breaſt. Mr. Tyrrel obſerves, that tho' Florence of Worceſter, Malmsbury, and Simeon of Durham, who wrote, within 40 years after this accident, do all agree in the circumſtances of this ſtory; yet there are authors of that very age, who poſitively deny, that Sir Walter had any concern in it. Eadmer relates, "whether the arrow was ſhot at him, or, as moſt affirm, ſlew him, by his fal-"ling upon it--." His tomb, ſomewhat elevated from the ground, continues, to this day, in the choir of Wincheſter-cathedral.

‡ A young Jew being converted, by the viſion of a ſaint, it is ſaid, his father made the king a preſent of 60 marks, intreating him to oblige his ſon to return to his old religion. Upon this, the king ſent for the young man, and commanded him to turn Jew again, without the leaſt heſitation; but the youth refuſing to renounce chriſtianity, and being amazed, that the king, who was a chriſtian, ſhould make ſuch a propoſal to him, he was ordered to depart from his preſence. The father, finding that the king had not reclaimed his ſon, deſired to have his money returned. "Nay, replied the king, I have taken pains enough, for it all; but to ſhew thee, how kindly I will uſe thee, thou "ſhalt have one half, and the other thou can'ſt not, in conſcience, deny me, for my pains." Eadmer, p. 47.

1100. that a prince, guilty of ſuch an heinous enormity, muſt, of courſe, be entirely deſtitute of faith and religion.

This obſervation receives farther confirmation, as the writers, who charge him with profaneneſs, only found their aſſertions on ſome publick rumours; and, tho' he is alſo accuſed of incontinence, they do not produce any particular inſtances, nor ſo much as mention the names of any of his miſtreſſes; and yet the amours of kings are not eaſily concealed. It is Baker. Thorn. certain, they father a baſtard-ſon on him, named Berſtrand; but this, alone, would never have ſo highly diſguſted them, had they not been incenſed by his other actions, in the conſequences of which they were more nearly concerned. However, I advance this obſervation, as no more than a conjecture, referring it to the reader's judgment; yet, as there are very few of this prince's actions, that are worthy to be ſet in the balance, againſt theſe accuſations, I cannot conceive, how it is poſſible to vindicate a perſon, whom all the hiſtorians agree to paint in the blackeſt colours.

His ordinary revenues were, probably, the ſame with thoſe of his father; but, as he was more extravagant, he often increaſed them, by extraordinary taxes and impoſitions. He had likewiſe the profits of the vacant benefices; for, Hunting. at the time of his death, he was poſſeſs'd of the archbiſhoprick of Canterbury, the biſhopricks of Wincheſter and Salisbury, and 12 rich abbies, beſides a great number of other inferior church-preferments. When he had enjoyed the incomes of theſe vacant benefices, for ſome years, and was diſpoſed to fill them, he had no regard to the merits of the candidates, but only to the higheſt bidder; tho', it is ſaid, that, on a certain day, as two monks at- Higden. tempted to outbid each other, for a wealthy abbey, the king, perceiving a third, who was no more than a ſpectator, he ask'd him, How much he would give for it? The monk replied, "He had no money; and that, "if he had, his conſcience would not allow "him to expend it, in that manner;" upon which, the king ſwore, by St. Luke's face, his uſual oath, that he deſerv'd it better than the other two, and ſhould have it for nothing.

Ranulph Flambart, a perſon of mean extraction, was his high-treaſurer, being the projector of moſt of the ways and means, by which he extorted money from his ſubjects; and he was rewarded, for his ſervices, with the biſhoprick of Durham, which the king conferred on him, a little before his death. 1100. Ranulph was his prime miniſter.

Among his charitable works, are reckon'd the hoſpital he founded at York, and the church he built in Southwark, for the uſe of the mendicant friars. Baker.

This prince was of a middle ſtature, tho' he ſeem'd to be ſhorter, than he really was, on the account of his fatneſs. His hair was of a deep yellow, inclining to red; and his eyes were of two different colours, being ſpeckled with ſmall black ſpots. He was, for the moſt, of a very ruddy complexion; and, tho' he was far from being eloquent, he made uſe of many words, eſpecially, when he was in a paſſion. He had a ſevere aſpect, and a ſtrong voice, which he would ſometimes raiſe, on purpoſe to terrify thoſe to whom he ſpoke; tho' it is ſaid, he convers'd affably with his courtiers, who eaſily found the way to ſoften his rough temper. Malmſ. Baker.

We have an account of ſeveral extraordinary accidents, which fell out, in this reign, as earthquakes, comets, and a ſpring which ran blood, for three days together; but the moſt deſtructive was, firſt, a great fire in 1092, which conſumed a conſiderable part of London; and, in the next place, the ſea riſing to an unuſual height, overflowed the coaſt of Kent, and ſwept away vaſt numbers of people and cattle. This inundation covered the lands, that formerly belonged to earl Goodwin, in the time of Edward the Confeſſor; which are, to this day, called Goodwin's Sands, and are famous for ſhipwrecks. 1100. Extraordinary accidents in his reign.

Malmſbury remarks, that tho' the minds of men were inclined to war, in this reign; yet exceſs and ſenſuality prevailed, to a ſcandalous degree, among the nobility, and even among the clergy. Vanity, luſt and intemperance, the ſame hiſtorian aſſures us, reigned in all places; and the men affected ſo much effeminacy, in their dreſs and converſation, that they diſcovered their own ſex, in nothing, except their daily attempts upon the chaſtity of the women. Malmſbury's remarks on the vicious manners of this reign.

3. HENRY I. ſirnamed Beau-Clerk.

Henry I. 1100. THE Engliſh look'd upon the death of William Ruſus, as a remarkable deliverance, tho' it did not put an end to the Norman yoke; ſince there ſtill ſurvived two ſons of William the Conqueror, to one of whom they muſt, in a little time, of courſe, own their ſubjection. Indeed, they had now a fair opportunity of ſhaking it off, if they had reſolved upon the recovery of their liberty, or the two late kings had left it in their power, to attempt it; but ſuch was their abject and deplorable condition, being deprived of their eſtates, and excluded from all publick employments, that they could not give way to ſuch aſpiring thoughts; ſo that they were obliged to acquieſce in the proceedings of the Normans, who were maſters of the kingdom; and, in all probability, the Normans themſelves were exceedingly perplexed, by reaſon of the two brothers, who might, both of them, lay claim to the crown. Robert, duke of Normandy, had, by his primogeniture, an inconteſtable right, which was farther corroborated by his treaty with William Ruſus; in which it was agreed, that, upon the deceaſe of the one, the other ſhould be heir to all their father's

The ſentiments of the Engliſh and Normans, with reſpect to the ſucceſſion.

1100. ther's dominions. Beſides, his good-nature and generoſity, which had gained him a numerous party in England, ſeemed to give him a great advantage over prince Henry, whoſe temper was very little known; but, on the other hand, his ſloth and indolence exceedingly prejudiced people againſt him, inſomuch that his beſt friends were afraid of declaring, in his favour, leſt he ſhould not be in a condition of ſupporting his right. They knew, that he had ſet out from the Holy Land, tho' they were ignorant of the place, where he halted; and, conſidering the vaſt expence of his voyage, they had grounds to preſume, that, at his return, he would be in want of the neceſſary means, to diſpute the crown with his brother. On the contrary, Henry was born in England, which argument had a mighty influence over ſome perſons; and his pretenſions were ſeconded with his preſence, as well as with a poſitive promiſe, both to the Normans and Engliſh, that he would abrogate all the rigorous laws, made ſince the conqueſt, reſtore the government to its antient ſtate, in the time of the Saxons, put a ſtop to all unreaſonable and arbitrary taxes, recover the privileges of the clergy, fill up all the vacant benefices, and recall the eccleſiaſticks, that were ſent into baniſhment; but, perhaps, all theſe promiſes would not have anſwered his purpoſe, if his diligence and activity, at this juncture, had not added weight to his reaſons. Upon William's death, he directly poſted to Wincheſter, where the regalia were kept, with the royal treaſure, and would have taken poſſeſſion of them, had he not been ſtoutly oppoſed by Roger de Bretevil, one of Robert's party. This lord alledged, that he was obliged, by oath, to own the duke of Normandy for his ſovereign, provided William died, without iſſue; and that, beſides, the law of nature gave Robert a right, which could not juſtly be called in queſtion. During this conteſt, ſeveral other lords, being arrived at Wincheſter, there was quickly a great concourſe of people, who came, from all parts, to know what was in agitation; and, if the election of a king had ſolely depended upon the voices of the lords, then aſſembled, the duke of Normandy would, doubtleſs, have been choſen; but Henry did not allow them time, to put their deſign in execution. As he perceived, that the people eſpouſed his cauſe, he made the beſt uſe of that advantage; and, drawing his ſword, he ſwore, that no man ſhould ſeize on the crown. The diſpute riſing to a ſtill greater height, the lords thought it convenient to retire into a private room, to conſult more calmly, what ſteps were moſt expedient, on this occaſion; but, whilſt they were, thus, employed, the people made the name of Henry rebound in their ears, by loud acclamations, which gave them reaſon to apprehend, that it would be extremely dangerous to declare for Robert; and, therefore, preferring their own ſafety to juſtice and equity, they, at once, came to a reſolution, that, in order to prevent a civil war, Henry ſhould be placed on the throne. This proceeding, the prince imagined, ſufficiently eſtabliſh'd his authority; and, without waiting for the confirmation of the eſtates, he directly ſet out for London, and was crowned, the day after his arrival, by Maurice, biſhop of that city, having, firſt, adminiſter'd to him the uſual oath.

1100.

He is crowned.

The ſhort interval, between William's death and Henry's coronation, is advanced, as an argument, by thoſe who maintain, that the right of electing kings was, at that time, confined to a few of the principal lords; at leaſt, that the commons had no concern in the elections; for, as Henry was not in a condition to take poſſeſſion of the crown, by downright violence, and was not the next heir to it, his elder brother being alive, it follows, that he obtained it, by election. Now, to prove, that he was choſen by the repreſentatives of the nation, as at this day by a parliament, it muſt be made appear, that they were then ſitting, which is impoſſible; much leſs can it be pretended, that, in the ſpace of three days, the ſtates could be ſummoned and actually aſſembled. This is a very ſpecious argument; but yet, nothing can be inferred from it, as there had not been any regulations made, ſince the conqueſt, about the ſucceſſion to the crown*.

A remark on this election.

As Henry's haſty and irregular election interrupted the natural order of things, there was ſome reaſon to fear, that it would have a dangerous influence on the minds of his ſubjects; and, therefore, it was, to the laſt degree, neceſſary, that, in the beginning of his reign, he ſhould do all that was poſſible, to induce them to entertain a good opinion of his government. The accompliſhment of his promiſes being the beſt criterion, to demonſtrate his integrity, he immediately ſet about it, in order to gain the people's affections; and, firſt of all, he undertook to reform the court. The courtiers, for the moſt part, ſure of eſcaping with impunity, in the late reign, treated the people, in a very infamous and tyrannical manner; for they not only loaded them with all ſorts of cruel and unjuſt oppreſſions, and ſecretly attempted to violate the chaſtity of the women, but openly gloried in theſe odious and ſhameful practices. To rectify theſe diſorders, Henry iſſued out a very ſevere edict, againſt all offenders, in general, but, eſpecially, againſt adulterers; and thoſe, who abuſed their power, in oppreſſing his ſubjects, he order'd to be put to death, without mercy. Some, who were already notorious, on this account, were baniſh'd from the court; and Ranulph, biſhop of Durham, the deteſted miniſter of the late king, was impriſon'd.

Henry reforms abuſes.

Theſe proceedings were attended with others, that render'd him ſtill more agreeable to the Engliſh; for he aboliſh'd the Couvre-feu, and granted them a charter, in which he ratified ſeveral privileges, they had enjoyed

He grants a charter to his ſubjects.

Henry is elected.

* This diſpute, whether the commons were concerned in the election of kings, ſeems to take its riſe, from not conſidering, that the barons were poſſeſs'd of all the lands, in thoſe days; and that there were not then any commons, like thoſe that we now call by that name, nor till ſome time after.

under

1100. under the Saxon kings, renouncing all thoſe unreaſonable prerogatives, his father and brother had uſurped. By this charter, he reſtored to the church all her antient rights and immunities, freeing her from all the hardſhips, ſhe had, for ſome time, ſuffered, particularly, during the vacant ſees and abbies; and he conſented, that the heirs of earls and barons, upon a death, ſhould enter upon their inheritance, upon the payment of a lawful relief, without being obliged to give any thing to the king, by way of redemption, commanding the lords, alſo, to treat their vaſſals in the ſame manner. He allowed the nobles to diſpoſe of their daughters in marriage, without asking his leave, provided they were not married to the enemies of the ſtate; and he appointed mothers, or the neareſt relations, to be the guardians of minors. He made a ſtandard for all weights and meaſures; and he ordained, that coiners ſhould be puniſhed with the loſs of limbs. In fine, having granted a general pardon for all crimes, committed before his coronation, and remitted all the arrears and debts due to the crown, he confirmed the laws of king Edward, i. e. the laws in force, during the Saxon monarchy, which were either wholly laid aſide, or expreſly aboliſhed, after the conqueſt; and this laſt material article gave entire ſatisfaction, both to the Engliſh and Normans. The Engliſh, of courſe, were extremely well pleaſed, at the reſtoration of their antient laws; and the Normans, who, hitherto, were liable to be diſpoſſeſſed of their eſtates, at the king's pleaſure, were, by this means, ſcreened from the violence of arbitrary power. This charter being approved and ſigned by the lords ſpiritual and temporal, ſeveral copies of it were tranſcribed, and laid up in the principal monaſteries, to be conſulted, as occaſion offered*.

1101. He recalls Anſelm.

The people, from theſe auſpicious beginnings, were led to promiſe themſelves great happineſs, under their new monarch; but there was, yet, one thing wanting, to compleat their ſatisfaction, viz. the recalling Anſelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury. However, Henry, willing to gratify them, in this particular, wrote a letter to that prelate, who was ſtill at Lyons, to invite him home, giving him to underſtand, that he would be guided by his counſels, and entruſt him with the adminiſtration of affairs; upon which, Anſelm, being tranſported with this agreeable news, returned to England, with all poſſible expedition.

The king deſigns to marry Matilda of Scotland.

The arrival of Anſelm was no leſs acceptable to the king, than to the people; for he wanted his aſſiſtance in an affair, that could not well be brought about, without it. As his view was to gain the affections of the Engliſh, he thought nothing could more effectually contribute towards this deſign, than his marrying Matilda, daughter to Malcolm, king of Scotland, by Margaret, ſiſter to Edgar Atheling; and, indeed, this alliance could not but be very pleaſing to the Engliſh, as it would be a means of reſtoring the royal family of the Saxons to the crown. 1101.

A great obſtacle to the marriage.

Henry had already demanded the princeſs of king Edgar, her brother; but he met with an almoſt inſuperable obſtacle in his way, as ſhe had been educated in England, in the monaſtery at Wilton, and had even put on the veil. It is certain, it was alledged, in her behalf, that ſhe only took the vow of virginity, as a ſafeguard to her honour, which was ſuppoſed to be in danger, at the beginning of the conqueſt; but this reaſon did not appear to be ſatisfactory to the two kings, tho' they were both equally deſirous of the match. It was notorious, that Matilda had taken up the veil; and it was generally believed, that ſhe had vowed chaſtity. Some authors even affirm, that ſhe excepted againſt her marriage, as unlawful; and that, tho', at length, ſhe yielded to the ſollicitations of her brother and lover, ſhe curs'd the line, that ſhould ſpring from her, as abominable in the ſight of God. The deciſion of this affair, which ſeemed to be an intricate point, being referred to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, he called a council to aſſiſt him, which was convened at Lambeth; but, this aſſembly being entirely inclined to the king's ſide of the queſtion, the arguments, to prove that Matilda was at liberty to marry, were ſo artfully managed, that the council declared the intended marriage to be lawful; and, accordingly, it was, ſoon after, ſolemnized, to the general ſatisfaction of both kingdoms. M. Paris. P. Virg.

Duke Robert makes an attempt to recover the crown.

Whilſt theſe things were in agitation, duke Robert was returned to Normandy, and had taken poſſeſſion of his dutchy, without any reſiſtance; for tho' Normandy was mortgaged to the late king, Henry judged it inexpedient to diſpute the matter with his brother, at this juncture, as he was apprehenſive of being attacked, on the account of England. Robert, having, on his way home, from the Holy Land, ſtaid, ſome time, at Apulia, where he married a wife, had given his brother an opportunity of ſecuring the crown; but he was no ſooner arrived, than he publickly expreſſed his uneaſineſs, at being, thus ſupplanted, and reſolved upon an attempt, to recover his loſs. The biſhop of Durham, now, in Normandy, having made his eſcape out of priſon, exerted himſelf, to confirm the duke in his reſolution; and ſeveral Norman lords, who had been, in a manner, forced to conſent to Henry's election, began to concert meaſures, how to place Robert on the throne. They had already tamper'd with ſome of the principal Engliſh lords, in order to engage them in a conſpiracy againſt the king; and, as they were no

* There were as many copies of this charter, as counties, which were ſent to certain abbies in each county; and yet there was ſcarce one to be found, in the reign of king John, whoſe Magna Charta was founded upon it. There is a copy, at this day, in the Red-book of the Exchequer; and M. Paris has given us a tranſcript of that, which was ſent into Herefordſhire, which is to be found, as tranſlated by Tyrrel, p. 114. b. 111. vol. II.

ſtrangers

1001. ſtrangers to the duke's mild and generous temper, they promiſed themſelves far greater happineſs under him, than in the reign of Henry, who ſeemed to be a perſon of more ſpirit and vigour. In the interim, the rumour of Robert's deſign had made different impreſſions on the minds of the people; for, tho' ſome of them were inclined to perſevere in their loyalty to the king, to whom they had ſwore allegiance, others reſumed their former inclinations, in favour of the duke, which exceedingly perplexed Henry's affairs; and, if he was jealous of the fidelity of the Engliſh, they no leſs ſuſpected the ſincerity of his intentions. From the experience they had of the two late kings, they had but too much reaſon to dread, that the part, he had, hitherto acted, was only to amuſe them, and to prevent their eſpouſing the cauſe of his brother; and, in this extremity, Anſelm was very ſerviceable to the king, in fixing the ſentiments of the Engliſh. The archbiſhop, who was under great obligations to the king, took a pleaſure, in ſhewing his gratitude, on this occaſion; and, having aſſembled the chief of the Engliſh and Norman lords, he ſo poſitively aſſured them, that the king would make good his engagements to them, with the utmoſt punctuality, as to give them entire ſatisfaction; and yet it was no ſooner known, that the duke was on the point of embarquing for England, than the moſt of the nobles declared for him, and part of the fleet followed their example. Upon this, the duke landed at Portſmouth, without the leaſt oppoſition; and ſuch as daily came over to him, aſſuring him, that their countrymen were cordially affected to him, inſpir'd him with hopes, that the king would, in a little time, be deſerted by the whole nation, who conſider'd their oath of allegiance, as extorted from them. In the mean while, Henry, taking all proper ſteps, to defeat the duke's deſigns, made ſingular uſe of Anſelm's credit, for whom the people had the moſt profound veneration; and no ſooner was the army in readineſs to march, than the archbiſhop, having called the principal officers together, repreſented to them, in ſo pathetick a manner, the guilt of the violation of their oaths to the king, that they unanimouſly declared, that they would hazard their lives and fortunes, for his ſake. Robert did not ſo much depend on his own forces, as on the auxiliary troops of the Engliſh, and he even threaten'd ſuch as perſiſted in their obedience to his brother, whom he ſtiled an uſurper; but, when he perceived, that the body of the nation adhered to the king, and that the army had juſt renewed their oath of allegiance to him, he was convinced, that his enterprize was become altogether impracticable. Thus, falling, at once, from the moſt raiſed hopes, into a ſtate of deſpair, he immediately embraced the propoſals of peace, ſent to him from the king; and the rather, becauſe he found, that the very perſons, who, at firſt, were moſt zealous for him, began to waver in their minds;

Robert enters into a treaty with his brother.

and, both the brothers being equally deſirous of an accommodation, the lords of each party had a meeting, to conſult about the means. It is natural to imagine, that Robert did not expect to obtain, by a treaty, a crown, which he could not acquire, by the force of arms; ſo that, as Henry was already crown'd, and born in England, after the king, his father, had aſcended the throne, the reſult of this conference was, that he ſhould keep the crown he had received. The king, on his part, promiſed to deliver up to Robert the caſtles in Normandy, that were garriſon'd with Engliſh, and to pay him, yearly, the ſum of 3000 marks; and it was alſo mutually agreed on, that, if one of the brothers died, without iſſue, the ſurvivor ſhould be heir to his dominions. This treaty, being ſigned and ſworn to, by 12 lords of each party, both the armies were disbanded; and Robert continued, two entire months, at the court of England, in perfect friendſhip with his brother.

1001.

1102. Ord. Vit. Brady.

This accommodation was extremely advantageous to the king; for it not only ſecured his crown, but gained him the eſteem and reverence of the people, who obſerved, that, by his prudence and ſteady conduct, he had put a ſtop to ſuch a difficult and dangerous buſineſs. However, he could not forget the danger he had eſcaped; and, leſt his enemies ſhould hereafter renew their attempts, to dethrone him, he reſolved to put it out of their power, by ruining them, one after another. It was an eaſy matter for him, to execute his reſolution; for opportunities of being revenged are ſeldom wanting to powerful princes. Soon after the treaty, he attacked, under various pretences, Hugh de Grantmenil, Robert de Pontefract, and ſome others, who evidently apprehended, that their greateſt crime was the regard they had expreſs'd, for the duke of Normandy; and he was particularly incenſed againſt Robert de Beleſme, who had ſhewn him the leaſt reſpect, and appear'd to be ſtill deſirous of raiſing new commotions. This young lord, who was ſon to the late earl of Montgomery, openly declared, that Henry was an uſurper, and that it was a diſhonour to the Normans, as well as the Engliſh, to ſuffer him to ſupplant his elder brother; and, not content with theſe bold and unguarded expreſſions, he proceeded to action, by fortifying his caſtles in Shropſhire. The king, who had determined to deſtroy him, was far from being diſpleaſed, at the plauſible handle he gave him; and, to compleat his deſtruction, he planted ſpies about him, who, pretending to come into his meaſures, had an opportunity of inſpecting all his actions; and they took care to have ſuch things ſaid to him, before ſuborned witneſſes, as might ſupport an accuſation againſt him. When the king thought, that he had ſufficient evidence, he ordered him to be accuſed of 45 articles, the leaſt of which had guilt enough, to convict him. Beleſme, making his appearance in court, asked for time, to prepare his anſwer; but, this being granted,

The king revenges himſelf on his enemies.

He attacks Robert de Beleſme.

1102. he retreated to Shrewsbury, expecting to be in a condition to defend himself, by the assistance of the Welch, who had espoused his cause. He was also buoyed up with the hopes of succours from several other lords, who seemed to give into his own sentiments; but, whether he was imposed upon, or they took him to be an improper person to be at the head of such an important undertaking, he was abandon'd by all, and, when it was too late, saw into the vanity of his projects. The king, having proclaimed him a traitor, marched against him, with such a superior force, that, in a few days, he subdued Shrewsbury, where the rebel durst not wait his arrival; and he afterwards seized on all his other castles, obliging him to quit all his possessions in England, and retire into Normandy, where he brought with him his ill-temper; but Henry confiscated his estate, involving his brothers in the same punishment, notwithstanding their innocence, in order to extirpate the whole family.

1103. The contest between Anselm and the king, about investitures.

The insolence of this lord did not occasion so much trouble to the king, as Anselm's haughty and imperious conduct. The archbishop was full of two projects, which could not, in all probability, without great difficulty, be put in execution; the first of which was to oblige the clergy to celibacy, and the second, to wrest from the king the investiture of bishops and abbots. With this view, he held a synod, which, by his influence and direction, in the first place, excommunicated all the married priests, tho' they were, then, very numerous in the kingdom; but, as this affair did not immediately affect the king, being unwilling to disoblige Anselm, he permitted this decree to pass in the synod, notwithstanding the vigorous efforts of the inferior clergy, to the contrary. An historian observes, that tho' the archbishop's intentions were generally applauded; yet it was apprehended to be a proceeding of dangerous consequence, as it was not in the power of several of the priests to live continently; and he farther remarks, that there was reason to fear, that this rigorous order would give occasion to their committing uncleanness of a much more criminal nature than marriage.

Hunting.

Anselm, having gained his first point, engaged in the second, and would have even presumed to excommunicate the bishops, that were invested by the king; but the king's interest was too deeply concerned in this affair, not to exert himself, for the preservation of a prerogative his ancestors had enjoyed, without the least interruption; tho', after all, he could not hinder some bishops, whom he had invested, from resigning their bishopricks, to prevent excommunication. On the other hand, Anselm refused to consecrate such as the king had nominated to their sees, unless the king would resign the right of investitures; and, this new claim being very boldly asserted by the archbishop, who was seconded by the court of Rome, a quarrel commenced between him and the king, which continued, for many years. As Henry would not recede from his prerogative, Anselm declared he could not submit, without betraying the cause of God; and, as there was no prospect of an accommodation, the archbishop was resolved to carry his complaints to Paschal II. then bishop of Rome; by whose orders, in all likelihood, he, first, embarqued in this undertaking. He was attended, in his journey, by the prelates, who had given up their bishopricks; and, upon his arrival at Rome, he instantly desired the pope, to restore them, by his authority. "Then, as an author "relates, the holy see, whose clemency is open "to all the world, provided care be previously "taken to prepare it, by a certain dazzling me-"tal, restored the bishops, and sent them back "to their respective sees." The king, upon Anselm's departure, dispatched Hebert, bishop of Norwich, and Robert of Litchfield, to Rome, to plead his cause; and these ambassadors were accompanied by William de Warelwast, an ecclesiastick of great learning, in order to have the assistance of his advice; but, tho' they were zealous and resolute, in behalf of the king, Paschal would not recede a tittle from his pretensions. This affair was carried on to such a height, that Henry was upon the point of being excommunicated; and on the contrary, the archbishop was deprived of his temporalities, during his absence. However, at last, after many contests, for near three years together, the circumstances of each of the parties render'd both of them equally desirous of putting an end to the quarrel; and, upon the pope's consenting, that the bishops should pay homage to the king, and the king's giving up the point of investitures, this vexatious business was brought to a conclusion, which I have but just mentioned here, because I design to treat more copiously upon it, in another place.

1103. Anselm applies to the pope.

M. Paris.

1104. Robert makes a visit to the king his brother. Malms. An. Sax.

Notwithstanding Henry's tedious and troublesome contest with the court of Rome, he was, at the same time, very intent on his other affairs; and his brother Robert, who was then in England, but too well experienced, what a strict regard he had to any thing, that was likely to turn to his advantage. The occasion of the duke's visit was, to insist upon the payment of his pension; but the king, who was no stranger to his brother's easy and generous temper, caress'd him, in such a manner, and amused him with so many fair promises, that he insensibly prevailed on him, to desist from his demands. This unseasonable piece of generosity proved very fatal to the duke; and, indeed, his good-nature and generosity had, all along, obstructed his designs. We have already seen, in the beginning of William Rufus's reign, how profusely he squander'd the money Henry had lent him, instead of expending it, for the support of his party in England; and, when he afterwards borrowed 10,000 marks, for his voyage to the Holy Land, that sum not being sufficient to defray the great expences of it, he contracted so many debts, whilst abroad, and after his return to Normandy, that he was obliged to mortgage almost all his demesnes, having nothing left, except the city of Roan, which he would have also pawned, if the Burghers had not refused to give their consent. His pressing

He gives up his pension.

1104. His preſſing wants, which daily increaſed, ſoon convinced him of his overſight, in giving up his penſion, to which he had ſo juſt a right; and, complaining that his eaſy temper had been abuſed, and indiſcreetly adding menaces to his complaints, he furniſhed Henry with a pretence for acting openly againſt him. The king, ever ſince his eſtabliſhment on the throne, was extremely deſirous of annexing Normandy to his other dominions; but Robert's imprudent conduct confirmed his hopes of being, one day, maſter of that dutchy; and, as he only waited, for a proper occaſion, to put his deſigns in execution, he readily embraced the firſt that offer'd.

He repents of it, and complains of the king.

I have already taken notice, that Robert de Beleſme, after he had been deprived of his eſtates in England, retreated into Normandy; but he was no ſooner arrived there, than he attempted to be revenged on the king, by attacking ſuch of his ſubjects as had lands in thoſe parts, pretending that his only view was, to repair the loſſes he had ſuſtained in England. The duke's indolence, in not chequing his proceedings, at firſt, encouraged his audacioufneſs; for he committed ſo many outrages, that complaints were brought, from all quarters, againſt him. Robert, at length, alarmed by the people's murmurs, muſter'd up an army, in order to put a ſtop to his progreſs; but he had the misfortune to be defeated. The rebel, fluſh'd with his ſucceſs, and invigorated by his ambition, formed a deſign of ſubduing the whole dutchy; and, whilſt he was carrying it on, he was joined by the eldeſt of the two half-brothers of William the Conqueror. This lord not being contented with the earldom of Cornwall, he expected that the king would have given him alſo that of Kent, which had been enjoyed by the biſhop of Bayeux, his uncle; but, Henry having diſappointed his expectation, he fell into ſuch a furious paſſion with him, on that account, that he even preſumed to threaten him. Upon this, the king diſpoſſeſs'd him of the earldom of Cornwall, as a puniſhment, for his inſolent behaviour; and, not daring to continue any longer in England, he retired to Normandy; but he was no ſooner arrived there, than, being extremely incenſed againſt the king, he fell in with Robert de Beleſme, and ſo ſtrengthened his party, that the duke was conſtrained to enter into a treaty with them, on terms very diſhonourable to a ſovereign prince.

Beleſme commits great ravages in Normandy.

He defeats the duke,

who enters into a treaty with him.

1105. This peace, inſtead of reſtoring the publick tranquillity, only increaſed the inſolence of the earls, who, deſpiſing the duke's orders, daily committed ravages, that were inſupportable to the nobility, as well as the people; till, at laſt, ſome of the principal lords, deſpairing of any protection from the duke, made their application to the king of England, for the redreſs of their grievances. Their ſuit was very acceptable to Henry, who only wanted a pretence to interfere in the affairs of Normandy, that he might have an opportunity of becoming maſter of the dutchy; but, as this deſign was deteſtable, in itſelf, to gloſs it over with the appearance of juſtice, he wrote a letter to his brother, giving him to underſtand, that his conduct very juſtly occaſioned the complaints of the Normans, ſince he protected perſons, that ought to be treated, as enemies to the publick; that, notwithſtanding the peace that was concluded with them, they ſtill continued their ravages, and that his ſubjects could no longer conſider him, as their ſovereign, as they had no grounds to expect his protection; and, in fine, he intreated him to apply a remedy to the intolerable evils the Normans laboured under, aſſuring him, at the ſame time, that, if he did not, he himſelf would eſpouſe their cauſe. He likewiſe complained of certain injuries, which, he pretended, the duke had done to himſelf, and demanded ſpeedy ſatisfaction. Doubtleſs, Henry would have highly reſented his brother's conduct, if he had preſumed, thus, to intermeddle in his affairs; but ſuch is the unrighteous partiality of moſt men, that they make no ſcruple of practiſing, themſelves, what they condemn in others, vainly imagining, that the world does not ſee into the injuſtice of their actions, becauſe they have the addreſs to varniſh them over with the ſpecious pretences of love and kindneſs.

1105. The Normans apply to Henry. Ord. Vit. Malmſ.

Whilſt Henry ſeemed to have no other view, but the relief of the Normans, he himſelf oppreſs'd his own ſubjects, by an exorbitant tax, to ſupport a war, in which the Engliſh were not, in the leaſt, concerned; and, in ſpite of all his fair promiſes to the people, it was levied, with all imaginable rigour, even to the impriſoning and diſtreſſing, by various methods, ſuch as either refuſed, or were unable to pay it. Having finiſhed his preparations, he ſet out for Normandy, with a numerous army, carrying with him large ſums of money, to bribe the nobles and governors of the fortified places; and he could accompliſh this, with the greater eaſe, as Robert was in no condition, to traverſe his deſigns, or to ſecure, by the ſame means, the allegiance of his ſubjects. The king, making the beſt uſe of the preſent opportunity, ſeized on Caen and ſome other cities; the duke of Bretaign and the earl of Anjou even permitted him, to place garriſons in ſome of the frontier-towns, leſt they ſhould draw upon themſelves the edge of the war, that was pointed at Robert. On the other hand, they, that invited him over, evidently foreſeeing the dangerous conſequences of an accommodation between the two brothers, inceſſantly preſs'd him to puſh on his conqueſts, and make himſelf maſter of all Normandy, aſſuring him, that this was the only way to relieve their oppreſſions; and the biſhop of Seez, an avowed enemy to both the earls, who had turned him out of his dioceſe, on all occaſions, excited Henry to proceed in his undertaking. On a certain day, as he was with him in the church of Carenton, he ſhewed him, how full it was of goods, which the people had brought thither, to ſecure them from the tyrants; upon which, he made a long harangue, to prove, that all their miſeries were entirely the effect of Robert's negligence or connivance; and that they ſhould never be reſtored to their former tranquillity, whilſt he was

1105.

Henry levies an army in England. Brady.

He paſſes over into Normandy, and makes great progreſs there.

1105. was their ſovereign. In fine, he conjured Henry to take upon him the government, and recover the Normans, the antient ſubjects of his family, from their wretched and deplorable condition. The king, liſtening to this pleaſing diſcourſe, with the cloſeſt attention, promiſed to do all that was poſſible, to procure their relief; tho' he aſſumed an air of extreme concern, at his being conſtrained to deprive his brother of his dominions, who, on the account of his incapacity, was on the brink of deſtruction. Purſuant to this reſolution, which, he declared, he had taken up, with great reluctance, and, purely, in compliance with the ſollicitations of the Normans, he continued the war. The duke, as he had not, in the leaſt, ſuſpected his deſigns, and had no time to make ſuitable preparations, made a very weak defence; ſo that Henry, having put his affairs in ſo promiſing a poſture, in his firſt campaign, returned to England, in order to raiſe, during the winter, the money and forces neceſſary to compleat the work, he had ſo happily begun.

1106. Robert ſues for peace. Paris. Vital.

The Duke being, at this time, in very miſerable circumſtances, and, at length, apprehenſive, that his utter ruin was determined, tho' he did not know how to prevent it, reſolved to wait on the king, his brother, to try the virtue of humble intreaties; for, as he was of a kind and flexible diſpoſition himſelf, he imagined, that Henry was of the ſame generous and forgiving temper. Accordingly, he came over into England, and ſued for peace, in a manner that ſuited his deſperate and forlorn condition, tho' it was entirely unworthy of the ſon of William the Conqueror; but the king had his eyes too intently fixed on his Norman dominions, to be capable of entering into any amicable meaſures with his brother. For this reaſon, he was deaf to all overtures towards an accommodation; inſomuch, that he thought, he was very favourable to the duke, in permitting him to return to Normandy; upon which, Robert departed, full of rage and vexation, and even threaten'd, that he would be revenged on the king, who had not the leaſt regard to his menaces. However, a certain hiſtorian * affirms, that Henry felt ſome remorſe, for the injury he deſigned againſt his brother, who had never injured him, and whom he had already deprived of a crown; but, if he had any ſuch reflections, they had no other influence upon him, than to inſpire him with a dread, that his injurious treatment of the duke would excite the compaſſion of the Engliſh, and revive their former affection for him. This apprehenſion giving him ſome uneaſineſs, he look'd upon it to be neceſſary, to prepoſſeſs his ſubjects in his favour, by the renewal of his promiſes; and, accordingly, having convened the great council or parliament, he attempted, in a premeditated ſpeech, to repreſent to that aſſembly, the juſtice of his undertakiug. He aſſured them, "that "Robert, ever ſince his refuſing to be king of "Jeruſalem, was viſibly abandon'd by the "Almighty, as a prince unworthy of his care "and protection *; and he aggravated the op- "preſſions of the Normans, in order to en- "gage the Engliſh, in the defence of a mi- "ſerable people. He intreated the lords to "conſider, how patiently he had received his "brother's menaces, to which he did no more "than return gentle and affectionate admoniti- "ons; and, inſiſting very copiouſly on the duke's "ill qualities, he ſet, in the worſt light, his "exceſſive generoſity, which render'd him a "continual burden to all the world. Beſides, "he charged him with an extreme arrogance; "and, that, on all occaſions, he had expreſs'd "the greateſt contempt for the Engliſh nati- "on. He declared, that, for his part, he "would always govern them, according to "juſt laws, of which the charter, he had gi- "ven them, was an unexceptionable proof; "and, in fine, that, provided he could de- "pend upon an intereſt in the hearts of his "ſubjects, he did not, in the leaſt, regard all "the attempts of his enemies againſt him." This diſcourſe effectually anſwered the king's expectation; for the lords, thinking they were highly honoured, by the confidence he repoſed in them, and entertaining great hopes, that he would perform his promiſes, unanimouſly aſſured him, that they would defend his cauſe, at the expence of their lives and fortunes.

1106.

but cannot obtain it. Malmſ.

* Paris.

Paris.

Remarks on the king's ſpeech.

How much ſoever the king varniſhed over his ambition; yet it is eaſy to ſee into the weakneſs of the arguments he advanced, in vindication of his enterprize; and, indeed, they were not even plauſible. The pretended refuſal of the crown of Jeruſalem was entirely founded on an uncertain rumour, ſpread over England; which, in all probability was falſe, becauſe the beſt hiſtorians are ſilent, as to this particular. However, admitting it to be fact, as it is very doubtful, Robert might be ſuppoſed, in this refuſal, to have acted, as well out of modeſty, as from a principle of pride or irreligion; but, whatever was his motive in this proceeding, Henry could not derive any right, from hence, to deprive him of his dominions; and, therefore, it is evident, that the ſole reaſon, that prevailed on the Engliſh lords to declare, that they would aſſiſt him, was his ſolemn promiſe to cauſe his charter to be obſerved, which had, hitherto, been much neglected.

Henry returns to Normandy. An. Sax. Fl. Wig. Vital.

Henry, upon this declaration of the Engliſh in his favour, took occaſion to obtain a grant of freſh ſubſidies, by the means of which, he made a conſiderable addition to his troops; and no ſooner did the ſeaſon permit, than he embarqued with a numerous fleet, in order to compleat the conqueſt of Normandy. He open'd the campaign with the ſiege of Tinchebray, where the earl of Mortaigne, who was, now, in the duke's intereſt, had brought a powerful reinforcement; and, as this was a place of great ſtrength, and well ſtored with neceſſaries, it held out, till Robert came to its relief. Ever ſince the duke had parted from the king, having, in vain, ſollicited him to come to an accommodation, he had joined

* From whence it appears, that it was generally believed in England, that Robert had refuſed the crown.

the

1106. the earl of Mortaigne and Robert de Beleſme, who led all their forces to his aſſiſtance; the king of France likewiſe ſupplied him with ſome troops; and ſeveral Norman lords eſpouſed his cauſe, as ſoon as they found, that Henry did not act ſo much, for their advantage, as his own. All theſe ſuccours having enabled Robert to give his brother battle, he advanced towards him, with an undaunted reſolution. The two
1107. armies were very near equal, as to number; for, tho' Robert had more foot than Henry, he had not near ſo many horſe. Thus, each party might amuſe themſelves, with the hopes
The battle of Tinchebray, in which Robert is taken priſoner. of ſucceſs. However, the battle, which was fought under the walls of Tinchebray, did not laſt long; for, the Norman horſe being put into diſorder, at the firſt onſet, and the foot being unable to withſtand the enemy, without their aid, the whole army was entirely routed, the Engliſh having nothing to do, but to kill or take priſoners. The duke, finding that it was impoſſible for him to rally his troops, and abhorring the thoughts of a retreat, choſe rather to fall into the hands of the enemy, than to diſcover the leaſt appearance of cowardice. Edgar Atheling, the earl of Mortaigne, 400 knights, and 10,000 ſoldiers were likewiſe taken priſoners; and as the battle of Haſtings render'd the Normans maſters of England, this of Tinchebray, which was fought, about 40 years after, put the Engliſh in poſſeſſion of
Sax. Ann. Normandy. Prince Edgar, who had often been the ſport of fortune, was immediately releaſed, and ſpent the remainder of his days in England, where he died of extreme old age; but the duke of Normandy and the earl of Mortaigne did not meet with ſo favourable treatment; for the earl was confined in the tower
He is confined in Cardiffe-caſtle. Mezeray. of London, and the duke in Cardiffe-caſtle in Wales, where he continued, as a priſoner, for 26 years, to the day of his death. Some tell us, that this unhappy prince having attempted to make an eſcape, the king ordered his ſight to be taken away, by a burning-hot braſs baſon, held before his eyes*; but this fact ſeems to be improbable, as it is not taken notice of, by moſt of the beſt hiſtorians. I do not alledge this, to excuſe the king's cruelty, who ought to have remember'd Robert's generoſity to him, during the ſiege of Michael's Mount, even tho' he had forgot, that he was his brother. A certain author in vain endeavours to
Malmſ. juſtify his conduct, by obſerving, that Robert had never any affection for him, during their younger years, and had done him many injuries; for ſuch a reaſon, as this, will ſcarce anſwer the purpoſe, for which it is advanced.

Henry becomes maſter of all Normandy. Paris. Eadmer. The victory of Tinchebray having rendered Henry maſter of all Normandy, he returned in triumph to England; and, upon his arrival, he, in the firſt place, ſet about the reformation of ſeveral abuſes, that, for a long time, had prevailed in his court. In the late reign, when the king took a progreſs, his attendants committed all ſorts of outrages, in the houſes where they lodged; for they not only baſely extorted what they pleaſed from their hoſts, but made attempts on the chaſtity of the women, without cheque or controul. Coiners of baſe money were become very numerous, and even impudent, being aſſured of the protection of the great, who employed them in their houſes, where none durſt preſume to enter, in ſearch of them. Theſe diſorders not being reſtrained, by the king's edict, in the beginning of his reign, he iſſued out a ſecond, under ſtill greater penalties; and this was no more than a neceſſary piece of ſeverity, at this juncture, in order to put a ſtop to the licentiouſneſs, that was ſpread over the kingdom, by the connivance of the late reign. 1107.

Before the war in Normandy, Henry ſolemnly promiſed, that he would govern his ſubjects, according to the rules of equity, and preſerve their rights and privileges; but, upon his late ſucceſs, he forgot all his engagements. He was no ſooner arrived in England, than it was obſerved, that he behaved in a more haughty and imperious manner, than ever, treating even the nobles with abuſive language; and, as for his own charter, he paid very little regard to it, nor did he regulate any abuſes, that turned to his advantage. He diſcovered a contempt of all perſons, except Anſelm; and his paſt experience of the trouble, he gave him, led him to avoid, as ſo many dangerous quick-ſands, all occaſions of quarrelling with that prelate; but the archbiſhop, perceiving that the king was afraid of engaging in freſh diſputes, about eccleſiaſtical affairs, made uſe of this opportunity, to proſecute, with the utmoſt ſeverity, the prieſts, who obſtinately perſiſted in keeping their wives. His diſgrace and long abſence induced them to hope, that they ſhould, at length, be freed from his perſecutions; tho' he now convinced them of their miſtake, by vigorouſly purſuing his former deſign. Some time after his return, he held a ſynod, in which, rigorous penalties were decreed againſt all eccleſiaſticks, that continued in a ſtate of marriage, and ſome of them were actually deprived of their livings; but theſe proceedings, inſtead of the pretended diſorder of marriage, only proved the occaſion of real crimes. 1108. He treats his ſubjects in a more haughty manner, than ever.

The king of France forms a deſign againſt Henry. Eadmer. Vital. Hunting. As it was a matter of great indifference to the king, whether the clergy married or lived ſingle, he did not, in the leaſt, interrupt Anſelm in the proſecution of it; but there was another affair in agitation, which deſerved his cloſeſt attention. Lewis the Fat, king of France, having ſucceeded Philip, his father, as he look'd upon Henry to be a formidable neighbour, was extremely ſollicitous, how to lower his exorbitant power; and, with this view, he determined to make uſe of, as his inſtrument, William, ſirnamed Crito, ſon to Robert, a very hopeful young prince, tho' he was now in his minority. How cautious ſoever he might have been, as to the concealing of his intentions, Henry, being apprized of them, on a ſudden, ſet out for Normandy, where he order'd his nephew to be taken into cuſtody, to prevent any inſurrections in his favour; ſo that Lewis was obliged to defer the execution of his project, to a better opportunity. In the interim, William, having eſcaped out of priſon, by the means of his tutor, was carried to Paris

* Whence the Italian word, Abacinare, to blind, is derived. Menage, Orig. de la Lang Ital.

1108. and other courts, to implore their aſſiſtance, for the recovery of the duke his father's dominions, tho' all his ſollicitations were ineffectual; for the neighbouring princes were too much afraid of Henry's reſentment, to engage in behalf of the young prince; and, as for the Normans, tho' many of them were well affected to the ſon of their ſovereign, and ſeveral of them privately contributed towards his ſupport, they durſt not openly eſpouſe his cauſe.

1109. Matilda, Henry's daughter, is married to the emperor Henry V.

Henry, having ſpent the winter and part of the ſummer in Normandy, returned to England; where, ſoon after, ambaſſadors from the emperor Henry V. waited on him, to demand his daughter, Matilda, in marriage. The king very joyfully accepted the propoſal; and, as ſoon as the terms were agreed upon, the nuptial ſolemnity was celebrated by proxy; but the princeſs, being very young, was not ſent to the emperor, her husband, till the year following, when ſhe was attended with a magnificent retinue, having alſo with her a conſiderable ſum of money, for her portion.

He raiſes money for her portion.

The obligation the king was under, of paying his daughter's marriage-portion, furniſhed him with a pretence, for laying a tax of three ſhillings on every hyde of land; which brought him in an immenſe ſum, if the calculation of ſome be juſt, who tell us, that it was equal then to 824,850 l. ſterling now. This cuſtom of levying money, for the marriage-portions of the king's daughters, was introduced by Henry, and very ſtrictly obſerved by his ſucceſſors, who found it to be too beneficial to be diſcontinued; and, from hence, we may learn, how far innovations of this kind, which obtain the force of a law, from a ſingle precedent, are prejudicial to a free people.

Anſelm's death.

Before this marriage was compleated, Anſelm departed this life, who was a learned prelate, for that age, tho' he was, to the laſt degree, a haughty and imperious bigot; and it may very reaſonably be preſumed, that his zealous attachment to the court of Rome, his reſolution, in the affair of inveſtitures, and his conſtant endeavours, to eſtabliſh the celibacy of the clergy in England, entitled him to a place in the calendar. No ſooner was Anſelm laid in his grave, than the king ſeized on the revenues of the archbiſhoprick, and kept them in his poſſeſſion, for five years. The clergy expected, that the perſecution they had ſuffer'd, during his life, would end with his death; but the court of Rome ſtill zealouſly purſued Anſelm's meaſures, which were, firſt, concerted purely, in compliance to their orders. Moreover, Henry, who was extremely unwilling to fall out with the pope, ſtrictly enforced what the council had determined; ſo that the clergy were conſtrained to live continently, as to outward appearance, being debarred from marriage, tho', in private, they were guiity of the moſt ſcandalous and enormous crimes; at leaſt, the hiſtorians of that age do not ſcruple to give us this account concerning them.

Eadmer.

The year 1110 was remarkable, for the reſtoration of learning at Cambridge, from whence it had been baniſhed, for many years. Indeed, it is the received opinion, that Edward the Elder had founded an univerſity, in this place; but, the town having been expoſed to very great calamities, in the Daniſh wars, the ſtudy of the ſciences was brought to decay, and never revived, till the preſent time.

1109.

1110. The reſtoration of learning at Cambridge. Echard.

The following year, Henry, coming over into Normandy, attempted to ſtop the progreſs of Fulk, earl of Anjou, who had engaged the city of Conſtance in a revolt; and Elias, earl of Maine, who had joined Fulk, being taken priſoner in a battle, was put to death; for Henry judged this inſtance of ſeverity to be neceſſary, to intimidate the Normans, of whoſe allegiance he was jealous, ſince he was very ſenſible, that France would be ever ready to aſſiſt them.

1111. Henry puts the earl of Maine to death. Malmſ. Hunt. Fl. Wig.

Before Henry ſet out for Normandy, he had permitted great numbers of Flemings to ſettle in England, who, by the inundation of the ſea, in their native country, were obliged to go abroad, in queſt of new habitations. He planted them, at firſt, in the deſolate parts of Yorkſhire *; but, upon ſome complaints that were made to him, after his return, he removed them to the lands, about Ros and Pembroke, that were conquered from Wales; and their poſterity there, to this day, retain ſo much of their antient cuſtoms and language, as evidently diſtinguiſhes them from the Welch, and proves that they are of foreign extraction.

1112. Henry ſettles a colony of Flemings in Wales.

The year enſuing, Henry was obliged to embarque for Normandy, becauſe the king of France had been the author of a new rebellion there, by perſuading the earl of Anjou to make another inſurrection; but, tho' this war gave him ſome fatigue and diſturbance, he happily ſurmounted all the difficulties attending it; and Lewis had the mortification of being deſerted, even by the earl of Anjou, who, by that means, gained the advantage of marrying his daughter to prince William, ſon to the king of England. During Henry's ſtay in Normandy, he had the pleaſure of having Robert de Beleſme, his moſt inveterate enemy, at his mercy, whom he ſent into England, and detained in priſon, to the day of his death; but, theſe commotions being appeaſed, he returned into England, where he ſpent the five following years, in uninterrupted tranquillity, except that the Welch, now and then, made ſome incurſions.

1113. He goes over into Normandy, and the earl of Anjou, ſubmitting to him, marries his daughter to prince William, his ſon.

During this calm, the pope and clergy, at length, prevailed on him, to permit the vacancies in the church to be filled, eſpecially the ſee of Canterbury; and, having given his conſent, a ſynod was called, in which Ralph, biſhop of Rocheſter, was unanimouſly elected archbiſhop, to the great ſatisfaction of the people, by whom he was highly eſteemed. Thurſtan, one of the king's chaplains, was nominated to the ſee of York; and all the other vacancies were ſupplied, but with ſuch partia-

1114. He ſupplies the vacancies in the church.

* They were firſt planted, in Northumberland, according to Florence of Worceſter, and, from thence, removed to Wales, in the year 1111. The Flemings-way, a work of theirs, extending thro' a long tract of ground in Pembroke-ſhire, is to be ſeen, at this day.

lity

1114. lity to the Normans, that the Engliſh had reaſon to complain.

Henry makes a deſcent into Wales.

The Welch becoming daily more troubleſome, on the frontiers, Henry reſolved not only to chaſtiſe, but even to extirpate them; and, purſuant to this cruel reſolution, he entered their country, with a powerful army, which he divided into three bodies, in order to ſurround them on every ſide; but, upon his approach they retired to their mountains, where it was not poſſible for him to attack them. However, he determined to confine them there, for ſome time; yet perceiving, at laſt, that he could not force them from their retreat, he agreed to a treaty with them; and no ſooner had he returned to London, than he received the joyful news of the conſummation of his daughter Matilda's marriage, and of her coronation at Mentz.

1115. The Normians ſwear fealty to prince William, Ann. Sax. Malmſ. and alſo the Engliſh.

Soon after this, Henry went over to Normandy, where he got the ſtates to ſwear fealty to prince William, his ſon, who was then 12 years of age; and, the year enſuing, he did the ſame in England. With this view, he convened a general aſſembly at Salisbury, where all, that were preſent, promiſed to own prince William for their ſovereign, after the death of the king, his father, and, accordingly, ſwore allegiance to him; and ſome, from this very aſſembly, derive the original of the right of the houſe of commons to ſit in parliament. They alledge, that Henry, in imitation of the practice in Normandy, ſummoned the commons as well as the nobility and clergy; and that this was the firſt time, that the repreſentatives of the people were admitted to ſit in parliament *. Others aſſure us, that the general aſſemblies were diſuſed, before this time; and, in fine, ſome affirm, that this was the firſt aſſembly, that was called a parliament. The firſt of theſe three opinions can never be proved; the ſecond is evidently falſe; and the third is very uncertain.

1116. Eehard.

1117. Henry revenges himſelf on Lewis, for creating him troubles.

Lewis the Fat, ever ſince his acceſſion to the crown of France, continually interrupted Henry's proceedings, either by encouraging the male-contents in Normandy, or by exciting the neigbouring princes againſt him; but, altho', for the moſt part, he acted with ſecrecy, Henry was not inſenſible of his deſigns; and, therefore, he reſolved to treat him in the ſame manner. Theobald, earl of Blois, his nephew, being the ſon of his ſiſter Adela, having been affronted by the king of France, Henry perſuaded him, in revenge, to take up arms, and ſupplied him with a numerous army; whilſt Lewis, on the other hand, inveſted William Crito, Robert's ſon, with the dutchy of Normandy, and promiſed to aſſiſt him, with all his troops, to make himſelf maſter of it; and the young prince, having the aſſiſtance of France and Baldwin, earl of Flanders, attempted to wreſt Normandy from the king, his uncle.

Lewis inveſts William Crito with Normandy.

1117. Lewis publickly aſſerted a right, as ſovereign lord of Normandy, to diſpoſe of that dutchy, eſpecially, to the only ſon of duke Robert, who was unjuſtly detained in priſon; and, being reinforced by a conſiderable body of troops, which the earl of Flanders brought with him, he penetrated into Normandy, in order to put William in poſſeſſion of it.

1118.

Henry embarques for Normandy.

Henry, receiving intelligence of his motions, ſet about great preparations for the war, which were entirely made, at the expence of the Engliſh; and, as ſoon as all things were in readineſs, he went over to Normandy; and, being joined by the duke of Bretaigne and the earl of Blois, he advanced towards the enemy, to give them battle. But Lewis did not wait for his approach, chuſing rather to retire, being diſtracted to find, that his project was defeated by Henry's expedition †; and he ſent him propoſals of peace, which were not accepted, till he had engaged to reſign Giſors, which he had taken. The treaty being ſigned, Henry returned immediately into England, to prevent the entry of a legate, whom the pope had ſent, without asking him leave; and, ſome months after, queen Matilda died, to the inexpreſſible grief of all the Engliſh, as well on the account of her perſonal merit, as becauſe ſhe was a branch of the family of their antient kings.

He enters into a treaty with Lewis.

Matilda's death.

Lewis renews the war,

In the mean while, the king of France purſued his firſt deſign; for, as Henry had not razed the walls of Giſors, according to the terms of the late treaty, he took occaſion ſuddenly to invade Normandy, and commit great ravages. Henry, for ſome time, ſeemed to overlook this inſult, inſomuch that all the world was amazed, at his negligence; and ſome even charged him with the want of courage and reſolution. However, at laſt, one of his courtiers having freely repreſented to him, how much he injured his reputation, by this omiſſion, he calmly replied, that he was taught by the king, his father, that the moſt effectual way, to conquer the French, was to ſuffer their firſt heat to cool a little; and, to prove that he was not afraid of their attempts, he, quickly after, embarqued for Normandy, with a numerous army, and offer'd to engage his enemy. Lewis, embracing his challenge, the two armies came to an engagement; and, during the fight, a French cavalier, named Criſpin, attack'd the perſon of the king of England, and ſtruck him twice on the head, with ſuch force, that, notwithſtanding his helmet, he was, all over, bloody. However, in ſpite of this, he continued the combate; and, the ſight of his blood animating his courage, he gave his adverſary ſo furious a blow, that he tumbled him from his horſe and took him priſoner. This valiant action raiſed ſuch an emulation among his troops, that, after a ſharp and obſtinate battle, the enemy were con-

and is defeated by Henry.

* Malmsbury ſays, "All the freemen of England and Normandy, of whatſoever rank or dignity, or to whatſoever lord they were vaſſals or tenants, were obliged to do homage and ſwear allegiance to William, the ſon of Henry, and his queen, Matilda;" but this aſſembly did not, in the leaſt, reſemble a parliament Polydore Virgil, and, from him, Stow and Speed's Chronicle, date the commencement of the Engliſh parliaments, from the time of this aſſembly, tho' they produce no authorities, to ſupport their opinion.

† The French hiſtorians take no notice of this retreat, or of the peace that ſucceeded it, confounding this war, in 1118, with that which was renewed, the ſame year, after the ſurrender of Giſors.

ſtrained

1118. ſtrained to quit the field; and the ſtandard of France, being taken, was ſent in triumph to Roan. Some time after, the two kings had a ſecond engagement, tho' the ſucceſs of it was doubtful, as each of the parties pretended to have the advantage; and, in a word, this war, proving to be a very ſmart one, gave both the monarchs ſufficient employment.

1119. The council of Rheims. In the interim, Lewis attempted to make the beſt uſe of the ſtay, pope Calixtus II. then made in France, to embroil Henry's affairs, hoping, that, as he was of the houſe of Burgundy, he would be eaſily induced to fall in with his deſigns; and, therefore, before he had diſcovered his intentions to him, he prevailed on him to call a council at Rheims, to which the Engliſh biſhops were ſummoned. Henry, who ſuſpected nothing, made no ſcruple of permitting them, to give their attendance; only, when they took their leave, he order'd them to ſalute the pope, in his name, to obey his apoſtolical precepts, but, at the ſame time, to take ſpecial care, that they did not bring back with them any new inventions of the court of Rome. The council was chiefly compoſed of French biſhops; and ſome of them, that were privy to the ſecret, ſeverely inveighed againſt the king of England. They even propoſed to excommunicate him, for unjuſtly detaining the perſon and dominions of the duke of Normandy, his brother, who, as one of the Cruſade, had a right to the church's protection; and this propoſal would, doubtleſs, have received the approbation of the majority, if the pope, willing to cultivate a good underſtanding with Henry, to ſhift it off, had not undertaken, himſelf, to exhort him to do juſtice to his brother. Some time after, Calixtus, having had a long conference with the king, at Giſors, acquainted him, that it was the council's deſire, that Robert ſhould be reſtored to his dutchy. Henry replied, that he had not taken Normandy from his brother, but from a pack of diſſolute wretches, who made it their buſineſs to ſquander away the inheritance of his anceſtors, which Robert had put into their poſſeſſion; and that his proceedings were entirely the effects of the importunate ſollicitations of the nobility, clergy, and people of Normandy; and, beſides, he ſo ſtrengthened his reaſons, by magnificent preſents, that the pope and the cardinals, that attended him, declared, at their return, that they had never met with a more eloquent prince, than the king of England. Thus, Calixtus, abandoning Robert's intereſt, exerted himſelf, to bring about a peace between the two kings; and, the following year, his endeavours proved to be ſucceſsful *.

1120. No ſooner was the peace concluded, than Henry, impatiently deſirous of returning to England, after ſuch a long abſence, embarqued at Barfleur, with a great retinue; and William, his ſon, then 16 years of age, invited on board his ſhip all the young nobility, to render his paſſage the more agreeable. As he ſet out laſt, he had a ſtrong inclination to overtake the king, his father, and aſſured the ſeamen of a reward, if his ſhip arrived firſt; but this raſh emulation proved fatal to the young prince; for the pilot, in order to get before the king, keeping too near the ſhore, on the coaſt of England, the ſhip ſplit againſt a rock. The ſeamen, in the greateſt conſternation, on this occaſion, took particular care to hoiſt out the boat, with a view of ſaving the prince; and, indeed, by their diligence, they had ſecured him from danger. However, upon the cries of Matilda, his natural ſiſter, as he was making off, he rowed back, to take her in alſo; and, ſeveral others having, by this means, an opportunity of leaping in, the boat ſunk with its load, and it was impoſſible to ſave the prince. Among all thoſe that remained in the ſhip, there were but a very few that eſcaped with life, by ſwimming, who gave an account of the circumſtances of this tragical occurrence; but, among the reſt, that periſhed in the waves, were, beſides the prince, one of his natural brothers, named Richard, Matilda, his ſiſter, who was the counteſs of Perch, Lucia, the king's niece, the earl of Cheſter, and ſeveral lords, whoſe debauched lives, it is alledged, juſtly provoked the vengeance of Heaven, to inflict upon them this remarkable judgment †.

1120. Prince William is drowned.

1121. Henry marries Adelicia of Lovain. This unexpected accident made ſuch an impreſſion on Henry, that he was never afterwards ſeen to laugh; but, to repair his loſs, he married Adelicia, daughter to Geoffrey, earl of Lovain; tho' this marriage did not anſwer his expectation, as he never had any iſſue by her.

He wages war with the Welch. The ſame year, the Welch, under Gryffin, their king, made an inroad into Cheſhire; and, having conſumed ſeveral caſtles and committed great ravages, they brought upon themſelves an invaſion from the Engliſh. Henry, at the head of his army, over-ran a part of Wales; but, attempting, one day, to ſecure a certain paſs, he fell into an ambuſh, where he loſt a great number of his men, and received, himſelf, the ſtroke of an arrow on his breaſt-plate. This diſappointment, preventing him from making any farther progreſs, he enter'd into a treaty with Gryffin; tho' not without his giving him hoſtages and 1000 head of cattle, to make him reparation, for the expence of the war.

Ralph, archbiſhop of Canterbury, died, ſoon after, who was a prelate of an unblameable life; yet ſo zealouſly did he inſiſt on the prerogatives of his ſee, that he would not ſuffer the leaſt infringement, even in things, that

* Father Daniel tells us, that the pope not only threatened to excommunicate Henry, but actually did ſo; but the Engliſh hiſtorians give us a quite contrary account of this interview.

† No leſs than 140 perſons periſhed, in this ſhipwreck, moſt of them young noblemen, beſides 50 mariners, not ſo much as one eſcaping with life, except a butcher; and the Engliſh hiſtorians look upon this, as a juſt judgment, for their ſodomitical practices. The loſs of this young prince was far from being a misfortune to the Engliſh nation, if Brompton's account of him be genuine, which he relates from Malmsbury, tho' it is not to be found in his hiſtory, that he threatened, "if ever he ſucceeded to the crown of England, he would oblige them to draw the plough like oxen." By this unhappy accident, the perſons, honours, and eſtates of the heirs of the greateſt part of the nobility, were in Henry's power; and he ſtrengthened his intereſt in England, by marrying their widows, daughters, and ſiſters to his courtiers and ſpecial favourites.

were

1121. were the moſt minute and inſignificant. For example, on the ſolemn feſtivals, when the king uſually wore his crown, he would not ſuffer him to put it on, with his own hands, pretending, that this was, on all occaſions, his office, as archbiſhop of Canterbury. The ſee continued vacant, till the year enſuing, when Corbet, abbot of St. Bennet's, was elected by a ſynod at Wincheſter.

1123. Henry prevents the revolt of the Normans. Dunelm. Hunting. Ord. Vit.

Henry imagined, that, having made a peace with the king of France, he had effectually ſecured his Norman dominions, beyond the poſſibility of any interruptions, for the future, on that ſcore; yet Robert de Mellent, lord of Pont-Audemer, created him new troubles, which obliged him, once more, to embarque for that dutchy. This lord, having a great intereſt in the Normans, and being privately aſſiſted by the king of France, undertook to reſtore William Crito to his dominions; and the Normans were juſt on the point of revolting, if Henry's ſudden arrival had not prevented it. The king immediately beſieged Audemer and took it; upon which, he increaſed the fortifications of the caſtles of Caen, Roan, and Arques, and reinforced the garriſons. Theſe precautions diſpirited the Normans; tho' Robert de Mellent and the earl of Monfort, who joined him, ſtill kept the field, with ſome troops; but, being drawn into an ambuſh, they were both taken priſoners, and the reſt returned to their allegiance.

1124. Robert de Mellent is taken priſoner.

1125. The pope's legate arrives in England.

During the king's abſence in Normandy, cardinal John de Creme, the pope's legate, came into England, to compleat the reformation of the pretended great diſorder of the clergy's marrying, which they ſtill perſiſted in, in ſpite of all the attempts to the contrary; and the legate was received in a very pompous manner, tho' the people were far from being pleaſed at his reception, who had not been accuſtomed to ſee legates exerting their authority in the kingdom. Having convened a council at London, he procured ſeveral ſevere canons to be paſs'd againſt ſuch eccleſiaſticks, as continued to keep their wives *; but to very little purpoſe, tho' they were ſtrictly enforced by the king's authority. However, Henry's view, in this, was not ſo much to debar the clergy from marrying, as, by his ſeeming zeal, to obtain, from the pope, a power to put in execution the decrees of the councils, on this article, as he actually did, in the year 1129; for no ſooner had he gained this point, than he allowed the prieſts to keep their wives, upon the payment of a certain ſum, for a diſpenſation.

1127. Henry procures Matilda to be owned, as his heir.

Tho' the king had been, now, ſix years married to his ſecond wife, he ſaw no proſpect of his having any children by her; and, therefore, to ſecure the ſucceſſion to his family, he reſolved upon procuring his daughter, Matilda, who, ſince the emperor's death, was returned to England, to be acknowledged the preſumptive heir to the crown. As this princeſs was, by the mother's ſide, deſcended from the antient Saxon kings, ſhe was the darling of the Engliſh; and, as for the Normans, who wanted a prince of their own nation, it was evidently their intereſt to place on the throne a grand-daughter of William the Conqueror, to whoſe bounty they were indebted, for all their poſſeſſions in England. Theſe conſiderations inſpired the king with hopes of ſucceſs, in his undertaking; and, accordingly, he aſſembled all the immediate vaſſals of the crown. Among the barons, in this aſſembly, were Stephen, earl of Bulloign, the king's nephew, and David, king of Scotland, on the account of his fiefs in England; and, all the members of the council having unanimouſly conſented to Henry's propoſal, David and Stephen were the firſt that ſwore allegiance to Matilda, provided the king, her father, died, without any male iſſue. 1127.

Matilda is married to Geoffry of Plantagenet. Hunting. Hoveden. M. Paris.

This affair being ſettled, to Henry's ſatisfaction, he married the empreſs to Geoffrey Plantagenet, ſon to Fulk, earl of Anjou, who had reſigned his dominions to his ſon, in order to go and take poſſeſſion of the crown of Jeruſalem, upon the death of Baldwin II. his father-in-law; tho', in this match, he conſulted his own advantage, more than Matilda's inclinations. The princeſs, being an emperor's widow, imagined ſhe debaſed herſelf, in accepting the earl of Anjou for her husband; ſo that the king, her father, was obliged to make uſe of compulſive methods, to bring her to a compliance; but, to prevent William Crito from ſeizing on Normandy, he thought it adviſable, to attach Geoffrey to his intereſt, that he might always be ready to aſſiſt him, as occaſion offer'd.

The barons are diſpleaſed with this match.

The Engliſh and Normans ſeemed to be no leſs diſpleaſed, than Matilda, with this alliance; for they expected to have been conſulted in a matter of this importance, which was, in effect, to give them a king. Moreover, ſome of them flatter'd themſelves with the proſpect of the crown, by marrying the empreſs; ſo that, all things conſidered, it was eaſy to apprehend, that the oath, by which the king intended to bind them, would have very little virtue, after his deceaſe. However, Henry, believing that none would preſume to violate ſuch a ſolemn engagement, as he dreaded the deſigns of the king of France, in favour of William Crito, only regarded the preſent benefit he ſhould receive, from the marriage of his daughter.

1128. William Crito is made earl of Flanders.

The king had ſome grounds to ſuſpect a league between Lewis and William Crito; for the king of France, afterwards, openly eſpouſing William's cauſe, inveſted him with the earldom of Flanders, the more effectually, to enable him to wage war with the king, his

* The legate, ſeverely inveighing againſt the prieſt's marrying, alledged, "that it was an abominable ſin, for a "prieſt to riſe from the ſide of an harlot, and then to make the body of Chriſt;" tho', the very next night, having ſaid maſs, the ſame day, he himſelf was taken in bed with a whore. Huntingdon, who was not only a prieſt, but even the ſon of a prieſt, and lived at this time, after an apology for the freedom he uſes with the fathers of the church, is the firſt, that relates this ſtory, at large, and concludes, "that it was too notorious to be denied, and ought not to "be concealed."

1128. uncle; but, to defeat their meaſures, Henry, in the firſt place, carried the war into France, and, ſecondly, excited the Flemings to revolt againſt their new earl, and engaged them in the intereſt of Theodoric of Alſatia, who pretended a title to Flanders. Purſuant to this ſcheme, he enter'd France with a numerous army; whilſt, on the other hand, ſeveral towns in Flanders boldly declared againſt his nephew. William, in order to reduce them to obedience, firſt of all, laid ſiege to Aloſt, which held out, till his rival came to its relief; but, having intelligence of Theodoric's approach, he advanced towards him, and, obtaining a compleat victory, returned to carry on the ſiege. The defeat of the land-grave of Alſatia would have rendered it impoſſible, for the beſieged, to hold out any longer, if, in one of their ſallies, William had not received a wound, which, in a few days, was the occaſion of his death. William was a young prince of conſiderable courage, being likewiſe endowed with ſeveral other good qualities; but, to avoid the misfortunes the duke, his father, had plunged himſelf into, by his exceſſive generoſity and profuſeneſs, he ran into the contrary extreme; and his covetouſneſs, joined to ſome outrages he committed in Flanders, together with his immoderate love of women, render'd him odious to the Flemings, and diſpoſed them to fall in with his uncle's ſollicitations. The ſudden death of this prince, and the Engliſh army being in France, conſtrained Lewis to lay aſide his projects, and ſtrike up a peace with the king, which continued, without any interruption, to the day of his death; and, in the reſidue of his reign, which laſted ſix years longer, there happened very few remarkable occurrences, the principal of which are, as follows.

William is ſlain at the ſiege of Aloſt.

1130. In the 30th year of the century, Henry went over to Normandy, where he remained, the greateſt part of the year; and his chief buſineſs was, to have an interview, with Innocent II. whom, at length, he acknowledged for the true pope, tho' Anacletus, his competitor, was maſter of Rome. France having owned Innocent, Henry, for that very reaſon, was inclined to eſpouſe the cauſe of Anacletus; but Innocent had the art to manage him, with ſo much dexterity, that he gained him over to his party, which did not a little turn to his advantage.

Henry acknowledges, for pope, Innocent II.

Henry, returning to England, brought with him his daughter, Matilda, who, upon ſome diſguſt, was parted from the earl, her husband; and, upon his arrival, he convened a general aſſembly, in which the oath of allegiance to the empreſs was renewed; but, after this, ſhe went home to her husband, who deſired her company.

The barons renew their oath to Matilda.

1132. In the year 1132, an epiſcopal ſee was founded at Carliſle, and a great part of London was conſumed by fire; for, as that city conſiſted chiefly of wooden houſes, it frequently ſuffer'd by the like accidents.

The following year, the remembrance of this misfortune was entirely blotted out, by the joyful news of Matilda's being ſafely delivered of a prince, named Henry, after his grandfather; upon which, the king aſſembled all the great men, to renew their oath to the ſucceſſion, in which prince Henry was included; but, tho' this was the third time of their ſwearing, they did not, however, make conſcience of obſerving their oath. Matilda had two other ſons, viz. Geoffrey and William, whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of hereafter.

1132.

1133. The birth of prince Henry.

Towards the end of ſummer, the king, for the laſt time, ſet out for Normandy; and, the very day of his embarquement, there was an eclipſe of the ſun, and, two days after, a great earthquake, in which raging flames of fire proceeded out of the clefts; and ſome look'd upon theſe accidents to be preſages of the king's death, tho' it did not happen, till two years after. Robert, his elder brother, died before him, in the caſtle of Cardiffe, where he had been impriſoned, for 26 years, who was a prince of great courage, and, for ſome time, of a ſhining reputation; but his eaſy, indolent, and profuſe diſpoſition twice deprived him of the crown of England, to which he had a fairer title, and, perhaps, better deſerved it, than either of his brothers. He was ſirnamed Court-hoſe, either becauſe he wore very ſhort breeches, or that his legs, as to length, bore no proportion to the reſt of his body. Some, indeed, aſcribe to him the ſirname of Courteous, through ignorance of the true meaning of the term Court-hoſe, and becauſe that appellation was ſuitable to his generous temper. He was buried at Glouceſter, in the choir of the cathedral, where his tomb is to be ſeen, at this day *.

Henry paſſes over into Normandy.

Robert, his brother, dies.

1135. The death of Henry I.

The death of Robert was ſoon followed by that of the king; for, about the latter end of Auguſt, 1135, he was ſeized with a violent illneſs, which carried him off, in ſeven days; and it is ſaid, he occaſioned it himſelf, by eating to exceſs of ſome lampries, which he loved exceedingly. He was then at the caſtle of Lyons near Roan, a place he much delighted in; and, when he perceived, that he was on the point of death, he ſent for the earl of Glouceſter, his natural ſon, and preſſingly recommended to him the concerns of the empreſs, his ſiſter, without taking the leaſt notice of the earl of Anjou, his ſon-in-law, with whom he was diſguſted; and, upon this, he made his will, by which he left to his domeſticks above 60,000 l. ſterling, giving orders alſo, that his debts ſhould be punctually paid, and all arrears due to him remitted. He died on the 2d of September, in the 68th year of his age, and the 36th of his reign; and his body was cut in pieces, after the rude and barbarous manner of thoſe times, in order to be embalmed †, becauſe he was to be buried in England, in the abbey of Reading.

* He lies in the middle of the choir, in a wooden monument. Huntingdon tells us, he died for grief, being obliged to wear an old coat, that was caſt off by the king, his brother.

† Gervaſe of Canterbury ſays, that they cut great gaſhes in his fleſh with knives; after which, powdering it well with ſalt, they wrapp'd it up in tanned ox-hides, to avoid the ſtench, which was ſo infectious, that the man, who was hired to open his head, died ſoon after the operation.

Henry

1135. Henry was a prince, that had an uncommon mixture of good and bad qualities. He was remarkable for his courage, as well as his extenſive capacity, both in civil and military affairs; and his prudence, in the adminiſtration of the government, was chiefly conſpicuous, inaſmuch as, notwithſtanding his many journies to Normandy, he was never diſturbed by any domeſtick inſurrections, tho' there was a conſiderable number of diſſaffected perſons in England. He obſerved the ſtricteſt regularity in his diet; for it does not appear, that he was ever guilty of exceſs, in eating or drinking, except that one time, that proved the occaſion of his death. He was inexorable to all malefactors, being perſuaded, that the utmoſt ſeverity was abſolutely neceſſary, to put a ſtop to the licentiouſneſs, introduced in the late reign; and, tho' William Rufus was an entire ſtranger to letters, Henry had a learned education, and made great proficiency in his ſtudies; for which reaſon, he was ſirnamed Beauclerc, i. e. the ſcholar, becauſe, in thoſe days, none but eccleſiaſticks applied themſelves to books, and princes leaſt of all others. He retained, during his whole life, his taſte for the ſciences, which he had imbib'd in his younger years; and he even built a palace at Oxford, where he often retired, for the ſake of the company of the learned, His handſome face, his ſweet and ſerene aſpect, his free and engaging countenance, and his affable deportment and agreeable converſation, at firſt ſight, prepoſſeſs'd all the world in his favour; and he would have been, in all reſpects, an accompliſh'd prince, were it not that his excellencies were ſullied with many vicious qualities, eſpecially, cruelty, avarice, and an inordinate love of women. The firſt appeared, from his barbarous and unnatural uſage of his elder brother; the ſecond, from his exceſſive and too frequent taxes on the people; and the third, from the great number of baſtards he had by ſeveral miſtreſſes. I ſhall not ſtop, here, to make any remarks, on his uſurpation of the crown, ſince it may be objected, that Robert's right was not unexceptionable, on account of the diverſity of opinions, as to that point; but, for his cruel and unjuſt treatment of his brother, in not only depriving him of his dominions, but alſo detaining him in priſon, for 26 years, I apprehend, nothing can poſſibly be alledged, in his vindication. However, to make ſome attonement, for his miſdemeanors, he erected the epiſcopal ſees of Ely and Carliſle, and founded the abbies of Reading, Hyde, and Cheſter, with the priory of Dunſtable †; for this was a method of penance, very faſhionable, in thoſe days, which, as it is eaſy to be practiſed by the rich and powerful, has been all along, and is continued to this day.

1135.

His character.

The charter Henry granted his ſubjects, upon his acceſſion to the throne, is one of the moſt remarkable events of his reign, during which, the kingdom was happy, in a prodigious plenty of all things; ſeeing, for a ſhilling, as much corn might be bought, as would ſerve 100 men, a whole day; and, for a groat, which was likewiſe the price of a ſheep, as much hay and oats, as 20 horſes could eat, at the ſame time; tho', it muſt be owned, money was then much ſcarcer, than at preſent.

Henry left only one legitimate daughter behind him, viz. the empreſs, Matilda, and 12 natural ſons; the moſt illuſtrious of whom was Robert, earl of Glouceſter, as well becauſe of his perſonal merit, as for his inviolable adherence to the empreſs, his ſiſter, as the ſequel will inform us.

His iſſue.

4. STEPHEN.

1135. STEPHEN. HENRY imagined, that the triple oath, by which he had obliged the lords ſpiritual and temporal, would effectually ſecure the ſucceſſion to the empreſs, his daughter; at leaſt, it could not enter into his thoughts, that, altho' ſome of them ſhould make no conſcience of ſuch a ſolemn engagement, the body of the nation would follow their example; and yet, in ſpite of this obligation, thoſe, whom he leaſt ſuſpected, formed a project, even before his death, how to defeat all his precautions.

We may learn, from the three preceding reigns, with what partiality, riches, honours, and preferments were beſtowed upon foreigners, eſpecially, on thoſe, that were related to the royal family; for the three laſt kings, by excluding the Engliſh from their favours, whilſt they laviſhed them on the Normans, expected to ſecure the crown to their family. However, by heaping eſtates and honours on their relations, inſtead of gaining their children ſo many friends, they only created them ſo many rivals; and, in ſtrengthening the party of the foreigners againſt the Engliſh, they unexpectedly fomented the ambition of the former, and put it out of the power of the latter to ſupport the royal family, when it, moſt of all, wanted their aſſiſtance and protection.

Among the late king's favourites, Stephen, earl of Bulloign, his nephew, was the chief. Adela, his mother, daughter to William the Conqueror, had, by the earl of Blois, her huſband, four ſons; but Theobald, the ſecond, was his father's ſucceſſor, the eldeſt being render'd incapable, by ſome natnral defects. Stephen, the third ſon, was ſent over into Eng-

† He alſo built a magnificent palace at Woodſtock, to which he adjoined a large park, incloſed with ſtone, ſuppoſed to be the firſt in England; tho' the number of parks was afterwards ſo vaſtly increaſed, that it was computed, there were more in this ſingle kingdom, than in all the other parts of Chriſtendom.

land,

1135. land, to the king, his uncle; and Henry, the youngeſt, was a monk in the monaſtery of Clugni. Stephen's good qualities ſoon procured him an intereſt, in the eſteem and affection of the king, who took a pleaſure in obliging him, judging it to be highly expedient to place his nephew in a condition to ſupport his family; and, therefore, he conferred on Stephen the lands, that were confiſcated from the earl of Mortaign; and, having ſent for Henry, he made him abbot of Glaſſenbury, and, in proceſs of time, biſhop of Wincheſter. The two brothers being, at length, raiſed to a great degree of credit and power, they formed ſo ſtrong a party in England, that they entertained thoughts of making the beſt uſe of prince William's ſudden death, for their own advantage. It is certain, that, when the late king expreſs'd his deſire of ſecuring the crown to Matilda, Stephen was the very firſt that ſwore allegiance to her; but it muſt be conſider'd, that he could not expect a diſpenſation, in that particular, and that this was an improper juncture, to diſcover his intentions. Perhaps, he had formerly flatter'd himſelf with hopes of being married to Matilda, the king's daughter; but, theſe apprehenſions, if it be true that he gave into them, proving deluſive, by the marriage of that princeſs to the earl of Anjou, he made it his principal ſtudy, to bring about his deſigns. He, by his ſecret emiſſaries, increaſed, the diſguſt this match had occaſion'd, among the nobility, and previouſly engaged in his intereſt thoſe, who were moſt capable of fixing him on the throne, after the king's deceaſe. However, he was ſo very cautious and circumſpect, in his proceedings, that his uncle did not, in the leaſt, ſuſpect his deſigns; nay, on the contrary, a little before his death, he promoted his marriage to Matilda, only daughter and heireſs to the earl of Bulloign, by which means he became more powerful, and in greater credit, than ever.

Stephen, Henry's nephew, aſpires to the crown, whilſt his uncle was alive.

As the king's laſt ſickneſs ſeemed, at firſt, to be attended with dangerous ſymptoms, Stephen, who was with him in Normandy, ſent an account of it to the biſhop of Wincheſter, his brother, that he might renew his intrigues, to procure him the crown. This prelate had already brought over to his party the archbiſhop of Canterbury and Roger, biſhop of Saliſbury, who had, both of them, a great influence over the clergy; for the laſt was the richeſt ſubject in England, having accumulated vaſt treaſures, during his adminiſtration of eccleſiaſtical and civil affairs, which were entirely entruſted to his management, by the late king. The occaſion of his riſe was ſomewhat extraordinary. When he was no more than curate of a pariſh in Normandy, Henry, who had not then the leaſt proſpect of ſucceeding to the crown, by accident, came into the church, where he was employed in ſaying maſs; but his careful and devout manner of celebrating that ſervice ſo captivated the prince, that he inſtantly deſired to have him, for his chaplain. Roger very readily accepted this unexpected honour; and, tho' he had but little of the ſcholar in him, he was naturally of ſuch a pliant and courtly diſpoſition, that he ſoon attracted the good graces of his patron, who loaded him with favours. Upon his acceſſion to the throne, his firſt care was, to advance his chaplain to the ſee of Salisbury; and afterwards he made him his prime miniſter. This exalted poſt gave him an opportunity of amaſſing immenſe riches; which he expended, not ſo much in acts of charity, as in building magnificent palaces, and in keeping an equipage, almoſt as ſplendid, as that of the king.

The riſe of Roger, biſhop of Salisbury.

1135.

These three biſhops ſecured to Stephen the ſuffrages of all the clergy; and the temporal lords, that were not in his intereſt, did not think it adviſable, to oppoſe a deſign, which was approved of and purſued by all the biſhops; inſomuch that not ſo much, as one, attempted to ſpeak, in behalf of Matilda. In the mean while, upon Henry's death in Normandy, Stephen directly ſet out for England, to ſecond his pretenſions to the crown, with his preſence; and he eaſily carried away the prize from an abſent princeſs, whoſe capricious and imperious temper had already prejudiced the people againſt her. If the nobility had, in reality, the regard they expreſs'd for religion, their repeated oaths to Matilda would have infallibly prevented Stephen's election; but they as thoroughly underſtood, as at this day, the art of evading the moſt ſolemn engagements, by equivocations and mental reſervations, which render the uſe of an oath entirely ineffectual. The archbiſhop of Canterbury alledged, that their oath to Matilda was null and void, as it was inconſiſtent with the antient cuſtoms of the Engliſh, who had never allowed a woman to reign over them; and the biſhop of Salisbury aſſerted, that they were releaſed from their obligation, becauſe Matilda was married to a foreigner, without the conſent of the barons, whoſe intent was, even when they ſwore allegiance, not to have a king, of a different race from that of William the Conqueror. In fine, to put the matter out of diſpute, Hugh Bigod, who had been high-ſteward to the late king, ſwore on the holy evangeliſts, that, Henry, before his deceaſe, had diſinherited Matilda, and nominated Stephen, for his ſucceſſor; which was plauſible enough, to varniſh over the diſloyalty of the barons. On this weak foundation, they rejected Matilda's right, tho' they had thrice ſworn to maintain it, and crowned Stephen, the 26th of December, 24 days after Henry's death; and, thus, the princeſs was deprived of the crown, by thoſe whom her father apprehended to be the moſt firmly attached to her cauſe; which ſufficiently ſhews, how little ſtreſs is to be laid on the precautions, that are the product of human prudence.

The clergy declare for Stephen.

He is crowned.

Stephen was, at this time, 31 years old, and highly eſteemed by the nobility; tho' his age and good qualities did not, in the leaſt, ſtrengthen his title to the ſucceſſion; inſomuch that, to ſupport it, he was conſtrained to promiſe the people more privileges, in his reign, than they had ever enjoyed, under the Norman kings, his predeceſſors, and, doubtleſs, more than he deſigned to perform; and, indeed,

He makes large promiſes to the barons.

1135. deed, this was the ſole motive of their being ſo active and forward, in his election. They amuſed themſelves with an expectation, that, on the account of his being indebted to them, for the crown, he would always give them ſome proofs of his gratitude; whereas they imagined, that Matilda, whoſe right was more conſpicuous, would not think herſelf to be ſo much obliged to them, on that ſcore. However, Stephen, willing to make the moſt ſpecious declarations, for the ſake of a ſceptre, engaged to reform all the abuſes, that had prevailed, in the three former reigns, and the biſhop of Wincheſter, his brother, aſſured the barons, that he would fulfil all his declarations; and, upon this, they made the beſt uſe of the preſent favourable juncture. When the oath was adminiſter'd to the new king, more being required of him, than any of the preceding kings, he ſwore, "that he would, within a li-
He takes an unuſual oath. "mited time, ſupply the vacant ſees, and, in "the mean while, commit the temporalities to "the care of ſome eccleſiaſtick; that he would "not ſeize on the woods of any clerk or lay-"man, on trifling pretences, as his predeceſ-"ſors had done, but that he would be ſatisfied "with the foreſts, that belonged to the two "William's, and reſign thoſe that Henry had "uſurped; and, finally, that he would abo-"liſh the Danegelt, which, having been taken "away by king Edward, was revived by the "Norman kings." The biſhops, on their part, took an oath, which was no leſs extraordinary, viz. that they would adhere to him no longer,
The oath of the biſhops and barons. than he ſhould ſecure the privileges of the church; and the lay-lords proceeded, with the ſame caution, if we may paſs a judgment on the reſt, by the oath of the earl of Glouceſter, natural ſon to the late king, who ſwore allegiance, on condition that he would preſerve his eſtates and honours, and perform the promiſes he made to the barons.

Stephen ſeizes on Henry's treaſure. The coronation being over, Stephen poſted to Wincheſter, to take poſſeſſion of the treaſure, Henry had laid up in that place, which amounted to 100,000 marks, beſides plate and jewels; and, with this money, he levied an army of Bretaigns, Picards, Flemings, and other foreigners, not having, as yet, any great confidence in his own ſubjects; and, at his return from Wincheſter, he went to meet the corpſe of the late king, which was brought from Normandy, in order to be interred at Reading, purſuant to his own directions.

1136. Stephen did not, hitherto, meet with the leaſt oppoſition; but yet he foreſaw it to be very likely, that Matilda and Geoffrey, her husband, would attempt to recover the crown; and, therefore, he judged it to be expedient, to gain an intereſt in the hearts of the people, by making it appear, that it was his real intention to obſerve his promiſes, with the utmoſt punctuality. With this view, he convened a general aſſembly at Oxford, and ſigned the charter he promiſed his ſubjects, in which he, firſt of all, "owns that he was elected by "the clergy and people. He ratifies all the "liberties, privileges, and immunities of the "church, and conſents that all eccleſiaſtical "cauſes and perſons ſhould be tried by the 1136. "clergy; and he declares, that he will not, "at any rate, concern himſelf with the tem-"poralities of vacant biſhopricks, or eſtates "belonging to the clergy. He aboliſhes all "the game and foreſt-laws, enacted, ſince the "conqueſt; and, laſtly, the more effectually "to ſecure the affections of the Engliſh, he re-"ſtores the antient laws of the Saxons." This charter would have proved very advantageous to the people, if it had been put in execution; but, as a certain author remarks, as the Eng- Malmſ.
liſh elected Stephen, merely, for their own intereſt, he granted their requeſts, rather to amuſe them, than to bind himſelf with fetters of parchment. The truth of this obſervation is evident, from the king's behaviour, a few Stephen ſeizes on the revenues of the ſee of Canterbury. Hunting. Paris. Malmſ.
months after; for, the ſee of Canterbury becoming vacant by the death of Corbet, the king ſeized on the revenues, and kept them in his poſſeſſion, above two years; moreover, as the archbiſhop died inteſtate, he ſeized on his effects, pretending that this proceeding was a branch of his royal prerogative. Indeed, in this, he only copied after the three preceding kings; but, tho' it ſhould be admitted, that he was poſſeſs'd of that right, yet, as he had ſo poſitively promiſed to reſign it, this ſtep muſt, of courſe, be conſidered, as an expreſs violation of his charter and oath.

The beginning of Stephen's reign was calm and peaceable; but this tranquillity was ſoon interrupted. His ſubjects, growing inſolent, over-rated their ſervices to the king; and ſome of them, being obliged to follow the multitude, only wanted an opportunity to wipe off the ſtain, the nation had contracted, by the breach of their oath to Matilda. The king, being ſenſible of the uncertain ſituation of his affairs, did all that was poſſible, to ſecure the allegiance of the people; and, with this view, he conferred titles of honour on ſeveral perſons, and alienated a great number of the crown-lands to ſuch, as, he apprehended, might be ſerviceable to his cauſe. In the interim, theſe, who received his favours, look'd upon them, as the reward of their merit; whilſt thoſe, that were neglected, reſented the king's partiality; which, proved, at length, very fatal to him. But his greateſt overſight was, in permitting the barons to fortify their caſtles, which put it in their power to revolt, when they pleaſed; and, in a little time, there were above a thouſand fortified caſtles, in different parts of the kingdom.

1137. The earl of Devonſhire revolts. The inſolence of Baldwin de Redvers, earl of Devonſhire, ſoon convinced Stephen of his imprudence, in this particular; for that lord, being diſguſted, on the account of the king's refuſing him a favour he asked, openly declared, that he would obey him no longer; and, accordingly, he fortified his caſtle at Exeter, where, acting as a ſovereign, he treated, in a tyrannical manner, all that were under him. This revolt was ſo much the more dangerous, The Welch make an irruption. as the Welch, at the ſame time, made an incurſion into the frontiers, from whence they carried off a great booty; but the king, taking Baldwin's affair to be the moſt important,

1137. went and beſieged Exeter, which held out a conſiderable time. However, having, at laſt, ſubdued the place, he purſued the earl, to the iſle of Wight; and, forcing him to retreat, from thence, he baniſhed him the realm, tho' he granted a pardon to all the other revolters; but this act of grace was of pernicious conſequence to Stephen, as it rendered the malecontents more daring and preſumptuous.

The earl is baniſhed.

The Welch defeat the Engliſh.

The Welch war was not concluded, with the ſame ſucceſs; for, in a battle fought, near Cardigan, the king's forces were ſo ſeverely uſed, that very few of them eſcaped with life; and, it is ſaid, the Engliſh ſoldiers were ſtruck with ſuch a pannick conſternation, that they were taken priſoners, even by the women.

The king of Scotland invades the north.

In the mean while, David, king of Scotland, made a deſcent into the northern counties of England, under the pretence of revenging the injury done to the empreſs, his niece; and, having made himſelf maſter of Carliſle and Newcaſtle, he advanced, as far as Durham. No ſooner was the Welch war over, than Stephen marched into the north, in order to ſtop the progreſs of the king of Scotland; but the particulars of this war, tho' of little importance, in themſelves, are variouſly related by the hiſtorians of both nations, who agree in nothing, except the event. They unanimouſly affirm, that it was ended by a treaty of peace, purſuant to which, the king of Scotland was to have Carliſle, and prince Henry, his ſon, the earldom of Huntingdon, for which he did homage to the king of England; and the reaſon of the ſon's being inveſted with it was, becauſe the father refuſed to accept it, on that condition, alledging that he had ſworn to own no other ſovereign in England, but Matilda, provided king Henry died without any male iſſue.

The king's illneſs, and its conſequences.

Stephen, directly upon his return from his northern expedition, was ſeized with a lethargy, which, it was generally believed, would carry him off in a few days; and the people were ſo full of this notion, that it occaſioned ſuch commotions, in England as well as Normandy, as were not eaſily appeaſed. The king's friends were diſcouraged, and Matilda's party gained ground, by the rumour that was ſpread of the king's death; whilſt, on the other hand, the Welch took this opportunity, for renewing the war. The earl of Anjou alſo entered Normandy, in order to ſeize on that part of the king his father-in-law's inheritance; but, for what reaſon I know not, this prince was, at preſent, ſo much deteſted by the Normans, that, on purpoſe to prevent his deſign, they called in Theobald, earl of Blois, Stephen's elder brother, who, falling in with their invitation, came to Liſieux, where the earl of Glouceſter delivered to him the keys of Falaiſe. This earl, remembering the laſt commands of the king, his father, in behalf of Matilda, had, with great reluctancy, ſwore allegiance to Stephen; yet, as he could not, alone, ſupport the empreſs's right, he thought it moſt adviſable, to diſſemble his ſentiments, till he met with a proper occaſion, to declare in her favour; but, the earl of Blois being introduced into Normandy, he imagined that, as he envied his brother's greatneſs, he would raiſe ſuch troubles there, as might turn to Matilda's advantage. 1137.

Stephen recovers Normandy from his brother, and expels him.

In the interim, Stephen, being perfectly recovered, found his affairs in the utmoſt confuſion; for the great men, who depended upon the king's dying, had already formed ſeveral factions, which, he apprehended, could not, without extreme difficulty, be compoſed; but, as Theobald, his brother, gave him the greateſt uneaſineſs, he reſolved to begin with him, before he ſhould enter into an alliance with the king of France, who, alone, was capable of ſupporting him. With this view, he went over into Normandy, taking with him large ſums of money, by which he prevailed on the principal Normans, to abandon the earl of Blois; but this revolution ought not to have ſurprized the earl, ſince they had only called him in, on the ſuppoſition that Stephen was either dead or dying, and to avoid ſubjection to the earl of Anjou.

He enters into a league with France,

It was very fortunate for Stephen, that the Normans had, thus, deſerted the earl of Blois; but, the more effectually to defeat all his hopes, he attempted, by valuable preſents, to gain over the king of France to his intereſt. This project anſwering his expectation, he put it out of the power of his enemies, to do him any prejudice; but, as Lewis could not, without ſome regret, ſee England and Normandy in the poſſeſſion of the ſame perſon, Stephen reſigned the latter to Euſtace, earl of Bulloign, his eldeſt ſon, who did homage to the king of France, for that dutchy. Theobald, finding that he was not in a condition to withſtand the two monarchs, judged it moſt convenient to retire; tho' he ſent word to the king, his brother, that, notwithſtanding his being obliged to give way, he did not quit his pretenſions both to England and Normandy. However, his actions did not, in the leaſt, ſuit this imperious meſſage; for, very ſoon after, he renounced his pretended title, for a yearly penſion of 2000 marks.

reſigns Normandy to his ſon,

and accommodates matters with his brother, and the earl of Anjou.

The league between the two kings had the ſame effect on the earl of Anjou, whoſe claim was much ſtronger, on the account of his being husband to Matilda. It is certain, he made ſome attempts upon Normandy; tho, after he had endeavoured to gain it, by the force of arms, he accepted of a penſion of 5000 marks, as a favour.

1138. The king of Scotland makes a deſcent into England.

The affairs of Normandy being, thus, ſettled, Stephen was in hopes of enjoying ſome quiet in England, when he received intelligence, that the king of Scotland had invaded Northumberland; and it was even inſinuated, that he was invited by the Engliſh barons, to ſupport the pretenſions of the empreſs, which was, in reality, the ſtate of the caſe. Whilſt David was employed in ravaging the borders of the north, ſome Engliſh lords had ſeized on Bedford, deſigning, in all probability, to make a farther progreſs; but Stephen, upon this, directly embarqued for England, and, tho' it was in the midſt of winter, he went and laid ſiege to Bedford, which he continued, till, at

1138. at length, he became maſter of the place; and then he marched into Scotland, where David had retreated.

A general revolt of the Engliſh. Gervaſe, Chron. Dunelm. Malmſ.

But, in the mean time, he was obliged to return into England, by reaſon of an inſurrection of almoſt all the barons, and he was aſtoniſh'd at the news of it; tho', one would be apt to imagine, he ſhould not be ſo much ſurprized, becauſe the barons violated their oath to him, ſince this was no more than what he had done himſelf, with regard to Matilda. The male-contents alledged, that he had, in many reſpects, broke his promiſes to the people, as well as to the church; but this was only a pretence, to colour over their private reſentments; for the true cauſe of their diſguſt was, their not being rewarded, in proportion to their expectations. They had, from the very time of his acceſſion to the crown, inceſſantly teized him with their requeſts, tho' he had endeavoured by arguments, promiſes, and very frequently by actual grants, to ſatisfy the demands of the moſt importunate; but this was inſufficient, to ſecure their allegiance, which was entirely founded on the views they, all of them, had of enjoying the ſame honours, eſtates, and offices, which was a thing altogether impoſſible.

Robert, earl of Glouceſter, is the principal of the revolters.

Robert, earl of Glouceſter, was the author of this revolt, who artfully improved the preſent opportunity, to form a party, in the behalf of the empreſs, his ſiſter, that was ſtrong enough to place her on the throne; and, it is ſaid, he engaged in this undertaking, at the inſtigation of certain monks, who aſſured him, that he exceedingly endangered his ſalvation, in obeying an uſurper, in direct contradiction to the oath he had taken to Matilda. It appears from hence, that the monks were at the bottom of this conſpiracy, and that, in all likelihood, they had made the like remonſtrances to others, as well as to the earl of Glouceſter. Some hiſtorians farther add, that the earl acted, on this occaſion, in revenge of the king's having attempted to poiſon him; but, if Stephen had any ſuch deſign, it is highly probable, it was not till after the earl had revolted againſt him. However that be, no ſooner did Robert find, that he was ſeconded with a ſufficient force, than he waited on the empreſs, to inform her of his proceedings, in her favour; and he afterwards ſent an abuſive letter to Stephen himſelf, in which he reproached him, for the violation of his oath to Matilda, and accuſed him of having drawn him in, to be guilty of the ſame crime. To this letter he ſubjoined a manifeſto, wherein he treated Stephen, as an uſurper, and even declared war againſt him; but the king did not return him any anſwer, tho' he confiſcated all his great eſtates in England.

He takes poſſeſſion of Briſtol.

In the interim, Matilda's party becoming daily more numerous, by the acceſſion of the principal barons, the earl of Glouceſter, coming into England, took poſſeſſion of Briſtol; 1138. and other lords ſeized on ſeveral caſtles, which had been fortified by former kings, for the ſecurity of the crown, tho' they now put it in the greateſt danger. Stephen, being conſtrained to wage war with his ſubjects, retook and demoliſhed ſeveral of theſe caſtles; and, notwithſtanding this general defection, ſupporting himſelf with his army of foreigners, he continually gave proofs of an extraordinary courage, and an unalterable reſolution to loſe his life with his crown. He could never enough admire, that the very perſons, who were moſt zealous and active, in placing him on the throne, ſhould be among the firſt, to dethrone him *; and, as men are always apt to flatter themſelves, he could not imagine, that he had deſerved ſuch treatment, wholly aſcribing this revolt to the caprice and giddineſs of the barons, tho', it muſt be owned, that their complaints were not entirely groundleſs. The king had not only neglected punctually to obſerve his charter, but had remarkably diſtinguiſhed the foreigners, particularly, William of Ipre, from his own ſubjects, by his partial favours; and his ſeverity, on the firſt breaking out of the rebellion, in ſeizing upon the perſons and eſtates of ſome of the barons, on very ſlight ſuſpicions, ſerved only to inflame the fire, that was already too much kindled. In fine, the animoſities were arrived to ſuch a height, by mutual reproaches and acts of hoſtility, daily committed, that the male-contents ſent Matilda word, that they were ready to own her for their ſovereign, purſuant to the promiſe they had made to the king, her father.

Matilda is invited over.

The king of Scotland fomented theſe commotions, in favour of the empreſs, his niece, tho' he was likewiſe uncle to Stephen's queen †; and, as ſoon as he found that matters were brought to maturity, he again invaded Northumberland, making the moſt horrible devaſtations in that county, which uſually felt all the effects of the quarrels between England and Scotland. As Stephen could not, at this juncture, leave the heart of the kingdom, Thurſtan, archbiſhop of York, undertook to oppoſe the invaſion in the north; and, calling together the barons and gentlemen of thoſe parts, he told them, that, in this emergency, their only dependence muſt be upon themſelves, it not being in the king's power to aſſiſt them; which conſideration anſwering his purpoſe, they unanimouſly declared, that they would do all that was poſſible, to repulſe the Scots.

The king of Scotland breaks the peace. Hoved. Hunt. Paris.

The war of the ſtandard.

In a little time after, each of them appeared with his troops, at the general rendezvous; and, ranging themſelves under the command of Walter de Speck and William of Albemarle, they advanced, as far as Alverton. Having reſolved to wait there for the enemy, they ſet up a mark, placing on the top of it ſome

* It is ſaid, that, upon the firſt news of the inſurrection of the barons, he made uſe of the following words: "Since "they have elected me to their king, why do they now deſert me? By the birth of God, his uſual oath, I never will "be called an abdicated king." Malmſ. p. 102.

† Mary of Scotland, ſiſter to the empreſs's mother, married Euſtace, earl of Bulloign, by whom ſhe had Matilda, Stephen's queen.

conſecrated

1138. confecrated hoſts and banners of the ſaints, that they might, upon occaſion, rally there; from whence, this war was ſtiled the war of the ſtandard. Aibred, abbot of Rieval, has given us a particular account of the battle; but, as it is not, in my opinion, an affair of any conſequence, I ſhall only take notice of the reſult of it. The Scots, by far the moſt numerous, having attacked the Engliſh, in their intrenchments, were obliged to retreat, with the loſs of 12000 men; and tho' the king of Scotland and Henry, his ſon, gave the moſt ſurprizing proofs of their valour, they could not prevent their army, from being totally routed. It is reported, that the archbiſhop's harangue to the Engliſh, in which he promiſed heaven to all ſuch, as were ſlain in the engagement, did exceedingly contribute to the ſucceſs of that day.

The defeat of the Scots.

Stephen reduces the barons to obedience.

In the interim, Stephen diſplayed the terror of his arms, in the center of the kingdom; for the rebels, being forced to quit the field, allowed him time, to reduce their caſtles, one after another, without any reſiſtance. Theſe conqueſts and the victory over the king of Scotland, entirely confounded the earl of Glouceſter, as they baffled all his hopes and projects; but, when he perceived, that his party daily decreaſed, he thought it adviſable to go and ſollicit the empreſs to come into England, that ſhe might invigorate her friends, by her preſence.

The king, obtaining ſome reſpite, by the retreat of the earl of Glouceſter and other lords of his party, determined vigorouſly to carry on the Scotch war, which had ſuch an auſpicious beginning; and, accordingly, he marched towards the north, and, having taken, in his way, the caſtle of Leeds, he proceeded to Scotland, where David had retired, after his defeat. He deſigned to give him battle; but, as that prince ſtudiouſly avoided an engagement in his own country, to prevent it, he immediately ſued for peace. At another time, perhaps, Stephen would not have ſo eaſily complied with his propoſals; but, as the advantages he might have expected, from that war, bore no proportion to the evils his abſence might occaſion in England, he judged it to be expedient to accept them, at the preſent juncture. Purſuant to this treaty, prince Henry of Scotland was put in poſſeſſion of the county of Northumberland and earldom of Huntingdon; and David, in return, obliged himſelf, by an oath, never to concern himſelf, for the future, in the quarrel between Stephen and the empreſs, Matilda.

Upon this, the king returned into England, attended by the prince of Scotland, who, by his noble and generous carriage, ſo captivated Stephen's affections, that he loved him as much, as if he had been his own ſon; but his fondneſs for the young prince excited the jealouſy of the earl of Cheſter and ſome other lords, who, pretending that the king had placed him above them, at his table, retired from court. However, if Henry's extraction did not require that diſtinction, his merit juſtly claimed a particular reſpect; ſince all the hiſtorians are agreed, in giving him the character of an accompliſh'd prince; Stephen, notwithanding the envy of the Engliſh, continued to ſhew him marks of his affection, particularly, in a caſe, which demonſtrated his ſincerity. This young prince, who accompanied him to the ſiege of Ludlow, having approached too near the walls, was in great danger of being dragg'd from off his horſe, by an iron hook fixed at the end of a rope, if Stephen had not ventured his own life, to ſave him, in this extremity; which was an action, that redounded as much to the king's honour, as that of the prince, whom he preſerved. 1138.

The ſame year Alberic, the pope's legate in England, called a ſynod, in which Theobald abbot of Bec, was elected archbiſhop of Canterbury, to the great ſatisfaction of the Engliſh, after that ſee had been vacant, for two years.

1139. *The king quarrels with the clergy.*

Stephen's treaty with the king of Scotland, and his ſucceſſes over his domeſtick enemies, ſeemed to give him a fair proſpect of a laſting tranquillity; and, indeed, in all probability, it would have been uninterrupted, if, by imprudently falling out with the clergy, he had not hurled himſelf down, from the ſummit of his grandeur and glory, to the moſt deplorable condition, to which a ſovereign could poſſibly be reduced. The biſhops had been very inſtrumental, in placing him on the throne, and, from that time, their power increaſed to ſuch a degree, that it was no leſs dangerous for the king, to diſoblige them, now, than it had been advantageous for him, to have their friendſhip, at his election; yet ſuch was his jealouſy of their exorbitant power, that it deprived him of the exerciſe of his uſual prudence, and precipitantly hurried him, at once, to lower their greatneſs. Roger, biſhop of Salisbury, had two caſtles, as ſtrong as they were magnificent, one at the Devizes and the other at Sherburn, and he was building a third at Malmsbury. Alexander, his nephew, biſhop of Lincoln, having built one at Newark, openly declared, that he deſign'd it as much for the ſecurity, as for the dignity of his church; and Nigel, biſhop of Ely, who was alſo Roger's nephew, affected ſuch a magnificence, in his retinue as well as houſe, that attracted the envy of ſome, and the indignation of all. When theſe three prelates came to court, they had ſuch a number of armed attendants, that, one would have imagined, they rather intended to affront the king, than to pay him their reſpects; and, this pompous manner of living having raiſed them very many enemies, ſome of them inſinuated to the king, that he could not be ſafe on his throne, whilſt the biſhops continued to be ſo potent; and his ſuſpicions were ſtrengthened, by the rumour, that was ſpread, of Matilda's being prepared to come into England, where ſhe had a powerful party. Tho' the biſhop of Salisbury was principally concerned in Stephen's election; yet, fancying that he was in Matilda's intereſt, now, he formed a reſolution, to humble the pride of that prelate and his nephews; and he very ſpeedily found an opportunity. In a general

1139. general aſſembly at Oxford, the ſervants of the biſhop of Salisbury having pick'd a quarrel with thoſe of Alan of Bretaigne, earl of Richmond, it happened, that a knight, belonging to the earl, was killed, in the ſcuffle, and a great number of perſons were wounded, on both ſides; but the biſhop's attendants had the advantage being aſſiſted, by thoſe of the biſhops of Ely and Lincoln, as well as of the chancellor, who paſs'd for Roger's nephew, tho' he was, in reality, his ſon. The king, willing to catch at this occaſion, to mortify the whole family, ſummon'd them, all four, to appear at his court, and anſwer for the riot of his domeſticks; but, tho' this ſummons was according to law, the ſatisfaction, that he demanded, was illegal; for, not being contented with the mulcts enjoined, in the like caſes, he inſiſted on the ſurrender of all their caſtles, as ſo many pledges for their future allegiance. Theſe demands ſeeming to be unreaſonable, the prelates deſir'd time, to conſider on this affair; but whilſt the king waited for their anſwer, the biſhop of Ely, abſenting himſelf, retired to Roger his uncle's caſtle at the Devizes; and, his ſudden departure having prevented the adjuſting of matters, Stephen directly went and beſieged the caſtle, where was alſo Matilda, the wife or concubine of the biſhop of Salisbury. This being a place of great ſtrength, the king, to put an end to the ſiege, without loſs of time, order'd the biſhop of Sarum and the chancellor, to be conducted cloſe to the wall, and ſent word to Matilda, that, unleſs ſhe inſtantly ſurrender'd the caſtle, the chancellor ſhould be hang'd, on the ſpot, and the biſhop ſhould be ſtarved to death; but, theſe menaces proving effectual, ſhe deliver'd up the caſtle, in which he found 40,000 marks, in ready ſpecie. The biſhop of Lincoln obtained his liberty, by reſigning to the king his caſtle of Sleaford; and, ſoon after, Stephen was poſſeſs'd of the caſtles of Salisbury, Malmſbury, and Sherbourn. With the money he diſcover'd in theſe fortreſſes, where the biſhops ſecured their treaſures, he purchaſed the friendſhip of the king of France, and enter'd into an alliance with him; and this league was cemented, by the marriage of Euſtace, Stephen's ſon, to Conſtantia, ſiſter to Lewis the Young, who was the ſucceſſor of Lewis the Fat, his father.

Upon a quarrel at Oxford, the king ſummons them to appear at his court.

He ſeizes on their caſtles.

The diſcontents of the clergy.

The biſhop of Wincheſter is an advocate for the clergy, and cites the king to appear before the ſynod.

The king's ſevere treatment of the biſhops extremely incenſed the whole body of the clergy; for the archbiſhop of Roan, then in England, was the only one, that was not diſguſted, on that account. This prelate was perſuaded, that Stephen might deprive the biſhops of their fortified caſtles, which had no relation to their privileges, as church-men, without ſtriking at the immunities of the church; but the biſhop of Wincheſter, being lately made the pope's legate for England, was of a quite different opinion. He had, for ſome time, harboured a private reſentment againſt the king, his brother, for excluding him from any ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs, eſpecially, ſince he had been ſo zealous and active, in placing him on the throne; but, finding there was no proſpect of his being concerned in the government, for the future, he joyfully embraced the preſent opportunity of creating him trouble, under the pretence of maintaining the rights of the church. With this view, he held a ſynod at Wincheſter, and ſummoned the king to make his appearance there, in order to give an account of his actions. At the opening of this aſſembly, he highly aggravated Stephen's proceedings againſt the three biſhops; and he exhorted the prelates to a vigorous defence of the rights of the epiſcopal dignity, and the privileges of the church. Upon which, he made a ſolemn proteſtation, that he would execute the decrees of the council, tho' it ſhould occaſion the loſs of the king's friendſhip, his own eſtate, and even of life itſelf. Stephen had ſent ſome lords to the council, with Alberic de Vere, a famous civilian; and, as ſoon as the legate had concluded his ſpeech, theſe lords demanded the reaſons, why the king was ſummon'd to appear before that aſſembly. The legate replied, it was to ſhew cauſe, why he impriſon'd the biſhops, and diſpoſſeſs'd them of their eſtates; a crime, that, he ſaid, was, hitherto, unheard of in the chriſtian world; but, Alberic ſmartly anſwer'd, that the prelates were not puniſhed, as biſhops, but as the king's ſubjects and ſervants. The biſhop of Salisbury, diſliking this diſtinction, told him, in ſo many words, that the biſhops could not, in any ſenſe, be conſider'd as the king's ſervants; and, the majority of the ſynod falling in with his ſentiments, the archbiſhop of Roan, who believed, that the epiſcopal dignity laid no foundation for an independent power, attempted to ſet, in a true light, the point in diſpute. He enquir'd of them, whether they could evidently prove, from the canons, that biſhops, as ſuch, had a right to fortified caſtles. "But, as he farther adds, tho' you could "make it appear, that you may be poſſeſſed "of fortreſſes, without the violation of the "canons of the church; yet what pretence can "you have, to refuſe the ſurrender of them "to the king, at a time when the kingdom is "threatened with an invaſion? Is it not the "king's province to provide for the ſafety of "the ſtate? and can ſubjects refuſe to admit "him into their caſtles, without incurring the "guilt of rebellion." However, theſe conſiderations did not prevail on the biſhops to deſiſt; for the legate propoſed to excommunicate the king, and ſend deputies to Rome, to repreſent their grievances to the pope; but, now, the lords, ſent by the king, thought it high time, to expreſs themſelves in plainer and more intelligible language. They freely declared, that, if the ſynod ſhould preſume to excommunicate the king, the biſhops would ſoon have reaſon to repent of their proceedings; and that, if any of them ſhould undertake to go to Rome, on that account, they would find their return to be a matter extremely difficult, if not impracticable. This declaration made ſuch an impreſſion on their minds, that they were unwilling, for the ſake of the legate, to incur the king's reſentment;

The archbiſhop of Roan pleads the king's cauſe.

The legate propoſes to excommunicate the king.

1139. and accordingly, the ſynod, having reſolved on a deputation to the king, broke up, after they had ſate but three days. Purſuant to this reſolution, the legate and the archbiſhop of Canterbury waited on Stephen, and urgently importuned him, to prevent a rupture between the eccleſiaſtical and civil powers; which was, in plain Engliſh, to require him to make the clergy ample ſatisfaction, or otherwiſe a rupture was altogether unavoidable. It is not to be conceived, on what grounds, the clergy, at this time, laid claim to an independent power, unleſs it was, becauſe they were arrived to ſuch a height of power and grandeur, that they imagined, the king could do nothing, without them. During the monarchy of the Saxons, the biſhops eſteemed it to be an honour, to be ranked with the thanes, i. e. the king's ſervants; and, after the Norman conqueſt, William I. impriſon'd them, upon very ſlight ſuſpicions. He baniſhed ſome, and degraded others, at his pleaſure, without the leaſt oppoſition; and yet, in Stephen's reign, it was an unheard of crime, to deprive the biſhops of their fortreſſes, and even an unpardonable preſumption, to call them the king's ſervants; and, indeed, for ſome time paſt, the clergy had eſtabliſhed it, as a maxim, that the eſſence of religion conſiſted in ſtanding up for all the privileges and immunities of the church, which had been claimed by herſelf.

The ſynod ſends deputies to Stephen.

The people fall in with the clergy. Malmſ. Vital.

However that be, the people were as much alarmed, on this occaſion, as if the king had invaded their own rights and liberties; for the whole kingdom ſwarmed, in an inſtant, with male-contents, who only wanted a leader, to command them; and, in fine, the clergy's faction became ſo numerous, that moſt of the temporal lords came over to their party. The empreſs, reſolving to embrace the preſent opportunity, went into England, tho' ſhe had not above 140 men to attend her; but her chief dependence was on a powerful aſſiſtance from the revolters there; and ſhe took up her firſt quarters, in the caſtle of Arundel, which belonged to the queen dowager, being a part of her dowry. The earl of Glouceſter, who accompanied his ſiſter, thinking her to be out of all danger, in a place where ſhe was received, with all the reſpect due to her quality, left her and went to Briſtol; whilſt Stephen, who was beſieging Marlborough, being told of Matilda's arrival, directly raiſing the ſiege, marched towards Arundel. Upon the king's approach, the queen dowager repented of the reception ſhe gave the empreſs, fearing it might be the means of depriving her of her caſtle, with all the privileges ſhe enjoyed in England; tho', on the other hand, honour and honeſty would not permit her, to betray her gueſt into the hands of her enemy. To avoid both theſe extremes, ſhe ſent word to the king, that, if he perſiſted in demanding her to deliver up Matilda, ſhe was no leſs reſolved to protect her, till ſome of her friends came to her aſſiſtance; but, at the ſame time, ſhe aſſured him, that ſhe had not entertain'd her, as his enemy, but as his mother-in-law, the widow of a great emperor, whom ſhe was obliged to treat, in a manner becoming her rank and dignity; that it was not her intent to countenance any deſigns, ſhe might have againſt him, but only to preſerve her from any ill accident, whilſt ſhe was under her roof; in fine, ſhe propoſed to the king, that Matilda might be allowed to retire to ſome other place, where he might as eaſily beſiege her, as in Arundel caſtle; and that, by this generous action, he would lay an obligation on a queen, the widow of a great monarch, his uncle and benefactor, without the leaſt prejudice to himſelf. Whether Stephen was apprehenſive, that it was not in his power to take the caſtle, before it might be relieved, or whether it was in complaiſance to the queen, he promiſed that Matilda ſhould be ſafely conducted to Briſtol, which was, accordingly, performed; tho' he found too much reaſon, afterwards, to repent of his generoſity. Matilda, having continued, ſome time, at Briſtol, removed to Glouceſter; and, during her ſtay in theſe two cities, ſhe ſo artfully improved the diſcontents of the clergy and nobility, that ſhe brought them both over to her party, and, by their influence, almoſt the whole body of the people; for none adhered to the king, except a few barons and his foreign army, which, tho' they were poorly paid, ſerved him with fidelity.

1139.

Matilda comes over into England.

She is ſafely conducted to Briſtol.

The king beſieges her in Arundel-caſtle.

1140. I ſhall not enter into the particulars of this civil war, which, like all others of the kind, affords more inſtances of deceit and cruelty, than of glorious actions; and, therefore, I ſhall only take notice of the principal events. During its continuance, the whole kingdom was divided; ſince there was not a city, county, or even individual perſon, that did not eſpouſe the cauſe of the king or the empreſs; and the lords, neareſt in neighbourhood and blood, had ſuch furious party-quarrels, that they ſet fire to the houſes, and pillaged the vaſſals of one another, ſo that a horrible confuſion was ſpread over the face of the kingdom. In this fatal anarchy, the barons, acting as ſovereigns, cruelly oppreſs'd the people, and even preſumed to coin their own money; whilſt, on the contrary, the king and Matilda connived at theſe proceedings, leſt, by calling their friends to an account, they ſhould diſguſt them. Beſides, the foreign ſoldiers, of whom Stephen's army entirely conſiſted, as he was not in a condition to pay them punctually, were ſuffered to plunder the poor people, who, tho' innocent, were moſt expoſed to the calamities of a cruel war.

A civil war.

The biſhop of Winchеſter returns to his allegiance.

In the interim, the biſhop of Winchеſter, being, at length, convinced of his indiſcretion, tack'd about to the king's intereſt; for he foreſaw, that he would certainly be involved in the ſame ruin with his brother; and, therefore, in order to regain Stephen's confidence, by ſome remarkable ſervice, having drawn to Winchеſter a conſiderable number of lords, friends to Matilda, he detained them as priſoners, until they ſurrender'd their caſtles to the king.

Stephen's ſteadineſs and reſolution.

Stephen, in ſpite of all his difficulties, preſerved an invincible firmneſs of mind, which ſecured the loyalty of many, who, doubtleſs, would

1140. would have abandon'd him, had they perceived the leaſt want of courage and reſolution; for this is always the caſe, when princes, in his circumſtances, diſtruſt their fortune or abilities. The king, inſtead of being intimidated, by the violent ſhocks and diſappointments he received, daily renewed his attempts, to remove, by his valour and conduct, the evils he met with; and he even hoped to put an end, at once, to this revolt of his ſubjects, and all the fatal conſequences of it, by attacking Wallingford, which was inveſted by the empreſs and the earl of Glouceſter; but, not being able to take this place, ſo eaſily as he imagined, he turned the ſiege into a blockade; and yet he was no ſooner retired, than the earl of Glouceſter, quitting the caſtle, went and took poſſeſſion of Worceſter; and the counties of Cheſter and Nottingham were ravaged by the barons of his party.

Matilda retires to Lincoln, where the king beſieges her; but ſhe eſcapes. Malmſ. Hunt. Paris.

In the interim, Matilda, who was cloſely pent up in Wallingford, eſcaping from thence, retreated to Lincoln; but ſhe was ſoon purſued by the king, who deſigned to have ſurprized her, being very ſenſible, that Lincoln, where he had a great number of friends, could not be defended by the ſmall handful of troops, that attended Matilda. Stephen would infallibly have taken his rival, in this place, which held out but a few days, had ſhe not found the means to make off, whilſt the articles of capitulation were drawing up; but, upon this diſappointment, he withdrew from the town, and did not ſo much as leave a garriſon in it, to prevent the impairing of the ſtrength of his army. However, he had no ſooner departed, than he was informed, that the earl of Cheſter, the earl of Glouceſter's ſon-in-law, came thither, with his wife and brother, in order to keep their Chriſtmas; and, as he was extremely deſirous of having theſe three perſons in his power, he returned, with ſuch expedition, that they had but juſt time to retire into the caſtle, which was immediately inveſted. Notwithſtanding this, the earl, eſcaping, went to the earl of Glouceſter, to intreat him to come to the relief of the beſieged, who were not in a condition to hold out long; and that lord, willing to ſuccour his own daughter, muſter'd all his troops together, and advanced towards Lincoln ſo ſpeedily, that he was upon the point of ſurprizing the king. Having forded the river Trent, which Stephen judged to be altogether impracticable, he ſo ſuddenly overtook the royal army, that neither of the parties could avoid an engagement. The two armies being drawn up, the battle began, which, for a great while, was fought, on both ſides, with equal bravery; but, at laſt, the king's horſe, compoſed of Flemings and Bretaigns, giving way, they were ſo briskly preſſed, that they could never rally again; and the earl of Glouceſter, inſtead of purſuing the flying horſe, who were utterly incapable of doing him any farther damage, attack'd the king's infantry, who, as they wanted the aſſiſtance of the cavalry, were obliged alſo to retreat.

The battle of Lincoln.

Stephen's army is routed.

In the mean time, Stephen, who could not bear the thoughts of an inglorious flight, was left almoſt alone, and on foot, in the midſt of the enemy, aſſaulted by multitudes, tho' he defended himſelf, againſt all their attempts, with an amazing valour; and if the horſe had rallied, at this juncture, he might have concluded the fight, to his immortal honour; but, being deſtitute of any aid, he was conſtrained, at length, to ſubmit. However, he held out, to the laſt extremity, in ſpite of the moſt powerful oppoſition; for, his battle-ax being broke, by the violence of his blows, he drew his ſword, and fought, for a conſiderable time longer, foaming with rage, to find himſelf ſo baſely abandon'd by his army. At the long-run, having performed more valiant exploits, than could naturally be expected from a ſingle perſon, in his circumſtances, his ſword being broken in pieces, and little more than the hilt remaining in his hand, he was knock'd down on his knees, with a ſtone; upon which, William de Kains, a knight, ſeizing him by the helmet, preſented his ſword to his throat, threatening to diſpatch him, unleſs he ſurrendered; yet, even then, he would not ſuffer himſelf to be taken priſoner by any, except the earl of Glouceſter, who chanced to be near him; but, no ſooner was the king in the earl's power, than he conducted him to the empreſs, who order'd him to be ſecured in the caſtle of Briſtol, where he was ignominiouſly laid in irons.

The king himſelf is taken priſoner, and laid in irons.

1141. In the mean while, Matilda improved the advantages ſhe had obtained by her arms; for all the kingdom had deſerted the impriſon'd king, except London and the county of Kent, where he had ſtill ſome adherents, by the means of his queen, Euſtace, his ſon, and William d' Ipre, his ſpecial favourite; and the lords, that continued in their allegiance, retreated to London, where they not only procured admittance, but engaged the citizens to enter into a confederacy with them, in behalf of the king. Normandy, at once, copied after the example of England; for no ſooner did the earl of Anjou receive the news of Stephen's impriſonment, than he repaired thither, in order to prevail on the Normans to acknowledge Matilda for their ſovereign, which he found to be an eaſy task; and, at the ſame time, the king of Scotland, in direct violation of the late treaty, invaded the northern counties, under the pretence of aſſiſting the empreſs, tho', in reality, with a view to his own intereſt.

Matilda makes a great progreſs.

The earl of Anjou ſeizes on Normandy. Malmſ.

The victory of Lincoln ſeemed to bid very fair, for placing Matilda on the throne; but there was yet a great obſtacle in the way, viz. the gaining over the biſhop of Wincheſter to her party. As this prelate was inveſted with the legatine power, he had a vaſt influence over the body of the clergy, whoſe example had a great ſway over the nobility and commons; and, therefore, ſhe apprehended it to be of the laſt conſequence, to attach him to her cauſe. Accordingly, ſhe went to him at Wincheſter, in order to try the vertue of her ſollicitations; but tho', at firſt, he was proof againſt her propoſals, upon her aſſuring him, that he ſhould have the diſpoſal of all the eccleſiaſtical

The biſhop of Wincheſter comes over to Matilda's party.

1141. cleſiaſtical preferments, he deſerted the king, his brother, and promiſed to exert himſelf, in bringing over the clergy to eſpouſe her cauſe. He even ſwore allegiance to her, before-hand; tho' with this limitation, that his oath ſhould oblige him no longer, than ſhe punctually obſerved her own engagements. The next day, he gave her a very pompous reception, in the cathedral-church, where he ſolemnly excommunicated all the king's abettors, and abſolved all thoſe that ſhould relinquiſh his party, and make their ſubmiſſion to Matilda. Soon after this, the archbiſhop of Canterbury took an oath alſo to the empreſs; but he previouſly obtained Stephen's conſent, which he asked of him in priſon.

The legate calls a ſynod at Wincheſter, which elects Matilda.

Matilda, now, in all appearance, wanted nothing, except the ſtamp of publick authority, to accompliſh her deſign of being queen of England; but, tho' ſhe could depend upon the conſent of the temporal lords, ſhe was apprehenſive, that the clergy would be more ſcrupulous, by reaſon of their oath to the king. The legate, having undertaken to remove this difficulty, convened a council at Wincheſter, where all the biſhops and abbots were preſent, with the archdeacons, as repreſentatives of the inferior clergy; and, the day before he opened the ſynod, he had a private conference with the biſhops, abbots, and archdeacons, each of them a-part. It is not known, what was ſecretly tranſacted in theſe ſeparate interviews; but it evidently appeared, on the morrow, that the legate made the beſt uſe of them, in favour of Matilda. As ſoon as the council was aſſembled, he made a long harangue, in which he attempted to prove, that Stephen's male-adminiſtration, injuſtice, and tyranny were the ſole cauſes of all the troubles in the kingdom. Indeed, he owned, that he had paſſed his word, that his brother ſhould govern them, according to the rules of equity, when the neceſſity of their affairs had, in a manner, forced the Engliſh to place him upon the throne; but that time and experience had convinced him, that he was deceived in the good opinion he entertained of the king; and that he was extremely concerned to find, that he was obliged to revoke his engagements for him. He inſiſted very largely on his former oath to Matilda, alledging, that it was highly reaſonable to prefer the orders of the Almighty, before the intereſt of the neareſt relation. He then proceeded to acquaint them, that he had done all that was poſſible, to bring Stephen to a ſenſe of his iniquitous conduct, and even cited him to appear before a ſynod; but that all his kind and brotherly admonitions were entirely diſregarded; that this obſtinacy might clearly demonſtrate to the Engliſh, to what calamities they muſt, of courſe, have been expoſed, under the government of ſuch a prince, if Divine Providence had not given ſentence againſt him, by permitting him to be impriſon'd; and that, in fine, ſince the Almighty was pleaſed to inflict his vengeance on the king, whom they had choſen, they were obliged to make attonement for their fault, by reſtoring the crown to the empreſs, to whom, of right, it belonged. He adds, "I have, therefore, cal- 1141.
"led you together, by vertue of the apoſtolick
"power committed unto me, to conſult about
"the means of appeaſing the commotions of
"the ſtate. This affair was maturely debated
"yeſterday, in the preſence of the majority of
"the clergy, who, doubtleſs, are principally Malmſ.
"concerned, in the election of kings; and
"we have unanimouſly reſolved to acknow-
"ledge Matilda, daughter to the incompar-
"able Henry I. to be the queen and ſove-
"reign of England."

The greateſt part of thoſe that were preſent, and not in the ſecret, were exceedingly aſtoniſhed at the legate's ſpeech, and much more, to find an election ſo privately managed by the clergy, in a new and extraordinary method; yet, as they all remained ſilent, ſome being brought over, and others not daring to ſpeak their ſentiments, their ſilence paſs'd for an approbation. The legate farther informed the council, that he had ſummoned the magiſtrates of London, who had promiſed to ſend their deputies; and, accordingly, they arrived, the next day; but, inſtead of conſenting to the decree of the council, they declared, that they had orders from the city, and the barons that retired there, to petition for the king's liberty. The legate replied, that it was diſhonourable for the Londoners to countenance the barons, who had ſo ignominiouſly abandon'd their king in battle, and uſed all their efforts, to embroil the affairs of the kingdom; but this anſwer, ſo foreign to the point, not being ſatisfactory to the deputies, they demanded one, that was more direct and poſitive, tho' to no purpoſe; for the legate did not think it expedient to re-examine a thing, which, he pretended, was already decided. Before the riſing of the ſynod, a chaplain to Stephen's queen, offer'd a letter to the council, which he delivered to the legate; but, becauſe the prelate, having peruſed the contents of it, would not communicate it to the aſſembly, the chaplain bluntly ſnatch'd it out of his hand, and read it aloud; yet this letter, in which the queen earneſtly intreated them to ſet the king at liberty, proving ineffectual, the council broke up, having, firſt, excommunicated all Stephen's adherents.

The deputies from London, to no purpoſe petition for the king's liberty,

as does alſo the queen.

Upon this, Matilda had nothing to do, except to procure the conſent of the Londoners, in order to her coronation; and, with this view, ſhe was conſtrained to enter into a negotiation with the city, which continued, for a conſiderable time. In the mean while, Matilda advanced, as far as Reading, where the governor of Oxford preſented her with the keys of his caſtle, and humbly beſought her to honour that city with her preſence. She, at once, fell in with his requeſt; and, after the inhabitants of Oxford, and the country round about it, had ſworn allegiance to her, ſhe removed to St. Alban's, where ſhe waited for the final reſolution of the Londoners. The city was, then, in a ſtate of diſtraction; for, ſome were inclined to adhere to the king, tho' a priſoner, whilſt others, giving into the faſhion of the times, recognized Matilda. Theſe laſt, at length,

London declares for Matilda.

1141. length, becoming the moſt numerous, the empreſs came to London, where ſhe was magnificently received, in the midſt of the vaſt number of barons that attended her. The city of London having, thus, declared for Matilda, all the other parts of the kingdom followed their example; and, from this time, they began to make preparations, for the ceremony of her coronation.

Matilda's haughty and ungenerous treatment of the queen.

In the interim, Stephen's queen made application to the empreſs, in the behalf of the king, her husband. She repreſented to her, that, as ſhe deſpaired of ever ſeeing him on the throne again, ſhe deſired nothing more than his liberty. She promiſed, in the name of that unfortunate prince, that he would renounce the crown, and, to prevent all ſuſpicions, abandon the kingdom, and paſs the remainder of his days in a monaſtery. He even offer'd himſelf to take an oath, that he would never return, and to deliver up hoſtages, for the performance of his promiſes; but ſuch was the iniquity of thoſe times, that no ſtreſs could be laid either on words or oaths; and, accordingly, Matilda rejected all theſe propoſals, in a very haughty manner, forbidding the unhappy queen ever to come into her preſence, for the future.

She falls out with the biſhop of Wincheſter.

The biſhop of Wincheſter alſo interceded for his brother; but he had as little reaſon, to be pleaſed with her generoſity, as the queen. He imagined, his late ſervice to the empreſs deſerved a grateful return; and, therefore, he petitioned ſome favour, for Euſtace, his nephew, tho' he was haughtily repulſed. This imperious uſage was ſufficient to inſpire him with revengeful thoughts; for, inſtead of being guided by his direction, he plainly perceived, that ſhe conſidered him, as her enemy. His turbulent temper, from that inſtant, prompted him to form a plot againſt Matilda, and he impatiently longed for an opportunity of convincing her, that it was in his power to depoſe, as well as to place her on the throne; but, perhaps, after all, he would have met with great difficulties, in the execution of his ſcheme, if the empreſs herſelf, by her intolerable pride, which led her to treat her ſubjects, as ſo many ſlaves, had not forwarded his deſigns. This was a fatal piece of policy; for it raiſed her a vaſt number of enemies, at a time, when it was moſt adviſable for her, to endeavour to gain an intereſt in the hearts of the Engliſh, by the moſt gentle and popular proceedings. Accordingly, ſhe render'd herſelf odious to the Londoners, by denying them the only favour they requeſted, and which the king, her father, had poſitively promiſed them, viz. the mitigation of the ſeverity of the Norman laws, and the revival of thoſe of king Edward. This impolitick princeſs fancied, that ſhe was ſo far above all contradiction, that ſhe copied after her predeceſſors, giving her ſubjects the moſt ſpecious promiſes, at leaſt, till ſhe was more firmly eſtabliſhed on her throne; and her lofty carriage ſoon obliged the Engliſh to alter their ſentiments. They, now, plainly ſaw into the danger they were in, of being miſerable, under her government, unleſs timely precautions were made uſe of, to prevent the impending evils; and the biſhop of Wincheſter was very active and induſtrious, in fomenting theſe diſcontents, and, by his ſecret emiſſaries at London, excited the citizens, to reſent the contempt they had met with from Matilda. His meaſures were ſo ſucceſsful, that he prevailed on them to engage in a conſpiracy, to ſeize the empreſs's perſon; but, whatever care was taken, to conceal their intentions, the empreſs, receiving timely notice of it, departed from the city, in ſuch a hurry and conſternation, that ſhe left her palace and goods expoſed to the fury of the people. Tho' the legate was diſappointed, in this particular; yet he imagined, his project was, now, in a fair way of being compleated, as he had perſuaded the Londoners to declare againſt Matilda. Being aſſured of their aſſiſtance, he privately conſulted with the queen, his ſiſter-in-law, about the moſt proper and effectual means, to accompliſh their deſigns; and, upon this, he ſent word to Euſtace, to be in a readineſs to march at the head of the Kentiſhmen, and promiſed, that he ſhould be reinforced, in a little time, with a more conſiderable army. Having, thus, concerted his meaſures, and privately brought over ſeveral lords, that were incenſed againſt the empreſs, he ordered the caſtle of Wincheſter, and ſome other fortreſſes, that were at his diſpoſal, to be well ſtored with arms and proviſions.

1141. who engage in a conſpiracy to ſeize her perſon;

Matilda, having intelligence of theſe tranſactions, appeared at the head of her troops, attended by the earl of Glouceſter and the king of Scotland, who came into England, in order to be preſent at the coronation; and, as ſoon as ſhe approached near Wincheſter, ſhe acquainted the biſhop, that ſhe had ſomething of importance to communicate to him, and, therefore, deſired, that he would wait upon her; but the biſhop, ſhrewdly ſuſpecting, that ſhe was no ſtranger to his proceedings, look'd upon this invitation to be only an artifice, to enſnare him. Accordingly, inſtead of going himſelf, he ſent her an ambiguous anſwer, and, at the ſame time, ſlipp'd out of the town, at a gate on the other ſide, in order to draw his friends together, who only wanted his orders, to put themſelves in motion; and, upon his coming, they inſtantly were in arms. The Kentiſhmen having joined the Londoners, Stephen's queen, Euſtace, his ſon, and William d' Ipre commanding them, they marched to Wincheſter, with all expedition, and were upon the point of ſurprizing the empreſs, who had ſcarce leiſure to enter into the caſtle; but, as the inhabitants of Wincheſter ſeemed to be ſomewhat too zealous, in eſpouſing her cauſe, the prelate, in revenge, ſet fire to the city, tho' it was the capital of his dioceſe, and 20 churches, with a nunnery, named after St. Grimbald, were conſumed to aſhes in the flames.

Matilda, in vain, attempts to enſnare the legate.

He draws an army together,

and alſo with the Londoners;

and ſets fire to Wincheſter.

The caſtle, being provided with all ſorts of ammunition, by the care of the biſhop, render'd the ſiege very tedious and difficult; and the beſiegers carried it on vigorouſly, for two months, expecting to conclude

Matilda is beſieged in the caſtle.

1141. the war, at once, by taking the heads of the contrary party. The beſieged, for the ſame reaſon, were equally ſollicitous, for their own ſafety; and, when they perceived it to be impoſſible to hold out much longer, they reſolved upon hewing themſelves a paſſage, with their ſwords, and, at all adventures, to ſecure the perſon of Matilda. With this view, they marched out in good order, the empreſs and the king of Scotland being in the front, and the earl of Glouceſter in the rear; but they had no ſooner ſallied out, than the king's troops were at their heels, who attempted, by reiterated attacks, to retard their march, whilſt the reſt of the army advanced, in order to ſurround them. In all theſe little skirmiſhes, the earl of Glouceſter briskly oppoſed the enemy, giving the moſt ſignal proofs of his conduct and bravery; but, tho' his efforts were extremely ſerviceable to Matilda, as they gave her time to make off, they proved to be fatal to himſelf. As he neglected his own ſafety, for the ſecurity of the empreſs, he ventured to march, the laſt, through a narrow defile, where, his troops being vigorouſly preſs'd by the enemy, he had the misfortune to be taken priſoner; and William d' Ipre, to whoſe cuſtody he was committed, ordered him to be directly conducted to Rocheſter in Kent, in which place Stephen had more adherents, than in any other part of the kingdom.

She ſallies out with her troops, but is cloſely purſued.

The earl of Glouceſter is taken priſoner.

In the interim, Matilda, eſcaped with a few followers to the caſtle of Lutgerſhall, and from thence to the Devizes, where ſhe repoſed herſelf a little, fancying ſhe had time enough to reach Glouceſter; but no ſooner did ſhe purſue her journey, than ſhe was given to underſtand, that the road was lined with the king's ſoldiers. If we may believe a writer, much addicted to the marvellous, ſhe eſcaped, notwithſtanding their vigilance, by being carried in a coffin to Glouceſter, without the leaſt ſuſpicion; but, however that be, it is certain, ſhe found the means to avoid the preſent danger.

Prompt.

The king is exchanged for the earl of Glouceſter.

In the mean while, the legate and the reſt of the king's friends exerted themſelves, to diſengage the earl of Glouceſter from his ſiſter's party; but he was proof againſt all their ſollicitations, as well as the conſideration of the condition, in which he was involved. He inviolably perſiſted in the allegiance he had ſworn to Matilda, and would not even uſe the leaſt diſſimulation, on this occaſion, tho' it might have obtained his liberty; until, at length, after ſix months impriſonment, the empreſs, who had a tender affection for him, and with reaſon, not being ſo well able to manage her affairs, without him, conſented, that the king ſhould be exchanged for him. Some ſteps were taken, to promote an accommodation between Stephen and Matilda; but, as the prize, they contended for, was incapable of a diviſion, it was morally impoſſible to effect it; ſo that, an exchange of priſoners being the only point that could be gained, both the parties were left at their liberty to purſue the war.

When the biſhop of Wincheſter firſt enter'd into the reſolution of deſerting the empreſs, he wrote to the pope, to intreat him to authorize his proceedings, in favour of the king, his brother; and, as he had received no account of the tranſactions in England, but from his legate, he ſent him a pleaſing anſwer, tho' it did not come into his hands, till after Stephen was enlarged. The pope, in his letter, blamed the biſhop, for not having, hitherto, attempted the reſtoration of his brother, and enjoined him, for the future, to do all that was poſſible to bring it about, exhorting him to make the beſt uſe of the eccleſiaſtical as well as civil power, to that purpoſe. The prelate, being ſeconded with this authority, called a council at Weſtminſter, and read the pope's letter before them; and the king, who was there in perſon, ſharply inveighed againſt ſome of his ſubjects, who not only waged war againſt him, but had, for a long time, ignominiouſly detained him in priſon. Upon this, the legate, in a rhetorical harangue, endeavoured to vindicate his late conduct and the frequent violation of his oaths; but it would have been a difficult undertaking, had he not been befriended by the preſent poſture of affairs. He concluded his ſpeech, with excommunicating all Matilda's adherents, as ſo many enemies to the publick tranquillity; but, tho' the people were far from being pleaſed to find themſelves, thus, expoſed to excommunications, ſo directly repugnant to each other, at the humour and caprice of the legate, not ſo much as one of them had the courage openly to declaim againſt it, being ſenſible that their remonſtrances would be altogether ineffectual. However, a lay-agent, employed by the empreſs, purſuant to her order, accuſed the legate, to his face, of being the very perſon that invited her into England, and even told him, that it was, by his advice, that the king, his brother, met with ſuch ſevere uſage, during his impriſonment; but the prelate made no reply to theſe reproaches, being reſolved to compleat his revenge, by the entire ruin of Matilda's affairs.

1141. *The pope ſends a letter to the legate, in behalf of the king. Malmſ.*

A ſynod is called at Weſtminſter.

Upon Stephen's enlargement, the intereſt of that princeſs ſo viſibly declined, that the earl of Glouceſter was apprehenſive, it would utterly ſink, unleſs ſupported by foreign ſuccours; and, therefore, he went over to Normandy, to ſollicit the earl of Anjou, to maintain the right of the empreſs, his wife, which was, in effect, that of his ſon alſo; but the earl's own affairs were in too great confuſion, to put it in his power to ſend any conſiderable ſupplies into England. The Angevin nobility were diſpleaſed with him, and the Normans were not ſufficiently ſettled in their obedience, for him to venture to leave his country unprovided with troops; and, on theſe accounts, he only ſent a few forces to Matilda, together with Henry, his eldeſt ſon, to try, whether his preſence would be of any ſervice, to retrieve her affairs.

1142. *The earl of Glouceſter applies to the earl of Anjou, for aſſiſtance.*

During the earl of Glouceſter's abſence, the empreſs retired to Oxford, where ſhe expected to remain, in ſafety, till the arrival of the ſuccours from Normandy; but, the king taking this to be a favourable opportunity, reſolved to beſiege that city, in hopes of ſecuring the perſon of his rival, before the return of the earl.

Matilda is beſieged in Oxford. Hunting. Malmſ. Paris.

1142. earl. The ſiege was carried on, on both ſides, with all poſſible vigour and diligence, and the approach of winter led the empreſs to hope, that the king would be conſtrained to retire; but, he being reſolutely determined to continue his attacks, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, ſhe was, at laſt, reduced to the neceſſity of a capitulation. As ſhe dreaded, above all things, the ſame fate ſhe inflicted on her enemy, whilſt ſhe amuſed the king, by demanding ſuch terms, as he would never conſent to grant, taking the advantage of a dark night, ſhe went out of the city, being clothed in white, to deceive the centinels, becauſe the ground was covered with ſnow; and ſhe paſſed over the Thames on the ice, walking about ſix miles on foot, tho' the ſnow beat in her face, all the way. However, in ſpite of all theſe difficulties, ſhe came to Abingdon, where ſhe took horſe and rode, the ſame night, to Wallingford. The king was amazed, when he found, that he was, thus, diſappointed; for he did not much value the taking of Oxford, ſince it did not put Matilda in his power. In the interim, prince Henry and the earl of Glouceſter, who were juſt arrived, being told of the empreſs's fortunate eſcape, went to her at Wallingford, where the ſight of her ſon, for a time, blotted out the remembrance of her misfortunes. The Hiſtory of William of Malmſbury concludes at this period, who was one of the moſt accurate and judicious writers of thoſe times, and whom, for that reaſon, I have principally followed, for my guide.

She makes a very narrow eſcape.

1143. In the beginning of the year 1143, the legate convened a council at London, at which the king was preſent. He made a long ſpeech, the deſign of which was, to perſuade the biſhops, that it was neceſſary for them to be more active and induſtrious, than they had, hitherto, been, in order to bring ſo deſtructive a war to a ſpeedy concluſion. He declared, that, for his part, he was ſtill ready to hazard his life, in the ſervice of the ſtate; but he farther aſſured them, that he could not flatter himſelf with any hopes of ſucceſs, without the aſſiſtance of his ſubjects; and, therefore, he required, that all, that were able to carry arms, would attend him, in his military expeditions, and that the reſt would ſupply him with money. This was, in particular, addreſs'd to the clergy, who, being entirely directed by the biſhop of Winchester, promiſed to grant him a ſubſidy, tho' upon the condition, that the church ſhould be more carefully protected, for the future; and, the king having ſolemnly promiſed, that the canons ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved, the council paſs'd two, relating to the times. The firſt enjoined, that he, that kill'd an eccleſiaſtick, ſhould not be abſolved by any, except the pope; and the ſecond ordained, that whoſoever inſulted an husbandman, actually employed in his vocation, ſhould ſuffer the ſame puniſhment, as they that committed the like outrages in a church or church-yard.

A ſynod is held at London, which grants the king a ſubſidy.

The other occurrences of this year are too trifling to be related; for we meet with nothing, except a dry and tedious account of the particulars of the civil war, which deſolated the kingdom. That I may not, therefore, fatigue my readers, with the recital of trivial events, I ſhall only obſerve, that, in this and the three ſucceeding years, Stephen's party viſibly gained the advantage; to which the death of the earl of Glouceſter, and of Milo, the earl of Hereford *, Matilda's chief couſnellor and moſt faithful friend, did not a little contribute. The empreſs, upon the loſs of theſe two lords, finding that ſhe was not in a condition to hold out much longer, retreated to Normandy, whither ſhe had before ſent the prince, her ſon, purſuant to the earl of Anjou's importunate deſire, who plainly perceived, that he, to no purpoſe, expoſed himſelf to continual danger, in his attempts againſt Stephen, who ſeemed to be too firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne.

1143. The continuation of the war.

1144. 1145. 1146. The earl of Glouceſter's death.

Matilda's retreat into Normanky.

Upon the departure of the empreſs, the king, being in peaceable poſſeſſion of his crown, began to project the means, to ſecure the ſucceſſion to Euſtace, his eldeſt ſon; and, with this view, he prevailed on ſome of the barons to ſwear allegiance to him, whereas his own experience might have taught him, how little ſtreſs is to be laid, even on ſuch ſolemn engagements.

1147. Stephen regains the poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom. Hunt. Gervaſ. Hoved.

About the latter end of the year 1147, he went to keep his Chriſtmas at Lincoln; where he could not be diſſuaded from putting on his crown, tho' it was foretold by a certain prophecy, that the kings, who appeared in that city, with their crowns on their heads, would infallibly meet with very great misfortunes.

Whilſt Stephen was reaping the fruits of the tranquillity, that was the conſequence of Matilda's retreat, the zeal of the chriſtians againſt the Saracens being revived, a new Croiſade was undertaken; in which Lewis the Young, diſtinguiſhed himſelf, by the vaſt numbers of troops he led in perſon to the Holy Land. He was accompanied, in this expedition, by Eleanor of Guyenne his queen, heireſs of the houſe of Poictiers, with whom he had, in dowry, the earldom of Guyenne with all its appurtenances, as well as all Poictou; but, during this journey, which laſted near two years, Lewis had ſuch a falling out with his queen, upon ſome ſuſpicion †, that he determined to divorce her, as ſoon as he returned home.

1148. A new Croiſade, in which Lewis of France diſtinguiſhes himſelf.

Matilda having, in a manner, laid aſide all pretenſions to the crown of England, Stephen expected to enjoy an uninterrupted quiet, and propoſed to repair the damages, the kingdom had ſuſtained by the late tedious war; but a new rival, who was making preparations to attack him, ſoon convinced him, that all his pleaſing hopes were deluſive. Henry, Matilda's eldeſt ſon by the earl of Anjou, a prince of 16 years of age, and of a brisk and enter-

1149. Prince Henry deſigns to aſſert his claim to the crown of England. Hunt. Hoved.

* Milo was created earl of Hereford, by patent from Matilda, being the firſt of that ſort, of which we have any account. It may be ſeen in Rymer's Fœdera. Tom. 1. p. 8.

† He ſuſpected her of adultery with a young Saracen; tho' he pretended to divorce her, becauſe they were couſins in the fourth degree.

prizing

1149. prizing genius, imagined, that the empreſs his mother's diſappointment in England ought not to diſcourage him; for he was confident, that they, who had maintained the right of the lawful heir, would ſtill retain the ſame ſentiments, and that a new leader, of more youth and vigour, would renew their courage and reſolution. He, therefore, reſolved upon a journey to the king of Scotland, his great-uncle, in order to concert meaſures with him, how to compleat his deſign. David, being informed of his coming, met the prince in Northumberland; and, having conferred with him about his affairs, he knighted him, this ceremony being thought neceſſary, in thoſe days, for all that took upon them the profeſſion of arms. In the interim, Stephen, who was apprized of this interview, fearing that they had ſome views upon York, marched thither, with all expedition, in order to reinforce the garriſon; but, upon his approach, David returned to Scotland, and Henry to Normandy. He was ſcarce arrived at Roan, when Geoffrey, his father, departed this life, leaving him the earldom of Anjou, till his mother's death ſhould put him in poſſeſſion of Normandy, after which he was to reſign Anjou to Geoffrey, his younger brother.

Henry's conference with the king of Scotland.

1150.

The earl of Anjou's death.

1151. Lewis divorces his queen.

Lewis, upon his return to France, devorced his queen, tho' he generouſly reſtored to her Guyenne, Poictou, Saintonge, and, in general, all the dominions ſhe brought him in marriage, and alſo provided for the two daughters he had by her; but no ſooner was this divorce made publick, than Henry, who, with the conſent of his mother, had aſſumed the title of duke of Normandy, attempted to ſecure this wealthy heireſs for himſelf. This affair was ſo ſecretly tranſacted, that the firſt account, Lewis received of it, was, that the duke was gone to the queen at Bordeaux, where their nuptials were celebrated with extraordinary magnificence; and this news did not a little mortify the French king, who could not bear to ſee another enriched with his ſpoils, tho' he himſelf had freely relinquiſhed them. Moreover, he conſider'd, how formidable Henry would become to France, if he ſhould, one day, aſcend the throne of England, to which he had ſo fair pretenſions; and Stephen, on the other hand, was no leſs uneaſy at this match, as it was the means of increaſing his rival's power. The two monarchs, being, thus, alarmed, ſoon after, enter'd into an alliance, with a view of humbling the duke of Normandy. Lewis encouraged Geoffrey, his brother, to raiſe him troubles in Anjou, who imagined he had a right to that earldom, by vertue of his father's will; and, at the ſame time, he again inveſted Euſtace, Stephen's ſon, with Normandy, that Henry, being attack'd from two quarters, might allow the king of England time, to eſtabliſh himſelf on the throne; and, Stephen, likewiſe, did all that was poſſible, to deſtroy the duke's party in England, in order to cut off all his hopes of ever ſucceeding to the crown. With this view, he propoſed to have his ſon Euſtace crowned, before-hand; but, to his great ſurprize, the archbiſhop of Canterbury peremptorily refuſed to comply with his requeſt, aſſigning a reaſon for it, that was ſtill more offenſive than the refuſal itſelf; for he aſſured him, that the pope had expreſly prohibited him to crown the ſon of a prince, who, in contradiction to his oath, had uſurped the kingdom. If, in reality, the pope had given any ſuch orders to that prelate, his ſentiments were far from being the ſame with thoſe of his predeceſſor, Innocent II. but it is moſt probable, that this prelate, as well as the reſt of the biſhops, only made uſe of this, as a pretence, for the engagements they had already entered into with the duke of Normandy. However that be, the king, being exaſperated at the obſtinate denial of the biſhops, ordered all of them to be confined in one houſe, till they ſhould conſent to his propoſal; but this proceeding, as it was very extraordinary, was alſo ſucceſsleſs and ineffectual; for the archbiſhop, the houſe not being ſufficiently guarded, eſcaped and went over into Normandy, which entirely defeated Stephen's deſign.

1151.

Henry marries her.

Lewis and Stephen are jealous of Henry.

They enter into an alliance.

Stephen attempts to get his ſon crowned, but is diſappointed.

Stephen was extremely incenſed at the preſumption of the clergy, who claimed a power of making and depoſing kings, at their pleaſure; yet, as he did not doubt, but the duke of Normandy had attached the biſhops to his intereſt, not daring to attack them directly, he judged it moſt adviſable for him, to reduce them to allegiance, by ſeizing on ſome caſtles that were ſtill poſſeſs'd by the duke's friends, which would deprive them of their protection. At the ſame time, he ſent his ſon, Euſtace, into Normandy, to join the king of France, and invade that dutchy, expecting, by this means, to prevent Henry's coming into England, to aſſiſt his party in that kingdom; but he was deceived in his expectation. The duke, by his ſurprizing valour and conduct, forced out of Anjou Geoffrey, his brother, tho' he had already taken poſſeſſion of ſeveral fortified places; and then, returning to Normandy, he had the art to accommodate matters ſo far, with the king of France, by making him ſome ſatisfaction, that he enter'd into a treaty with him. Upon this, he eaſily expelled Euſtace out of Normandy, where, as yet, he had made no conſiderable progreſs; and that prince, being, thus, diſappointed in his deſign, came over into England, in order to aſſiſt his father, who was employed in laying ſiege to Wallingford, one of the ſtrongeſt places in the kingdom; and the king had been ſo long engaged in beſieging it, that the duke had leiſure enough to come to its relief, after he had ſettled his affairs in Normandy.

1152. He reſolves upon humbling the clergy. Diceto. Gervaſ. Hunt.

He lays ſiege to Wallingford.

Henry comes into England, and is joined by ſome of the barons.

The young duke, being ſenſible of what importance it was, to ſuccour his friends in England, brought over with him thither ſuch a numerous army, that he animated his party, who, ſince Matilda's departure, ſeemed to be entirely diſpirited; and ſeveral barons, immediately joining him, ſurrender'd to him thirty fortified caſtles, upon which he reinforced their garriſons. After this, he poſted to the relief of Wallingford, which was very vigorouſly preſſed,

1152. preſſed, notwithſtanding the king's abſence, who was gone to London, in order to make freſh preparations. Henry, approaching with his forces, and perceiving it to be extremely difficult to attack the beſiegers, in their intrenchments, for the preſent, only ſecured the avenues, through which they were ſupplied with proviſions; but this precaution would have proved fatal to the enemy, if Stephen had not marched, with all expedition, to their aſſiſtance; for he advanced very near the duke, without any deſign of aſſaulting him, and reduced him to the ſame inconveniencies, to which, for a few days paſt, he brought the beſiegers.

Henry marches to Wallingford.

The two armies being juſt upon the point of engaging, the earl of Arundel prevails on the king to propoſe an accommodation.

It was next to impoſſible for the armies to ſeparate, without an engagement; and both the princes were preparing for battle, with equal ardours, when, by the prudent advice of the earl of Arundel, who was in the king's intereſt, they were prevented from coming to that extremity. He repreſented to Stephen the miſeries the kingdom would infallibly be expoſed to, by a battle, which muſt, of courſe, be very bloody, and would prove almoſt as fatal to the conquerors, as the conquered; and he farther told him, that it would be more chriſtian to accommodate matters by a treaty, which would reſtore tranquillity to a diſtracted and unhappy people. In fine, he, in ſo many words, aſſured him, that it was unreaſonable, that a whole nation ſhould ſuffer the greateſt calamities, on the account of two princes, who propoſed more the gratification of their own ambition, than the happineſs of the Engliſh. Whether theſe conſiderations had any influence over Stephen, or whether he apprehended that he ſhould be deſerted, if he obſtinately perſiſted in his reſolution of engaging the enemy, he conſented, that an accommodation ſhould be propoſed to the duke.

Henry, at length, conſents to it.

Prince Henry, who had put himſelf in readineſs for battle, was not eaſily prevailed on, to liſten to the king's propoſal; but, being very much importuned to it, by the Engliſh lords, he, at length, was brought to a compliance; and the two princes, in a conference they held, on the oppoſite banks of the Thames, which was pretty narrow, at that place, agreed upon a truce, in order to have time to ſettle the terms of the treaty.

A truce.

1153. Euſtace retires from the army.

This truce gave earl Euſtace the utmoſt uneaſineſs; for he apprehended, that it would introduce a peace, which muſt, of courſe, be prejudicial to his affairs; and, indeed, it was not to be imagined, that the duke, who was unconquered and at the head of a powerful army, would tamely give up his pretenſions to the crown. However, to prevent his being obliged to ſign the treaty, or, perhaps, to lay ſome obſtacles in its way, Euſtace abruptly left the army, and retired to Suffolk; where, ſoon after, as he was going to ſit down at a table, in the abbey of St. Edmundsbury, he was ſeized with a frenzy, which carried him

His death.

off in three days, in the 18th year of his age. He was interred in the abbey of Feverſham, with the queen, his mother, who died a few months before him; and Conſtantia, his widow, daughter to Lewis the Fat, was, afterwards married to Raymond, earl of Tholouſe. 1153.

Stephen exceedingly lamented the loſs of his queen and ſon, which, in his opinion, portended ſome farther misfortunes; and, indeed, the nobility openly abandon'd him, and eſpouſed Henry's cauſe. As moſt of the lords had been guilty of diſloyalty, dreading the king's reſentment, they thought it neceſſary, for their own ſecurity, to put themſelves under the protection of the duke; and the caſe of the earl of Cheſter, the more effectually, confirmed their ſuſpicions. This earl, tho' he waited on Stephen with an offer of his ſervice, had been taken into cuſtody, and could not obtain his liberty, on any other condition, except the ſurrender of the caſtle of Lincoln to the king. However, it was not without a cauſe, that the king was on his guard, with reſpect to the earl, who ſecretly aſſiſted the duke of Normandy; ſince it appears from a charter, in the Collection of the publick Acts, that Henry promiſed to put him in poſſeſſion of certain lands. It is, therefore, probable, that Stephen had received ſome intelligence of theſe proceedings; but, whether he had omitted the publication of his reaſons, for confining the earl, or whether he could not fully convict him of his treachery, this action was interpreted by the reſt of the barons, as a preſage of their own fate, if they remained in Stephen's power; and, upon this account, ſeveral of them choſe rather openly to declare for Henry, having firſt entered into articles with him, than to lie at the king's mercy, by ſtaying at court.

The barons eſpouſe the duke's cauſe.

The reaſon of it.

Acta Publica. Tom. 1. p. 12.

David, king of Scotland, dying this year, left only ſome grandchildren, by Henry, his ſon, who died before him. Malcolm and William, the two eldeſt, ſucceeded each other to the crown; and David, their brother, was earl of Huntingdon.

The death of David, king of Scotland.

The truce between Stephen and Henry was frequently renewed, becauſe of ſome difficulties that occurred, in the negotiation of the peace; but the chief obſtruction to it was, Stephen's deſire to ſettle the ſucceſſion on his ſon, William, to which Henry would, by no means, give his conſent. He was willing, that Stephen ſhould continue on the throne, during his life; tho' he inſiſted upon being his ſucceſſor, after his death; and he even imagined, that he very much receded from his right, in obliging himſelf not, in the leaſt, to interrupt his rival, who was not yet 50 years of age. However, Stephen, at laſt, conſidering the poſture of his affairs, and the almoſt inſuperable difficulties, that lay in his way, reſolved to purchaſe peace and tranquillity, at the expence of his deſign; for he knew, that the duke was poſſeſſed of ſeveral noble qualities, and had a title to the crown, which was powerfully ſupported; and the inclinations of his ſubjects gave him farther occaſion to apprehend, that they would not wait for his death, to place the prince on the throne. Theſe conſiderations induced Stephen to conſent to a treaty, even on Henry's terms; and it was no ſooner ſigned, than he performed

Stephen enters into a treaty with Henry.

The terms of it.

1153. the ceremony of adopting the duke, who paid him the reverence due to a father; and William, his ſon, ſwore allegiance to Henry, who promiſed, on his part, to maintain him in the poſſeſſion of the eſtates of his family, as well as all thoſe, that had been granted him, by the king, his father, ſince his acceſſion to the crown *.

The king adopts Henry.

This agreement was concluded and ſigned at Wincheſter, in an aſſembly of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, that was convened, on that account; and, upon this, the two princes made their publick appearance together in the principal cities, and were received with extraordinary demonſtrations of joy; for the people were inexpreſſibly tranſported, at the reſtoration of peace and tranquillity, after ſo many years of trouble and confuſion. An hiſtorian tells us, that, in the very height of theſe rejoicings, Henry diſcovered a conſpiracy, that was formed againſt him, by William, the king's ſon; which would have been put in execution, if Henry had not accidentally fallen from his horſe and broke his thigh. This he takes to be the cauſe of the duke's ſudden departure, who, without diſcovering any ſigns of ſuſpicion, took his leave of the king and returned to Normandy; where he continued, till Stephen's death paved the way for his ſucceſſion to the throne. Another writer aſſerts, that Henry was Stephen's ſon, by the empreſs, with whom he carried on a criminal familiarity, before her ſecond marriage; but this aſſertion ſeems to be, to the laſt degree, improbable, ſince the author himſelf owns, it had no other foundation than common report.

The people's rejoicings at the peace.

Gervaſe.

Henry diſcovers a plot againſt himſelf, and returns to Normandy.

1154. Altho' Stephen's hopes of leaving the crown to his ſon were entirely defeated, by the late treaty; yet ſuch a tender ſenſe did he retain of the calamities, to which the kingdom had been expoſed, that he determined to exert himſelf, in order to repair them. He even ſet about the moſt proper means, to this excellent purpoſe; but his ſudden death prevented the the accompliſhment of his generous deſign. He departed this life, in the 50th year of his age, 11 months after the agreement with Henry; and he was buried, near his queen and Euſtace, his ſon, in the abbey of Feverſham, which was founded by himſelf.

Stephen's death.

His character.

If this prince's character be conſidered, in a general view, it may be affirmed, that he was worthy to live in happier times; and that his virtues exceeded his vices. However, it would not be an eaſy matter, to juſtify all the means he made uſe of, to procure the crown, particularly, the violation of his oath; for, tho' the conſent of the barons may appear to have ſome weight, in the caſe, ſeveral think, that, as it was gained by faction and cabal, he is, nevertheleſs, to be look'd upon, as an uſurper. His breaking his promiſes, on certain occaſions, tends, alſo, to ſully his reputation; but, perhaps, the circumſtances of the times and his own affairs hurried him on to run greater lengths, than his natural diſpoſition would, otherwiſe, have permitted; but, however, we cannot deny him the praiſes due to his valour, clemency, and generoſity. The firſt was very conſpicuous, in the battle of Lincoln, where he was taken priſoner; and that he was poſſeſs'd of the two other virtues will evidently appear, if we reflect, that, during his whole reign, there is not a ſingle inſtance of his ſeverity, tho' ſeveral of the barons, whom the fortune of war had put in his power, gave him too many provocations, to treat them in a rigorous manner. Indeed, ſome hiſtorians have done all that was poſſible, to ſtain his memory; but it muſt be conſidered, that moſt of them wrote, in the reign of Henry II. or his ſons. As for William of Malmsbury, who was contemporary with Stephen, it is notorious, that he was a creature of the earl of Glouceſter's, to whom he dedicated the laſt part of his Hiſtory; and this conſideration alone ſhould lead us to read, with caution, what relates to Stephen's diſadvantage. After all, it is extremely difficult to determine, whether the crown, of right, belonged to Matilda, or whether Stephen's election juſtly entitled him to the poſſeſſion of it; ſince, after the conqueſt, the Saxon laws were no longer obſerved, and we do not find, that the Normans had, hitherto, eſtabliſhed any ſtated rules, about the ſucceſſion. 1153.

The troubles of this reign gave the clergy a fair opportunity of raiſing the mitre above the crown; and the court of Rome, at this juncture, introduced new laws into England, which would, doubtleſs, have met with oppoſition from the Engliſh, at any other time. The canon law, compiled by Gratian, in 1151, by the authority of Eugenius III. was brought in, on the account of the conteſt between the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the biſhop of Wincheſter, about the legateſhip; upon which occaſion, the Italian canoniſts came into England, and, ſettling there, introduced, by degrees, the ſtudy of the canon law into the univerſity of Oxford, where Vacarius was the firſt profeſſor.

The canon law is received in England.

Stephen left behind him only one legitimate ſon, named William, who was earl of Bulloign, in right of the queen, his mother; and he had likewiſe one daughter, called Maria, who, tho' ſhe had put on the veil, was afterwards married to Philip of Alſace; but, upon the death of her husband, ſhe returned to the nunnery.

Stephen's iſſue.

Stephen had alſo a natural ſon, whoſe name was William, as well as the legitimate one; from whence ſome, being deceived by the ſimilitude of their names, conclude, that this prince left behind him only a baſtard ſon.

* This treaty is recited and confirmed by Stephen's charter, or declaration under his ſeal, directed to all the faithful people of England, in Brompton's Chronicle, p. 1037, 1038.

The

The ſtate of the church, from the reign of William the Conqueror, to the death of king Stephen.

The different character of the Saxon and Norman kings, with reſpect to the church.

THE Norman conqueſt introduced a new face of things into England, both in church and ſtate; and the pope and clergy, eſpecially, were conſiderable ſufferers, by this grand revolution. Inſtead of the devout and ſubmiſſive Saxon princes, who embraced all opportunities of augmenting the privileges and revenues of the church, they were, now, concerned with a race of Norman kings, of a quite oppoſite temper and diſpoſition; for ſo eagerly did they graſp at arbitrary power, that they challenged an equal authority over the clergy, as well as laity, placing them both on a level, as to the point of obedience. Notwithſtanding all the ſchemes of the court of Rome, to render the clergy independent of the regal power, in the reigns of the two William's, they wanted a proper occaſion, to put their deſigns in execution; becauſe the Normans, from a view to their intereſt, were inviolably attached to their ſovereigns, and the Engliſh were reduced too low, to be in a condition to promote the cauſe of the court of Rome; and had this always continued to be the caſe of England, the moſt vigorous attempts of the popes, to enlarge their authority, would have proved abortive. This, in all probability, was the reaſon, that obliged Gregory VII. in ſpite of his haughtineſs, to give way to William the Conqueror, who not only refuſed to do him the homage he demanded, but openly made a jeſt of the papal decrees. This monarch governed the clergy, as well as the reſt of his ſubjects, with an abſolute ſway; and, if he permitted the pope's legate to preſide at a council, it was only with a view of more eaſily removing certain biſhops, that gave him ſome uneaſineſs; for, when he perceived, that the very ſame ſynod ſcrupled to fall in with all his meaſures, he baniſhed or impriſoned thoſe prelates he did not like, at his pleaſure, without waiting for a canonical ſentence. On the other hand, whilſt the pope thunder'd out anathema's againſt the emperor, and forced him to ſubmit to a diſhonourable homage, William, without any interruption, enjoyed, in his dominions, the right of inveſtitures, the very ſubject of the quarrel between the emperor and the court of Rome. He rendered the church-lands liable to the ſame incumbrances with the lay-fees, and ſeized on the gold and ſilver laid up in the monaſteries, not ſparing even the conſecrated veſſels; nothing was tranſacted in the church, without his direction, nor were the ſynodical conſtitutions any longer in force, than during his will; and he exalted himſelf, in ſome meaſure, even above the popes, by prohibiting his ſubjects, without his leave, to receive their orders, or own their authority.

William Rufus was equally regardleſs of the church's immunities; for all the pope's menaces could not prevent him from keeping the vacant ſees and abbies in his own hands, and afterwards diſpoſing of them to the higheſt bidder. I do not propoſe, in the leaſt, to vindicate the conduct of theſe two monarchs, in this particular; it being my deſign only to to prove, from it, that the court of Rome entirely owes the progreſs and increaſe of its power to its own prudence and policy. The popes wiſely ſubmitted to princes of a reſolute and ſteady diſpoſition, tho' they induſtriouſly improved all advantages againſt ſuch, who were in no condition to oppoſe their proceedings. Accordingly, notwithſtanding her ſubmiſſion to the two William's, ſhe made uſe of all her efforts, for a long time, againſt Henry I. but, as ſoon as ſhe found that her endeavours were ineffectual, ſhe ſate down contented, with terms that ſhe would have diſdained, in the beginning of the conteſt; for ſhe conſented that the biſhops and abbots ſhould do homage to that prince, tho' ſhe obſtinately denied the ſame privilege to the emperor, whoſe affairs were not in ſo good a ſituation. As for Stephen, ſhe had the art to foment the commotions, in his reign, by the means of the biſhop of Wincheſter; for, being ever vigilant, ſhe, on this occaſion, appointed a legate, different from the archbiſhop of Canterbury, which ſhe durſt not have preſumed, at any other time. This incroachment ſeemed, at firſt, to be of no conſequence at all; yet, in proceſs of time, it had a mighty influence over the affairs of England. It was by the management of theſe legates, that ſhe, at length, obtained ſuch a degree of power, that ſhe not only trampled upon the necks of the kings, but the clergy too; ſince it is evident, that her view was, to humble the archbiſhops and biſhops, as well as the ſovereign princes.

The prudence and policy of the court of Rome, to enlarge her authority.

She deſigns to humble the clergy, as well as the kings.

The truth of this obſervation appears, from the imperious uſage archbiſhop Lanfranc, of Canterbury, met with from the court of Rome; for, tho' he was a prelate of diſtinguiſhed merit, and equally eſteemed by the king, the Engliſh, and the Normans, he could never procure a diſpenſation, for not waiting on the pope in perſon, to receive the pall from his hands. Hildebrand, then archdeacon of Rome, and afterwards promoted to the papal chair, under the name of Gregory VII. wrote him a letter, in which he attempted to ſoften this proceeding. He aſſured him, that, if there had been any precedent for it, he would not have had a refuſal of this favour; but either he was not well acquainted with the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of England, or he imagined, that Lanfranc was ignorant of the pall's being ſent to Auſtin, Juſtus, and Honorius, who were, all three, archbiſhops of Canterbury; which ſhews, that this denial did not proceed

The pope refuſes to ſend Lanfranc the pall.

The reaſons of it.

proceed from a ſcruple to introduce a new cuſtom, but from a jealouſy, that the archbiſhops would, at length, forget their dependence on the pope. The ſequel of this hiſtory will inform us, that the Roman pontiffs often abuſed their exorbitant power over the clergy of England; but, in order to give a general view of the moſt remarkable eccleſiaſtical tranſactions, during the reigns of the Norman kings, it will be neceſſary to take notice of the riſe of the diſpute, between the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York; for this conteſt, which continued ſo long, is a very material article of the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of England.

The riſe of the diſpute between the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York. Malmſ. Sax. Ann.

Whilſt Lanfranc was making preparations for his journey to Rome, Thomas, canon of Bayeux, one of William the Conqueror's chaplains, was nominated to the ſee of York, who, ſoon after, came to Canterbury, to receive his conſecration from that archbiſhop, according to cuſtom; but Lanfranc, inſiſting on his obliging himſelf, in writing, to perform canonical obedience to that ſee, he choſe rather to to depart, without being conſecrated, than to comply with theſe terms. This conteſt making a great noiſe, the king was deſirous of knowing the ſtate of the caſe, being apprehenſive, that Lanfranc had exceeded the bounds of his prerogatives; but after ſeveral Engliſh lords had convinced him, that he had cuſtom, on his ſide of the queſtion, William, without deciding the controverſy, fixed upon a proper expedient, to give ſatisfaction to the contending parties, viz. that Thomas ſhould go to Canterbury, and profeſs his obedience, in writing, to Lanfranc, as his ſenior, and that the arbitration of the rights of the two ſees ſhould be referred to the pope; and, this propoſal being agreed to, the prelates ſet out together for Rome, in order to receive the pall, and to put an end to this diſpute, as well as another about the juriſdiction over the ſees of Lincoln, Litchfield, and Worceſter; but no ſooner did Alexander II. who was then pope, ſee Lanfranc, than he roſe up from his chair to embrace him, declaring, at the ſame time, that he did not treat him, thus, on the account of his ſtation, but out of reſpect to his merit. Thomas was received, in a very different manner; for the pope annulled his election, pretending that, being the ſon of a prieſt, he was incapable of holding any eccleſiaſtical preferment. However, he was reſtored, a few days after, upon Lanfranc's mediation; but, as for the conteſt between the two archbiſhops, as he did not thoroughly underſtand the caſe, he referr'd it to the deciſion of the Engliſh biſhops and abbots.

The two archbiſhops, returning into England, as they were equally willing to have their cauſe finally decided, upon their arrival, waited on the king at Wincheſter, where moſt of the lords ſpiritual and temporal were aſſembled, on the occaſion of the Paſchal Solemnity; and the caſe was argued before him, with great warmth, by both parties. Lanfranc founded his pretenſions, on the following reaſons. 1. That the ſee of Canterbury was to be look'd upon the ſame, as if it had been fixed in the metropolis of the kingdom, ſince Gregory I. made a decree, to this purpoſe; 2. that the church of Canterbury, in regard to its antiquity, was the mother of all the reſt; 3. that the privilege, he claimed, was granted to his ſee, which he made appear, from the conſtitutions of ſeveral popes; 4. that the archbiſhops of Canterbury had actually exerciſed juriſdiction, within the province of York, ſeeing Theodore had even deprived ſeveral biſhops in Northumberland; and, laſtly, that the archbiſhops of York had profeſs'd the ſame canonical obedience, that Thomas refuſed, which he proved, from the inſtance of Ealdulph, who did not ſcruple to ſubmit to Adelard, in this very particular.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury's reaſons.

The archbiſhop of York, in his reply, acknowledged, that it was the deſign of Gregory I. to place the archiepiſcopal ſee at London, tho' without any view of giving that ſee any ſuperiority over York. To confirm his aſſertion, he cited the authority of Bede, who expreſly affirms, that Gregory decreed, that, upon Auſtin's death, the two archbiſhopricks ſhould be put upon a level, as to their privileges and independency; from whence he inferred, that, tho' the archiepiſcopal ſee had been fixed at London, it would not be of the leaſt ſervice to Lanfranc's cauſe. 2. He denied, that the church of Canterbury was the mother of that of York, ſince it was notorious, that the church of York was founded by the Scotch monks, who had no relation to the church of Canterbury; and, 3. as for Theodore's juriſdiction over Northumberland, he ſaid, that he only took the opportunity of the diſtractions in the church, at that time, to extend his authority over the kingdom; and that, as it was manifeſtly uſurped, it could not be advanced, as a precedent, in the caſe under conſideration. Lanfranc would have found it extremely difficult, to anſwer Thomas's argument, drawn from Gregory's regulations, about the independency of the two archbiſhops, if he could not have advanced the conſtitutions of ſeveral popes, in his favour. Beſides, he ſupported his claim by cuſtom, which gained him the teſtimony of the Engliſh, on his ſide of the queſtion; for, in their opinion, pope Gregory's ſucceſſors had a right to annul his decree; and, therefore, the king and the lords thought it reaſonable, that the archbiſhop of York ſhould make a profeſſion of canonical obedience to the ſee of Canterbury. The other controverſy, about the three biſhopricks, was alſo decided, in the behalf of Lanfranc, and Thomas acquieſced in both theſe ſentences; but, to prevent any conteſts, for the future, a writing was drawn up, in the name of the two archbiſhops, in which all matters between them were adjuſted. According to this agreement, Thomas was obliged to own, that he had unjuſtly diſputed Lanfranc's juriſdiction over the whole church of England; and he declared, that, as archbiſhop of York, he owed canonical obedience, not only to Lanfranc, as his ſenior, but to all the archbiſhops of Canterbury; and he likewiſe dropp'd his pretenſions to the three biſhopricks in queſtion. Lanfranc, on his part, gave

Thoſe of the archbiſhop of York.

The ſentence of the king and lords, in Lanfranc's favour.

Articles of agreement between the two archbiſhops.

gave up to the archbiſhop of York the juriſdiction over all the ſees, on the north ſide of the Humber, to the fartheſt parts of Scotland. It was alſo agreed on, that, in whatſoever part of the kingdom, the archbiſhop of Canterbury ſhould call a national ſynod, the archbiſhop of York and his ſuffragans ſhould be obliged to make their appearance; that, upon the deceaſe of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the archbiſhop of York ſhould repair to that city, and, with the aſſiſtance of the ſuffragans of that ſee, conſecrate the primate elect; and that the perſon, nominated to the ſee of York, ſhould come and receive his conſecration, within the province of Canterbury. In a word, Lanfranc omitted nothing, that might eſtabliſh the ſuperiority of his ſee over that of York; but, as for the oath, which Lanfranc required of Thomas, it is affirmed, in the agreement, that, at the king's requeſt, he freely diſpenſed with it; tho' he ſtill expreſly reſerved a right to demand it of thoſe, who, hereafter, ſhould be promoted to the ſee of York.

Thus, the famous conteſt, between the two metropolitan ſees, was determined, or, at leaſt, ſeemed to be decided; but yet, in proceſs of time, it was often revived; for, as this regulation was not made by a ſynod, being no more than articles of agreement between the two archbiſhops, authorized by the king, the archbiſhops of York took occaſion to renew the diſpute. They pretended, that as no ſynod had given ſentence againſt them, their right remained entire; and, in Anſelm's time, another Thomas, nominated to the ſee of York, refuſed to take the oath, tho', at length, he was conſtrained to a compliance.

Thurſtan revives the diſpute.

Notwithſtanding this, Thurſtan, who was elected archbiſhop of York, in the reign of Henry I. would not make this profeſſion of canonical obedience to the archbiſhop of Canterbury; tho' the king repreſented to him, that he muſt either comply, or renounce his archbiſhoprick; for, how diſagreeable ſoever it was to that prelate, he choſe the latter. However, he prevailed on the chapter of York, to ſend delegates to Paſchal II. to complain of the injury that was done to their ſee; and, in their remonſtrance, they declared, that the king had abuſed his power, in obliging Thurſtan to quit his election, merely, becauſe he would not ſubject his ſee to an obedience, that was never canonically enjoined. Upon this, the pope, in a letter, exhorted him to reſtore Thurſtan; and he ſaid, as to any controverſies between the archbiſhops, about privileges, he himſelf would impartially decide them. Paſchal dying, and Gelaſius II. ſucceeding him, the archbiſhop of Canterbury ſent his agents to Rome, to ſound the new pope's ſentiments, as to the point in diſpute; and, upon their return, they reported, that he deſigned to ſend a legate into England, to put an end to the conteſt; but he was prevented by death, as he was on the road to France.

Calixtus II. ſucceſſor to Gelaſius, being arrived at Rheims, in order to call a council there, Thurſtan obtained the king's leave to go thither; but upon the condition, that he ſhould not receive conſecration from the pope, or any other biſhop. However, the king, not placing an entire confidence in this prelate's promiſe, ſent a letter to the pope, in which he proteſted, that, if Thurſtan was conſecrated by any, except the archbiſhop of Canterbury, he ſhould never be permitted to return into England; but Calixtus himſelf, nevertheleſs, conſecrated Thurſtan, in the preſence of the council. The archdeacon of Canterbury would have oppoſed this proceeding, if the pope had not aſſured him, that he did not intend, in the leaſt, to injure the ſee of Canterbury; but Henry, finding that it was not in his power to prevent Thurſtan's conſecration, baniſhed him the kingdom with all his family. This prelate did not long continue in exile; for the pope, being fully reſolved to defend what he had done, threatened the king with excommunication, and his kingdom with an interdict *. The pope's reſolute conduct brought Henry, at length, to conſent, that Thurſtan ſhould be inſtalled, without paying the cuſtomary ſubmiſſions to the ſee of Canterbury; yet, in honour to the king, this prelate promiſed, that he would never perform any of his archiepiſcopal functions, out of the dioceſe of York. Thus, this ſee, in ſome meaſure, regained the ground it had loſt, tho', in proceſs of time, the former conteſt was frequently revived; but it is altogether unneceſſary to purſue this matter any farther, what has been ſaid being ſufficient to give the reader a view of the ſtate of the controverſy, between the two primates, and the grounds of their proceedings.

The ſee of Canterbury, at length, extends its juriſdiction over Wales.

However, before I leave this ſubject, it will be convenient to take notice of ſome other affairs, relating to the juriſdiction of the ſees of Canterbury and York. I have already obſerved, in the preceding book, that Gucan, a Welch prieſt, nominated to the biſhoprick of Landaff in Wales, was conſecrated by Dunſtan, archbiſhop of Canterbury, tho' the biſhop of St. David's exerciſed archiepiſcopal authority in that country; and, till then, the ſee of Canterbury had not any juriſdiction over thoſe of Wales; but, Gucan's ſucceſſors copying after his example, the archbiſhop of Canterbury claimed the ſame power over all the Welch biſhops, tho' his pretenſions met with great oppoſition. At length, in the reign of Henry I. Bernard, the queen's chaplain, being nominated to the ſee of St. David's, was conſecrated by Ralph, archbiſhop of Canterbury; upon which, as the chief of the Welch biſhops owned his juriſdiction, he pretended, that the reſt ought, of courſe, to ſubmit to his authority; but, Bernard, ſoon after, repenting of the falſe ſtep he had taken, a long controverſy commenced, which was never decided, till Wales was united to England, in the reign of Edward I.

The conteſt about the juriſdiction of York over Scotland.

Whilſt Ralph ſate in the chair of Canterbury, he received a letter from Alexander I. king of Scotland, in which he informed him of

* By vertue of which interdict, all divine ſervice muſt ceaſe, and no part of the ſacerdotal office be exerciſed, except the baptiſm of infants, and the abſolution of dying penitents.

the death of Turgot, biſhop of St. Andrew's, and deſired that he would recommend a worthy ſucceſſor. He, at the ſame time, intreated him to conſider, that the archbiſhops of Canterbury were antiently poſſeſs'd of the right to conſecrate the biſhops of St. Andrew's, Lanfranc being the firſt that gave up that privilege to the ſee of York; and, therefore, he declared, that he deſigned to reſtore things, to their antient ſtate, and deſired the aſſiſtance of his advice, on this occaſion. However, Ralph, being apprehenſive, that Alexander only wanted a pretence, to fall out with the archbiſhop of York, would not intermeddle in this affair; and, indeed, Alexander's ſuppoſition, that the Scotch biſhops had any dependence on the ſee of Canterbury, was entirely groundleſs; for it is, on the contrary, very evident, that, for a long time, the popes had put the church of Scotland under the juriſdiction of the ſee of York, the agreement between Lanfranc and Thomas being founded on theſe antient papal conſtitutions. In proceſs of time, ſome Scotch biſhops refuſed to ſubmit to the archbiſhop of York, as their primate, which occaſioned ſeveral violent conteſts; but, at laſt, pope Paſchal II's bull, whereby he made them ſuffragans to the ſee of York, put an end to the diſpute.

Tho' the controverſy between the two archbiſhops, about their juriſdiction, does not ſeem to be of any great importance; yet I judged it neceſſary to give ſome account of the grounds of it, becauſe of the frequent alluſions to their differences, in the Hiſtory of England. I ſhall now proceed to matters, that relate to the church in general, of which the celibacy of the clergy ſtands in the front; for ſo many efforts were uſed to eſtabliſh it in England, and ſuch impediments were laid in its way, that it makes a very material article of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.

The celibacy of the clergy.

I have already ſhewn, that Dunſtan and the partizans of Rome, were extremely zealous and active, in order to introduce the celibacy of the clergy, tho' the Daniſh wars, at length, obliged them to ſuſpend their deſigns; for, from that time to the Norman conqueſt, the Engliſh prieſts continued in a ſtate of marriage, in ſpite of all the attempts of the popes to prevent it. It is not, at firſt view, eaſy to apprehend, why the popes were ſo obſtinately intent upon this project, ſince it does not obviouſly appear, that the intereſt of the court of Rome was concerned in it; but our admiration at their proceedings will ceaſe, when we reflect, that it exceedingly promoted the execution of the ſcheme, they had formed, of rendering the clergy independent of the civil power. Whilſt the prieſts had children of their own, it was very difficult to withdraw them from ſome dependence on their princes, whoſe favour had ſuch a vaſt influence on the fortune of private perſons; but, being without families, they were more at liberty to adhere to the pope, who aſpired to be the ſovereign of the clergy. However that be, the popes had no ſooner engaged in this undertaking, than they did all that was poſſible to effect it. Gregory VII. who was advanced to the papacy, in the reign of William the Conqueror, purſuing this point with more zeal and activity, than any of his predeceſſors, held a council at Rome, which prohibited the clergy to marry, under very ſevere penalties; but, tho' the Italians, French, Spaniards, and Germans, after long ſtruggles, at length, ſubmitted, the Engliſh, believing, that a council, chiefly compoſed of Italian biſhops, had no power to make laws for all Chriſtendom, were not ſo eaſily brought to a compliance. Indeed, Lanfranc, either in complaiſance to Gregory, or becauſe he was perſuaded of the juſtice of the thing itſelf, attempted to introduce into England the decrees of the council of Rome, by convening a national ſynod at Wincheſter, in which this affair was debated; but he was ſo ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, that he was upon the point of dropping his deſign; yet, when he found, that he could not prevail on the ſynod, to prohibit the clergy, in general, from marriage, he, under ſome pretence, obtained a decree, that all the prieſts, who had cures in cities, ſhould divorce their wives, tho' thoſe, that had benefices in the country, were not treated with the ſame rigour. Nevertheleſs, to prevent, for the future, married prieſts from holding any cures, the ſynod, by Lanfranc's direction and influence, ordained, that none ſhould be admitted into holy orders, without taking an oath never to marry; but, this prohibition proving a diſcouragement to many perſons of merit, the church of England, in a little time, was in ſuch want of able miniſters, that they were conſtrained to mitigate their ſeverity, in this particular; for pope Paſchal II. in a letter he ſent to Anſelm, Lanfranc's ſucceſſor, declares, that, being given to underſtand, that the moſt of the Engliſh clergy were the ſons of prieſts, he was apprehenſive, it would be very prejudicial to the church, if the canons were rigorouſly put in execution. He, therefore, granted to the archbiſhop a diſpenſing power, in this caſe, when the intereſt of the church, and the untractable diſpoſition of the Engliſh, ſhould render it convenient; yet Anſelm, inſtead of making a proper uſe of this diſcretional power, being of an inflexible temper, called a ſynod, at London, in which the marriage of the prieſts was condemned, tho' even this ſentence did not entirely redreſs this pretended abuſe; but, doubtleſs, he would have purſued this affair much farther, if his intereſt with king Henry, and his death, which happened in 1109, had not obſtructed the execution of his deſign.

Reaſons for the pope's enjoining it.

To compleat the work, which was already ſo much forwarded by Lanfranc and Anſelm, Honorius II. ſent cardinal de Creme into England, with the character of legate, who held a council at Weſtminſter, in which he ſharply inveighed againſt the married clergy; and, among other things, he declared, that it was an abominable crime to riſe from the ſide of an harlot, and then to handle the conſecrated body of Chriſt; tho', the very ſame night, he was found in bed with a common whore. Hunting.

Baronius,

Baronius, in vain, ſeveral ages after, attempted to deſtroy the credibility of this fact, by negative proofs, which are of no weight at all againſt the poſitive teſtimony of the hiſtorians that relate it; but, notwithſtanding the legate's incontinence, the ſynod paſs'd a canon againſt the marriages of the prieſts, tho' it could not entirely prevent this pretended evil.

Five years after, Corbet, archbiſhop of Canterbury, convened another council, in which, the more effectually to gain their ends, they referr'd the execution of their canons to the king, who very willingly undertook it, tho', purely, with a view of increaſing his own revenues, by ſelling to the prieſts a diſpenſation to keep their wives; and, accordingly, it appears, that great numbers of the inferior clergy married in England, after the prieſts of other countries had ſubmitted to the pope's decree.

The pope's legates.

Celibacy was not the only point, by which the court of Rome incenſed the Engliſh clergy; for, to reduce them to an entire ſubjection to the pope, legates were frequently ſent into England; an expedient, tho', at firſt, not regarded, that, at the long-run, was of fatal conſequence. During the reigns of the Saxon and Daniſh kings, there are very few inſtances of the popes ſending legates into England; for, tho' the popes, in thoſe days, aſpired after an abſolute power in the church, they did not make uſe of this means, which proved afterwards ſo ſucceſsful. Perhaps, they were afraid of alarming the metropolitans, whoſe obedience it was neceſſary to procure, by other methods; and, beſides, the archbiſhops of Canterbury, as primates of the kingdom, were then eſteemed to be the natural legates of the popes, who, for the moſt part, entruſted them with the execution of their orders; but, as they had generally two oppoſite extreams to manage, viz. the intereſts of the church of England and the pope, which frequently interfered, they, on many occaſions, gave the preference to the former. For this reaſon, the popes greedily catched at every opportunity of ſending other legates, that might wholly conſult their advantage. Thus, Offa, king of Mercia, being deſirous of erecting Litchfield into an archbiſhoprick, as it was improper to commiſſion the archbiſhop of Canterbury, on that occaſion, ſince they deſigned to deprive him of a part of his juriſdiction, they, with eaſe, obtained the king's conſent to receive Italian legates; but this, however, was the only inſtance, till the time of Edward the Confeſſor, i. e. for above 250 years. In Edward's reign, Stigand, archbiſhop of Canterbury, being under the church's cenſures, the pope ſent two legates into England, with a commiſſion that Stigand was incapable of diſcharging; and William I. ſent himſelf for legates, in order to preſide at a council, in which he propoſed to have Stigand and ſome other prelates degraded; ſo that princes, to gratify their paſſions, have been, all along, inſtrumental in promoting the papal power, without any regard to the conſequences of it. Moreover, Gregory VII. ſent a legate into England, named Hubert, in the reign of the Conqueror; but, as it was on a political account, the Engliſh did not imagine, this legateſhip could be prejudicial to them, tho' the pope had quite different ſentiment, of this proceeding. At length, theſe few precedents were taken to be ſufficient, to found a right of ſending legates, at the pope's pleaſure; tho' it lay dormant, during the reigns of the two William's, the reſolute temper of theſe princes giving them no proſpect of ſucceſs, in their endeavours to put it in execution.

Henry I. was ſcarce ſeated on his throne, when the pope ſent Guido, archbiſhop of Vienna, to reſide at London, with a legatine power over all Great-Britain; but the clergy of England conſider'd this commiſſion, as an incroachment on their privileges, nor would the king and council ſuffer him to exerciſe any part of his function in the kingdom. Alford the jeſuite, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of England, being at loſs how to reconcile this refuſal with the papal authority, will have it, that the legate's commiſſion was rejected, becauſe his powers were not penn'd with a non obſtante to the privileges of the archbiſhop of Canterbury; but, as he does not advance any proofs to eſtabliſh his aſſertion, it ſeems to be no more than a precarious ſuppoſition; and cardinal Baronius more artfully evades this difficulty, by entirely paſſing over this legateſhip in ſilence.

In the ſame reign, Paſchal II. ſent Cono, as his legate, into France; and this prelate called ſeveral councils, pretending that the biſhops of Normandy were obliged to give their attendance; but, becauſe they would not obey his ſummons, he excommunicated them. Henry, being exaſperated at the legate's preſumption, diſpatched the biſhop of Exeter to complain of it to the pope; and, in all probability, he received ſome ſatisfaction, ſeeing the hiſtorian, who relates this particular, does not take the leaſt notice of the ſucceſs of the embaſſy. Eadmer.

In 1116, during Henry's abſence in Normandy, abbot Anſelm, nephew to the archbiſhop of the ſame name, waited on him, and produced a commiſſion from the pope, as his legate into England; but the king would not permit him to go thither, in that character. The Engliſh prelates, whom the king conſulted, on this occaſion, unanimouſly declared, that this legateſhip tended to ſubvert the privileges of the church of England; and they intreated the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was moſt concerned in this affair, to preſent their anſwer to the king, and, provided the king thought it convenient, proceed to Rome, to make a remonſtrance againſt theſe incroachments. The archbiſhop, accordingly, ſet out for Rome; but being told, whilſt he was on the road, that the pope having been vigorouſly preſs'd by the arms of the emperor, was retired to Beneventum, he purſued his journey no farther, contenting himſelf with ſending a letter, in which he acquainted him with his intentions. The preſent poſture of pope Paſchal's affairs

affairs would not allow him to inſiſt on his pretended right, as he, doubtleſs, would have done, at another juncture; but, as he was unwilling to diſguſt the Engliſh, ſo neither could he bear the thoughts of giving up the privilege of ſending legates, on proper occaſions; and, in this perplexity, he choſe rather to return an ambiguous anſwer, which, without laying him under any obligations, might, at the ſame time, give them a ſeeming ſatisfaction. However, this indirect and evaſive anſwer was far from being ſatisfactory to the biſhops; and the king, taking the advantage of the pope's unſettled circumſtances, underſtood it in a ſenſe the moſt favourable to the church of England, and would not ſuffer the legate to execute his commiſſion; but, as he plainly perceived, that the terms of the pope's anſwer were too general, to prove that he dropp'd his pretenſions, he demanded one, that was more expreſs and poſitive. Some time after, having an interview with Calixtus II. at Giſors, he very urgently ſollicited the pope, on this topick; tho' his final anſwer, notwithſtanding all his ſollicitations, amounted to no more than this, viz. that he would not ſend any more legates into England, except in a caſe of neceſſity.

Some years after, Honorius II. ſent cardinal John de Creme, as his legate, into England; but he met with great oppoſition, and was not received in that character, till after he had been obliged to wait, a long time, in Normandy. This legate convened a council at London, on the occaſion of the marriages of the prieſts, as I have already obſerved; and, in his ſummons to the biſhops, he, in ſo many words, declares, that the council was called by the order and concurrence of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, which evidently appears from a citation ſtill extant, directed to the biſhop of Landaff. Tho' the legate might eaſily diſcern, that his coming was not very acceptable to the Engliſh; yet his haughty carriage, in the exerciſe of his function, exceedingly heightened their diſlike. He preſumed to officiate in the cathedral of Canterbury, inſtead of the archbiſhop, tho' he was only a presbyter; and, in the council of London, he ordered his ſeat to be raiſed, like a throne, above thoſe of the two archbiſhops and all the nobility, that were preſent at the ſynod. This imperious behaviour highly diſguſted the Engliſh, who had not been accuſtomed to the ſight of ſuch lofty legates; and they openly expreſs'd their regret, for their condeſcenſions to him, being ſenſible, of what dangerous conſequence precedents were, in affairs relating to the court of Rome. However, Alberic, biſhop of Oſtia, was, notwithſtanding this, received, as a legate in England, in Stephen's reign; but then, it muſt be conſidered, that this prince was not ſo firmly eſtabliſhed on his throne, as to be in a condition to diſpute the pope's pretenſions.

Gervaſe.

In the ſame reign, the pope conferred the dignity of legate on the biſhop of Wincheſter, the king's brother, to the prejudice of Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury; which occaſion'd a conteſt between the two prelates, that greatly turned to the advantage of the court of Rome. The contending parties frequently appealed to that court, a thing but very ſeldom practiſed in England before; and, at laſt, after many and long diſputes, pope Celeſtine II. deprived the biſhop of Wincheſter of the legateſhip, and gave it to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, not as his right, but as the free gift of the holy ſee. Hence it appears, that the popes embraced every opportunity of enlarging their authority; and the courſe of this Hiſtory will ſhew, that there was reaſon for my inſiſting, ſo copiouſly, on the article of legates; ſince it was chiefly, by this means, that the popes raiſed, in England, a thouſand diſturbances, in the ſucceeding reigns.

The court of Rome would, doubtleſs, have carried her uſurpations higher, if the ſchiſms, very frequent in thoſe times, had not obliged her to give way; for, to gain or ſecure the ſubmiſſion of the chriſtian princes, the popes were often conſtrained to paſs over many things, which they would have ſtrenuouſly maintained, at any other juncture; but, tho' they could not avoid making conceſſions, to their own diſadvantage, they generally ſubjoined ſome ambiguous clauſe, which was capable of being explained, in their own favour, at a more convenient ſeaſon. I have given an inſtance of this, in Calixtus II. when he promiſed to ſend no more legates into England, except in caſes of neceſſity; for the popes themſelves were, afterwards, the judges, when it was neceſſary. If all the kings had been inſpired with the ſpirit of the two William's, they would have taken theſe ambiguous clauſes, in their own ſenſe; but ſuch was the weakneſs and ſuperſtition of ſome, and ſo frequently were others involved in troubles, that were more reſolute and ſteady, that the popes always made the beſt uſe of theſe advantageous occaſions. I ſhall, now, proceed to ſhew, how the four firſt Norman kings behaved, with reſpect to the pope, during the ſchiſms which fell out in their reigns.

The ſchiſms.

England had owned Gregory VII. who ſucceeded to the papacy, in thereign of William the Conqueror; but yet the antipope Clement III. was no ſooner elected, than William determined to ſtand neuter, till the affair was decided; and, on the occaſion of this ſchiſm, he prohibited his ſubjects from acknowledging any pope, without his leave. This neutrality of the Engliſh is evident, from Lanfranc's anſwer to cardinal Hugo Candidus, who ſollicited him to eſpouſe the cauſe of Clement III. The letter in Baronius runs, thus:

Baron. Ann. 1092.

" I received your letter; but I cannot, by
" any means, approve of ſome of the contents.
" Your invectives againſt Gregory, whom you
" are pleaſed to ſtile Hildebrand, and the un-
" couth names you give his legates, is what I
" do not underſtand; and, on the other hand,
" your extravagant encomiums on Clement I
" take to be launching out too far. It is writ-
" ten, that we are not to pronounce any man
" happy, before his death; nor ought we to
" detract from our neighbour. The merit of
" men is inviſible; and, therefore, we cannot
" affirm any thing, with certainty, as to their
" future condition. However, I am confident,

" that

" that the emperor would not have engaged, " in ſuch an important undertaking, without " ſolid grounds; and that he could not have " met with ſo great ſucceſs, without the ſig- " nal bleſſing of the Almighty. As for your " intended voyage into England, I would diſ- " ſuade you from it, unleſs you can firſt pro- " cure the king's licence; for, as yet, we have " neither wholly diſclaimed Gregory, nor de- " clared for his competitor; but, when the " cauſe of both parties ſhall be fully examined, " we ſhall be better able to come to a final " reſolution."

Gregory VII. had, for his ſucceſſor, Victor III. who died in 1087, about a year before the death of William the Conqueror, and Urban II. was elected in his room; and, ſoon after, William Rufus aſcended the throne of England, whilſt the ſchiſm ſtill continued between Urban and Clement. It may ſafely be aſſerted, that, for ſome years, the Engliſh were without a pope; ſince they would not recognize either of the two competitors. When Anſelm, by his own private authority, would have acknowledged Urban II. William oppoſed it, till, by a ſtratagem, that I ſhall mention hereafter, Urban brought him over to his obedience. This point being gained, England remained under the juriſdiction of this pope and his ſucceſſors, Paſchal II. Gelaſius II. and Honorius II. but, upon Honorius's death, a new ſchiſm aroſe, between Innocent II. and Anacletus, who were both elected; and their reſpective adherents divided all Europe. Innocent had occaſion for all the eloquence and intereſt of St. Bernard, to obtain his being owned in France, where he met with great oppoſition. It was a long time before this kingdom, as well as England, declared for either of the rivals; ſo very difficult was it to form a judgment, which of them had the beſt pretenſions; for, tho' each of them advanced his reaſons, they rather tended to confute the arguments of the contrary party, than eſtabliſh his own title to the papal chair. It is natural to conclude, that, whilſt the ſentiments of the people were ſo divided, about the true pope, they had recourſe to neither, which was, in reality, the caſe; tho' this makes a gape or chaſm, in hiſtory, that bears extremely hard upon thoſe who aſſert, that the church cannot poſſibly ſubſiſt without a pope.

If the popes were loſers by theſe ſchiſms, their loſs was amply repaired by the Cruſades, which exceedingly contributed to the increaſe of the papal power. It is foreign to my preſent purpoſe, to enquire into the right the chriſtian princes of Europe had to Paleſtine, which the Saracens had taken from the emperors of Conſtantinople; it is ſufficient to obſerve, that the project of conquering from the Infidels the land, bedewed with the blood of Chriſt, ſeemed to be ſo noble and meritorious, that all the princes of Chriſtendom were ambitious of promoting it with their arms and treaſure, and ſome even with their perſons. The people, copying after their ſovereigns, blindly engaged in this undertaking, upon Peter the hermit's * repreſentation of the miſeries, to which the chriſtians in the Holy Land were expoſed, under the empire of the Saracens. Urban II. was the projector of this ſcheme, and preached up, in 1095, the firſt Cruſade at the council of Clermont; and ſuch a wonderful impreſſion did his exhortations make on the minds of his audience, that, ſoon after, a prodigious army ſet out for Paleſtine, with ſeveral chriſtian princes at their head, the ſucceſs of which expedition is notorious; for, upon the expulſion of the Saracens, a chriſtian kingdom was erected, tho' it did not continue above 90 years. The Infidels, at length, recovering the country, the popes inceſſantly ſollicited the chriſtians, to regain what the church had loſt, in that quarter of the world; and this was the occaſion of ſeveral freſh Cruſades, which proved extremely advantageous to the court of Rome. In the firſt place, as the popes were the heads of theſe expeditions, they protected all that were willing to engage in them; and, thus, they had an opportunity of intermeddling in all affairs, as there were few of any conſequence, in which ſome of the Croiſes were not concerned. Secondly, as theſe expeditions could not be carried on without an immenſe expence, the popes made uſe of them, as a pretence, to lay taxes on the clergy, called tenths, which were ſolely at their diſpoſal. In the next place, as ſoon as they became poſſeſs'd of the privilege of publiſhing a Cruſade, whenever they pleaſed, they greatly improved it to their own advantage; for they alledged, that the extirpation of hereticks no leſs conduced to the glory of God, than that of Infidels; and, as they aſſumed to themſelves the power of determining the nature of hereſy, they, at once, pronounced ſuch princes to be hereticks, excommunicated, and even publiſhed Cruſades againſt them, as made the leaſt oppoſition to their incroachments; of which we ſhall meet with ſeveral remarkable inſtances, in the ſequel of this Hiſtory. It is, therefore, no wonder, that the popes were ſo active and induſtrious, in the behalf of Cruſades, as they were ſo directly conducive to their own intereſt; but, bleſſed be God, the blind and frentick zeal of chriſtians, on this account, has been extinguiſhed, for ſeveral ages.

The councils, during the four Norman reigns.

As the papal authority gained ground, the power of the biſhops, archbiſhops, and national ſynods, in proportion, viſibly decreaſed; becauſe their decrees and canons might be render'd null and void, at the pope's pleaſure; and this is the reaſon, why there are ſo few conſiderable councils, from the Norman conqueſt to the reſtoration of the Saxon line.

The ſynod of Winchester. Spond.

The firſt was covened at Wincheſter, in 1070, in which Hermenfred, biſhop of Ciſteron, John and Peter, cardinal prieſts, preſided, as the pope's legates; but, as nothing of any moment was tranſacted in this ſynod, except the deprivation of Stigand and ſome other prelates,

* He was a French prieſt, that had travelled, as a pilgrim, to the Holy Land, where he was exceedingly affected with the miſeries of the chriſtians; and he pretended, that our Saviour, appearing to him in a dream, commanded him to engage the weſtern chriſtians to undertake their deliverance, and, at the ſame time, aſſured him of ſucceſs.

I ſhall only remark, that, in thoſe days, a biſhop was ſuperior to a cardinal; ſince, in the acts of this council, the biſhop of Ciſteron is always named before the cardinals, his collegues.

The council of London.

In 1075, Lanfranc held a ſynod at London, in which it was ordained, that, for the future, provincial and dioceſan ſynods ſhould be held more frequently, than they had been, ever ſince the conqueſt; and the precedency of the biſhops was regulated by the decrees of the VIth council of Toledo and ſome others, every prelate being obliged to take place, according to the priority of his ordination. It was likewiſe agreed, that, at councils, the archbiſhop of York ſhould be ſeated on the right, and the biſhop of London on the left hand of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the biſhop of Wincheſter next to the archbiſhop of York; and ſome canons were alſo paſſed, the principal of which are, as follows.

The Vth prohibits all perſons, biſhops and abbots excepted, to ſpeak in the council, without the preſident's leave.

The VIth forbids marriage to the ſeventh degree, on the authority of Gregory the Great; but I have already ſhewn, from the teſtimony of Bede, that this pope, in his anſwers to Auſtin's queſtions, limits the prohibition to the ſecond degree.

The VIIth is againſt ſimony; and this canon had, for ſome time, paſs'd in all the councils. In all probability, this irregularity was become very common; or, perhaps, it was with a view to prepare the clergy, to fall in with the prohibition againſt receiving the inveſtiture of benefices from the hands of laymen, to which ſimony, ſerved as a ſpecious pretence.

The VIIIth is levelled againſt ſorcery, divination, and the like ſuperſtitious practices.

By the XIth all eccleſiaſticks are prohibited to give their votes, to ſentence a perſon to death, or even the loſs of limbs.

In 1076, the ſame prelate called a ſynod, on the account of the prieſts marriages.

That of Rockingham.

In 1094, a ſynod was held at Rockingham, by reaſon of the conteſt between William II. and Anſelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury.

A national ſynod at London.

In 1102, in the Reign of Henry I. Anſelm convened a national ſynod, to which the temporal lords were invited, in order to be witneſſes to the proceedings; and the moſt remarkable canons were.

The Iſt againſt ſimony.

The IVth, which forbids archdeacons, prieſts, deacons, and canons to marry, or to live with their wives; and this was the firſt general prohibition againſt the Engliſh prieſts keeping their wives, which was extremely diſagreeable to a great number of perſons.

According to the VIth, the ſons of prieſts were debarred from ſucceeding to their father's churches.

The IXth obliges the prieſts to have open crowns, that the tonſure might be the more viſible.

The XIIIth deprives the abbots of the privilege of making knights, which they had, hitherto, enjoyed.

The XIVth declares all promiſes of marriage, made without witneſs, to be null and void, provided either of the parties denied the engagement.

The XVth prohibits monks or nuns to be godfathers or godmothers.

The XVIIth ratifies the prohibition of marriage within the ſeventh degree.

The XVIIIth forbids the burial of the dead out of their own pariſh.

The XIXth denounces anathema's againſt thoſe that ſold men, like horſes; but, in ſpite of this canon, the lords of manors ſtill retained the right of villainage, i. e. of ſelling their villains, who were conſidered, as a ſort of ſlaves.

The XXth was againſt ſodomy; and it is remarkable, that there never were any canons made againſt this crime, till the clergy were reſtrained from marriage, it being ſcarce ſo much as heard of in England before.

I have, in another place, taken notice of the council, held in 1125, on the account of the marriages of the prieſts, in which cardinal John de Creme preſided.

The ſynod at Weſtminſter.

In 1127, William Corbet, archbiſhop of Canterbury, called a ſynod at Weſtminſter, in which he preſided, as the pope's legate; the principal canons of which are, as follows.

The IIId is againſt the taking of money, for the admiſſion of monks and nuns into religious houſes.

The VIth prohibits a plurality of archdeacons, under the penalty of excommunication.

The VIIth renders it unlawful, for eccleſiaſticks, to turn farmers.

The VIIIth enjoins the punctual payment of tythes, ſtiling them, the demeſnes of the moſt High.

In 1138, Alberic, the pope's legate, convened a ſynod, conſiſting of 17 biſhops and 30 abbots; but this, being only ſummon'd, in order to elect an archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſeveral others aſſembled, in Stephen's reign, on political occaſions, contain nothing in them of any importance.

Since, after the conqueſt, the names of ſome biſhopricks are diſuſed, and others occur, in their ſtead, that were unknown in the times of the Saxons, it will be convenient, to prevent obſcurity, that I give ſome account of theſe alterations.

The tranſlations of the ſees.

In 1075, the ſee of Sherbourn was tranſlated to Salisbury; that of Selſey to Chicheſter; and that of Litchfield to Cheſter.

In 1092, in the reign of William II. the ſee of Dorcheſter was removed to Lincoln; and that of Wells to Bath. The popes were far from being pleaſed with theſe removals, as they were made, without their leave; and Paſchal II. loudly complained of it to Henry I. but he durſt not purſue this point any farther, becauſe of the ſchiſm, that then prevailed in the court of Rome.

Ely is made an epiſcopal ſee.

In 1108, in the reign of Henry I. Ely-monaſtery was erected into an epiſcopal ſee, with the pope's approbation, as well as the conſent of the biſhop of Lincoln, who reſigned

ſigned a part of his dioceſe to this new erection.

Carliſle is made an epiſcopal ſee.

In the ſame reign, Carliſle, termed by the Romans, Luguballia, was made a biſhop's ſee, Adelwalt being the firſt biſhop; and this dioceſe was taken from the biſhoprick of Durham.

A project for making Wincheſter an archbiſhoprick.

It appears, from Anglia Sacra and Rudburn's Hiſtory of the Church of Wincheſter, that, in 1144, pope Lucius ſent the pall to the biſhop of Wincheſter, brother to king Stephen, with a view to erect that ſee into an archbiſhoprick, and annex it to the ſeven dioceſes of Weſſex; but, as this proceeding was generally diſliked, the biſhop, being apprehenſive that he ſhould meet with inſuperable difficulties, deferred the execution of his project, till, at length, it was entirely defeated by Lucius's death.

Abbies.

Battle-abbey was founded by William the Conqueror. In 1101, Henry I. founded the monaſtery of Clarkenwell and the priory of St. John of Jeruſalem; and he was likewiſe the founder of the abbey of Reading.

New orders of monks.

Towards the end of the XIth or in the beginning of the XIIth century, were inſtituted the orders of the Carthuſians *, Ciſtercians †, and Præmonſtratenſes ‡, who afterwards ſettled in England; and to theſe we may add the regular canons, reformed by Ivo of Chartres, in 1198 ¶.

The diſpute concerning tranſubſtantiation.

Among the remarkable tranſactions in the church, during the four Norman reigns, the famous controverſy, about the holy euchariſt, is not the leaſt conſiderable; for tho' it did not make ſo much noiſe in England, as in France; yet as it is a diſpute, in which the whole church was, and ſtill is, not a little concerned, I think it will not be improper to preſent the reader, with a brief account of its riſe and progreſs.

Towards the concluſion of the VIIIth century, Paſchaſius Radbert, a monk of Corbey, publiſhed a treatiſe, in which he aſſerted, that the bread in the euchariſt was the ſame body of Chriſt, that was born of the virgin; and that the wine was the ſame blood, which was ſhed on the croſs. This opinion ſeeming to be entirely new to ſeveral learned men, they ſtrenuouſly and ſharply wrote againſt it; and Johannes Scotus, ſirnamed Erigena, i. e. of Iriſh extraction, Raban, archbiſhop of Mentz, and Bertram, the monk, were the principal adverſaries of Paſchaſius's doctrine; whilſt there were ſome, on the other hand, that undertook to defend it. Without entering into a particular examination of the arguments, on both ſides of the queſtion, I ſhall only make the two following remarks on this diſpute: 1. If chriſtians had, all along, been of Paſchaſius's ſentiments, it is not to be imagined, that ſo many perſons of learning would have conſidered his doctrine, as a novelty; and yet, 2. Paſchaſius's notion ſo exceedingly prevailed, after the VIIIth century, that, upon the revival of this controverſy, 200 years after, the contrary opinion was generally charged with the imputation of novelty.

This controverſy being, at length, dropped, either becauſe the people were weary of it, or diverted by other affairs, it lay dormant, for near 200 years; but, in 1035, Berengarius, archdeacon of Angers, who was highly celebrated for his learning, finding that Paſchaſius's doctrine daily gained ground, attempted to put a ſtop to its progreſs. He publiſh'd his own opinion, in direct contradiction to that of Paſchaſius, and was permitted to perſevere in it, for 12 or 13 years, without the leaſt oppoſition; tho' he was, at length, attacked by Adelman, a prebend of Liege, and afterwards Bedwen, biſhop of the ſame church, who exerted themſelves, to perſuade him to retract his ſentiments.

In the interim, Berengarius carried on a correſpondence with Lanfranc, then abbot of St. Stephen's in Caen; and the nature of the euchariſt was the principal ſubject of all their letters. Baſnage Hiſt. de l'Egliſe.

Lanfranc wrote in defence of Paſchaſius's opinion, and Berengarius, in vindication of the doctrine he had lately publiſhed; but, one of Berengarius's letters coming into the hands of pope Leo IX **, he called a council, on that account. Berengarius was condemned for receding from the received opinion, and for advancing the ſame arguments, in his letter, that Scotus had formerly produced againſt Paſchaſius; and Lanfranc, being preſent at the ſynod, was obliged to purge himſelf of the ſuſpicion of holding too ſtrict a correſpondence with this pretended heretick; but, as Berengarius was condemned, unheard, the pope, convening another ſynod at Verceil, ſummoned him to make his appearance. He did not, however, appear in perſon, but ſent two eccleſiaſticks to defend him, who, according to Lanfranc, gave up his cauſe; and Berengarius was then condemned, a ſecond time, Scotus's book, from whence he had extracted his arguments, being likewiſe involved in the ſame ſentence; but, inſtead of acquieſcing in the deciſions of theſe two ſynods, Berengarius ſtill continued to juſtify Scotus, and dropp'd ſome ſatyrical invectives againſt Paſchaſius, the pope, and the church of Rome. His arguments

* So named from Chartreuſe in Grenoble, where they were firſt eſtabliſhed, by Bruno of Cologn, canon of Rheims, in 1086; they followed St. Bennet's rule, and are ſaid to ſettle in England, in 1180.

† Thus called from Ciſtercium or Citeaux in the dioceſe of Chalons, where they firſt aſſembled, under Harding, an Engliſhman, in 1097; and, St. Bernard being, ſoon after, a member of their ſociety, they received the name of Bernardines. They refined upon St. Bennet's rule, and came into England, in 1128, the abbey of Waverly, in Surrey, being the place where they firſt ſettled.

‡ They were founded by St. Norbert, of a noble family in Cologn, in 1120, at a place ſaid to be pointed out to him by the virgin Mary, from hence called Præmonſtratum, i. e. foreſhewn. They were introduced into England, in 1146, and ſettled at New-houſe in Lincolnſhire, following St. Auguſtin's rule.

¶ Theſe canons were diſtinguiſhed into regular and ſecular; for the former, reforming upon the latter, named them ſeculars, by way of reproach; they pretended to follow St. Auguſtin's rule.

** It was directed to Lanfranc in Normandy; but, as he was gone to Rome, it was tranſmitted by ſome adverſary to the pope.

ſeemed

ſeemed to be ſo ſolid and convincing, that ſeveral openly declared for his opinion, and even wrote, in his vindication; for an antient author obſerves, that all France was in a combuſtion, occaſioned by Berengarius, a great number of learned men arguing for and againſt him, both by word of mouth and in writing. Sigebert.

The doctrine of Berengarius muſt certainly have had a vaſt ſpread in ſeveral places; ſince Victor II. Leo's ſucceſſor, judged it neceſſary to call another council at Tours, on this very occaſion. Berengarius, as he could not avoid coming to this ſynod, which was aſſembled in his neighbourhood, it is reported, that he had not the courage to maintain his opinion, but ſubmitted to the deciſions of the two former councils; tho' it ſhould be remember'd, that this account is only given by his adverſaries. However, if he did recant, he afterwards repented of his recantation, perſiſting, as before, in the defence of his doctrine; upon which, he was cited by Stephen X. to a council held at Rome, in 1059. Berengarius made his appearance; and, if we may rely on the teſtimony of the hiſtorians that relate it, the moſt of whom were his avowed enemies, he durſt not engage in the defence of his cauſe. They even affirm, that he ſubſcribed a writing, in which he declared, "that the body of Chriſt "was handled, in a ſenſible manner, by the "prieſts, and ground by the teeth of the com-"municants"; and afterwards they conſtrained him, by their menaces, to burn, with his own hands, Scotus's book, from whence, they pretended, he had borrowed his erroneous notions. It muſt be remarked, that, tho' ſome have aſſerted, that he durſt not defend his doctrine, others aſſure us, that he diſputed, a conſiderable time, with Lanfranc and Alberic, a monk of Mount-Caſſin; and his ſigning the writing was not ſo much the effect of conviction, as his being overawed by the threatenings of his adverſaries. "You did not ſub-"ſcribe it, as Lanfranc tells him, in one of "his letters, for the ſake of the truth; but, "purely, to eſcape the death, with which you "was threatened"; and the ſequel proves, that his heart did not conſent to the ſubſcription of his hand, becauſe, notwithſtanding his many recantations, he retained his old opinion, to the day of his death.

*Or rather 1063.

In 1073 *, a council was convened at Roan, on the ſame account, and another at Poictiers, in 1075; and Berengarius, appearing at the latter of theſe, was in ſome danger of loſing his life, which only ſerved to give him a worſe opinion of the contrary party. At laſt, pope Gregory VII. reſolving, at once, to put an end to this controverſy, which was ſo often renewed, called a council at Rome, in 1079; and, before the ſynod was opened, he proclaimed a faſt, for 30 days, in order to beſeech the Almighty, that he would vouchſafe to grant this aſſembly his grace, to diſcover the truth. It is ſomewhat ſurprizing, that, after ſo many deciſions, in conformity, as they alledge, to the doctrine of the church in all ages, they ſhould ſtill be in ſuſpence, about their belief in this matter. Berengarius, being preſent at this ſynod, ſigned a recantation, fuller and more expreſs than any of the former, in which he declares, "that the bread and wine, in the ſa-"crament, are ſubſtantially changed, by the "miraculous operation of the words of our "Saviour, into the real, viſible, and living "body of Jeſus Chriſt;" but even this retractation was far from being a proof of the alteration of his ſentiments; which is evident from his being, once more, ſummoned to a council at Bordeaux, where he appeared and was condemned. He ſpent the reſidue of his days in retirement, near Tours, where he departed this life in peace, in 1088.

What has been ſaid furniſhes matter for various reflections. In the firſt place, if Berengarius's doctrine was manifeſtly repugnant to the faith of the univerſal church, ever ſince the time of the apoſtles, is it not amazing, that there ſhould be occaſion for ſo many councils, on this very account. Secondly, the calling ſuch a great number of councils clearly ſhews, that Berengarius's doctrine had a vaſt ſpread in the world, ſince ſo much induſtry was made uſe of, to put a ſtop to its progreſs Thirdly, there is no leſs cauſe for admiration, if we conſider, that neither Berengarius himſelf, nor any of the biſhops and other eccleſiaſticks, his adherents, were ever deprived. If Berengarius had ſincerely retracted, it would be eaſy to gueſs at the reaſon, why he met with ſuch favourable treatment from the popes and councils; but, as his frequent recantations render it highly probable, that the laſt was not more ſincere than the former, there are other very convincing proofs, that he died in the belief of his old opinion. Lanfranc look'd upon him, all along, to be a ſchiſmatick; an anonymous author, who wrote eight years after his laſt recantation, treats him as an heretick; and Baronius ſtiles him a rotten heretick. Indeed, Malmsbury affirms, that Berengarius died a catholick, i. e. in the faith of the church of Rome; but he was led into this miſtake, either by believing, that his laſt retractation was real, or from the honourable epitaph, Hildebrand, biſhop of Mans, who highly extols him, on the account of his learning and morals, made for him, after his deceaſe; and, doubtleſs, Malmsbury, who inſerts this epitaph in his Hiſtory, could not imagine, that a prelate would give one, that was actually an heretick, ſuch an excellent character. Remarks on this diſpute.

Laſtly, it is farther obſervable, that, altho' the account, we have of Berengarius, is given by his adverſaries, ſeveral of them could not forbear taking notice of the prodigious progreſs of his doctrine in Germany, Italy, and eſpecially in France. As for England, it is no wonder, that this diſpute did not ſo much prevail there, as in other countries; ſince the late revolution, introduced by the Norman conqueſt, engaged the attention of the Engliſh to other affairs. I ſhall conclude my obſervations with the following remark, viz. that Berengarius's frequent recantations were extremely prejudicial to his doctrine; for, in thoſe days, few perſons being capable of judging for themſelves, about ſo intricate a point, the minds of men

men were more ſwayed by example and precedent, than knowledge and conviction. Now, it muſt be owned, to all external appearance, Berengarius ſeemed to be miſtaken; becauſe it was induſtriouſly given out, that he did not recant, before he was convinced of his error, whilſt they deſignedly paſſed over in ſilence the menaces, that extorted his recantations; and yet nothing was more certain, as is evident from the teſtimony of Lanfranc himſelf, which I, above, related.

The moſt famous eccleſiaſticks.

To finiſh my account of the State of the Church, in the reign of the firſt four Norman kings, I ſhall only briefly take notice of the moſt eminent biſhops and other eccleſiaſticks, during that period.

Aldred.

Aldred, archbiſhop of York, who crowned William the Conqueror, was a good and pious prelate. He had been formerly biſhop of Glouceſter, where he built the cathedral; and, having afterwards purchaſed ſeveral eſtates, he annexed them to his archbiſhoprick, being likewiſe a great benefactor to the abbey of Beverley.

Altho' the court of Rome pretended, that Stigand intruded himſelf into the ſee of Canterbury, and he was, therefore, ſuſpended by the pope; yet he performed the archiepiſcopal functions, during the reigns of Edward and Harold; and, if William the Conqueror refuſed to receive the crown from his hands, it was, merely to prevent a rupture with the court of Rome. When Stigand attended that prince into Normandy, he treated him, as a perſon of great diſtinction; and the Norman clergy, notwithſtanding the pope's cenſures, paid him all the reſpect due to his ſtation and quality. In proceſs of time, the Conqueror, being jealous of him, prevailed on the council of Weſtminſter to depoſe him; and no ſooner was he deprived of all his preferments, than he impriſon'd him, in order to force him to make a diſcovery, where he had conceal'd his vaſt treaſures; but, nothing being able to extort this ſecret from him, he continued in priſon to the day of his death; but, after his deceaſe, a little key was found about his neck, with a note that directed to the place, where his money was ſecured, which was all ſeized, for the uſe of the king.

Brompton.

Marianus Scotus.

Marianus Scotus, born in Scotland, in 1028, at 30 years of age, retired to a monaſtery at Cologn; and he was afterwards removed to the abbey of Fulde, where he wrote a general Hiſtory of Europe, from the creation to the year of our Lord 1082; and he departed this life, in 1086. The Scotch, at that time, met with a kind reception in Germany, where a prince of that nation, that had ſerved under Charlemain, was the founder of 15 monaſteries, all the abbots of which were to be natives of Scotland.

Wulſtan.

Wulſtan, biſhop of Worceſter, was very famous, for his piety, which ſome have carried too far; ſince they pretend, that he not only performed ſeveral miracles, whilſt alive, but even after his deceaſe. However, it is evident, that Lanfranc had a mean opinion of this prelate's merit; ſeeing he would have had him deprived by a ſynod, for inſufficiency and want of learning. This renders it ſuſpicious, that Wulſtan's principal excellency was his great plainneſs and ſimplicity, which they would have palmed upon us for an extraordinary ſanctity. Malmsbury, who has written his life, mentions a particular, that manifeſtly ſhews, this prelate had an extravagant conceipt of his own abilities; for, he tells us, that, when the monks, who were about him, a little before his death, expreſs'd great ſorrow for the loſs of him, he aſſured them, they ſhould find in him a more powerful patron and friend, after his deceaſe, than whilſt he was alive.

Lanfranc.

Lanfranc, whom I have had occaſion ſo often to ſpeak of, was born at Pavia; and, after he had compleated his ſtudies, he made choice of a monaſtick life, and retired to the abbey of Bec in Normandy, where he taught logick and acquired a great reputation. His frequent invectives againſt the reſt of the fraternity, on the account of their ignorance, paved the way for the firſt riſe of his fortune; for, the monks having preferr'd a complaint againſt him to William the Baſtard, then only duke of Normandy, he was obliged to go to court, to vindicate himſelf againſt their aſperſions; and, ſo highly was the duke charmed with the merit, that ſhined in his converſation, that, inſtead of puniſhing him, to gratify his accuſers, he advanced him to be abbot of St. Stephen's at Caen, and afterwards promoted him to the ſee of Canterbury. Lanfranc's credit, which was very conſiderable, in the Conqueror's reign, declined under William Rufus, tho' it was by his intereſt that he obtained the crown; and his death, ſoon after, in 1089, in all probability, delivered him from much future trouble and vexation. He rebuilt the church of Canterbury, which had been conſumed by the Danes, in archbiſhop Elphegus's time, and fixed the number of the monks of St. Auguſtin at 150, which before was unlimited; and he likewiſe gave them a prior, inſtead of a chorepiſcopus. A famous trial, in which he gained the cauſe againſt Odo, biſhop of Bayeux and earl of Kent, put him in poſſeſſion of 25 manors, which that prelate had ſeized. He was eſteemed to be a profound politician, as well as an able and learned divine. His Commentary on St. Paul's Epiſtles, and his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, which is not now extant, were works that had a great reputation; but, of all his writings, his treatiſe againſt Berengarius, concerning the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt in the ſacrament, was the moſt remarkable. However, in ſpite of this teſtimony of the conformity of his ſentiments to thoſe of the Roman church, Gregory VII. ſent him ſeveral ſummons, to come to Rome and give an account of his faith, and, at length, even threatened, that he would ſuſpend him, unleſs he made his appearance there, within four months; but Lanfranc never went, tho' he did not want time for ſuch a journey, ſince his death did not happen, till eight years after.

Anſelm.

Anſelm, who had been abbot of Bec, before his promotion to the ſee of Canterbury,

the moſt famous of all the Engliſh biſhops, on the account of his diſputes with William Rufus and Henry I. but, as the firſt of theſe conteſts is of little or no conſequence, and I have already taken notice of all that is material in it, I ſhall only ſubjoin one circumſtance, which will give an inſight into pope Urban's addreſs, to prevail on the Engliſh to own his authority.

Clement, the antipope, being alive, when Urban II. was elected, England refuſed to ſubmit to either of the competitors; but, in the interim, Anſelm, falling out with William Rufus, openly declared for Urban, in direct contradiction to the king's will and pleaſure. As their quarrel increaſed, the king reſolved to humble this prelate; and, with this view, he acquainted Urban, that, provided he would ſend him the pall deſigned for Anſelm, ſo that he ſhould be obliged to receive it from him, he would procure his being acknowledged, for pope, in England. Upon this, Urban diſpatch'd the biſhop of Alba, to act, according to the king's deſire; tho' the nuncio, without the leaſt mention of his having brought the pall with him, only told him, that the pope was willing to comply with his requeſt, on the terms that were propoſed. The king, upon this aſſurance, prevailed on the Engliſh to own Urban's authority, and afterwards inſiſted on having Anſelm's pall at his diſpoſal; but the nuncio replied, that the thing was impracticable, ſince Anſelm refuſed to receive the pall from the hands of a layman; and he was conſtrained, at length, to agree, that the archbiſhop ſhould take it up himſelf from the altar, where the nuncio had laid it, by conſent. However, William, being, thus, impoſed on, never forgave the archbiſhop, who was obliged to go to Rome; after which, he retired to Lyons, where he continued, till the king's deceaſe.

The conteſt between Henry I. and Anſelm, about inveſtitures.

During Anſelm's ſtay at Rome, he was preſent at a council, which decreed, that, all eccleſiaſticks, who, for the future, received the inveſtiture of their benefices from the hands of laymen, ſhould be liable to excommunication; and, in conformity to this decree, the archbiſhop, after his return into England, by the ſollicitations of Henry I. refuſed to do homage to that prince, or conſecrate the biſhops that had been inveſted by him. This refuſal occaſioned a more important conteſt, than that he had with William Rufus, ſince the point in diſpute was a royal prerogative, that the kings of England had been poſſeſs'd, for many years; but Henry, being determined to proceed with caution, becauſe the court of Rome was, at this juncture, very formidable, as it had got the aſcendant over the emperor, conſented, that Anſelm ſhould ſend agents to Rome, whilſt he himſelf diſpatched ambaſſadors thither, to plead his own cauſe, and intreat the pope not to moleſt him in the poſſeſſion of his right. Paſchal II. gave him to underſtand, that it was not in his power to grant the king a privilege, which had been expreſly prohibited by ſeveral councils; but Henry exerted himſelf, notwithſtanding, in the preſervation of a right, that he had derived from his predeceſſors. He, therefore, commanded the archbiſhop not only to do him homage, but to conſecrate the biſhops that he had inveſted; and, upon Anſelm's declaring, that he could not comply with the king's order, unleſs he diſobeyed the pope and the decrees of the ſynod of Rome, to which he himſelf had given his vote, the king made the following reply: "What is "that to me, can the ſynod of Rome deprive "me of the prerogative of my anceſtors? "No, I will never permit any perſon, who "ſcruples to give me the ſecurities of a ſub-"ject, to enjoy eſtates in my dominions." Upon this, he order'd Anſelm to obey him, or depart the kingdom; but the archbiſhop anſwer'd, that he could do neither; but that he would retire to Canterbury, and there wait God's good pleaſure. This anſwer aſtoniſh'd the king and the lords of the council; and, having debated the point, the council was of opinion, that the king, regardleſs of Anſelm, or the pope himſelf, ſhould expel the one from his dominions, and ſhake off all dependence on the other. Henry, judging it inexpedient to carry matters to theſe extremities, without the concurrence of the eſtates of the realm, called a general aſſembly or parliament; and he repreſented to them the deſigns of the pope againſt the prerogatives of the crown, as well as the haughty carriage of Anſelm, who did not behave as a ſubject, but as an equal, or rather ſuperior. The aſſembly, upon this, agreed, that the archbiſhop ſhould be allowed more time, for deliberation; and that, in the mean while, ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to Rome, to ſollicit the pope to deſiſt, in an amicable manner, from his pretenſions. The archbiſhop of York and two other biſhops were appointed for this ambaſſy; and they were accompanied with two agents, in behalf of Anſelm. The ambaſſadors received inſtructions to propoſe to the pope this alternative; either to give way, in the caſe of inveſtitures, or elſe expect the baniſhment of Anſelm, the revolt of the Engliſh from any ſubmiſſion to his authority, and the loſs of all the profits ariſing from thence. The prelates had no ſooner been admitted to their audience of the pope, than they laid before him the dangerous conſequences of refuſing to comply with the king's propoſals; but Paſchal replied, that he would not only loſe England, but even his pontifical dignity, rather than make the leaſt abatement, in this point. Anſelm's agents had alſo a ſeparate audience; and, at their departure, the pope gave them two letters; one for the king, in which he exhorted him to drop his claim to inveſtitures, and another for Anſelm, enjoining him to perſiſt in the defence of the cauſe of truth. The king, who was far from being pleaſed with his letter, did not think it proper to be communicated to the lords; but Anſelm procured his to be publickly read, in their hearing.

In the interim, the king's ambaſſadors and Anſelm's agents differ'd extremely, in their accounts, by word of mouth; for the biſhops affirmed, that the pope, at a private audience, aſſured

assured them, that he was willing to indulge the king, in the affair of investitures, provided he would, in return, give him satisfaction in other particulars, tho' he durst not openly declare so much, lest other princes should demand the same privilege; whilst Anselm's agents, on the contrary, protested, that the pope had not made any declarations to that purpose, and appealed to the letter he had sent to the archbishop. Their allegations seemed to be so far the more probable, as the king had refused to produce the pope's letter; but yet the testimony of the archbishop of York and the other prelates could not be disputed, without charging them with falshood and gross prevarication. Anselm himself was somewhat at a loss, how to judge of this matter, since each of the parties appealed to the pope, for the truth of their assertions; and, therefore, he thought it convenient to prolong the time, till he should be farther informed about the pope's intention. In the mean while, he made an offer to communicate with the bishops, who were invested by the king, which he had, hitherto, refused, provided he should not be obliged to consecrate them, before he had heard from the pope; and, this peaceable overture giving the king and council some satisfaction, he was allowed time, to send fresh agents to Rome.

Before the return of the agents, the king, being impatient on the account of these delays, sent his orders to the archbishop, to consecrate the three bishops elect; but Anselm answer'd, that, tho' he was willing to consecrate one of them, who had refused his investiture from the king, he could not perform this office to the others, without the pope's consent. Upon this refusal, the king commanded the archbishop of York to celebrate this solemnity; but the bishops elect would not submit to his authority; which so highly incensed the king, that he confiscated all their estates.

As soon as Anselm's agents were arrived from Rome, the king went down to Canterbury, and desired the archbishop to satisfy his demands, unless he would provoke him to make use of other methods; but Anselm replied, that he had received a letter from the pope, not yet opened; that he was willing to open it in his presence; and that he would be guided by the pope's directions. Henry, exasperated to find, that the archbishop still continued to give the preference to the pope's orders, answer'd, that he was not sollicitous to know the pope's injunctions, not being, in the least, inclined to submit his prerogatives to his determination. However, the archbishop, after all, remained inflexible; and Henry, desirous of trying all imaginable gentle means, before he proceeded to severity, intreated Anselm himself to take a journey to Rome, to try if he could prevail on the pope to give way. He was not easily perstraded to engage in this undertaking; but, at last, he was prevailed on, by the sollicitations of the bishops and barons, who assured him, that this journey could not possibly do him any disservice.

When he arrived in Normandy, opening the pope's letter, he found a direct denial of all that the king's ambassadors had reported; yet he pursued his journey to Rome, where he was speedily followed by William de Warelwast, the king's ambassador, whom William Rufus had formerly sent to the court of Rome. The ambassador, obtaining an audience, represented to the pope the danger of persisting in his pretensions, assuring him, that the king, his master, was resolutely determined rather to lose his crown, than surrender the right of investitures. Paschal replied, "And I will sooner "lose my life, than suffer the church's privi- "leges to be, thus, usurped." This positive answer having entirely defeated the negotiation, the ambassador set out for England; but Anselm, not daring to return, retired to Lyons.

After this, Henry sent another ambassy to Rome, but to as little purpose; for it only incensed the pope, who excommunicated the earl of Mellent and some other lords of the council; and he even threatened Henry with the church's censures, tho' he declined the putting them in execution. In the interim, Anselm, finding the pope dilatory in his proceedings, was apprehensive, that, sooner or later, the pope and king might come to an accommodation, which might end in his utter ruin; and, therefore, he resolved to engage the pope so deeply in the affair, that it should be impossible for him to recede from it. With this view, he made a visit to Adela, countess of Blois, Henry's sister, and informed her, that, after much patience, he must now, at last, be forced to excommunicate the king, unless he would immediately desist from his pretensions. Adela, being extremely concerned at this menace, exerted herself to procure an accommodation. She desired the king, her brother, who was then in Normandy, to meet her at the castle of l' Aigle, where she brought Anselm with her, that they might confer about the affair in dispute; and, by the means of the countess's mediation at this interview, things seemed to have a very promising aspect. Henry, being overawed by the archbishop's threatnings, used him in a very obliging manner; and Anselm, in return, treated the king with more than usual respect. They had not been long in each other's company, before they perceived, that they were both equally desirous of concluding the contest, on honourable terms; and, no sooner had they mutually agreed upon an expedient to this purpose, than Henry sent William de Warelwast to the pope, to obtain his approbation. Paschal, being, at this juncture, vigorously press'd by the Germans, who, shortly after, forced him to fly for refuge into France, did not think it convenient to make a rupture with England; and, therefore, he consented to accommodate matters, on the following conditions. The king was obliged to renounce the right of investitures; and the pope granted the bishops and abbots leave to do homage to the king, for their temporalities. Thus, the pope and the king compromised this vexatious affair,

The king and Anselm agree.

by

a method as juſt as it was natural, and which ſhould been taken, at firſt, if they had acted upon fair principles; and this will manifeſtly appear, if we impartially enquire into the ſtate of the queſtion.

The ſtate of the queſtion.

To ſet this matter in a true light, I ſhall, firſt, obſerve, that, ever ſince the time of Charles the Great, ſovereign princes were poſſeſs'd of the right of inveſtitures to biſhopricks and abbies, by the delivery of the ring and paſtoral ſtaff; which I apprehend to be an undeniable truth *. Gregory VII. was the firſt, that attempted to deprive them of this privilege, about the end of the XIth century; and the popes, his ſucceſſors, were no leſs active in the purſuit of his deſign. It muſt be owned, that the popes had ſome reaſon to complain, that the kings had abuſed this prerogative; ſince, under the pretence that the biſhops and abbots were incapable of taking poſſeſſion of their benefices, till they were inveſted by them, they often publickly ſold the biſhopricks and abbies to the higheſt bidder; for tho' the elections ſeemed to be canonical, yet the princes over-ruled them, by refuſing inveſtiture to ſuch as were not agreeable to them. This alone was ſufficient to procure the election of thoſe, whom they recommended; becauſe no eccleſiaſticks were deſirous of being biſhops or abbots, without the temporalities; and, therefore, the king's conſent was neceſſary, in order to be elected, after which, even before conſecration, they received inveſtiture from him. But as ſimony was too frequently made uſe of, in theſe elections; ſo the princes, by not inveſting the eccleſiaſticks, in the ſame manner with the laicks, and even before their conſecration, ſeemed as if they aſſumed to themſelves the power of conveighing ſpiritual juriſdiction, which the popes repreſented, as a direct uſurpation of the privileges of the church; and, indeed, it muſt be confeſs'd, it had the appearance of it, by reaſon of the two characters in the prelate elect, which were confounded, viz. that of miniſter of the church, and that of temporal lord, which was annexed to his dignity. If the popes and kings had acted ingeniouſly, they would have carefully diſtinguiſhed between them; the want of which was the ſpring and original of all their conteſts about this affair; for both parties, by leaving them in this confuſion, only conſulted their own advantage. The princes, by this means, over-ruled the elections, and the popes took occaſion to diſpute the right, that was poſſeſſed by the ſovereigns; for the former declared, that they would not permit any man to enter into poſſeſſion of lands held of the crown, and the latter maintained, that it was unreaſonable for princes to intermeddle in elections, or to pretend to conveigh a character, which the church alone had power to confer; whereas it was very poſſible, that a man might be a biſhop or abbot, without enjoying the lands held of the crown, in which caſe, the kings were not at all concerned. On the contrary, it could not have been, in any reſpect, prejudicial to the princes, for any one to conveigh a ſpiritual character, without their conſent, ſince it was ſtill in their power to ſecure themſelves; but ſo ſtiff and reſolute was the temper of both parties, that they would not be brought to the true ſtate of the queſtion. From what has been ſaid it appears, that the accommodation, between pope Paſchal II. and Henry I. was made on very reaſonable terms, that were not, in the leaſt, injurious to the church's rights, or the king's prerogative; but, in all probability, this controverſy would not have been ſo happily concluded, if the pope's unſettled affairs had not obliged him to recede; for he could never be prevailed on to grant to the emperor the ſame privilege, he had, juſt before, given up to the king of England.

Anſelm's life and writings.

I have treated more largely on this part of Anſelm's life, becauſe it gives us an inſight into the character of this prelate, who was dignified with the title of ſaint, as all were, that zealouſly adhered to the court of Rome. He was born, in 1033, at Aoſt, a ſmall town in Italy, now belonging to the duke of Savoy; and, at the age of 27 years, he became a monk, in the abbey of Bec, of which Lanfranc was prior. Upon Lanfranc's advancement to be abbot of St. Stephens's at Caen, Anſelm was made prior, and afterwards abbot of Bec, from whence he was promoted to the ſee of Canterbury. He was the author of ſeveral treatiſes, of which father Gerberon publiſhed the largeſt edition, in 1676; and his writings, in the opinion of Mr. Du Pin, abound with metaphyſical queſtions, argued with a great appearance of logick; and he likewiſe obſerves, that his letters are written, in a leſs elaborate ſtile than his other works; and he is alſo the firſt that compoſed long prayers, in the form of meditations. He was eſteemed to be a very learned, as well as an holy prelate; and he has been highly applauded, for his ſteadineſs and reſolution, in his conteſts with William Rufus and Henry I. tho' this zealous attachment to the cauſe of Rome, which they gloried in, for ſo many centuries, would not, at preſent, meet with the ſame approbation. Anſelm departed this life, in 1109, and was canonized, in the reign of Henry VII. at the inſtance of cardinal Morton, then archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Gilbert, biſhop of London, was famous, in the reign of Henry I. principally, on the account of his learning; and he was, therefore, diſtinguiſhed by the name of univerſaliſt; for ſuch appellations were in great repute at this time, as a mark of honour, to thoſe that were remarkable for their skill in the ſciences. He wrote a Commentary on David's Pſalms, and an Expoſition on the Lamentations of Jeremiah, which are extant, in manuſcript, to this day.

* Sigebert of Gemblours, ad Ann. 773, ſays, that pope Adrian I. at a council of 143 biſhops and abbots, granted Charles the Great the privilege of electing the pope, and the right of inveſtitures; but Baronius and Peter de Marca deny the authority of this council, and aſſert that it was invented by Sigebert, in favour of the emperor againſt Paſchal II.

Oſmund

Oſmund, biſhop of Sarum.

Oſmund biſhop of Salisbury, a Norman, was earl of Dorſet and privy-counſellor to William the Conqueror, when he was made a biſhop; and as every dioceſe, in thoſe times, had a different liturgy, he undertook the correction of that which was uſed in his; and he render'd it more pure, than before, by ſtriking out a great number of barbariſms, and digeſting the whole in a more convenient method. This liturgy, Secundum uſum Sarum, was ſoon received in the other dioceſes, and, at length, became common to all the churches in the kingdom; tho' it is affirmed, that, after Oſmund's deceaſe, which happen'd in 1099, ſeveral interpolations were foiſted in, which are, by no means, approved of, at preſent.

Malachy. J. Hagulſt.

Malachy, archbiſhop of Armagh in Ireland, is famous for his prophecy, relating to the popes, that ſhould ſucceed to the papal chair, after his time; and theſe predictions are ſtill extant *, being a ſort of riddles, and endeavours are uſed to interpret their meaning. He died, in 1150, at the monaſtery of Clareval, in France; and St. Bernard has given us an account of his life.

Ingulphus.

Ingulphus was known to William the Conqueror, when, being then only duke of Normandy, he came into England, to have an interview with king Edward; and he attended him into Normandy, as his ſecretary; but, in proceſs of time, he quitted that office, and went a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem. At his return, he turned monk, in the abbey of Fontevraud; from whence he was invited over, and made abbot of Croyland, by William the Conqueror. He departed this life, in 1109, after he had written the Hiſtory of his monaſtery, which is inſerted in the Collection of the antient Engliſh hiſtorians, publiſhed by Dr. Gale †.

Joffrid. P. Bleſenſis.

Joffrid, abbot of the ſame monaſtery, who immediately ſucceeded Ingulphus, was, according to ſome, the firſt that erected ſchools at Cambridge; where he ſettled four of his monks, as profeſſors; but, if this be fact, that famous univerſity is far from being ſo antient, as is generally imagined ‡.

Godfrid.

Godfrid, prior of Wincheſter, was one of the beſt writers of his age, if we may give credit to William of Malmsbury, who aſſures us, that his writings were penn'd with great elegance and politeneſs; and he compoſed, among other things, a panegyrick upon the Engliſh primates; but his reforming the breviary, by purging it from all rude and barbarous terms, was a work of much greater importance, and Alford is of opinion, that he was principally concerned in correcting the liturgy of Sarum, tho' it went under the name of Oſmund (a).

* They were publiſhed by Arnold Wyon.

† Ingulphus was born at London, in 1030, being the ſon of one of Edward the Confeſſor's courtiers; and he was the firſt Engliſh hiſtorian, after the conqueſt. In his Hiſtory of Croyland, he has occaſionally related the ſtory of the kings of England, from 664 to 1091; but biſhop Nicholſon obſerves, that, being prejudiced in favour of the Conqueror, he is manifeſtly byaſs'd in the ill account he gives of Harold, his predeceſſor.

‡ He, about the year 1114, introduced a cuſtom, which was afterwards followed by all the monks, viz he ſtripped himſelf, every Good-Friday, to the waſte, before all the convent, and was ſeverely ſcourged; the deſign of which was to do penance for their ſins, and to make a deeper impreſſion of our Saviour's ſufferings.

(a) The chief writers, during the reigns of the four Norman kings, not mentioned by Rapin, are,

Pictavienſis.

William Pictavienſis or of Poictiers, who, tho' a foreigner and chaplain to the Conqueror, has given ſuch an ingenuous account of the Norman revolution, that it has been well received by moſt of the Engliſh hiſtorians.

Florence of Worceſter.

Florence, a monk of Worceſter, wrote a Chronicle, which ended with his life, in 1119; tho' it was continued, 50 years lower, by another monk of the ſame monaſtery. He abridged or tranſcribed Marianus, adding a great number of judicious collections, from the Saxon Chronicle and other writers; but he is cenſured, for adhering ſo ſcrupulouſly to his authorities, as ſometimes to retain their miſtakes.

Eadmer.

Eadmerus, a monk of Canterbury, in his Hiſtoria Novorum, &c. publiſhed by Mr. Selden, has related the ſtory of the two William's, from 1066 to 1122, which, according to biſhop Nicholſon, is a work of great gravity and indiſputable authority; for, tho' he was intimately acquainted with Anſelm, he has given an impartial account of the famous conteſt, about inveſtitures. Selden obſerves, that his ſtile equals Malmsbury; but his matter and compoſure exceed him.

Vitalis.

Ordericus Vitalis was a monk of St. Eurole's in Normandy, where he lived 56 years. He wrote an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory in xiii books, in which he has taken notice of many particulars, relating to the Hiſtory of England; tho' he is ſaid to be extravagant, in the praiſe of his friends and the diſpraiſe of his enemies, and to inſiſt too copiouſly on trivial matters, whilſt he too ſlightly paſſes over things of importance.

Malmſbury.

William, monk and library-keeper of Malmsbury, in his treatiſe de Rebus Geſtis Anglorum, in five books, with an appendix in two more, entitled Hiſtoriæ Novellæ, has, with care and judgment, collected whatever he found recorded, from the arrival of the Saxons to the eighth year of Stephen's reign, in 1142. He is called elegant, learned, and faithful, by ſome of the moſt able criticks, in the Hiſtory of England; and Uſher ſtiles him the chief of the Engliſh hiſtorians.

The Saxon Chronicle.

The moſt noble monument of antiquity, extant, is the old Saxon Chronicle or Annals; which commences from the birth of our Saviour, and concludes with Stephen's death, in 1154, but, by the diverſity of ſtile and other infallible proofs, it is evident, that theſe Annals were compoſed at ſeveral times. They principally follow Bede, as to eccleſiaſtical affairs, to 731; but their account of the wars, between the Anglo-Saxons and Britons, is the moſt antient, of which we have any knowledge. Aſſerius's Hiſtory of Alfred and the Annals agree, in ſo many particulars, that the one ſeems to be no more than a tranſlation of the other; and, in a word, they have been the foundation of all the Hiſtories of England, to the Norman conqueſt. They were publiſhed at Oxford, in 1692, by Dr. Gibſon, the preſent biſhop of London, who, from all the manuſcripts, has render'd the text as entire and complete, as poſſible, with an elegant and proper verſion, free from affected ſtrains and unlucky miſtakes, which uſually abound in works of this nature.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK VII.

The Reſtoration of the Saxon Line: The Reigns of HENRY II. and RICHARD I. containing the ſpace of 45 years.

5. HENRY II. ſirnamed Plantagenet.

1154. THE Engliſh had been too great ſufferers in the civil wars, that had ſo long embroiled the kingdom, to be deſirous of renewing them; and, therefore, tho' Stephen's death gave them an opportunity of raiſing freſh commotions, they patiently waited for the duke of Normandy, tho' he did not arrive in England, in leſs than ſix weeks after he received the intelligence of the deceaſe of the late king. Prince William, Stephen's ſon, was a prince of very little merit; and beſides, as moſt of the barons had been concerned againſt the king, his father, they were apprehenſive, that, if they eſpouſed his cauſe, they ſhould only put it in his power to be revenged on them. Moreover, Henry was not only powerful abroad, but had a numerous party in England, and all the fortreſſes were poſſeſs'd by his adherents; and, conſequently, tho' William ſhould have made an attempt upon the crown, he would have wanted the neceſſary aſſiſtance, to bring about his deſign.

Henry ſucceeds to the crown, without oppoſition. Gervaſe. Brompt. R. Diceto.

1155. Henry, after his landing, having muſter'd together his attendants, that had been diſperſed by a ſtorm, came to Wincheſter, where ſeveral of the great men waited on him and ſwore allegiance; and he was crowned *, the day after his arrival, purſuant to the agreement made with Stephen, of which all the barons in the kingdom were guarantees. The Engliſh, with the greateſt ſatisfaction, beheld a prince on the throne, that was, by his mother, ſprung from their antient kings, who gave the crown of England a brighter luſtre than ever; for he added to it, as ſo many jewels, Poictou, Guienne, Saintonge, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Normandy. In the mean time, England, the chief of his dominions, had ſuſtained ſuch violent ſhocks, in the late reign, that it was in the utmoſt want of ſome reſt, in order to recover its former ſplendor; and the moſt effectual means, to this purpoſe, was to prevent the factious, from creating new troubles. Henry, making this his principal ſtudy, in the firſt place, demoliſhed all the caſtles, that were fortified, in Stephen's reign, which proved only ſo many ſanctuaries for robbers and diſturbers of the publick peace, except a few, built by peaceable men, that he reſerved in his own hands; and the biſhop of Wincheſter alone had ſix of the moſt conſiderable, which he forfeited, for departing the kingdom, without leave. This proceeding demonſtrated to the lords, that the king was reſolved to ſecure their obedience; and it was followed by another that was equally conducive to the good of his ſubjects, viz. the disbanding the foreign troops, that were entertained by Stephen.

1155. Brompt. Gerv. Hoved. R. Diceto. M. Paris.

1155. His coronation.

He diſbands the foreign troops. Gerv. Brompt. M. Par. Hoved.

* At Weſtminſter, by Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, on the 19th of December, in the 23d year of his age; tho' ſome affirm, that he landed December the 7th, and was crowned the 19th. R. Diceto, M. Paris, and M. Weſtminſter. But Gervaſe tells us, that he landed the 8th, and was crowned the 17th, Eleanor, his queen, being crowned with him; and Diceto ſays, that the archbiſhop of York was not preſent at the coronation.

1155. These ſoldiers, whom the Engliſh hiſtorians ſtile Brabanſons, and the French, Routiers or Cotteraux, were a mixture of people from ſeveral parts of Europe, but eſpecially Germany and the Low-Countries; and, as they did not profeſs ſubjection to any prince, in particular, they made no ſcruple of ſerving any that would employ them, provided it was likely to turn to their advantage. Not to be punctually paid, they conſider'd as an inſtance of good fortune; ſince furniſhed them with a pretence for plundering the friends, as well as enemies, of thoſe that entertained them; ſo that, generally, theſe auxiliary troops were a burthen to the very princes, whom they aſſiſted, as the Engliſh had often found, from their own experience. Henry, being deſirous of eaſing his people of this dead weight, did not ſuffer ſo much as one of theſe foreigners to remain in the kingdom; and William of Ypres, their general, perceiving from the cold reception he met with at court, that his abſence would be very acceptable, embarqued, at once, without waiting for orders to depart *.

He revokes all Stephen's grants. Brompt.

M. Paris.

The new king, as yet, ſeemed entirely to conſult the welfare and tranquillity of his ſubjects; but, when he, ſoon after, revoked all the grants made by his predeceſſor, and ſeized on all the lands, that had been alienated from the crown, it evidently appeared that he acted upon other motives. The poſſeſſors were exceedingly mortified, and loudly complained, that it was extremely unreaſonable to deprive them of the rewrad of their ſervices; and thoſe, in particular, that had eſpouſed the cauſe of the king and the empreſs, his mother, were highly exaſperated, to find themſelves, thus, confounded with Stephen's adherents. The laſt, on the other hand, affirmed, that, in ſerving the late king, who was actually poſſeſs'd of the crown, they had only performed the office of faithful ſubjects; and that, in depriving them of their eſtates, a precedent was eſtabliſhed, that might hereafter be of dangerous conſequence to the prince on the throne. Several of the lords even refuſed to comply; but, upon Henry's approach with an army, they were in no condition to make any reſiſtance; and Hugh Mortimer, by preſuming to defend one of his caſtles againſt the king, occaſioned the loſs of all his others. William of Blois, Stephen's ſon, meeting with no better treatment than the reſt, was diſpoſſeſs'd of the caſtle of Norwich, and all that was given him by the king, his father; and Henry left him nothing, except the lands that belonged to his family, before Stephen's acceſſion to the crown. This proceeding directly contradicted the agreement Henry had made with the late king; but alas! of what vertue are treaties, againſt breach of faith ſeconded with power? Thus, the nobles, enriched by the bounty of king Stephen, or the empreſs Matilda, were, on a ſudden, reduced by Henry's policy, who had often remarked, that their riches render'd them arrogant and imperious; and he alſo acted from a principle of revenge, in depriving the barons, whom Stephen had created, of their honourable titles, under the pretence that they were conferred on them, on the account of their adherence to an uſurper.

1155.

M. Paris.

William, Stephen's ſon, is diſpoſſeſs'd like the reſt. G. Neub. M. Weſt.

Henry, after theſe and the like precautions, choſe a council, conſiſting of the chief perſons of the nobility and clergy; the principal members of which were Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, Thomas Becket, archdeacon of the ſame ſee, lately made chancellor, and Robert earl of Leiceſter, chief juſticiary of the realm; and, at the head of the cabinet-council, was Matilda, his mother, whom long experience had render'd wiſe, at her own expence. Theſe two councils being ſettled, Henry called an aſſembly-general or parliament, at Wallingford, where he obliged the barons to ſwear fealty to William and Henry †, his ſons, the former of which died, a few days after; and, before the aſſembly broke up, he conſented, that the laws of Edward ſhould be in force, and, of his own accord, ratified the charter of his grandfather, Henry I. Theſe firſt ſteps of the new king invigorated the hopes of the honeſt and peaceable, whilſt they terrified the wicked and injurious, who were under a neceſſity either of abandoning the kingdom, or amending their manners; for they evidently perceived, that he was reſolutely determined to root out the licentiouſneſs, introduced in Stephen's reign.

He chuſes a council.

The barons ſwear allegiance to his ſons. Gervaſe. Hoved.

Pope Anaſtaſius dying, this year, Adrian IV. an Engliſhman, was his ſucceſſor ‡.

Adrian IV. is pope. Hoved.

No ſooner was Henry firmly ſeated on the throne of England, than he went over, to do homage to the king of France, for his provinces in that kingdom; which render'd him the moſt powerful vaſſal of the crown of France, and almoſt equalled him to the ſovereign himſelf, whoſe demeſnes were inconſiderable now, in compariſon of what they were, in proceſs of time; but, as the dominions of Henry and his ſucceſſors, in France, occaſioned innumerable wars between the French and Engliſh, it will be convenient briefly to ſhew, wherein the ſtrength of the kings of France then conſiſted; for this will not only give us a juſt idea of their power, but alſo inform us of the vaſt difference, in that reſpect, between the firſt ſucceſſors of Hugh Capet, and thoſe who, in latter times, have ſwayed the ſceptre of that kingdom.

1156. Henry goes over to Normandy. Hoved. Dicto.

* William Peverel was diſinherited, this year, for poiſoning Ranulph, earl of Cheſter; and he turned monk, to avoid the puniſhment he juſtly deſerved. R. Diceto, Gervaſe.

† M. Paris ſays, this prince was born the 28th of February, in this year, at London; tho' Gervaſe tells us, it was in March.

‡ Named Nicholas Break ſpear, reported to be the ſon of a bondman, belonging to the abbey of St. Alban's; and, being refuſed to be admitted as a monk there, he travelled abroad, and made ſuch improvements in learning, that the pope promoted him to be biſhop of Alva, and his legate to Germany, and, at length, a cardinal. M. Weſtm. affirms, that he was ſprung from a noble family, in the territory of St. Alban's; and he was a brisk and enterprizing pope; for tho' he only ſate in the papal chair, four years, Brompton aſſures us, that he put the city of Rome under an interdict, for inſulting one of his cardinals, and excommunicated William, king of Sicily.

When

1156.

Remarks on the ſtrength of the king of France.

When Hugh Capet uſurped the crown, from the houſe of Charles the Great, to attach the nobility to his intereſt, he granted to them and their heirs the provinces, of which they were only governors, by the name of fiefs; and he confirmed theſe grants by authentick charters, ſtipulating, that the fiefs ſhould devolve to the crown, in default of heirs, and reſerving alſo the right of confiſcating them, for rebellion and other crimes, ſpecified in the ſaid charters. By the means of this immenſe bounty, France became, at once, ſtock'd with vaſt numbers of powerful lords, or rather ſovereigns, who held their lands, by an hereditary right; ſo that nothing was left to the crown, except the governments Hugh Capet was poſſeſs'd of, before his acceſſion to the throne; tho' even theſe demeſnes, with the addition of ſome other vacant governments, were very conſiderable, the power of his family being exceedingly increas'd, upon the decline of the houſe of Charles the Great. I am not inſenſible, that ſome authors deny, that Hugh Capet was the firſt that changed the governments into fiefs, making this alteration to be more remote; whilſt others aſſert, that it was made by ſome of the firſt kings of that line; but, beſides, that the opinion I have followed is the moſt probable, the difference of a few years, more or leſs, is of no conſequence, with reſpect to a general view of the ſtate of France, which is all that I propoſe, at preſent.

Some of theſe fiefs, on the account of their great extent, were called peerdoms; and of this ſort there were ſix eccleſiaſtical, and ſix lay; but it is unneceſſary to mention the former of theſe, as they have very little relation to the Hiſtory of England *. Of the ſix lay peerdoms, three were dukedoms, viz. Burgundy, Normandy, and Guienne; and three, earldoms, namely, Flanders, Tholouſe, and Champagne; and each of theſe peers had vaſſals, which held their lands of him, as he himſelf held his peerdom of the crown. For example, the duke of Normandy had, for his vaſſal, the duke of Bretagne, by the conceſſion of Charles the Simple, who annexed this right to the grant made to Rollo; and from hence it appears, how naked the crown of France was, now, in compariſon of the ſtate of its revenues, in future times. To the reign of Lewis VII. ſirnamed the Young, who was king of France, when Henry aſcended the throne of England, the kings of France had not united any of the great fiefs to the crown; and, therefore, it plainly follows, that Henry, who held the two principal peerdoms, beſides many other provinces, was in poſſeſſion of as much or more lands in that kingdom, than the king of France himſelf; but this prince was, notwithſtanding, very potent, by reaſon of the aids he received from his vaſſals. When the kingdom was engaged in a war, with the advice and conſent of the ſtates, each vaſſal was obliged to furniſh him with a certain number of troops; and then it was, that the king appeared at the head of a formidable army; but, when he declared war, of his own accord, or for his private advantage, the vaſſals might allow him, or refuſe, their quota of troops, at their pleaſure. Nay, they imagined they might lawfully take up arms againſt him, in the caſe of oppreſſion, or even for the bare denial of juſtice; and, this being the nature of the French conſtitution, it is no wonder, that their kings have ſometimes marched with a handful of forces, whilſt, at other times they have have been at the head of numerous armies. However, when ſome of theſe large demeſnes, granted in fee, came afterwards to be united to the crown, the ſovereigns, by degrees, aboliſh'd the diſtinction between a neceſſary and unneceſſary war; and, without any regard to the conſent of the ſtates, continually confounding the private views of the king with the intereſt of the publick, they obliged their vaſſals to ſupply them with aids, on every occaſion. They even employed ſome of their vaſſals, as their inſtruments, in oppreſſing the reſt; and this, with the opportunities they had, of courſe, to unite ſeveral provinces to the crown, in default of heirs, ſo greatly increaſed their ſtrength, that, at laſt, they were able to keep the great men in awe; but it was a long time, before they arrived at this height of power.

1156.

Mezerai.

Henry wages war with his brother Geoffrey.

Henry's chief deſign, in going over to Normandy, was to recover Anjou, which his brother, Geoffrey, had ſeized, upon the following pretenſions. Geoffrey Plantagenet earl of Anjou, their father, by his laſt will and teſtament, left to Henry, his eldeſt ſon, the poſſeſſions of Matilda, their mother, including Normandy and her title to England; to Geoffrey, his ſecond, he bequeathed Anjou, Touraine, and Maine; and to William, his third ſon, he only gave the earldom of Mortagne. But, as it was unreaſonable, that the empreſs, his wife, ſhould be deprived of her poſſeſſions, during her life, or Henry continue, without any inheritance, till her death, he ſubjoined another clauſe in his will, viz. that Henry ſhould enjoy, whilſt the empreſs lived, the three earldoms aſſigned to Geoffrey, reſerving, however, to the latter the cities of Lodun, Chinon, and Mirebel, until the former ſhould reſign to him the paternal eſtate, upon his being poſſeſſed of Normandy; and he obliged the barons ſolemnly to ſwear, that they would not ſuffer his body to be buried, until Henry had taken an oath to put his laſt will in execution, tho' he was not eaſily prevail'd on to comply with their demands; but, at length, rather than his father's corpſe ſhould lie, unburied, he was brought to a compliance. His mother, Matilda, having, in proceſs of time, ſurrender'd Normandy to Henry, Geoffrey imagined, that he had a right to take poſſeſſion of Anjou; but we have already ſeen, that Henry expelled him. No ſooner was his brother ſeated on the Engliſh throne, than Geoffrey renewed his pretenſions; and the Anjevins eſpouſed his cauſe, chuſing rather to have a private earl, than to be de-

* The eccleſiaſtical peerdoms were the archbiſhopricks of Rheims, Laon, and Longres, and the biſhopricks of Beauvois, Nayon, and Chalons.

pendent

1156. pendent on the crown of England; beſides, he received the aſſiſtance of the king of France, who conſider'd Henry as a formidable neighbour. When the earl of Anjou made his will, Stephen was in flouriſhing circumſtances; and, therefore, he looked upon the crown to be, indeed, a thing to which he might juſtly aſpire, tho' the proſpect of it was very remote and diſtant. That he might not be wholly unprovided for, during his mother's life, was the ſole motive of leaving him the three earldoms; and, therefore, if we fix our thoughts only on the intent of this will, it is manifeſt, that, upon his being in poſſeſſion of Normandy and England, he ought to have reſigned Anjou to Geoffrey, eſpecially, as he had taken an oath to that purpoſe. The king pretended, that the will was null and void, ſince his father could not deprive the firſt-born of the patrimony received from his anceſtors; and, as to his oath, he, on eaſy terms, obtained a diſpenſation from the pope, which, at once, removed all his ſcruples, on that account. Upon this, he immediately reſolved on a war with his brother; and, having done homage to the king of France, he marched towards Poictou, and took from Geoffrey the cities of Mirebel, Chinon, and Lodun; and then, proceeding to Anjou, in ſpite of his brother's reſiſtance, he ſubdued all the fortified places, and forced him out of the country *.

Bromp.

Henry deprives Geoffrey of Anjou. R. Diceto. M. Paris. M. Weſt.

The affairs of Bretagne.

This unhappy prince would have been left in a forlorn and wretched condition, had not the inhabitants of the earldom of Nantz voluntarily ſubmitted to his government; but, as this unexpected event was attended with very remarkable conſequences, I ſhall endeavour briefly to ſet it in a clear light. Conan the Groſs, duke of Bretagne, had a ſon, called Hoel, and a daughter, named Bertha, married to Eudo, earl of Pontievre, her relation, by whom ſhe had a ſon, ſtiled Conan, from his mother's father; but, ſome ſuſpicions inducing Conan the Groſs to diſinherit his ſon, Eudo, Bertha's husband, obtained Bretagne, after the death of his father-in-law, notwithſtanding Hoel's efforts, who had only the city of Nantz from him. Bertha dying four years after, Conan, her ſon, ſirnamed the Little, pretending that it was his mother's inheritance, aſſumed the title of duke of Bretagne; upon which, there aroſe, between the father and ſon, a war, which laſted many years, till, at laſt, Eudo, being entirely defeated, was obliged to fly, for refuge, to the court of France.

Conan the Little was no ſooner poſſeſs'd of Bretagne, than he undertook to reduce to his ſubjection the city of Nantz; which, ever ſince the death of Conan the Groſs, was a ſeparate ſtate, under Hoel's dominion. When the citizens of Nantz made their ſubmiſſion to Hoel, they acted upon a principle of juſtice, believing that his father had greatly injured him, in depriving him of his right; but, finding afterwards, that they were miſtaken, in their opinion of this prince, they expelled him, thinking him to be incapable of defending them againſt Conan, who was making preparations againſt them; and, from this time, there is not the leaſt notice taken of Hoel, in hiſtory. In the interim, the inhabitants of Nantz, not being able to come to a reſolution of ſubmitting to Conan, own Geoffrey, brother to the king of England, for their ſovereign; and, thus, he was made earl of Nantz, juſt after his expulſion out of Anjou, tho' he did not continue long in the poſſeſſion of this earldom. 1156.

Geoffrey is made earl of Nantz. Brompt.

Henry, having reduced Anjou, returned to England; and, upon his arrival, Malcolm, purſuant to a treaty, ſurrender'd to him Carliſle, Newcaſtle, and Bamborough-caſtle, contenting himſelf with the earldom of Huntingdon, which prince Henry, his father, had enjoyed. This reſtitution was, doubtleſs, very reaſonable; ſince David, Malcolm's grandfather, had obtained them by treaties, at a time when Stephen conſulted his own intereſt, more than that of the publick; but, in all probability, Henry's great power was the principal cauſe of the king of Scotland's moderation †.

Henry recovers Northumberland. M. Paris.

It is extremely ſurprizing, that the Welch, tho' Henry was become ſo formidable, ſhould, without any provocation, preſume to make incurſions into his frontiers; but the king, being highly incenſed, on the account of their ravages, reſolved to be ſeverely revenged on them; and, marching into Wales with a numerous army, he deſtroyed all before him, with fire and ſword. Upon the king's approach, the Welch retreated to their mountains, which were altogether inacceſſible; and his vanguard, running, one day, into a narrow defile, were entirely routed. This accident intimidated the reſt of the Engliſh troops; and their terror was increaſed by the raſh conduct of Henry de Eſſex, hereditary ſtandard-bearer of England. Upon a rumour, that was ſpread through the army, that the king was ſlain, he threw down the ſtandard and fled, crying out, the king is dead; but this imprudent action, for which he was afterwards confined in the monaſtery of Reading, and had his eſtate confiſcated, ſo diſpirited the Engliſh, that, had not the king ſhewn himſelf, to revive their drooping ſpirits, he would have hazarded the loſs of his whole army. However, the Welch being given to underſtand, that Henry had order'd a fleet to be in readineſs, to invade them by ſea, joyfully received the news, that Henry, weary of ſuch a vexatious war, was willing to enter into a treaty with them; by which, he reſerved to himſelf the liberty of cutting large roads through their woods, which might open for him a paſſage to their country, on any occaſion; and he likewiſe obliged them to ſurrender certain caſtles ‡, that they had taken, during the troubles of the late reign. 1157.

The war with the Welch. M. Paris. Brompt.

M. Paris.

* M. Paris and Tyrrel ſay, that Thomas Becket was made chancellor, in 1155; and Gervaſe relates, that he was very ſerviceable to Henry in this war.

† Diceto tells us, that Maud, the king's daughter, was born in this year.

‡ The following year, he repaired Rudhlan and Baſingwerk-caſtles, and founded Baſingwerk-monaſtery. Brompt.

1158. In the beginning of the ſucceeding year, prince Richard, Henry's ſecond ſon, was born at Oxford, in the month of September; and, a few days after, he renewed the ceremony of his coronation, at Wickford, in the ſuburbs of Lincoln, not daring to do it, within the walls of the city; and, in this, he was more ſuperſtitious, or, perhaps, more condeſcending to the prejudices of the people than Stephen, his predeceſſor.

1158. Prince Richard's birth. Brompt. Hoved.

1159. The next year, a third ſon was born to the king, named Geoffrey; and he was crowned, a third time, at Worceſter, together with the queen; but theſe ſuperfluous coronations, very frequent in thoſe days, ſeemed to be only deſigned to amuſe the people, that the king really intended to obſerve the oath taken on theſe occaſions. At this laſt ſolemnity, the king and queen, coming to the oblation, laid their crowns on the altar, and made a vow never to wear them more; and, from this time, the cuſtom of the kings wearing their crowns, during the great feſtivals, was, by degrees, diſuſed; at leaſt, there are but few inſtances of it, in the following reigns. About the ſame time, Henry order'd a new coinage, the current money of the kingdom being exceedingly adulterated, in Stephen's reign.

1159. The birth of prince Geoffrey.

The king and queen never wear their crowns any more.

New money.

The death of Geoffrey, the king's brother.

Theſe peaceable employments being altogether unſuitable to Henry's martial diſpoſition, his brother Geoffrey's death, which fell out ſoon after, furniſhed him with an opportunity for action; for no ſooner was this prince laid in his grave, than the duke of Bretagne ſeized the city of Nantz, with the whole earldom, for which Henry deprived him of the earldom of Richmond in England; but Henry laid claim to it, as his brother's heir, and paſſed over into Normandy, with a powerful army, to make good his pretenſions. Whilſt he waited for ſeaſonable weather, to enter upon his expedition, he made a viſit to the king of France, in order to gain his intereſt, or, at leaſt, to prevail on him to ſtand neuter; for he very well knew, that, if Lewis continued quiet, the duke of Bretagne could not give him much diſturbance; and ſo dextrous was he in his addreſs, that, before they parted, a marriage was concluded between Henry's eldeſt ſon, who was but five years of age, and Margaret, the French king's daughter, an infant no more than five or ſix months old. Having, thus, ſecured France, he marched, at the head of his army, to Nantz, reſolving to take it by force, if Conan refuſed peaceably to reſign it; and Conan was conſtrained to give way to his ſuperior power; but the conqueſt of Nantz was not the only advantage Henry procured by this expedition. Before he left Bretagne, he made a treaty with Conan, purſuant to which, he obliged himſelf to give his daughter, Conſtance, in marriage to Geoffrey, Henry's ſon, who was yet in his cradle; and, by vertue of this marriage, celebrated five years after, Geoffrey, upon the death of his father-in-law, notwithſtanding his youth, became duke of Bretagne.

The affairs of Bretagne. Brompt.

Margaret of France is married to Henry's eldeſt ſon.

Argentre, l. 2. c. 15.

Henry's large dominions, with the late acquiſition of the earldom of Nantz, and the proſpect of being hereafter maſter of all Bretagne, could not ſatisfy his ambition; and, therefore, he was reſolved to revive his queen's title to the earldom of Tholouſe, which was of a vaſt extent. His alliance with Lewis the Young led him to hope, that he would permit him to extend his frontiers, on the ſide of Languedoc, as well as Bretagne; but he was diſappointed in his expectations. I ſhall firſt clear queen Eleanor's title to Tholouſe; and then proceed to enquire into the ſucceſs of that expedition.

1159. Henry's deſign upon Tholouſe. M. Weſt.

William IV, earl of Tholouſe, contemporary with the Conqueror, had an only daughter, named Philippa, who was married to William VIII, earl of Poictiers, Eleanor's grandfather; and, by this marriage, the earldom of Tholouſe was to fall, one day, to the houſe of Poictiers, which was alſo poſſeſs'd of Guienne; but William, Philippa's father, imagined, that he could ſecure it to his own family, by ſelling it to Raymond of St. Giles, his younger brother. This ſale, whether real or pretended, would have been inſufficient to deprive the counteſs of Poictiers, of her father's inheritance, if certain accidents had not concurred in favour of Raymond, who continued in poſſeſſion of the earldom of Tholouſe, after his brother's deceaſe; for the deſign of the earl of Poictiers, Philippa's husband, mortgaging his demeſns to William Rufus, in order to defray his charges to the Holy-Land, being fruſtrated by William's death, he made application elſewhere, and, at length, raiſed the money, by mortgaging his revenues for ſeveral years. The expences of his undertaking, and the loſs of all his equipage, obliged him to return home, where he had no reaſon to expect any ſupplies; but Raymond of St. Giles, falling in with this juncture, offered him a conſiderable ſum, to renounce his right to the earldom of Tholouſe. The earl of Poictiers, in his extremity, readily embraced this propoſal; in conſequence of which, Raymond kept poſſeſſion of the earldom, which his poſterity enjoyed after him, without any moleſtation from the earl of Poictiers, or his ſon, William IX. William dying, Lewis the Young, who married Eleanor, his only daughter and heireſs, revived the pretenſions of the houſe of Poictiers to the earldom of Tholouſe, maintaining that earl William's ſale to Raymond was a mere fiction; that Raymond, impoſing upon the earl's eaſy temper, had purchaſed his right, at too cheap a rate; and that he had not even paid the whole of the covenanted ſum. From theſe conſiderations he inferr'd, that the bargain was null and void; and that, of courſe, Eleanor ought to poſſeſs the earldom, in the right of Philippa, her grandmother, upon repaying to the earl of Tholouſe the money that the earl of Poictiers had received. Raymond V, then earl of Tholouſe, to no purpoſe, pleaded preſcription; which, tho' it is ſometimes of weight, in private affairs, was ineffectual againſt a prince, that was able to break through it by force of arms. However, at laſt, the affair was compromiſed, by a marriage between earl Raymond and Conſtance, Lewis's ſiſter, and widow

The queen's title to it. Cat. Hiſt. des Comt. de Toul. Pol. Virg. Chr. Nor. Brompt.

1159. widow to Euſtace, king Stephen's ſon; for, upon this, Lewis dropped his pretenſions, and, whilſt he lived with Eleanor, the earl of Tholouſe remained, without the leaſt interruption.

Eleanor's ſecond marriage again embarraſſed Raymond's affairs; for Henry, being poſſeſs'd of the ſame rights the king of France had relinquiſhed, laid claim to the earldom of Catel. Pol. Virg. Tholouſe; but Raymond pleaded, as before, the ſale made to his grandfather, the reſignation of the houſe of Poictiers, and, beſides, a long poſſeſſion, which exceeded the term of a legal preſcription; and, therefore, he reſolved to defend his title to the earldom. As this caſe, then, was to be decided by arms, Henry enter'd into an alliance with Raymond, earl of Arragon and Barcelona, and engaged the king of Scotland to lend him a powerful aſſiſtance *; and no ſooner was his army in readineſs, than he marched towards Languedoc, taking Cahors in his way, and laid ſiege to Tholouſe.

1160. Henry beſieges Tholouſe. M. Weſt. Lewis the Younger, being jealous of Henry's greatneſs, arrived at Tholouſe, a few days before; and the large extent of that city, with the French king's ſuccours, rendered the ſiege ſo difficult, that Henry, deſpairing of ſucceſs, raiſed it, and returned into his own dominions; tho' Mezerai affirms, that he might have eaſily taken the city, if he had not made Fitz-Steph. a conſcience of beſieging his ſovereign; but he did not ſeem, on other occaſions, to have ſuch a veneration for the king of France. However that be, he marched back to Normandy, leaving the cuſtody of Cahors to Thomas Becket, his chancellor; and, in his return, he went, into le Beauvoiſis, where he commited great ravages, in revenge of Lewis's diſconcerting his meaſures. At the ſame time, Simon, earl of Montfort, ſurrendered to him his caſtles, in the neighbourhood of Paris, which cut of all communication with Orleans; ſo that the king of France was obliged to propoſe a ceſſation of arms, which was agreed upon for a year. During the truce, the two monarchs concluded a peace, which ratified the treaty of Paris, without the leaſt mention of Tholouſe; inſomuch that Henry preſerved, whilſt he was alive, his pretenſions to that peerdom, and left them, at his death, to his ſucceſſor, who was pleaſed to reſign them.

Henry and Lewis enter into a treaty.

Hoved. Dicto. William earl of Blois, Stephen's ſon, died, on his way home from the Tholouſe expedition, where he had attended the king.

The death of Adrian IV. A ſchiſm. M. Paris. Hoved. Brompton. Gervaſe. Upon the death of pope Adrian, in 1159, the election of a new pope occaſioned a ſchiſm, which, for a long time, divided Chriſtendom. The majority of the cardinals choſe Roland, a native of Siena, who aſſumed the name of Alexander III. but the reſt elected Octavian, who ſtiled himſelf Victor V. Almoſt all the chriſtian princes owned the authority of Alexander; but the Germans eſpouſed the cauſe of Victor, who perceiving himſelf to be ſupported by the emperor Barbaroſſa, expelled his competitor out of Rome, forcing him to fly into France. 1160.

The laſt peace, between the kings of France and England, was no more than a confirmation of the treaty of Paris, in which a marriage was agreed upon, between Henry's eldeſt ſon and Margaret, Lewis's daughter, who was to have, for her dowry, the city of Giſors and part of the Vexin, which were to remain in the cuſtody of the knights templars †, till the marriage was ſolemnized. Purſuant to this treaty, chancellor Becket was ſent to Paris, with a magnificent retinue, to demand the young princeſs, who was to be educated in England, till ſhe became marriageable; but Henry, ſoon after her arrival at London ‡, ordered the nuptials to be celebrated, tho' the bridegroom was but ſeven, and the bride no more than three years old. Upon this, the knights templars, believing that he had ſufficiently made good his engagement, put him in poſſeſſion of Giſors; but this precipitant proceeding renewed the war between the two kings. Lewis complained, that Henry had bribed the grand maſter of the temple; but Henry alledged, that, by taking poſſeſſion of Giſors, he had not, in the leaſt, injured the king of France, as he had punctually performed his part of the treaty. However, this war was ſoon ended, by the mediation of Alexander III, lately arrived in France, who ſent two of his legates before him, to pave the way for an accommodation; upon which, the two kings went together, to receive the pope at Toroy upon the Loire; and no ſooner had they approached him, than they both alighted, and, each of them holding a rein of his bridle, conducted him to the lodgings prepared for his reception.

1162. Chr. Nor. Hoved. Brompt. The marriage of the young prince. The war between Henry and Lewis is renewed. Hoved. A treaty of peace. The reſpect both the kings pay to the pope.

All theſe occurrences, the conqueſt of Nantz, the ſiege of Tholouſe, the marriage of prince Henry, and the war with France, happened, between the years 1159 and 1163; and I have ſuſpended my judgment, as to the preciſe dates of each, on account of the diverſity among hiſtorians, on that point; and, perhaps, this was the reaſon, why a famous modern author has comprized all theſe particulars, within the compaſs of eight or nine lines.

The uncertainty of the dates of the preceding events. Echard.

Henry having ſettled the affairs, which detained him in France four years, returned into England, in 1163, pleaſing himſelf with the thoughts of uninterrupted tranquillity, as his preſent circumſtances, both abroad and at home, were in a flouriſhing condition; when, on a ſudden, the pride and perverſeneſs of one of

1163. Henry's affairs are in a flouriſhing condition.

* He was accompanied alſo by one of the kings of Wales, and all the earls and barons of England, Normandy, Aquitain, Anjou, Gaſcoigne, &c. and, to ſupport this war, he raiſed a ſcutage, which amounted to 180,000 l. Hamo, the earl of Glouceſters's ſon, died at this ſiege. Gervaſe.

† The order of the knights templars, ſo named, becauſe they lived in a part of the temple at Jeruſalem, aſſigned them by king Baldwin, was inſtituted by pope Gelaſius I. in 1119; and their office was to conduct, in their armour, chriſtian ſtrangers and pilgrims through the Holy-Land. They were no more than nine, at firſt; tho', at length, they became ſo numerous, that they had great eſtates in all parts of Chriſtendom; but, growing, at laſt, too powerful, they were ſuppreſs'd by Clement V. 1309. and by the council of Vienna, 1312. The maſter of the temple, in England, was ſummon'd to parliament; and from him the miniſter of the Temple-church derives his name.

‡ According to Brompton, it was not for ſome years after, "aliquot annis elapſis."

his

1163. his ſubjects, viz. Thomas Becket, raiſed a ſtorm which created him a thouſand vexations, and was not allayed, at laſt, without the loſs of his honour. He was the ſon of Gilbert Becket, a citizen of London, by Matildis *, a Syrian woman, and ſpent his youth in the ſtudy of the law; and he became ſo famous at the bar, that he was removed from thence, and made archdeacon of Canterbury †. In the beginning of this reign, he was concerned in the management of certain affairs at court, which introduced him to the king's acquaintance; and ſuch an high opinion did Henry entertain of his merit, that, in a little time, he gave him a ſenſible mark of his eſteem, by conferring on him the dignity of high-hancellor, upon the recommendation of Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury. In the diſcharge of this exalted office, Becket behaved towards all the world, in ſuch an arrogant and imperious manner, that he was extremely troubleſome to his equals, but altogether inſupportable to his inferiors. Above all things, he was fond of pomp and pageantry, having ſilver bits in his horſes bridles; and he exceeded any peer of the realm in his expences. It is ſaid, that, in the war of Tholouſe, where he attended the king, he maintained, at his own charge, 700 knights and 1200 foot; but tho' his carriage was haughty to all others, he, on all occaſions, ſeemed to be ſo obſequious and entirely devoted to the king's will, that he was perſuaded, that he would be always ready to ſacrifice every thing to his ſervice. In the interim he received the news, in Normandy, of the death of Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and, taking this to be a proper juncture, for the execution of certain premeditated ſchemes, he determined to promote Becket to that dignity, as a perſon that might be very ſerviceable in bringing about his deſigns. How little reſpect ſoever the monks of St. Auguſtin's had for Becket, whom they conſidered as too much a courtier; yet the king's recommendation of him, was ſo preſſing, that he was elected, and conſecrated, a little before that prince's return, after the ſee had been vacant one year, a month, and 14 days. As ſoon as he found himſelf fixed in that eminent ſtation, he ſent the great ſeal to his benefactor, when he leaſt expected it; and, ſuddenly changing his manner of living, he wore a monk's habit with ſackcloth, next to his skin, retaining only a few domeſtick ſervants in very plain clothing. By theſe and ſeveral other inſtances of the like nature, it evidently appeared, that he was either reſolved on a thorough reformation of his life, or had ſome great deſign in view; tho' his intentions were concealed, till, at length, it was diſcovered, that, on all occaſions, he aſpired after an independent power.

Becket gives him diſturbance. An account of him.

He is made high-chancellor.

Fitz-Steph.

Hoved. M. Paris. M. Weſt.

He is made archbiſhop. Gerv.

He ſends the great Seal to the king, and changes his manner of living.

I have already obſerved, in ſeveral places, how much the power of the clergy was increaſed, to the prejudice of the regal authority; and Henry, who had perceived the fatal effects of it, in Stephen's reign, enter'd into a reſolution, at his acceſſion to the throne, to reduce it within proper bounds; and, therefore, he began with the nobility, that their union with the clergy might not obſtruct his meaſures. The affairs, which employed him, ſome years, in France, obliged him to defer the execution of his project; but, this obſtacle being removed, he determined to ſet about it, immediately after his return into England; and this was the very reaſon of his ſo warmly recommending Becket to be archbiſhop of Canterbury. The matter in agitation was the regulation of ſeveral abuſes extremely prejudicial to the ſtate, but, at the ſame time, very advantageous to the clergy; and, conſequently, could not ſo well be reformed, unleſs the biſhops themſelves contributed their aſſiſtance; for the utmoſt addreſs and the concurrence of the archbiſhop of Canterbury were neceſſary, in ſuch a nice and tender point. Henry, with this view, placed Becket in that ſee, as a perſon inviolably attached to his intereſt, and whom he had loaded with favours; but his returning the great ſeal convinced the king, that he was deceived in his conjectures; and, perhaps, his reſentment of this proceeding was the cauſe of the cold reception he gave that prelate, at his arrival into England. In all probability, Becket, whilſt chancellor, was privy to the king's intentions, and even diſpos'd to approve them; but, upon his promotion to the primacy, he alter'd his ſentiments, and, in ſpite of his obligations to Henry, was reſolved to oppoſe him, in the purſuit of his projects; for he flatter'd himſelf with the hopes of immortal glory, in a reſolute defence of the cauſe of the clergy, which they affected to ſtile the cauſe of God.

Becket is reſolved to thwart the king's meaſures.

One of the greateſt grievances, to be redreſs'd, was the remiſſneſs in puniſhing prieſts convicted of any crime; for, when a clergyman was accuſed, he was tried in the eccleſiaſtical court, from whence there was no appeal; but theſe trials were carried on with ſuch indulgence, that the moſt enormous offences were puniſhed only with degradation, and others with a ſhort ſuſpenſion or eaſy confinement. The laity loudly complained, that they ſhould be liable to the utmoſt ſeverity of the laws, for crimes that only expoſed the clergy to ſome ſlight corrections; and, on the other hand, the churchmen, being ſure of impunity, daily committed outrages upon the laity, which they durſt not repel, leſt they ſhould incur a ſevere puniſhment. This abuſe was already increaſed to ſuch a degree, that it was made appear, in the king's preſence, that above 100 murders were committed by eccleſiaſticks, ſince his acceſſion to the throne; and yet not ſo much as one of the murderers was even degraded, the penalty enjoined, in the like caſes, by the canons. It was matter of ſtill greater aſtoniſhment, that the biſhops themſelves gloried in this their indulgence; for they imagined,

An abuſe the king determined to redreſs. Brompt. Hoved.

* It is ſaid, that ſhe was the daughter of a Saracen, who had taken his father Gilbert, ſheriff of London, priſoner, when he went a pilgrimage to the Holy-Land, Brompt.

† M. Weſt. affirms, that his firſt preferment was the living of Bradfield, to which he was preſented by the abbey of St. Alban's.

that

1163. that they could not give any more evident proofs of their zeal for religion and the ſervice of God, than by vigorouſly maintaining theſe pretended immunities of the clergy, and, conſequently, all the diſorders ariſing from them.

The firſt riſe of the quarrel between the king and Becket.

This being the ſtate of things, at the king's return, it fell out ſoon after, that a clergyman of the dioceſe of Sarum * committed a murder; and, the affair being brought into the archbiſhop's court, it was decreed, that the murderer ſhould be deprived of his benefice, and confined to a monaſtery †. The king, upon this, very warmly expoſtulated with the archbiſhop, for pronouncing ſo mild a ſentence, on a crime that was death by the laws of the land; but Becket, taking this expoſtulation to be entirely groundleſs, boldly aſſerted the immunities of the church and the privileges of the clergy, and even affirmed, that an eccleſiaſtick ought not to be capitally puniſhed, for any crime whatſoever. Henry anſwered, that, as he was appointed by God, to adminiſter juſtice to all his ſubjects, without any exception, he could not apprehend, that theſe pretended immunities ſhould ſcreen any malefactors from the puniſhments they deſerved; that it was not to be ſuppoſed, that the Almighty ſhould authorize offences in his miniſters, who ought rather to be puniſhed with more rigour than the laity; and, then, he declared, that, to prevent theſe abuſes, his intent was, that heinous offences, viz. murder, robbery, and the like, ſhould be tried in his own courts. Becket replied, that he would, by no means, allow, that clergymen ſhould be tried in the civil courts, but that the ſtricteſt care ſhould be taken to puniſh them, according to the canons; that, if after condemnation, in the eccleſiaſtical courts, to be degraded, they were guilty of other crimes, the kings might proceed againſt them, as the law directed; but that it was unreaſonable to puniſh them twice for the ſame offence. This diſpute being managed with great warmth, by both parties, they parted, extremely diſſatisfied with each other's ſentiments; nay, Becket, without any regard to the king's violent paſſion, preſumed even to reproach him, for unjuſtly depriving him of the caſtle of Rocheſter, and thereby notoriouſly violating the privileges of his archbiſhoprick; and he likewiſe demanded Saltwood and Hethe, as belonging to his ſee, and the lands of William de Ros. Beſides, he ſummon'd the earl of Clare to do him homage, for the caſtle of Tunbridge, which he claimed as a fief of the ſee of Canterbury, without giving the king the leaſt notice of his pretenſions; but the earl anſwered, that he held his caſtle of the king, by knight's ſervice, which had no relation to the archbiſhoprick ‡. If, from Becket's temper, we may form a judgment, his claim to the caſtle was very precarious; ſince he, at once, dropp'd the affair; but, this attempt being defeated, in order to extend his juriſdiction, he collated one Lawrence, a prieſt, to the rectory of Aineſford, in direct violation of the patron's right of preſentation. The patron, who was a baron of the realm, being unwilling tamely to give up his right, would not ſuffer Lawrence to take poſſeſſion of the benefice; and the archbiſhop, conſidering this, as an heinous offence, excommunicated him, upon which he applied to the king. Henry was extremely incenſed, at Becket's preſumptuous proceeding; for, ever ſince William the Conqueror, it was a branch of the royal prerogative, that no tenant in capite ſhould be excommunicated, without the king's knowledge. But this was the very point Becket intended to diſpute; and, perhaps, his view, in the late ſtep, was, purely, to introduce the queſtion.

1163.

The king propoſes to have the clergy tried in the civil courts. Diceto. M. Paris. Becket oppoſes him. Hoved.

Henry undertakes to reduce the power of the clergy.

Henry was exceedingly mortified, to find that he had not the leaſt proſpect of putting his project in execution; for he was ſenſible, that it would be in vain to expect any compliance from the clergy, whilſt the archbiſhop of Canterbury, on all occaſions, ſo vigorouſly oppoſed him; and, therefore, he reſolved to take other more effectual meaſures. However, he was willing, firſt, to try gentle methods, by cauſing the archbiſhop to be reminded of the many favours he had received from his ſovereign, as well as the dangerous conſequences of his obſtinacy, both to the church and kingdom; but, theſe remonſtrances proving abortive he determined to execute, in ſpite of that prelate's oppoſition, what he deſigned to have accompliſh'd, with his aſſiſtance. To this end, he convened the principal lords, both ſpiritual and temporal, to conſult about ways and means to redreſs the grievances of the ſtate; and, he repreſented to them, that unleſs ſpeedy care was taken to curb Becket, who was a haughty and enterprizing prelate, he would, at length, uſurp all the prerogatives of the crown, under religious pretences, as evidently appeared from his late proceedings. The majority of the temporal lords joyfully embraced this opportunity, to humble the archbiſhop; and, beſides, they deſired nothing more, than to have it in their power to clip the wings of the clergy, who made uſe of their utmoſt efforts to ſoar above the reſt of the nation. Henry, upon this, moved a regulation, which, he aſſured them, was abſolutely neceſſary to the welfare and tranquillity of the kingdom; and this regulation conſiſted of five articles, which the king called rhe cuſtoms of Henry I. his grandfather, becauſe they were obſerved in his reign. The I. was, that none ſhould appeal to Rome, without the king's licenſe. II. That no archbiſhop or biſhop ſhould go to Rome, upon the pope's ſummons, without the king's leave. III. That no tenant in chief, or any other of the king's officers, ſhould be excommunicated, or his lands put under an interdict, without the

He propoſes five articles to be enacted into law. M. Paris, Gervaſe.

* Philip de Broc, canon of Bedford. M. Paris.

† M. Paris ſays, he was ſent into baniſhment.

‡ Rapin ſeems to be miſtaken, in this particular; for, doubtleſs, the archbiſhop of Canterbury had many knight's fees, and, of courſe, they were held by knight's ſervice. The earl only alledged, that he held his caſtle of the king, and not of the archbiſhop.

1163. king's conſent. IV. That all clergymen, accuſed of capital crimes, ſhould be tried in the king's courts. V. That the laity, whether the king or others, ſhould hold pleas of churches, tythes, and the like. Theſe articles were readily agreed to by the temporal lords; but the biſhops and abbots refuſed to ſubſcribe them, unleſs this clauſe, which render'd them ineffectual, was added, viz. ſaving the rights and privileges of the clergy and the church*. The king, reſenting this refuſal, ſuddenly left the aſſembly, and went to Woodſtock, having, firſt, intimated to the chief of the eccleſiaſticks, that he would make uſe of effectual meaſures to reſtrain their pride †; but this menace ſtruck ſuch a terror into the prelates, that, before the aſſembly broke up, they came to a reſolution of ſending deputies to the king, to implore his pardon, and aſſure him of their readineſs to comply with his will. Becket, for a long time, oppoſed this propoſal; tho', at laſt, yielding to the importunate ſollicitations of his brethren, he conſented, that the articles ſhould be admitted, without the ſaving clauſe. The king ſeemed to be highly ſatisfied with this deputation, eſpecially, as it was tranſacted with their unanimous conſent, and it is ſaid, that Becket himſelf waited upon the king, at Woodſtock, on this occaſion; yet Henry, fearing that the archbiſhop would recede from his word, under the pretence that this convention was not ſufficiently authorized to enact laws of this ſort, reſolved to have them ratified by an aſſembly-general or parliament. He, therefore, called a parliament at Clarendon, and propoſed the ſame articles, that were ſubſcribed by the former aſſembly; and, as they were ratified by all the temporal lords, they durſt not openly oppoſe them; but Becket and his party ſtill ſcrupled to ſign them. The archbiſhop even ſwore, that he would never ſubſcribe, tho' he had before accepted them; and it was not without great difficulty, that he was, at laſt, at the inſtances of the other biſhops, brought to a compliance ‡.

The parliament of Clarendon.

The pope condemns the conſtitutions of Clarendon.

How unwillingly ſoever Becket ſigned theſe articles **, it was very ſatisfactory to the king; for he was confident, that the pope would readily conſent to laws, that were approved by the biſhops themſelves. Accordingly, he reſolved to have them confirmed by a bull, in order to prevent the prelates from recanting; but the pope no ſooner ſaw the articles, than he refuſed to give them the ſanction of his authority; nay, he condemned them, as very deſtructive of the church's privileges. Becket, ſoon after, publickly declared, that he repented of ſigning the conſtitutions of Clarendon, and that he could only hope for the pardon of ſuch an heinous offence from the pope's mercy; and, therefore, retiring to Wincheſter, he ſuſpended himſelf, as unworthy to perform the archiepiſcopal functions, till the pope, who was then at Sens in France, ſhould be pleaſed to give him abſolution; but, this being eaſily obtained, he reſumed his functions, upon the pope's aſſurances, that he would ſupport him. In the interim, Alexander, willing to amuſe Henry, ſent the archbiſhop of Roan, with propoſals for an accommodation; but the king would not receive any of the pope's propoſals, unleſs he would ratify the conſtitutions of Clarendon. 1163.

The king proſecutes Becket.

Henry, finding that the archbiſhop, proud of the pope's protection, grew daily more obſtinate and incorrigible, involved him in ſeveral vexatious law-ſuits, which, after all, were incapable of obliging him to deſiſt from his pretenſions ††. Among other actions, that were enter'd againſt him, there were two of great importance; the firſt of which related to a certain manor in his poſſeſſion, that, John, the king's marſhal, alledged, was unjuſtly detained from him. Becket, ſtanding trial, was caſt and fined 500 l. and, being convinced by this ſentence, that he ſhould loſe all the ſuits commenced againſt him, he reſolved not to plead, for the future, chuſing rather to be condemned, for non-appearance, than by a peremptory decree. The king did not ſeem, as yet, to deſign to make him feel the whole weight of his reſentment; but, in a little time, it appeared, that he was reſolved upon his utter ruin. With this view, he ordered him to be accuſed of two capital crimes, in a great council held at Northampton, October the 13th; firſt, for converting to his own uſe the revenues of the ſee of York, of which he had the cuſtody, whilſt he was chancellor ‡‡; and, ſecondly, for embezzling 30,000 l. ſterling of the king's money. Inſtead of clearing himſelf from theſe accuſations, he replied, that, upon his being made archbiſhop, prince Henry, the king's ſon, and Richard de Lucy, his juſticiary, had acquitted him of all accounts; but, if this had not been the caſe, he ſaid, that he was not obliged to anſwer before laymen, as he was the principal eccleſiaſtick in the kingdom. The former part of his reply was certainly to his diſadvantage; ſince the prince, who acquitted him, was no more than ſeven or eight years old, tho' he was ſtiled guardian of the realm, in the abſence of the king, his father. Beſides, one would have imagined, that a perſon of his

* Salvo ordine ſuo,---& bona fide. Gervaſe. Salvo in omnibus ordine ſuo, & honore Dei, & ſanctæ eccleſiæ. Hov.

† Hoveden tells us, that pope Alexander and the college of cardinals ſent a legate, to oblige Becket to promiſe, that he would obſerve all the king's laws, without any exception.

‡ The laws, enacted in this aſſembly, are ſtiled the conſtitutions of Clarendon, and very well deſerve to be peruſed; ſince they contain the chief prerogatives and privileges, that were claimed both by the king and the clergy. They are divided into 16 articles, 10 of which were diſannulled by the pope; and they may be found in Gervaſe's Chronicle and Matthew Paris, from whence they are tranſlated into Engliſh by Tyrrel, vol. II. b. v. and in Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. p. 351.

** He only promiſed to ſubſcribe them, or at moſt aſſented to them. Gervaſe, Hoved.

†† He demanded the king's leave to go to pope Alexander, but was refuſed; upon which he embarqued at Rumney, in order to leave the kingdom; but the ſailors, dreading the king's diſpleaſure, pretended that there was no wind, and brought him back. Hoveden, Gervaſe, M. Paris.

‡‡ M. Paris affirms, that he was likewiſe called to an account for the caſtles of Eye and Berkhamſted, with their revenues, which he had enjoyed for ſeveral years.

ſacred

1163. ſacred character ſhould have been always prepared to give an account of his adminiſtration; even tho', from an exceſs of complaiſance, thoſe that governed had diſpenſed with it. As for the latter part of his anſwer, he himſelf had cut off that plea, by ſubſcribing the conſtitutions of Clarendon; but to this he replied, that they were condemned by the pope, whoſe ſentence was of greater validity than all the laws of the land. How pertinent ſoever this reply was, to ſecure an intereſt in the pope, it could be of no ſervice to him in the king's court, where judgment was to be given, purſuant to theſe conſtitutions; and, accordingly, he was conſidered not only as contumacious, but as a rebel againſt the authority of the laws. The utmoſt endeavours were uſed, to prevail on him to own the juriſdiction of the court, but to no purpoſe; for he even refuſed to wait on the king, pretending to be ill of the cholick, tho' he ſent for him, in order, by diſcourſing with him in perſon, to do all that was poſſible, to bring him to ſome temper *.

Becket is accuſed of two freſh crimes.

Upon this refuſal, the king accuſed Becket a-freſh, firſt, for abſconding from juſtice on frivolous excuſes; and, ſecondly, for diſobedience to his authority; and, having denied to plead to theſe accuſations, all his moveable goods were confiſcated; but, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of this ſentence, it did not fully ſatisfy Henry's reſentment. As he perceived, that the charges was ſo formed, as not to reach Becket's perſon, he had him accuſed of perjury and treaſon, for the violation of his oath of allegiance, and refuſing the ſubmiſſion that was due to his ſovereign; and, tho' this proceeding made the archbiſhop ſenſible, that the king was reſolved to compleat his ruin, it only confirmed, him in his obſtinacy and perverſeneſs. Perhaps, this was the effect of his proud and ſtubborn diſpoſition; or rather, it was done with a view to immortalize his name by an invincible firmneſs, which, in his opinion, ought to entitle him to a place among the moſt famous confeſſors in the church. The court, at laſt, pronounced him guilty of perjury; and the biſhops ſent him word, that they would no longer regard him, as their primate, nor even hold communion with him; but, after all, remaining ſtill inflexible, he look'd upon the ſentence, paſs'd againſt him, to be void and, regardleſs of the king's diſpleaſure, continued his functions.

The court of peers ſeem to have avoided giving ſentence, on the charge of treaſon, which was death by the law, purely, to leave him, room to come off, by ſubmitting to the king; but, finding that he was incorrigible, they convened, once more, to conſult about means to ſubdue his obſtinate temper. Becket was no ſooner inform'd, that the barons were aſſembled, in the king's preſence, than he went to church, and ordered theſe words of the ſecond Pſalm, to be ſung: "The rulers 1163. "take counſel together againſt the Lord, "and againſt his Anointed" †; and then, with his croſs in his hand, without being ſummoned or asking leave, and tho', ſentence being paſs'd upon him, he had not right to be there, he intruded into the room, where the king and lords were aſſembled. The archbiſhop of York ſeverely reprimanded him, for coming into the royal preſence, in that manner, which he aſſured him, amounted to no leſs than an open defiance of the king; and, he deſired him to conſider, that his weapon was not ſo ſharp as that of his ſovereign. Becket anſwered, "that, indeed, the king's ſword "could kill the body; but his deſtroyed the ſoul and ſent it to hell." This reply ſo exaſperated Henry, that he ordered the lords to paſs ſentence directly, on the new crime he had juſt committed; and the court, after a long debate, declared, that he ought to be impriſon'd, and puniſh'd according to law, for inſulting the king and coming into the aſſembly, in ſuch a ſeditious manner. Upon this, the earls of Cheſter and Cornwall were ſent to ſummon him to appear and receive his ſentence; but he refuſed to come, declaring that the peers were not authorized to judge him; and that he appeal'd to the pope. The earls repreſented to him, that, by this refuſal, he incurr'd the guilt of treaſon; to which he anſwer'd, that, were it not for the reſtraints of his character, he would vindicate himſelf, in ſingle combate, againſt thoſe that ſhould dare to accuſe him of that crime, and force them to repent of their calumny. However, he did not think it expedient to wait for the reſult ‡, but privately departed that very night, attended only by three perſons, and went to Lincoln; from whence, in diſguiſe and under the name of Dereman, he travelled thro' bye-ways, till he came to Sandwich, where he embarqued for Flanders **.

He is condemned to impriſonment.

1164. The king of France, hoping that Becket, being ſupported, would embarraſs the affairs of his ſovereign, which might turn to his advantage, made an offer to him of his protection; but Henry diſpatched Gilbert, biſhop of London, and William, earl of Arundel, as his ambaſſadors, to acquaint Lewis, that it was very unbecoming in a ſovereign prince to protect perſons guilty of high-treaſon. Lewis replied, that he was under indiſpenſable obligations to afford ſanctuary to the unfortunate, in his dominions; and that he muſt, of courſe, conſider Becket, as ſuch, till he was condemned by the pope. Thus, his jealouſy and paſſion prevented him from reflecting, that, by urging the pope's authority, in the preſent caſe, he only wounded Henry thro' his own ſides; but ſuch was his deſire to diſtreſs that prince, that it led him to overlook all other conſiderations; and he even ſollicited the pope, to eſpouſe Bec-

Lewis protects him. Diceto. Hoved. Gervaſe.

* Hoveden ſays, that he was aſſured by his friends, that, if he came to court, he would be either impriſoned or murdered.

† Hoveden affirms, that he celebrated the maſs of St. Stephen, whoſe office is: "Princes ſate together and ſpake "againſt me."

‡ Hoveden ſays, that he immediately took horſe and rode away, the people crying out after him: "Stay, traitor, "and receive thy ſentence."

** Eleanor, the king's daughter, was born this year. Brompt.

ket's

1164. ket's cauſe againſt Henry, whoſe intereſt, in good policy, he ought to have ſtrenuouſly maintained.

The pope, who was ſtill at Sens, was eaſily gained; for he knew, that this might be a means of enlarging his authority; and, beſides, he foreſaw, that, if he abandon'd the archbiſhop, none of the clergy, for the future, would be zealous, in the defence of the rights of the church; and, therefore, he no ſooner heard, that Becket was condemned and obliged to fly, like a criminal, than he threatened to make Henry and the barons of England repent of their raſhneſs. In the interim, Henry, in order to prepoſſeſs the pope in his favour, ſent ambaſſadors, to give him an account of all particulars, and intreat him to ſend legates into England, with full powers, finally to decide the conteſt; and the archbiſhop of York, the chief of the ambaſſy, ſpoke, with great vehemence, againſt Becket. He charged him with want of reſpect to the king's perſon, and even threatening to excommunicate him; and he aſſerted, that he was guilty of high-treaſon, in refuſing to ſubmit to the judgment of the court of peers, under the ridiculous pretence, that it was indecent for a father to be judged by his ſons. Becket, who was preſent at this audience, in his own defence, declared, in the firſt place, that he could not anſwer in a civil court, without a direct violation of the canons of the church; and, ſecondly, that, even tho' he could have owned their authority, he would not have ſubmitted to their judgment, ſince he was aſſured of their reſolution to condemn him; and, laſtly, that he could not apprehend, that he was guilty of any crime, in appealing to the pope, who was, doubtleſs, the moſt proper judge, from whom he expected an impartial ſentence. Upon this, addreſſing himſelf to the pope and cardinals, he deſired them to conſider, that his caſe was not ſo much a conteſt between a ſubject and his ſovereign, as the cauſe of the univerſal church; ſince it was evidently the king's intention to deprive the clergy of their privileges. The ambaſſadors, perceiving that he was reſolved to engage the whole church in his quarrel, inſiſted more ſtrenuouſly on the king's requeſt, to ſhew, that he could not have any deſigns againſt the church, becauſe he deſired that the affair might be tried, in England, by the legates of the holy ſee; and the pope had no other way, to evade this reaſonable demand, than by declaring that he would take cognizance of the matter himſelf; adding, that, in imitation of the Almighty, "he would not give his glory to another." The pope declined to ſend legates, leſt they ſhould be capable of bribery; and, in the mean time, he deferred the trial, not having leiſure, at the preſent juncture, to examine a cauſe of ſuch importance. Beſides, he was impatient to return to Rome, where he was recalled, upon the death of Victor; but the ſchiſm was ſtill continued by the cardinals of the oppoſite party, who elected another pope, who aſſumed the name of Paſchal III.

Henry ſends ambaſſadors to the pope. Gervaſe.

The pope refuſes to ſend legates, to decide the conteſt between the king and Becket. Hoved.

Henry, extremely reſenting Alexander's proceedings, prohibited, under the ſevereſt penalties, all appeals to Rome; and he gave expreſs orders for the impriſonment of all, that were related to thoſe who went away with Becket, or joined him, ſince his departure. He afterwards ſequeſter'd, in the hands of the biſhop of London, the revenues of all the eccleſiaſticks, that openly eſpouſed his cauſe; and he enjoined the magiſtrates to puniſh, as traitors, upon the ſpot, all that ſhould be apprehended, either with the pope's or archbiſhop's mandates or letters about them, importing the excommunication of any private perſon, or an interdict upon the kingdom. He likewiſe order'd the revenues of the ſee of Canterbury and all Becket's effects to be ſeized; that Peterpence ſhould be collected, but not ſent out of the kingdom; and, in fine, not content with forbidding prayers for him in the church, he baniſhed all his family, not ſparing even the moſt diſtant relations. 1165.

Henry's proceedings againſt the pope and Becket. Gervaſe. M. Paris.

Theſe rigorous methods only tended, ſo much the more, to incenſe the archbiſhop, who excommunicated all that adhered to the conſtitutions of Clarendon, and, in particular, ſome lords of the council, tho' they deſpiſed his cenſures; and, at length, finding that the king was reſolutely determined to maintain his ground, ſent him a threatening letter, which it will not be improper to inſert, as it gives an inſight into the character of that prelate.

Becket excommunicates the lords of the council. M. Weſt. Fitz-Steph.

THOMAS, archbiſhop of Canterbury, to the KING of ENGLAND.

'I Have moſt earneſtly deſired to ſee you; and tho', in this, I had a view to my own, yet your intereſt lay neareſt my heart. I entertained hopes, that, at the ſight of me again, you would recollect the many ſervices I had done you, with all imaginable regard and affection; for the truth of which, I appeal to the Judge of all mankind, when they ſhall appear before his tribunal, to be rewarded according to their actions. I flatter'd myſelf, that my unhappy caſe would have excited your compaſſion, who am forced to beg my bread in a ſtrange land, tho', by the grace of God, I am plentifully ſupplied with all things neceſſary for my ſubſiſtence. In the mean time, I receive great conſolation from the words of the apoſtle, "They that live in Chriſt ſhall ſuffer perſecution;" and alſo from the ſaying of the prophet, "I never ſaw the "righteous forſaken, nor his ſeed begging "their bread." As to what relates to you, I am, of courſe, ſenſibly affected with it, for three reaſons; becauſe you are my liege-lord, king, and ſpiritual ſon. As my liege-lord, I owe and offer you my beſt advice; yet ſuch as is due from a biſhop, ſaving the honour of God and the head of the church. As my king, I owe you a profound reſpect, and am likewiſe obliged to admoniſh you; and, as my ſon, it is my duty to correct and exhort you. Kings are anointed in the head, the breaſt, and the arms, which denote glory, holineſs, and power; and it appears from ſeveral inſtances in the ſcriptures, that Pharaoh, Saul, Solomon, Nebuchadnezzar, and

1165. ‘ and many other kings, that deſpiſed the commandments of the Lord, were deprived of ‘ glory, underſtanding, and might; whilſt ‘ David, Hezekiah, and others, that humbled ‘ themſelves before God, received not only a ‘ larger meaſure of grace, but in greater perfection. Take, then, my liege-lord, the ‘ advice of your vaſſal; attend, my king, to ‘ the admonitions of your biſhop; and ſubmit, ‘ my ſon, to the corrections of your father, ‘ leſt you be perverted into ſchiſm, or prevailed on to hold communion with ſchiſmaticks. It is notorious, with what profound ‘ veneration you have received the pope; how ‘ zealous and active you have been, in ſupporting the church of Rome; and what ‘ grateful returns the church and pope have made you. Remember, therefore, your declaration, which you even laid upon the altar, at your coronation, that you would protect the church of God in all her immunities. ‘ Reſtore the church of Canterbury, from which ‘ you received your authority, to its former ‘ ſtate, under your predeceſſors and mine; or ‘ elſe be aſſured, that you will expoſe yourſelf ‘ to the wrath and vengeance of the Almighty.

1166. Henry guards againſt the pope's attacks. Gervaſe.

It is not to be ſuppoſed, that this letter could pacify the incenſed king, or that the writer penn'd it, with any ſuch view; and, in the interim, Henry, being ſenſible that the king of France fomented the diſcord between him and the court of Rome, levied a numerous army, as well to prevent any revolt that his holineſs might occaſion, in his dominions, as to be in a readineſs to withſtand Lewis, in caſe of oppoſition. This precaution, doubtleſs, hinder'd Alexander from purſuing his deſigns, with ſo much vigour as he intended; and, indeed, a prince, that is ſupported with a powerful army, may always render himſelf formidable to thoſe, that are armed with no other than ſpiritual weapons. In the mean time, the biſhop of London and the reſt of the ſuffragans of the province of Canterbury wrote to the archbiſhop, on the account of his letter to the king, and reminded him of his pride, in addreſſing his ſovereign, without the cuſtomary ſalutations, as if he had written to an inferior; and they repreſented to him his ingratitude to a prince, that had raiſed him, from a mean condition, to ſuch a height of grandeur, and his arrogance, in preſuming to threaten a mighty monarch; and, laſtly, they aſſured him, that they appealed to the pope, from all his proceedings againſt them or the kingdom, and appointed Aſcenſion-day, to produce their reaſons.

The pope ſends legates to the king.

The king of England's army exceedingly alarmed the pope, who was apprehenſive, that Henry would, at length, enter into an alliance with the emperor, and ſo deprive him of the king of France's protection; and, therefore, in order to divert Henry from ſuch a deſign, when he leaſt expected it, Alexander diſpatched Gratian, nephew to the late pope Eugenius, and Vivian, advocate of the court of Rome, as his legates, into England, to determine the affair in diſpute; but they were ſcarce ſet out, before he clogg'd their powers with reſtrictions, that prevented them from giving a deciſive ſentence. The legates, upon their arrival at London, met with another unexpected obſtacle in their way; for Becket refuſed to ſubmit to their judgment, unleſs the king would firſt reſtore all that had been taken from him or his friends, and revoke all his orders, ſince the beginning of the conteſt; i. e. unleſs he would previouſly condemn himſelf. The archbiſhop's refuſal put a ſtop to the proceedings of the legate; which plainly convinced Henry, that his holineſs only deſigned to amuſe him; and Becket's own friends, dreading the king's reſentment, adviſ'd him to give ſome ſatisfaction to his ſovereign. He replied, that he was ready to obey the king's will, “ ſaving his honour, the church's poſſeſſions, his “ own and the right of others”; but theſe ſalvo's made it manifeſt, that he was not, in the leaſt, diſpoſed to recede. Upon this, thoſe very perſons, who fondly imagined, that he would ſacrifice his private intereſt to the peace of the church, deſired to know, whether he would conſent to reſign his archbiſhoprick, provided the king, on that condition, would give up the conſtitutions of Clarendon? but he anſwer'd them, in plain terms, that he could not renounce his archiepiſcopal dignity, without betraying the cauſe of God and the church; whereas the king was obliged, in conſcience, to repeal his new laws. This anſwer, and the limited powers of the legates, entirely defeated Henry's expectations; but, in order, to perplex the archbiſhop, as much as poſſible, he ſent word to the abbot of Pontigni, who had, for two years, entertained Becket in his monaſtery, that, if he harboured him any longer, he would baniſh his dominions all the monks of his order *, and ſeize on all their eſtates; but, Becket, tho' he was conſtrained to quit the abbey, was, ſoon after, admitted by the king of France into Sens, where he often reſided, and for a great while together, being handſomely furniſhed with all neceſſary accommodations; and his frequent converſations with that monarch, doubtleſs, exceedingly contributed to heighten his former jealouſy and animoſity againſt the king of England.

Becket refuſes to ſubmit to their judgment.

* The Ciſtercians.

1166.

About the latter end of this year, queen Eleanor was delivered of a fourth ſon, named John; and, in a little time after, the empreſs Matilda, the king's mother, departed this life, in the 67th year of her age †, who left very conſiderable legacies to the poor and the churches, and bequeathed a large ſum, for finiſhing the bridge of Roan, of which ſhe had laid the foundation.

Prince John's birth.

1167. Matilda's death.

† Sandford affirms, that ſhe was buried, aged about 64 years, in the abbey of Bec in Normandy, with funeral pomp and ſolemnity; but Gabriel du Moulin aſſures us, that ſhe was interred in the church of Notre Dame du Pre, in the ſuburbs of Roan; and M. Paris tells us, that, by reaſon of her being the daughter of a king, wife of an emperor, and mother to a king, ſhe had the following lines engraven on her tomb:

“ Ortu magna, viro major, ſed maxima partu; Great born, match'd greater, greateſt brought to bed,
“ Hic jacet HENRICI filia, ſponſa, parens.” Here HENRY's daughter, wife, and mother's laid.

1167. In the mean while, Becket, deprived of his revenues, languiſhed in a melancholy exile, whilſt the pope received no profits from England; and his holineſs foreſaw, that, unleſs ſome vigorous methods were made uſe of, his authority, in all probability, would not only be deſpiſed in England, but in other parts of Chriſtendom. Alexander was of a very haughty and imperious temper, being the ſame pope, that, ſome years after, treated the emperor Frederick Barbaroſſa ſo ignominiouſly, at Venice, as even inſolently to tread on his neck, after he made his ſubmiſſion to him; and, therefore, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that he would ſuffer Henry to get the aſcendant over him, without long and violent ſtruggles. Accordingly, no ſooner were his affairs, in ſome meaſure, ſettled, than he expreſs'd an extraordinary regard for Becket, and confirmed to him all the privileges enjoyed by his predeceſſors, on purpoſe to inſult the king; tho' there was no occaſion for this proceeding, whilſt the archbiſhop was in exile; but Henry, to be even with him, order'd a rumour to be ſpread abroad, that he deſigned to diſclaim Alexander's authority, and recognize Paſchal III. and, indeed, he proceeded ſo far as to acquaint ſome of the princes of Germany, that he was juſt upon the point of taking this reſolution. It is highly probable, that the king would, at once, have reſolved upon it, had there been any proſpect of bringing over the nation to this change, and eſpecially the clergy; but, a few prelates excepted, all the reſt of the Engliſh clergy ſecretly eſpouſed the pope and Becket's cauſe, tho' they durſt not openly declare for them. Alexander, being no ſtranger to their ſentiments, was ſo much the more daring and reſolute, in his behaviour; and, to demonſtrate that he was entirely regardleſs of the king's menaces, he ſent a letter to the biſhop of London, in which he commanded him boldly to admoniſh Henry, and enjoin him, in his name, to reſtore the archbiſhop to his ſee, and diſannul the conſtitutions of Clarendon. The biſhop executed his commiſſion, tho' with more diſcretion and temper than the pope had directed; and he afterwards wrote to his holineſs, to give him to underſtand, that the king's conduct could not, in juſtice, be blamed, ſince he only copied after his predeceſſors, and was willing to ſubmit to the judgment of the church, provided his cauſe was tried in the kingdom.

The pope orders the biſhop of London to admoniſh the king. Hoved. Diceto.

1168. Henry's conference with Becket, before the king of France.

Notwithſtanding the advantage the king had, hitherto, gained; yet he was extremely deſirous of putting an end to this vexatious affair, not only as it prevented the execution of his project of conquering Ireland, but as he foreſaw, that, at laſt, this conteſt would prove very prejudicial to him and his ſubjects. He, therefore, deſired the king of France to appoint a place, where they might have an interview with Becket; and, Lewis conſenting to this propoſal, the archbiſhop made his appearance, before the two kings. Becket being asked, whether he would own, that it was his duty to obey his ſovereign; he replied, that he was ready to obey him, in all things, "ſaving the honour of God"; but Henry repreſented to the king of France, that, by this ſalvo, he reſerved a power, to pronounce whatever diſpleaſed him, contrary to the honour of God; and, therefore, he adds, I will make this propoſal to him, which cannot be ſuſpected of a double meaning: "There have been "kings in England leſs potent than my ſelf, Gervaſe. "and archbiſhops that have been both great "and holy; if he will only pay me the ſame "regard, that the greateſt of his predeceſſors "paid the leaſt of mine, I will reſt content-"ed." Becket, however, rejected this fair offer; for he very well knew, it was not an eaſy matter to juſtify his pretenſions, by any former precedents; and he alledged, that, as the affair was referred to the pope, he could agree to nothing, without his conſent. The king of France, notwithſtanding his partiality for Becket, freely acknowledged, that the archbiſhop's perverſeneſs was the ſole obſtacle to a peace; and this confeſſion quaſhed, in a great meaſure, the report, that was ſo induſtriouſly ſpread in the world, that he deſign'd to aboliſh the privileges of the Engliſh clergy; tho' it made no impreſſion on Becket, who was aſſured of the pope's approbation and aſſiſtance.

1168.

1169. Becket excommunicates the Engliſh prieſts.

Alexander, ſoon after, ſent Henry notice, that he was indiſpenſably obliged to grant the archbiſhop a power to revenge the injuries, offered to the church and his own perſon, with the ſword of excommunication; and no ſooner was he authorized by the pope, than he excommunicated ſo many of the clergy, that he ſcarce left a ſufficient number to officiate in the king's chapel; and, tho' moſt were, in their hearts, inclined to his cauſe, he charged them with groſs prevarication, in not openly eſpouſing it. Henry, exaſperated at theſe proceedings, appealed to a future council, and acquainted the pope, that, unleſs he directly diſpatched legates, with full powers to determine the diſpute, he would take other more diſagreeable meaſures; and this menace exceedingly perplexed Alexander. On the one hand, he dreaded an union between the king and the emperor; and, on the other, he could not deſiſt, without great prejudice to the holy ſee; but, in this extremity, he had recourſe to the uſual methods always, to purpoſe, practiſed by the court of Rome, on the like occaſions. To amuſe Henry, he ſent legates into Normandy; but, as they were making preparations to wait on the king, they received new inſtructions, not to pronounce a definitive ſentence, without imparting it to the archbiſhop of Sens; and none had a greater averſion to a ſudden peace than that prelate.

Henry threatens the pope, upon which he ſends legates.

Another conference between the king and Becket, to no purpoſe. M. Paris.

Some time after, at the pope's deſire, Henry went to Paris, and had another conference with Becket, in the preſence of the king of France, but to as little purpoſe as any of the former; for the archbiſhop, who would not, in the leaſt, give way, inſiſted on an entire reſtitution, before the treaty was begun; which Henry refus'd, without knowing, firſt, the terms of their agreement. Becket could have expected no other compenſation, if he himſelf had ſubmitted to make any conceſſions; but to pretend, that the king ſhould repair

Diceto.

1169. repair his loſſes, without any advances on his part, was, in other words, to declare againſt a reconciliation. The only proof, he gave of his inclination to peace, was, that he would ſtand to the judgment of the French divines; and, this propoſal being rejected, the negotiation was broke off, tho' to the king's advantage, as it more conſpicuouſly diſcovered his peaceable diſpoſition.

It is impoſſible to compoſe a quarrel with the clergy, without anſwering all their demands; for, as they pretend, that their cauſe is the cauſe of God, they take it be ſinful to make any conceſſions. Purſuant to this principle, the archbiſhop of Sens ſollicited the pope, to excommunicate Henry, as an obſtinate heretick, and lay his kingdom under an interdict; upon which, the king iſſued out a new edict, prohibiting all his ſubjects to receive any orders from the pope, or Becket, and declaring, that all thoſe, that ſubmitted to an interdict, ſhould inſtantly be hanged, as traitors to their king and country. He likewiſe commanded all abſent clergymen to repair to their churches, on pain of the forfeiture of their revenues, and ſuſpended the payment of Peter-pence, till farther orders; by which vigorous proceedings, he obliged the pope to defer the execution of his deſign, to a more favourable opportunity.

Gervaſe.

The king's proceedings againſt the pope.

1170. In the interim, Henry, who had continued near four years in France, returned home, in order to regulate ſome diſorders, occaſioned by his abſence; for the adminiſtration of juſtice was ſo ſcandalouſly neglected, that, upon his arrival, he ſent commiſſioners into all the counties of the kingdom, with full powers, to enquire into the miſdemeanours of the magiſtrates and puniſh the guilty.

Henry returns to England.

This and ſome other neceſſary regulations being made, to the people's ſatisfaction, he called an aſſembly-general, at which were preſent the biſhops, abbots, earls, barons, ſheriffs, bailiffs, and aldermen of the principal cities in England; and he cauſed Henry, his eldeſt ſon, to be crowned, before them, by the archbiſhop of York, aſſiſted by the biſhops of London and Durham; and, the next day, all the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the magiſtrates of the cities and counties, ſwore allegiance to the young king. Henry himſelf, in honour to his ſon's coronation, carried up the firſt diſh, at the feaſt on this occaſion; and, ſpeaking to his ſon, ſaid: "No "monarch was ever ſerved in a more honoura- "ble manner"; but the young king, inſtead of returning his compliment, being of a very haughty temper, turning to the archbiſhop of York, who ſtood near him, ſpoke in a low voice: "It was not ſuch a great inſtance of "condeſcenſion, for the ſon of an earl to "ſerve the ſon of a king."

Henry's eldeſt ſon is crowned.

The young king's pride.

Becket is mortified.

Henry, by the means of this coronation, performed with univerſal applauſe, not only ſecured the crown in his own family, but exceedingly mortified Becket, who pretended, that the celebration of this ſolemnity was an office annexed to the dignity of archbiſhop of Canterbury.

The king of France being diſguſted, becauſe his daughter was not crowned with the prince, her ſpouſe, and on other accounts, declared war againſt Henry; but it was almoſt as ſoon ended as begun, by a treaty of peace.

1170. Lewis renews the war with Henry.

Henry was, quickly after, ſeized with a violent fever, at Domfront in the province of Maine; and, deſpairing of a recovery, he made his will. He left England, Normandy, Maine, and Anjou to Henry, his eldeſt ſon, and to Richard, his ſecond, Guienne and Poictou; but Geoffrey had only Bretagne, to be enjoyed after the death of duke Conan, his brother-in-law, and John, his fourth ſon, he recommended to the care and proviſion of his eldeſt brother.

Henry, falling ſick, makes his will.

The near view of death raiſed ſuch ſcruples in the king's mind, that he reſolved, at any rate, to be reconciled to Becket, in caſe he recovered; for he thought, that the archbiſhop had been ſufficiently puniſh'd by a ſix years exile; and he was deſirous of a ſolid repoſe, which the pope threatened to interrupt, by thundering the church's cenſures againſt him. Accordingly, as ſoon as his health permitted, he had an interview with the king of France at Montmirail, in Becket's preſence; and Henry was then diſpoſed to ſatisfy almoſt all the archbiſhop's demands. However, the articles of the treaty being ſettled, Becket, juſt as he was going to give the king the kiſs of peace, was pleaſed to ſay, that he was about to ſalute him to the honour of God; but Henry, ſuſpecting his ſincerity, and believing there was ſome hidden myſtery couched in that expreſſion, refuſed to receive his ſalute. The archbiſhop inſiſted upon uſing this form of ſalutation; ſo that this conference, after all the pains taken to accommodate matters, proved ineffectual, by reaſon of the over-ſcrupulous nicety of both parties. Henry, at length, willing, on any terms, to put an end to this affair, held another interview at Amboiſe, where the king of France met him, attended by ſeveral princes and lords; and here, at laſt, all difficulties were ſurmounted. Henry was ſincerely reconciled to Becket, and ſwore he would reſtore him to his former ſtate, before his baniſhment, and likewiſe make reſtitution to all his friends and relations.

He reſolves upon a reconciliation with Becket, and has an interview with him at Montmirail. M. Paris.

But, tho' Becket obliged the king to pardon all thoſe that offended him, he did not himſelf act in the ſame generous manner; for having obtained the pope's licenſe, before he left France, to ſuſpend the archbiſhop of York, and excommunicate the biſhops of London, Durham, and Exeter, who appeared the moſt openly againſt him, he executed theſe orders, the very moment after his arrival in England. He entirely diſregarded the intreaties of the young king, who ſent meſſengers to diſſuade him from his deſign; and yet, notwithſtanding this affront, he determined to pay his reſpects to that prince, at Woodſtock, where he reſided; tho' ſome ſay, that his main view, in that viſit, was to make a triumphant entry into London, through which he was to paſs, in his way to that place. However that be, he lodged in Southwark, deſigning to ſet

Becket's revengful proceedings.

Hoved.

Tyrrel.

out

1170. out for Woodſtock, the next day; but he received a letter from the young king, ordering him to repair, forthwith, to Canterbury. Tho' this order extremely mortified the archbiſhop, in compliance with it, he proceeded to the capital of his dioceſe, where he made his entry, with the acclamations of the meaner ſort of people; whilſt the more conſiderate were concerned to find, from his triumphant appearance, that his long exile had only render'd him more haughty and imperious; and of this they had, ſoon after, more particular proofs, when Becket, mounting his archiepiſcopal chair, on Chriſtmas-day, ſolemnly excommunicated Nigel de Sackvil, for unjuſtly detaining a manor belonging to his ſee, and Robert Broc, for cutting off the tail of a horſe, that was carrying proviſions to his palace; and, indeed, if the archbiſhop had intended to keep up a good underſtanding with the king, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that he would have excommunicated, for ſuch trifles, two immediate vaſſals of the crown, which was one of the articles, that occaſioned the late diſpute.

He excommunicates two barons.

In the interim, the ſuſpended and excommunicated prelates went to the king, who was ſtill in Normandy; and, being admitted into his preſence, they complained, that the treaty, made with Becket, only redoubled the terrors and perplexities of thoſe, that had ſacrificed themſelves to his ſervice; and the archbiſhop of York added, that, during Becket's life, it was impoſſible for England to enjoy any tranquillity. Henry, highly incenſed by theſe complaints, and weary of being inceſſantly teized with the inſolence of a ſubject, whom he had raiſed from the duſt, vented the following words, with a loud voice: "I am very miſerable, that, "among the numbers I maintain, there is not "a man that will dare to revenge the inſults, "I continually receive from a deſpicable prieſt." Theſe expreſſions were no ſooner uttered, than Reginald Fitz-Urſe, William Tracy, Richard Britton, and Hugh Morvill, four of the king's domeſticks, entered into a combination, to free him from this enemy; and, coming to Canterbury, the archbiſhop being, one day, at the cathedral with a few attendants, they went, armed, up to the very altar, where he was ſtanding. They firſt outrageouſly upbraided him, for his pride and ingratitude; but, as the deſign of their coming was not, merely, to reproach him, upon his reſolute anſwer, they fractured his skull, with their clubs *, in ſuch a violent manner, that his blood and brains flew all over the altar. Upon which, without any interruption, they peaceably retired; but, being afraid of returning to the king, they remained, a whole year, at Knaresborough-caſtle in Yorkſhire; and

The excommunicated biſhops complain to the king.

The king's raſh expreſſions.

1171. Four of his domeſticks combine againſt Becket, and murder him at the altar.

ſome relate, that they went to Rome, for abſolution, and were ordered to go to Jeruſalem and do penance on the Black-Mountain, for life †. Becket's zeal and reſolution, in recommending to God, with his dying breath, the cauſe of the church, and the time and manner of his death, aggravating the guilt of the murderers, gained him more friends, than ever, after his deceaſe. 1171.

This was the fate of that famous archbiſhop, whom ſome have conſidered, as a moſt illuſtrious martyr; whilſt others have ſcrupled to give him the character of an honeſt man and a good chriſtian. About 50 years after his death, it was the ſubject of a publick diſpute, in the univerſity of Paris, whether Becket was in heaven or hell; for ſome aſſerted, that, for his extreme arrogance, he deſerved damnation; tho' others maintained, that, the miracles, performed at his tomb, were unexceptionable proofs of his ſalvation. It muſt, indeed, be confeſs'd, that this prelate ſuffered marytrdom; but, whether it was, in reality, for the cauſe of God and religion, or only for that of the pope and clergy, may be made a queſtion. I ſhall leave this affair to the reader's own reflections, and proceed to relate the conſequences of Becket's death, which are, to the full, as remarkable as the incidents of his life; for, as he had ſpilt his blood, in defence of the church, he was thought worthy to be canonized, within two or three years after his deceaſe; but, notwithſtanding this monument of the pope's gratitude to ſuch a faithful ſervant, to convince the world of his ſaintſhip, it muſt be proved, that the cauſe, for which he died, was approved by God. Miracles were the moſt proper arguments, to infuſe this belief into the minds of the people; and, accordingly, ſuch multitudes of miracles were inſtantly wrought at this martyr's tomb, that, in any other age, their number and nature would have render'd the truth of them very ſuſpicious; for neither Chriſt, nor his apoſtles, perform'd the like, or ſo many, in confirmation of chriſtianity, as this new ſaint did, to authorize the privileges and immunities of the clergy. He not only raiſed dead men to life, but even the very beaſts; and it was reported, for fact, that, being expoſed to view in the church, before his burial, he roſe out of his coffin, and lighted the wax-candles, that were extinguiſhed; and that, after the funeral ceremony was over, he held up his hand to bleſs the people. To theſe many other miracles were added, equally unworthy of the majeſty of God; tho' they were ſpread, with ſuch confidence, that there was not ſo much as a ſingle perſon, that preſumed to call them in queſtion. The pope's legates, who were ſent, ſome time after, on purpoſe to examine this affair, found

Remarks on Becket's character.

* Gervaſe and Brompton affirm, they only made uſe of ſwords.

† Gervaſe of Canterbury and Edward Ryme, both eye-witneſſes of the fact, give a large account of the circumſtances of Becket's death; and the latter's arm was almoſt cut off, by receiving the firſt blow that was made at the archbiſhop's head, occaſioned by his calling Fitz-Urſe a pimp. A manuſcript relation of Becket's life and ſufferings, written in a hand of that age, is preſerved in the library of the Royal-Society. He was, according to Gervaſe and Brompton, aſſaſſinated in the 53d year of his age, on the 30th of December, 1171, reckoning the beginning of the year from Chriſtmas-day; and ſome chroniclers obſerve, that all, who were concerned in Becket's murder, died miſerably, within three or four years, as M. Weſtm. affirms; but this muſt, of courſe, be falſe, ſince William Tracy retired, 23 years after the fact, to Mort in Devonſhire. Vid. Camb. in Devonſhire.

the

1171. the people at Canterbury ſo firmly perſuaded of the truth of all theſe facts, that, upon this publick evidence, his holineſs canonized Becket, by the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury. His tomb, at firſt, had very few ornaments; but, 50 years after his deceaſe, his body was laid in a ſhrine, adorned with a prodigious quantity of precious ſtones; and the pope ordered a jubilee to be celebrated, every 50th year, in the church where he lay. From this, time, miracles were ſo frequently wrought at his tomb, that the fame of them attracted votaries, from all parts of Chriſtendom, to Canterbury, to obtain his interceſſion; and, in 1420, an account was kept of no leſs than 50,000 foreigners, of all ages and ſexes, that came in pilgrimage, this year, to viſit that renowned tomb.

He is a canonized.

That I might not interrupt the narrative of the famous conteſt, between the king and Becket, I have omitted the mention of certain events, which happened in that interval; the principal of which are, as follows.

Matilda, the king's daughter, is married to the duke of Saxony.

In 1165, whilſt this diſpute was at the height, the archbiſhop of Cologn came into England, to conduct Matilda, the king's daughter, to the duke of Saxony, to whom ſhe was betrothed; but, as all the German princes had declared for the antipope Paſchal, they were looked upon, as ſchiſmaticks, in all places that owned Alexander; and, therefore, after that prelate's departure, all the churches, in which he, or the prieſts, his attendants, officiated, were reconſecrated, Henry being in no condition, at that juncture, to oppoſe this reſolution.

Some German hereticks are condemn'd at Oxford.

In 1166, about 30 hereticks, headed by one Gerhard, arrived in England, from Germany; tho' it is not preciſely known, wherein their hereſy conſiſted; and, in all probability, opinions, which they did not embrace, were fathered upon them, by ſtrain'd inferences. However that be, they were ſummoned before a council at Oxford, convened on that account; where they were condemned and delivered over to the ſecular power. The king, unwilling to incur the pope's diſpleaſure, ordered them to be branded in the cheek, with a hot iron, and prohibited his ſubjects to give them any relief; upon which, all theſe wretches were ſuffered to periſh with hunger, and they did not, in the leaſt, complain of their unhuman treatment; but it generally fares the worſt with thoſe, whom the court of Rome ſtigmatizes for hereticks, when princes are at varience with the pope.

Malcolm's death. Brompt.

Malcolm, king of Scotland, died, much about this time, being ſucceeded by William, his brother.

Eleanor's marriage.

The marriage of Eleanor, Henry's daughter, with Alphonſus, king of Caſtile, was concluded, in 1169, a little before Becket's return into England.

Conan, dies, and is ſucceeded by Geoffrey, Henry's ſon.

Conan the Little, duke of Bretagne, dying, in 1171, prince Geoffrey, who married his daughter, was his ſucceſſor; but, by reaſon of his minority, the king, his father, as his guardian, went, in perſon, into Bretagne, to receive the fealty of the barons.

Theſe are the moſt remarkable occurrences, during the conteſt between the king and the archbiſhop of Canterbury; I ſhall now proceed to relate what followed, upon that prelate's deceaſe. 1171.

Henry is charged with Becket's murder.

Henry, being rid of this troubleſome enemy, expected to enjoy ſome quiet; but Becket, tho' dead, created him no leſs diſturbance, than when alive; for the king of France and the archbiſhop of Sens accuſed him of being the author of Becket's murder, and did all that was poſſible, to excite the pope to revenge the death of his faithful ſervant. Tho' it was no eaſy matter to prove, that Henry was concerned in the aſſaſſination; yet Alexander was willing to believe him guilty, in order to humble a prince, that had, all along, vigorouſly oppoſed him, for which he had, now, ſo fair an opportunity; and, therefore, he threaten'd him with excommunication, and to put England under an interdict, unleſs he diſcovered ſigns of a ſincere repentance. Had not Henry acted, on this occaſion, with the utmoſt addreſs and reſolution, he could never have extricated himſelf out of this intricate and dangerous perplexity; but his ſteady and reſolute behaviour, his preſents to the cardinals, and his repeated proteſtations, to ſubmit to the ſentence, that ſhould be pronounced in England, averted this terrible and impending tempeſt.

Henry's project for the conqueſt of Ireland,

Whilſt this affair was in agitation at Rome, the Iriſh, having taken ſome Engliſhmen priſoners, and ſold them for ſlaves, furniſhed Henry with a pretence, for undertaking the conqueſt of Ireland, which he had formerly projected; but his real motive was the deſire of enlarging his dominions, by the addition of an iſland adjacent to England; and two favourable circumſtances, at this time, concurr'd, to facilitate his deſign. He was not only at peace with all his neighbours; but, Adrian IV. then pope, being a native of England, he apprehended, that it would not be difficult, to procure his approbation. Tho' the outrages, committed by the Iriſh upon his ſubjects, might be one reaſon of his intended expedition; yet the glory of God and the ſalvation of ſouls, much more noble and plauſible motives, but which ſeldom move princes to projects of this nature, were the arguments he advanced, to prevail upon Adrian; to which he ſubjoined another, and no leſs powerful conſideration, viz. the enlargement of the juriſdiction and revenues of the holy ſee. He alledged, that, as the Iriſh were ſchiſmaticks and bad chriſtians, it was neceſſary to reform them, and oblige them to own the papal authority, which they had, hitherto, diſregarded; and that the moſt probable means, to attain this end, was to bring them into ſubjection to the crown of England, which had ever been devoted to the holy ſee. This appears from the bull that Adrian ſent him, on this occaſion; in which we may farther obſerve, what power the popes aſſumed, and how attentive they were to any ſcheme, that tended to increaſe their authority.

1171.

ADRIAN,

Servant of the Servants of GOD,

To his Son, in CHRIST JESUS, HENRY, king of England; ſends greeting and apoſtolical benediction.

Adrian's bull. Gir. Cam. Diceto. M. Paris.

'THE deſire your magnificence expreſſes, 'to advance the glory of your name 'on earth, and to obtain eternal happineſs 'in heaven, doubtleſs, deſerves the high- 'eſt commendations; for, as a good ca- 'tholick prince, you are very ſollicitous to 'enlarge the borders of the church, propa- 'gate the knowledge of the truth among the 'barbarous and ignorant, and pluck up vice 'by the roots, in the field of the Lord; and, 'with this view, you apply to us, for counte- 'nance and direction. We are, therefore, 'confident, that your undertaking will be 'crowned with ſucceſs; ſince whatever is un- 'dertaken, from a principle of faith and reli- 'gion, never proves abortive. It is certain, 'that, according to your own confeſſion, 'Ireland, as well as all other iſlands, that have 'embraced the doctrines of chriſtianity, is un- 'queſtionably St. Peter's right, and belongs to 'the juriſdiction of the Roman church; and, 'for this reaſon, after mature deliberation, 'we have concluded it to be expedient, to 'plant, in that iſland, colonies of the faithful, 'who may be acceptable to God.

'You have given us to underſtand, moſt 'dear ſon in Chriſt, that you intend an ex- 'pedition into Ireland, in order to reduce it 'into ſubjection to juſt laws, and to extirpate 'vice, which has long been triumphant there; 'and you promiſe to pay us, out of every 'houſe, an annual acknowledgment of one 'penny, and to maintain the rights of the 'church, without the leaſt detriment or di- 'minution. Upon this promiſe, we readily 'conſent and allow, that you may make a de- 'ſcent into that iſland, to enlarge the boun- 'daries of the church, to reform the manners 'of the natives, and to promote the growth of 'virtue and the chriſtian religion; and we ex- 'hort you to do whatever you apprehend to 'be proper, to promote the honour of God 'and the ſalvation of the people, whom we 'charge to own you for their ſovereign lord; 'provided always, that the Peter-pence be 'punctually paid, and the rights of the church 'inviolably preſerved. If, then, you put your de- 'ſign in execution, labour, above all things, to 'improve the natives of Ireland in virtue, and 'uſe both your own and the endeavours of 'thoſe you ſhall judge worthy to be employed 'in this work, that the church of God and 'true religion may flouriſh in the country, the 'honour of God and the ſalvation of ſouls, in 'ſuch a manner, advanced, as may entitle 'you to an everlaſting reward in heaven, and 'an immortal fame upon earth."

Reflections on this bull.

It is not an eaſy matter, from the peruſal of this bull, to form a judgment, whether Henry, or the pope, was guilty of the greateſt diſſimulation; for the former made uſe of falſe pretences, to varniſh over his ambition, whilſt the latter pretended to believe him, for the ſake of a country to which he had no right, and with a view of transferring it to a prince, who was not, in the leaſt, entitled to take poſſeſſion of it; but it is not very difficult to penetrate thro' all theſe diſguiſes. Ireland had not, as yet, owned the papal authority; and this was the immorality to be rooted out of the field of the Lord. Submiſſion to the biſhop of Rome was the ſeed, to be ſo induſtriouſly ſown and cultivated, that the Roman church might reap a plentiful harveſt; or elſe what can poſſibly be meant by ſpreading the light of the truth, where chriſtianity had been, ſo long before, believed and publickly profeſſed? However, Henry, being ſupported by the pope, reſolved to embrace the preſent opportunity; but, before I proceed to give an account of the ſucceſs of this expedition, it will be neceſſary to take notice of the ſtate of that iſland, which was, ſoon after, united to the Engliſh monarchy. 1171.

The ſituation, extent, and advantages of Ireland. Cambden. Gir. Cam. in Topog. Hiberniæ.

Ireland is ſituated on the weſt of Great-Britain, being parted by an arm of ſea, called St. George's channel, in ſome places, not above 3 leagues broad; and the iſland is, from ſouth to north, about 300 miles in length, and, from eaſt to weſt, 200 in breadth. There is not, in all Europe, a more temperate climate; becauſe the extreams of heat and cold are generally qualified, by the vapours ariſing from the ſurrounding ſea. The ſoil, eſpecially ſouthward, is very fertile; and they, who affirm, that no wheat grows there, doubtleſs, mean the northern parts, where the inhabitants commonly live upon oaten bread; for, in all other parts of the iſland, there is a plenty of wheat, ſufficient for the ſubſiſtence of the natives; tho' it moſt abounds with paſture-grounds, its principal wealth conſiſting in a great breed of cattle. The ſea is ſo well ſtock'd with fiſh, that, if the Iriſh were deſtitute of all other food, that alone might ſuſtain them; but the chief advantage of Ireland is its convenient ſituation, for trade and commerce, not only with all Europe, but other parts of the world, having a great number of excellent ports, which facilitate the exportation of its commodities. For theſe reaſons, the Engliſh, ever ſince the conqueſt of the iſland, have conſidered it, as a dangerous rival, as to commerce; and, therefore, it is no wonder, that a country ſo fertile, and well ſituated, and ſo near England, ſhould attract the envy of Henry II, a prince of boundleſs ambition.

Its firſt inhabitants.

The original inhabitants of this iſland, according to ſome Iriſh hiſtorians, muſt be traced beyond the flood; but others, more unprejudiced, in this particular, aſſert, that, from the third age of the world, Ireland was inhabited with Scyths, whoſe number, in the fourth, was conſiderably augmented by colonies of Spaniards; tho' they have not explain'd, what they mean by the third and fourth ages of the world. Theſe two nations, at length, not only peopled Ireland, but the Hebrides alſo; from whence part of them removed and ſettled in North-

1171. North-Britain, as we have obſerved, in the introduction to this Hiſtory.

Its various names. The natives called this iſland Erin; from which the names Ierna, Juverna, Iouernia, Overnia, and Hibernia are plainly derived. The Britons ſtiled it Yverdon; the Romans, Hybernia; and the Saxons, Iren-landt, i. e. the country of Iren or Erin. The etymology of the word, Erin, is not certainly known; but Cambden, and with great probability, conjectures, that it comes from an Iriſh term, ſignifying weſt, becauſe it is the moſt weſtern iſland of Europe; and Bochartus derives Hybernia from Ibernæ, a Phœnician word, denoting the fartheſt habitation. Iſidore and Bede ſtile it Scotia, with reſpect to the inhabitants, who generally came from Scythia, and were, therefore, named Scots, and alſo Scotia Major, to diſtinguiſh it from North-Britain, inhabited by the ſame nation; but others term it Britannia Parva, to diſtinguiſh it from Great-Britain, pretending that all the iſles, in thoſe parts, ſhould be called the Britannick iſlands. The original of the Iriſh language is ſtill more uncertain; ſince it differs in all reſpects, even in the very form of its letters, from thoſe of the neighbouring nations.

Ptolem.

Its language differs from all others.

The converſion of the Iriſh. Ninnius. Pope Celeſtinus I was the firſt, that undertook the converſion of the Iriſh, by ſending Palladius, to preach the goſpel among them; but, upon their firſt biſhop's untimely death, Patrick, St. Germanus's diſciple, was ſent in his ſtead, who converted moſt of the natives; and their poſterity have, all along, regarded him, as their apoſtle, having, to this day, the greateſt veneration for his memory. Ireland abounded with monks, who were, for the moſt part, ſo famous, for their ſanctity, that, on their account, it was called the Iſland of Saints; and, from hence, great numbers of learned and zealous men came forth, who exceedingly promoted the converſion of the Albin-Scots, Picts, and Anglo-Saxons; ſuch were Columbanus, Aidan, Finan, Colman, Kilian, and many others, taken notice of elſewhere.

The fame of the firſt monks.

Ireland is expoſed to many invaſions. Gir. Cam. Religion and learning *, which flouriſhed in Ireland, were expell'd by foreign invaſions, to which it was often expoſed. Egfrid, king of Northumberland, ſent a powerful army thither, which ravaged the country in a terrible manner; as did afterwards the Norwegians, for above 30 years together, under Turgeſius, who was, at length, cut off by an ambuſcade. This devaſtation was quickly followed by an invaſion of the Eaſtmanni, or men of the eaſt, being certain people from Germany; and, ſoon after this, Edgar, king of England, ſubdued Ireland, if a charter, bearing his name, may be credited, in which he mightily glories in that conqueſt; but that iſland received ſtill greater damages, by means of its inteſtine diviſions. The Iriſh were ſcarce freed from the invaſions of foreigners, and particularly the Danes, when a civil war broke out among them, which ended in the partition of of Ireland into ſeveral petty kingdoms; which, tho', at firſt, very numerous, were, at length reduced, to ſeven, viz. Connaught, Cork, Leinſter, Oſſery, Meath, Limerick, and Ulſter †. The king of Connaught, being the chief of theſe petty ſovereigns, kept the reſt in a ſort of dependence, with much the ſame authority the Anglo-Saxon monarchs enjoyed, during the heptarchy; and the Iriſh Annals ſtile Roderic, king of Connaught, in the time of Henry II, monarch, tho' there were other kings in the iſland. A quarrel between two of theſe kings, the weakeſt of whom invited the Engliſh to his aſſiſtance, occaſioned the Iriſh to loſe their liberty; and the like cauſe has often produced the like effect. An imprudence of the ſame nature rendered the Moors maſters of Spain, and the Anglo-Saxons of England; which ſhews, of what dangerous conſequence it is to invite foreigners into a kingdom.

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The king of Leinſter applies to Henry. Gir. Cam. Dermot, king of Leinſter, was, at preſent, one of the moſt conſiderable kings, by reaſon of the extent of his dominions; but, by his tyrannical and arbitrary government, from his acceſſion to the throne, he was become extremely odious to his ſubjects; tho' he deſpiſed their diſaffection, as he was at peace with the neighbouring princes. However, he afterwards cauſed a rupture, by debauching and carrying off the wife of O-Rorick, king of Meath; for O-Rorick, in revenge, levied an army, and, being joined by Roderic, king of Connaught, attack'd Dermot, who, finding that his ſubjects deſerted him, was conſtrain'd to leave Ireland; and, as none of the princes, his neighbours, would engage in his quarel, he implored the protection of the king of England, who was then in France, promiſing to own him, as his ſovereign lord, if he would reſtore him to his crown. This propoſal was, doubtleſs, highly grateful to Henry, who had, ſo long before, projected the conqueſt of Ireland; but, his war with France not being over, he could not immediately aſſiſt the fugitive king; yet taking it to be his intereſt, to perſuade Dermot to begin a war, which might turn to his advantage, he adviſed him to go into England, in order to obtain what ſupplies he could from the Engliſh barons, in expectation of a greater re-inforcement from himſelf, as ſoon as he had leiſure, for that purpoſe. Dermot, upon this, went to England; where Robert Fitz-Stephen and Richard de Clare, ſirnamed Strong-bow, earl of Pembroke, entered into an agreement with him, on certain conditions. The former was prevailed on, from the proſpect of advancing his fortune in Ireland; and the latter, who had large poſſeſſions in England and Wales, was gained over, by Dermot's aſſuring him, that he ſhould have his only daughter in marriage, and ſucceed him on the throne.

Henry promiſes to aſſiſt him.

Two Engliſh lords enter into an alliance with him.

Theſe lords having raiſed ſome troops, among their friends and vaſſals, Fitz-Stephen,

* Cambden obſerves, that the Saxons formerly flock'd to Ireland, as to the great mart of learning; and Bede and other Engliſh authors frequently take notice of the Saxons ſending their ſons thither, for education.

† They were afterwards reduced to four large provinces, Ulſter, Leinſter, Connaught, and Munſter, as at this day; which four provinces are divided into 32 counties, four archbiſhopricks, and 18 epiſcopal ſees.

who

1171. who was firſt in readineſs, accompanied Dermot into Ireland, with 400 men; and, landing near Waterford; the king of Leinſter led them before the city of Wexford, which, being ſoon taken, was given to Fitz-Stephen, who planted there a colony of Engliſh, the firſt of that nation that ſettled in Ireland; where they remain to this day, retaining ſtill their antient garb, and much of the old Engliſh language, with a mixture of Iriſh. Upon this exploit, the adventurers re-inforcing their little army, to the number of 3000, being joined by the natives *, march'd againſt the king of Oſſery; but this prince, being ſurprized and in no condition to make reſiſtance, was obliged to ſubmit to their own terms.

They, upon their arrival in Ireland, take Wexford, and ſubdue the king of Oſſery.

In the mean time, Roderic, the monarch, convening the ſtates of the iſland, perſuaded them to reſolve on a war with Dermot and the Engliſh; and, indeed, it was evident, that their views were not limited to the aſſiſtance of the king of Leinſter; but, as the adventurers were, now, grown very formidable, he thought it moſt adviſable, firſt, to try if he could prevail on them, by fair means, to depart the iſland. He, firſt of all, offered Fitz-Stephen a conſiderable ſum, to retire; but, this propoſal being refus'd, he applied to Dermot, promiſing to reſtore him to his kingdom, provided he would engage to ſend back the Engliſh. Dermot, at once, complied with this offer; but, when they came to the point of performing their conditions, miſtruſting each other, they could neither agree upon the time nor the place. In the mean while, the earl of Pembroke arrived, with 1200 men; and, taking Waterford, he put all the inhabitants to the ſword. This conqueſt breaking off the negotiation between the two kings, the earl of Pembroke married Dermot's daughter, and, ſoon after, took poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Leinſter, upon his father-in-law's death, whom the Iriſh ſirnamed Ningal, i. e. the ſtranger's friend.

The king of Connaught, in vain, tries to ſend back the Engliſh.

The earl Pembroke arrives,

and, on Dermot's death, ſucceeded him.

After Dermot's deceaſe, the adventurers, perceiving that the terror of their arms was ſpread over Ireland, made farther advances, ſubduing Dublin and ſome other places; and it is almoſt incredible, that ſuch an exceeding populous nation, as the Iriſh, ſhould ſo feintly oppoſe the progreſs of a handful of foreigners; but this is imputed to their great dread of the Engliſh croſs-bows, the uſe of which, before this juncture, was altogether unknown to them.

The Engliſh take Dublin.

Henry entertained hopes, that, by this time, the adventurers would have wanted his aſſiſtance, and ſo furniſhed him with a pretence, to come into Ireland, in perſon, and make a conqueſt of the iſland; but, their extraordinary ſucceſs rendering his aid unneceſſary, he was afraid they would become maſters of the whole country, which he deſigned for himſelf. In order, therefore, to oblige them to have recourſe to him, he prohibits the exportation of proviſions, or ammunition, to Ireland, and commands all his ſubjects to return from thence, pretending that the adventurers had engaged in this expedition, without his leave; upon which, the earl of Pembroke and Fitz-Stephen ſent deputies, to aſſure him of their obedience, and that all their preſent and future conqueſts ſhould be at his diſpoſal. This ſubmiſſion gave the king entire ſatisfaction; and, ſome time after, Henry entered into an agreement with them, that all the ſea-ports ſhould be his, and the reſt be enjoy'd by the conquerors, to be held of him and his ſucceſſors. This affair being, thus, ſettled, Henry went over to Ireland himſelf, with a formidable army, and landed at Waterford; upon which, the whole iſland voluntarily ſubmitted to his authority; for, during his ſtay at Waterford, all the kings of Ireland arrived at his court, and ſtrove with emulation, who ſhould be foremoſt, in ſwearing him allegiance.

Henry is jealous of the adventurers.

1171.

1172. Henry paſſes over into Ireland, which ſubmits to him.

Thus, Henry, without ſpilling one drop of blood, ſubdued Ireland, in leſs time than was ſufficient to travel over it; and, having placed freſh garriſons in Waterford, Wexford, and ſome other maritime towns, he proceeded to Dublin, where he made regulations, for the government of his new conqueſt; and, quickly after, he embarqued for England, leaving Hugh Lacy at Dublin, to govern the iſland, in his name, with the title of juſticiary of Ireland.

If they, who are acquainted with the extent and importance of the kingdom of Ireland, are ſurprized, that it ſhould be ſo eaſily conquer'd by the Engliſh, they will have equal cauſe for admiration, when they ſhall find, in the courſe of this Hiſtory, how extremely difficult it was, to keep it. Some, conſidering the blood and treaſure, that were ſpent, to ſecure the poſſeſſion of it, have not ſcrupled to affirm, that it would have been better for the Engliſh, if that iſland had been buried in the bottom of the ſea; and, indeed, their keeping it, to this day, is not ſo much for the profit accruing from thence, as to prevent its becoming ſubject to a foreign power, which would be vaſtly prejudicial to the commerce of England.

Henry could not ſtay any longer in Ireland, being in haſte to go to Normandy, in order to meet Theodinus and Albertus, the pope's legates, that were ſent to examine into Becket's murder; and four entire months were employed, in this affair. Tho' the legates had orders to give the king abſolution; yet they took depoſitions, from all hands, with a view of proving him guilty, to magnify the favour, he was about to receive from his holineſs; and, after many difficulties and delays, he was, at laſt, allowed to purge himſelf by a ſolemn oath, that he neither commanded, nor conſented to Becket's aſſaſſination. He publickly declared, that he was heartily ſorry for being the occaſion of it, by dropping ſome imprudent expreſſions, and that he would willingly ſubmit to whatſoever penance the legates ſhould enjoin; and, upon this oath and declaration, he was abſolved

He meets the pope's legates in Normandy.

* Others ſay, that the army was augmented, by the arrival of new forces from England, under Maurice de Pendergeſt.

from

1172. from his pretended crime, on terms importing more the pope's favour, than his innocence. To obtain this abſolution, he obliged himſelf, 1. never to oppoſe the pope's will, whilſt he was treated, as a catholick prince. 2. Not to hinder appeals to the holy ſee. 3. To lead an army to the Holy-Land, againſt the Infidels, and continue there, at leaſt, three years ſucceſſively; tho' he was left at liberty to ſend thither only 200 men, if he choſe rather to go, in perſon, againſt the Saracens in Spain. 4. To recall all that were baniſhed, on Becket's account, and reſtore them to their eſtates and revenues. 5. And, laſtly, to aboliſh all laws and cuſtoms, lately introduced, to the prejudice of the church of Canterbury, or any other church in England. To theſe, which were made publick, was added a ſecret article, by which Henry bound himſelf to go, bare-foot, to the archbiſhop's tomb, and receive diſcipline from the monks of St. Auguſtin. Thus, ended this vexatious affair, which, in ſpite of Henry's reſolution, at firſt, turned, at length, to the pope's advantage, and exalted the papal authority to a greater height, than ever; and, indeed, from this inſtance, all other ſovereigns had reaſon to dread the formidable power of the court of Rome, which had treated, with ſuch indignity, one of the moſt potent princes in Europe.

1173. Gervaſe. In the beginning of 1173, Roger, abbot of Bec in Normandy, was elected archbiſhop of Canterbury, after the ſee had been vacant, a little more than a year; but, upon his refuſal of it, Richard, prior of Dover, was choſen, in his room.

A great conſpiracy againſt the king. Henry, having ſurmounted ſo many difficulties, expected to ſpend the remainder of his days, in uninterrupted tranquillity, amidſt the grandeur and glory that ſurrounded him; but he ſoon found, that his hopes were deluſive. During his abſence, a conſpiracy was formed againſt him, ſo much the more dangerous, as his queen and his own ſons were the authors of it; and it was countenanced by ſome of the chief barons of the realm, as well as ſeveral foreign princes. Queen Eleanor was prompted to it, by her extreme jealouſy, for which the king had given her but too juſt cauſe; yet, among his many miſtreſſes, fair Roſamund, the lord Clifford's daughter, being his moſt beloved favourite, gave her the greateſt uneaſineſs; and ſhe could not forbear threatening, that ſhe would make her feel the weight of her reſentment. Henry imagined, that he had ſecured her, beyond all poſſibility of danger, in a labyrinth, at Woodſtock, contrived for that very purpoſe; but, notwithſtanding his precautions, the queen, in his abſence, found the means to diſpatch her deteſted rival *; and, deſpairing of ever regaining the king's affection, in purſuit of her revenge, ſhe ſpirited up her ſons to a revolt. Henry, the eldeſt, being a very haughty young prince, could no longer bear the regal title, without the authority; and Richard, naturally turbulent and impatient, was uneaſy under the king's diſcipline, becauſe, tho' he had made him earl of Poictou, he had not inveſted him with the poſſeſſion of it; and Geoffrey had ſtill more reaſon to complain, than his brothers, as he was deprived of the government of Bretagne, under the ſpecious pretence of a guardianſhip, for which, he imagined, there was no longer occaſion. Several Engliſh barons were eaſily drawn into this conſpiracy, from the hopes of having greater credit and authority under the young king, than his father; and the king of France, who was continually jealous of Henry's proſperity, not only engaged in the project of dethroning him, but cauſed the earls of Flanders, Boulogne, and Blois, his vaſſals, to enter into the league againſt him. William, king of Scotland, alſo encouraged this undertaking, with a view of recovering the dominions his brother, Malcolm, had reſigned to England; and this confederacy ſuddenly broke out, when Henry leaſt expected it. Normandy, Guienne, and Bretagne were all, at once, attack'd by the arms of the confederates; and the king of Scotland invaded Cumberland. England was divided into two parties, one for the young king, and the other for his father; but, before I deſcend to particulars, I ſhall firſt take notice of the ſteps that were taken, by Henry's enemies, in order to ſurprize him.

1173. The queen puts Roſamund to death.

Henry, after the conqueſt of Ireland, deſigning to go to Normandy, paſſed through England, to take his ſon along with him, being altogether ignorant of the plots, that were formed, in his abſence; and, upon his arrival at Roan, he received a letter from the king of France, in which he intreated him to permit his daughter and ſon-in-law, to come and ſpend a few days at his court. The young prince, obtaining leave, directly repaired to Paris, and concerted proper meaſures with his father-in-law, that all the confederates might act, at the ſame time; but, as he deferred his return, under various pretences, Henry began to be uneaſy. Perhaps, he had received ſome hints of what was in agitation; or was jealous, that, by too long converſing with Lewis, he might be infected with ill impreſſions. However that be, he ſent for the young king, who durſt not Brompt.

* Tyrrel obſerves, that all the hiſtorians are ſilent, as to this point; ſo that the ſtory of the queen's forcing Roſamund, to drink poiſon, has no other foundation than the old Engliſh ballad. It is certain, that ſhe did not live long; but yet it is evident, that ſhe did not die, in 1173, nor was poiſoned by the queen; for Brompton, in ſo many words, declares, that, after the queen's impriſonment, Henry was guilty of adulterous practices, and publickly kept, for a long time, Roſamund, as his miſtreſs. She was buried in the church belonging to Godſtow-nunnery, near Oxford, where her epitaph, according to the ſame author, was to be ſeen, in his time, and is, as follows:

Hic jacet in tumba, Roſa mundi, non Roſa munda;
Non redolet, ſed olet, quæ redolere ſolet.
This tomb doth here encloſe, the world's moſt beauteous Roſe:
Roſe paſſing ſweet 'ere while, now nought but odour vile. Speed.

There are not the leaſt remains of her labyrinth, at this day; but her monument has been lately repaired and beautified.

1173. disobey his orders, to prevent any suspicion of the conspiracy; and, upon his return, the king accompanied by his son, went to Montferrand, a small town in Auvergne, to hold a conference with Hubert, earl of Maurienna, Alphonso, earl of Arragon and Barcelona, Gerard, earl of Vienne, and Raymond, earl of Tholouse. He treated with the earl of Maurienna, about a marriage between John, his fourth son, and Alice, daughter to that lord; but, as this affair could not be ended at Montferrand, Hubert attended the king to Limoges, where he press'd him to declare, what he would do for the prince, his son, to promote this match. Henry offered to settle on John the cities of Lodun, Chinon, and Mirebel; but the young king, who was present, alledged, it was extremely surprizing, that his father should assign an appenage to his youngest son; whilst he refused the same, during his life, to the eldest, who was honoured with the regal title, tho' he was possess'd of nothing, to support that dignity. This opposition created a great misunderstanding between the father and son, which was farther increased, by the latter's demanding Normandy, till he should succeed to the crown of England; but his view, in this proceeding, was only to find a pretence for complaining, in order to open the scene he had projected with the king of France.

The king suspects his eldest son. Gervase.

From this time, Henry, being persuaded, that his son was corrupted by Lewis, order'd him to be very narrowly watched, to prevent his escape; and the young prince was no less sollicitous, to avoid the impending danger; and, therefore, he privately withdrew from court, and posted to the king of France. This fully confirmed Henry's suspicions; tho' he was still ignorant of the true nature of his son's design. The queen, who resided at London, was no sooner informed of the king her son's arrival at Paris, than she sent thither also Richard and Geoffrey; and, thus, Henry found himself, on a sudden, abandon'd by his own family, tho', he could not, as yet apprehend the tendency of all these proceedings. The weight of his indignation, his sons being out of his power, fell upon the queen, whom he caused to be

The queen is imprisoned.

closely confined; tho' the only benefit, he reaped from it, was the gratification of his revenge; for, presently after, the confederate princes attacking him, in several places, he had occasion for all his resolution, and especially for all his prudence, to withstand so many powerful enemies. Richard was the author of a revolt in Guienne; Geoffrey put himself at the head of an insurrection he raised in Bretagne, designing to seize on the government of that dutchy; Normandy was attacked by the king of France, assisted by the earls of Flanders, Boulogne, and Blois; the king of Scotland made a descent into the northern parts of England; and the earl of Leicester landed at Southampton, with an army levied in France, expecting that the greatest part of the English would join him, against the king. Thus, Henry was surrounded, on all hands, with hostile armies; whilst, at the same time, he was in no condition to make any resistance.

1173. In the interim, young Henry, who continued at Paris, as if he had been sole king of England, received the homage of the vassals, made grants and donations of the crown-lands, assigned pensions out of the publick revenues, and had a seal different from that of his father; nor would he suffer any to attend him, that did not swear allegiance to him, exclusive of the old king. The young prince, now, looked upon his father's ruin, as inevitable; and Lewis, to encourage him in this belief, affecting, on all occasions, satyrically to jest upon old Henry, would scarce allow him to be called king, in his presence. Indeed, the affairs of this monarch seemed, at present, to be in a desperate situation; but his heroick virtues never shined with more lustre, than at this critical extremity. The prospect of the impending danger invigorated his courage; and he exerted so much steadiness, prudence, and dexterity, that, in spite of the difficulties, that continually occurr'd, from all quarters, he obtained, at last, a glorious advantage over all his enemies. The king of France was forced to abandon Verneuil, after a tedious siege; Henry's army of Brabanfons, which he sent into Bretagne, vanquish'd the rebels, upon which, they returned to their duty; and the earl of Leicester was defeated in England, and taken prisoner, by Humphry Bohun, general of the English army, who, taking the opportunity of the truce made with the king of Scotland, gave that lord battle, at Fornham near St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk; in which engagement, 10,000 Flemings were slain. Upon the expiration of the truce, William renewed his ravages in Northumberland; but, being too intent upon his plunder, he unfortunately, or rather imprudently, suffered himself to be surprized by the English general, who put his army to the rout, and took him prisoner. The Scots affirm, that this was transacted, during the truce; but, however that be, the king was first imprisoned in Richmond-castle, and afterwards conveigh'd, from thence, into Normandy.

1173. Henry the son, acts as sole king.

The earl of Leicester is taken prisoner; and also the king of Scotland.

Henry's success in France.

In the mean time, Henry was employed in France; and he managed his affairs so well, that, in a few months, either by himself or his generals, he subdued the principal places in Guienne, Saintonge, Anjou, Poictou, and Bretagne, that had revolted; which successes entirely disconcerted the measures of his enemies, and dissipated the fears that justly seiz'd him, in the beginning of the war.

The young king detained by contrary winds.

The king, his son, whilst he was embarass'd in France, having mustered an army of Frenchmen and Flemings, putting himself at their head, marched towards Gravelin, designing to embarque for England, in order to join the king of Scotland and earl of Leicester, who were, not, as yet, defeated; and, had the wind been fair, at that juncture, he would, doubtless, have been master of England? but he waited so long for a favourable gale, that the king, his father, having had time to settle his affairs in France, embarquing at Barfleur, safely arrived in England. Henry, landing at South-

1173. Southampton, ſet out directly for Canterbury, to do penance at Becket's tomb, purſuant to the terms of his abſolution; and he no ſooner came in ſight of the town, tho' it was yet three miles diſtant, than he pull'd off his boots and walked, bare-foot, in extreme pain, to the ſacred tomb. Having reſted there a while, he was ſcourged by the prior and monks of St. Auguſtin, and ſpent the night in prayer, in the cathedral, lying on the cold pavement; and, the next day, after he had aſſiſted at a ſolemn proceſſion found the tomb, he departed for London. The victory Henry's arms obtained over the king of Scotland, falling out, the very day he left Canterbury, it was obſerved, that he owed it to the interceſſion of the bleſſed St. Thomas; and it was farther affirm'd, that the king himſelf publickly return'd him thanks, on that account, thereby acknowledging, that he was fully convinced of the truth of his ſanctity.

He reduces the rebels in England,

After the earl of Leiceſter's and the king of Scotland's defeat, young Henry's party, being diſpirited, retired to their fortreſſes and caſtles; but the king, impatiently deſirous of entirely reducing them, quickly after his arrival at London, march'd with an army, in order to beſiege them. The greateſt part ſurrender'd, upon his approach; and the reſt did not hold out many days. In the interim, the king of France, upon the defeat of the confederates, recalling his troops from Gravelin, laid ſiege to Roan, in expectation of taking it, before Henry could come to its relief; but the brisk defence of the inhabitants baffled his deſign; and Henry, upon the firſt notice of this ſiege, was ſo expeditious, in his proceedings, that he arrived in Normandy, with a conſiderable body of troops, before Lewis had made any remarkable progreſs. Henry's ſudden arrival ſo intimidated the enemy, that he retreated, in the utmoſt confuſion, leaving all his baggage behind him; nay, ſome aſſert, that he could not retire, but by the means of a treaty, which he afterwards very little regarded.

and forces Lewis to raiſe the ſiege of Roan. Hoved.

1174. Henry's proſperity.

Henry's affairs were, now, in a more flouriſhing condition, than ever; for he was abſolute maſter of England, whilſt Scotland was dejected, by the impriſonment of her king. Ireland continued in obedience; the Welch remained quiet, within their own bounds. Normandy, Guienne, and the other provinces abroad were entirely reduced, except a few caſtles in Poictou, that were ſtill in the hands of prince Richard; and, therefore, it is no wonder, that Lewis, now above 60 years of age, deſpaired of accompliſhing what he, at firſt, projected. He found, that the confederacy had only more firmly eſtabliſh'd Henry on the throne; and, beſides, he was apprehenſive, that, if he ſhould die, during the war, Philip, his ſon, who was no more than 10 years old, would not be able to maintain it; and, on theſe accounts, he was inclinable to peace. Henry gave into the ſame ſentiments, being extremely deſirous of depriving his ſons of the protection of France, their only refuge; but Richard, his ſecond ſon, oppoſed theſe pacifick meaſures; tho' neither his brothers, nor the king of France, judged it expedient to carry on the war, purely, for his ſake. Accordingly, they conſented to a truce, during which, they obliged themſelves not to aſſiſt him; and Henry made the beſt uſe of this juncture, to reduce Richard to his duty; who, at laſt, finding himſelf entirely abandoned, ſubmitted to his father, and implored his pardon. This prince met with a more gracious reception, than he expected, and attended Henry to the place appointed by the two monarchs, to treat, in perſon, about the terms of peace; which ſoon were ſettled, to their mutual ſatisfaction. Henry granted a general pardon to all the revolters, without any exception; and the young king promiſed obedience, for the future, and that he would ſuffer prince John, his brother, to enjoy his appenage, without the leaſt interruption. Geoffrey and Richard either were, or ſeem'd to be, contented with what their father had allotted them; and the king of France agreed to reſtore to Henry the caſtles he had taken, in the beginning of the war. To ſtrengthen the reconciliation between the two kings, a marriage was concluded on, between Richard and Alice, Lewis's daughter; and the princeſs, being very young, was committed to Henry's care, to be educated in England, till ſhe became marriageable; but he abuſed his truſt, as the ſequel will inform us. 1174.

The king of Scotland is releaſed, on hard terms.

It was farther ſtipulated by this treaty, that all the priſoners, on both ſides, ſhould be releaſed; but, to exclude the king of Scotland, and, perhaps, him only, of all that were impriſoned, Henry inſerted a clauſe, importing, that none, whoſe ranſoms were already treated on, ſhould receive the benefit of that article. However, William was ſo impatiently deſirous of liberty, that, in order to obtain it, he ſolemnly ſwore, that he would make reſtitution of all that he had taken from England, and do homage for his kingdom to that crown. Henry, upon the ſettlement of his affairs in France, repair'd to York, attended by the king, his ſon, and a numerous train of nobility; where, before the barons of both realms, William did homage to the two kings of England, for Scotland, in general, and the county of Gallaway, in particular; which was confirmed by the ſolemn oaths of the Scotch barons, who ſwore, that, if their king did not perform his engagement, they would withdraw their allegiance, and even conſent, that the kingdom of Scotland ſhould be laid under an interdict. Nevertheleſs, Henry, for his farther ſecurity, put himſelf in poſſeſſion of the caſtles of Roxborough, Berwick, Sterling, and Edinburgh; and, this affair being over, the young king returned to France, where he ſpent three years, in improving himſelf, in all the exerciſes of body and mind, that were requiſite for the accompliſhment of a prince.

1175. Henry ratifies king Edward's laws.

Peace, which had been long baniſh'd from England, being, at length, happily reſtored, Henry enacted new laws, and reviv'd others that were neglected. The laws, which are advantageous to ſovereign princes, are, for the moſt part, very ſtrictly obſerv'd, becauſe they

1175. they generally take care to ſee them put in execution; whilſt they, too often, are apt to overlook thoſe, that are beneficial to their ſubjects. Indeed, by this practice, they continually enlarge their authority; but, then, it often occaſions rebellions, ſometimes more prejudicial, even to themſelves, than the laws they neglect or evade. This was lately Henry's caſe, with reſpect to the Engliſh nation; and his three ſons, who had given him ſo much diſturbance, were alive and in health; and their diſpoſition, in all probability, was ſtill the ſame, notwithſtanding his treaty with them. He was, therefore, of opinion, that, to guard againſt them, for the future, it was his intereſt to gain the people's affections, by reviving the laws of Edward the Confeſſor; and, as theſe laws were advantageous for the ſubject, in compariſon of thoſe of the Norman kings, which only tended to augment the prince's revenues, and ſtretch the royal prerogative, all degrees of perſons ardently deſired to have them reſtored. They even made ſome attempts, in the preceding reigns, to this purpoſe, tho' they proved ineffectual; and, indeed, the king's preſent condeſcenſion was no more than a mere flouriſh, conſiſting only of ſome publick orders, which were never put in execution.

1176. The inſtitution of itinerant judges.

About the ſame time, Henry divided England into ſix parts or diſtricts, aſſign'd to ſo many judges, who were obliged to go, at certain ſeaſons, and hold the aſſizes, i. e. miniſter juſtice to the people; which cuſtom continues, to this day.

Henry razes the caſtles.

He alſo demoliſhed all the fortified caſtles, that were ſtill in the poſſeſſion of private perſons, which were a mighty cheque to the power of the ſovereign.

The princeſs Joanna's marriage to the king of Sicily.

In the mean while, William the Good, king of Sicily, demanded Joanna, Henry's daughter, in marriage; and, the match ſeeming to be for the advantage of that princeſs, he diſpatched ambaſſadors into Sicily, to ſettle the articles, and afterwards ſent her away, with a ſplendid retinue.

The king deſigns to erect Ireland into a kingdom for prince John.

Prince John, his fourth ſon, being 11 years old, he reſolved to erect Ireland into a kingdom, in order to beſtow it on his darling ſon; and he ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, to procure the pope's conſent; but this was not obtained, till ſome years after, when it was out of his power, to make uſe of that favour.

1177. Lewis viſits Becket's tomb. Mezerai.

About this time, the king of France, on the account of his declining age, propoſed to have his ſon, Philip, crowned, according to the cuſtom of his predeceſſors; but a violent diſtemper, ſeizing the young prince, prevented his

1178.

1179. deſign, and led him almoſt to deſpair of his life; for Lewis was ſo deeply affected with his ſon's danger, that he went in pilgrimage to Becket's tomb, for the ſake of that ſaint's interceſſion, in behalf of his ſon. Henry, meeting him at Dover, conducted him to Canterbury; where they both offered up their prayers; and the king of France, at his departure, beſtowed conſiderable preſents * to the church, where the ſaint was interr'd.

The aſſizes of Northampton.

I have ſlightly paſſed over the events of the three laſt years †, as being of little conſequence to foreigners; tho' they deſerve the notice of the Engliſh reader. For example, the aſſizes, or parliament, of Northampton is a very material article; which was a revival of the conſtitutions of Clarendon, except thoſe that related to the clergy. Henry likewiſe, during this interval, made ſeveral regulations, for the adminiſtration of juſtice and government of the ſtate; but, for the reaſon above-mentioned, I take it to be needleſs, to deſcend to particulars; yet I cannot forbear to mention one occurrence, which highly redounds to Henry's glory.

Henry is umpire between the kings of Caſtile and Navarre.

Alphonſo, king of Caſtile and Sanctio, king of Navarre, having had great diſputes, about certain caſtles and territories, ſent ambaſſadors, to intreat Henry to be their umpire, promiſing to acquieſce in his arbitration; and this prince, being deſirous of acquitting himſelf, with honour, and impartiality, in an affair of ſuch importance, convened, at London, all the barons and judges of the realm, for the ſake of their advice; and, upon mature deliberation, he paſſed a judgment, to the ſatisfaction of both parties.

1180. Lewis, dying, is ſucceeded by Philip, his ſon.

There is, in the Collection of the publick Acts, an agreement between Henry and Lewis, to accompany each other, in a pilgrimage to the Holy-Land; but, as this record is without date, we cannot be preciſely certain, as to the time; tho', in all probability, it was made, whilſt Lewis was at Canterbury. The death of that monarch, in 1180, prevented their intended expedition; and Philip, his ſon, ſirnamed the Auguſt, ſucceeded to the crown of France.

1181. Pope Lucius.

Pope Alexander III. died in 1181, and had, for his ſucceſſor, Lucius III.

The ſame year, Henry ſent juſticiaries into all parts of England, ordering all his ſubjects, both poor and rich, to provide themſelves with arms, at their own charge **.

1182. The diſorders in the Engliſh court.

Notwithſtanding the appearance of tranquillity at the Engliſh court, ambition, love, jealouſy, and all the turbulent paſſions, which affect the hearts of men, reigned over the royal family. Young Henry was far from being

* He offered, at the tomb, a maſſy cup, of pure gold, and gave to the monks 100 modii, i. e. 7200 gallons of wine yearly, freeing them alſo from all toll or cuſtom, for whatſoever they ſhould buy in his kingdom; which he confirmed by a charter, under his ſeal. Hoved. Brompt.

† The earl of Flanders, in 1177, had an interview with Henry at Canterbury, and went in pilgrimage to Becket's tomb; and, ſoon after, he ſet out for Jeruſalem, accompanied by William de Mandevill, earl of Eſſex, Henry de Lacy, &c.

** His regulations, about this affair, were, as follows. I. Whoſoever hath a knight's fee ſhall have a coat of mail, an helmet, a ſhield, and a lance; and ſo in proportion to the number of their knight's fees. II. Every free layman, that hath, in goods or rent, to the value of 16 marks, ſhall have a coat of mail, &c. as above. III. Every free layman, that hath, in goods, 10 marks, ſhall have an iron gorget, an iron cap, and a lance. IV. All burgeſſes, and the whole community of freemen, ſhall have a Wambais, i. e. an horſeman's coat, an iron cap, a lance, &c. Hoved.

ſatisfied.

1182. satisfied with the regal title, without the authority; and the king, his father, who was naturally of an amorous complexion, tho' he was now 50 years old, had not ſubdued his laſcivious deſires, which, thro' all the various ſcenes of his paſt life, had the aſcendant over him. He was enamour'd with Alice of France, the intended wife of his ſon Richard; and the hiſtorians are, for the moſt part, agreed, that her regard for this monarch exceeded the bounds of her diſcretion. Richard demanded leave to conſummate his marriage; but this was rather to furniſh him with matter for complaint, than any paſſionate inclination to marry a princeſs, who was generally ſuſpected to be guilty of a criminal familiarity with the king. Geoffrey, being 24 years of age, was weary of being under the guardianſhip of his father, and thought it high time for him to be put in poſſeſſion of Bretagne; and John was uneaſy to find himſelf deſtitute, whilſt all his brothers were ſo well provided for. However, as that prince was his father's darling, it was very probable, that he would make a proviſion for him, before his death; but queen Eleanor, in ſpite of the interceſſion of her children, was ſtill kept in confinement.

The king ſows diſſention among his ſons.

Henry, tho' he was no ſtranger to the ſentiments of his three eldeſt ſons, induſtriouſly concealed his apprehenſions; yet, to prevent their deſigns, he judg'd it to be expedient to ſow diſcontent among them, leſt their union might prove fatal to him; and, with this view, he inſinuated to the young king, that his brothers ought to do him homage, for the lands they held, or, at leaſt, made a pretence of holding. This prince, joyfully receiving the hint, reſolved to put it in execution; tho' his brothers were not, in the leaſt, inclined to pay him homage. Richard alledged, and with juſtice, that the dutchy of Guienne was not a fief of the crown of England; but Geoffrey had not the ſame reaſon to diſpute this point; ſince he could not but know, that Bretagne was dependent on the dutchy of Normandy; but, as the king had not reſigned Normandy to his eldeſt ſon, he had no right to inſiſt on that homage. Geoffrey, therefore, advanced this, as an argument, to elude his brother's demand; and, in the interim, he behaved with great outward reſpect to his father, tho' he ſecretly carried on a correſpondence with Richard, who was in the ſame circumſtances with himſelf. The young king ſoon perceived his father's policy, in engaging him in the quarrel; but, as he was a perfect maſter of the art of diſſimulation, tho' he openly expreſs'd a reſentment againſt his brothers, he privately concerted meaſures with them, to dethrone his father, having, for a long time, aſpired after his crown and dignity. Nevertheleſs, Providence defeated all his unreaſonable hopes; for he was carried off by a diſtemper, in the 28th year of his age. This prince, after he had reached Guienne, deſigning to excite the Gaſcoigns to a rebellion, was ſeized with a lingering fever, and obliged to ſtop at the caſtle of Martel in Quercy; and, when he found, that his life was deſpaired of, he diſcover'd great ſigns of a ſincere repentance, for all his undutiful proceedings againſt the king, his father. Before his death, he had the ſatisfaction of receiving a ring from Henry, as a token of his pardon; upon the receipt of which, he ſhed a flood of tears; and, a little before his laſt gaſp, he gave orders, that he ſhould be clothed in ſackcloth, with a rope about his neck, and laid on aſhes, in which poſture, he gave up the ghoſt.

1183. Young Henry's death.

1183.

The young king's death revived his father's affection for him; for, tho' his ſon's conduct had juſtly provoked him, he ſeemed to be extremely concerned at his loſs; tho', in all probability, his ſorrow was not of a long continuance. 1184.

It muſt be owned, that this prince was adorned with many excellent qualities; and, perhaps, his father's exceſſive fondneſs of him, when a child, did not a little contribute to the corruption of his manners; whilſt, on the other hand, the reſtraints under which he was kept, after his coronation, led him to engage in ſeveral conſpiracies, to dethrone him. His wife, Margaret of France, by whom he had one ſon, who died, in his infancy, was ſent back to her brother, king Philip, who, ſome time after, diſpoſed of her in marriage to Bela, king of Hungary.

The death of young Henry delayed the troubles, that were ready to break out, and embroil the royal family; for Richard, tho' of an impetuous diſpoſition, continued quiet, for a while, to try how the king would treat him, upon his becoming the preſumptive heir of the crown.

The patriarch of Jeruſalem asks the king's aid.

In the interim, Heraclius, patriarch of Jeruſalem, came to the Engliſh court, to ſollicit the king, in the behalf of the chriſtians of the Holy-Land; and he preſented him with the keys of Chriſt's ſepulchre and David's tower, as a proof that the chriſtians were deſirous of ſubmitting to his authority, as the grandſon of Foulke of Anjou, who was king of Jeruſalem. Henry, before he would return him an anſwer, convened an aſſembly of the lords at Clerkenwell, near London, where the patriarch, in a pathetick ſpeech, repreſented to them the miſeries, to which the chriſtians in Paleſtine were expoſed; and he afterwards attempted to ſhew, that the king had an unexceptionable right to the crown of Jeruſalem; whereas it was notorious, that Foulke, Henry's grandfather, enjoyed that crown, in right of his ſecond wife; and Geoffrey, Henry's father, was his ſon, by a former. The patriarch afterwards read the pope's letter, directed to all chriſtian princes, in which he exhorted them to aſſiſt their brethren in Paleſtine; and the king having conſulted the lords, upon the patriarch's propoſal, they were of opinion, that, without hazarding his perſon, in ſuch an expedition, it was ſufficient to ſupply him with money. Henry, falling in with this advice, furniſhed Heraclius with a conſiderable ſum, and gave his ſubjects leave to take up the croſs; tho' he did not himſelf engage in that undertaking. Upon this permiſſion, the archbiſhop of Can-

1184. terbury, ſeveral earls, barons, knights, and a vaſt multitude of the meaner ſort of people prepared for a voyage into the eaſt; but the patriarch, at his departure, was ſo complaiſant, as to aſſure the king, that he ſhould have preferred his preſence, alone, to all the Engliſh that had taken the croſs.

1185. Prince John is made king of Ireland.

The pope, being diſpleaſed at Henry's declining to enter upon the Cruſade, refuſed him ſome favours, that otherwiſe, in all probability, he would have conferr'd upon him; yet, leſt he ſhould puſh his reſentment too far, he not only allowed him to declare his youngeſt ſon, prince John, king of Ireland, but ſent him a crown of Peacock's feathers, interlaced with gold, reſerving to the holy ſee the Peter-pence on every houſe in Ireland, with ſeveral other privileges. As ſoon as the king received the pope's anſwer, he knighted prince John, and ſent him, as governor, into Ireland; but he did not venture to crown him, leſt Richard ſhould, from thence, claim the ſame indulgence in England. John was, at firſt, eſteemed and reſpected by the Iriſh; but, ſuffering himſelf to be directed by the advice of ſome young perſons, that attended him, he ſo alienated their affections, that the king was conſtrained, at length, to recall him.

III.

Pope Lucius dying, in this year, he was ſucceeded by Urban III, who appointed Baldwin, archbiſhop of Canterbury, to be his legate in England. This prelate, a Ciſtercian monk, was ſucceſſor to Richard, whoſe death happened, in 1184.

Richard raiſes troubles in Guienne.

The affairs of Ireland were far from being ſo vexatious to Henry, as his ſon Richard's inflexible temper; for, tho' he had remained quiet, ever ſince his brother Henry's death, he was now weary of a ſtate, that was ſo oppoſite to his reſtleſs diſpoſition. He went to Guienne, where he aſſum'd an abſolute authority, without any regard to his father's orders; in which, he was ſuported by the Gaſcoigns themſelves, who choſe rather to have a ſovereign of their own, than be dependent on the crown of England. After Richard had laboured, for ſome time, to gain that province to his intereſt, muſtering ſome troops together at Poictou, he made war with the Bretons, who had diſguſted him; but Geoffrey, his brother, then in Bretagne, being ſurprized at this ſudden attack, ſpeedily levied a ſmall army, and gave him battle; yet, as his forces were inferior, in number, he was eaſily defeated. Richard would have purſued his deſign, if the dread of his father, who was making preparations againſt him, had not obliged him to retire into Poictou, where he pretended to ſtand, in his own defence; tho' Henry, who was ſenſible, that his ſon's perverſeneſs could not be ſubdued, without force, had prepared an army, ſufficient to cut off all his hopes of reſiſtance. However, the king, before he proceeded to extremities, acquainted him, that it was his abſolute will and pleaſure, that he ſhould no longer concern himſelf with the affairs of Guienne, which he could not enjoy, till after the death of the queen, his mother; but that, if he deſiſted, he would leave him in poſſeſſion of Poictou; yet that, upon his refuſal, he would compel him to it, and alſo diſinherit him of the crown of England. Richard being terrified at theſe menaces, and the king's mighty preparations, was brought to a compliance; but it, ſoon after, appeared, that his ſubmiſſion was altogether involuntary. The example of William the Conqueror, who preferred his ſecond before his eldeſt ſon, ſeem'd, in ſome meaſure, to authorize the king's treatment of Richard; and the young prince could not avoid being uneaſy, as he was apprehenſive, that he ſhould be ſupplanted by one of his brothers. However, he kept a fair underſtanding with his father, and attempted to reſtrain the natural violence of his temper; but he was freed, in part, from his fears, by the death of his brother Geoffrey, at Paris, where he went to aſſiſt at a tournament. The Engliſh hiſtorians affirm, that, being flung from his horſe, he was unfortunately trampled to death, before he could be taken up; but the French writers, more probably, relate, that he died of a fever. This prince, who had a daughter, named Eleanor, left Conſtance of Bretagne big with child, who, ſoon after, was delivered of a ſon, called Arthur.

1186. He wages war againſt the Bretons.

1186.

The affairs of Bretagne.

Henry, extremely deſirous of having the guardianſhip of theſe infants, for a pretence to keep Bretagne, went thither, in order to obtain the conſent of the ſtates; but Conſtance, his daughter-in-law, vigorouſly oppoſing it, alledged, that, as ſhe was mother of the children, it was her province, to take care of their education. Beſides, ſhe aſſerted, that they could have no title to any thing, till after her deceaſe, ſince their father was duke of Bretagne, only in her right; but Henry pretended, that, as he was their grandfather, he ought to be their guardian. The ſtates of Bretagne were greatly perplexed, on this occaſion, being more overawed by the king's power, than convinced by his arguments; but, at laſt, they found an expedient, that pleaſed both parties. They decreed, that the dutcheſs ſhould have the guardianſhip of her children, and that all orders and publick acts ſhould run jointly, in her and her ſon's name; but with the proviſo, that nothing of conſequence ſhould be tranſacted, without the advice and conſent of the king of England. Before he left Bretagne, he obliged the ſtates to ſwear fealty to young Arthur, as their ſovereign; for he was apprehenſive, that, if Conſtance ſhould marry a ſecond husband, and have children by him, ſhe would give them the preference to thoſe by the former.

Philip's deſigns againſt Henry.

Henry, perhaps, would not ſo eaſily have accommodated matters with the Bretons, had he not been afraid of the king of France's interpoſal, who, tho' very young, was intently employed, in forming ſome grand projects; for Philip could not conceal his uneaſineſs, that ſo many French provinces ſhould be poſſeſſed by the Engliſh. Ever ſince his acceſſion to the throne, he had reſolved to embrace every opportunity that offered, to deprive them of theſe dominions; and the diſſention, between Henry and his ſon, Richard, he apprehended to be a favourable

1186. favourable juncture. In this belief, he made extraordinary preparations, under ſpecious pretences, deſigning to ſurprize both the father and ſon, by ſudden attacks; and he was no ſooner in readineſs for action, than he ſummoned Richard to come and do him homage, for Poictou, and required Henry to reſtore the Vexin, the dowry of Margaret, widow to his eldeſt ſon. However, in ſpite of all his precautions, he was, for once, miſtaken in his politicks; for Henry and Richard, uniting for their common advantage, kept him ſo cloſely engaged, the one in Normandy, and the other in Guienne, that he was conſtrained to ſue for a truce, which was granted him, for two years.

1187. Philip ſeduces Richard.

Philip, finding that, to accompliſh his end, it was neceſſary to foment the diſcord between Henry and Richard, contrived his affairs ſo, that Richard made him a viſit at Paris, where he gave him, in all outward appearance, a very cordial reception, and even admitted him to his bed; and theſe careſſes inſenſibly impreſſed the mind of the Engliſh prince, with ſuch ſtrong ſentiments of affection, that he imparted to him all the motives, that induced him to fall out with his father. Philip, artfully improving this openneſs, ſeemed to wonder, that the king, his father, ſhould treat him ſo roughly; and that, ſince he had crowned his elder brother, in a leſs advanced age, he ſhould deny him the ſame favour. He farther added, that it was highly probable, that he deſigned to place John, his youngeſt ſon and darling, on the throne; and, of courſe, he inferred, that it was neceſſary to prevent ſuch an unreaſonable proceeding; and all theſe affectionate expreſſions were received, with ſo much attention and confidence, that Philip entertained great hopes of ſucceeding in his deſigns.

Richard's complaints againſt his father.

In the mean while, Richard's long ſtay, at Paris, gave the king, his father, the utmoſt uneaſineſs, who inceſſantly ſent for him; and he was, ſoon after, convinced, that his ſuſpicions were not without a foundation. As the time of the truce was about to expire, Richard, continuing ſtill at the French court, openly complained of his father's preventing the conſummation of his marriage; and, leſt Henry ſhould recall him, under the pretence of ſolemnizing the nuptials, he had another excuſe in readineſs, viz. that he was privately given to underſtand, that the king intended to confine him, in order to fix his younger ſon, with the more eaſe, on the throne. Upon this, Henry, to bring over his ſon from Philip's intereſt, ſecretly diſpatched a truſty meſſenger, to convince him of the danger in which he had imprudently plunged himſelf, by his credulity; ſince the ſole view of that prince, in fomenting a miſunderſtanding between him and his father, was to make the beſt uſe of it, for his own advantage; and Richard, being prevailed on by theſe remonſtrances, ſuddenly left the court of France, and returned to England. 1187.

Jeruſalem is taken by the Saracens.

The truce being expired, the two monarchs began to renew their hoſtilities; but, before they made any progreſs, their animoſity was ſuſpended, for a while, upon the melancholy news, that the city of Jeruſalem was taken by Saladin, ſultan of Babylon; and that Guy de Luſignan, the laſt that reigned in that kingdom, was in the hands of the Infidels. As the union of the Chriſtian princes firſt occaſioned the conqueſt of the kingdom of Jeruſalem; ſo their diſſention was the means of its deſtruction, after it had ſubſiſted, near a century. This news, which alarmed all the princes of Europe, was particularly fatal to pope Urban III, who died with exceſſive grief; and he was ſoon followed by Gregory VIII. his ſucceſſor, who, after he had ſate in the papal chair, only three months, was ſucceeded by Clement III.

Philip and Henry take the croſs. Mezerai. M. Par.

The kings of France and England, as they were deeply affected with the late loſs of the chriſtians in the eaſt, dropping their private quarrel, for the cauſe of God, for ſo it was called, in thoſe days, held an interview at Giſors, to conſult about proper methods, to redreſs this great misfortune; and, having renewed the truce, the two monarchs, as well as the earl Flanders, who was preſent, took the croſs, diſtinguiſhing themſelves by three different colours. Philip choſe a red, Henry, a white, and the earl a grey croſs; and ſuch of their ſubjects, as enter'd upon the the Cruſade, obſerved the ſame diſtinction of colours *.

1188. The quarrel between Richard and the earl of Tholouſe.

But the zeal of the two kings gave way to an animoſity, ſo much the more ſurpriſing, as the occaſion of it was very trifling and inſignificant; for prince Richard, who was engaged in the expedition to the Holy-Land, came to Poictou, to raiſe money, for that purpoſe; but one of the officers of Raymund, earl of Tholouſe, paſſing through his territories, and diſguſting him, he committed him to priſon. Raymund, reſenting this proceeding, order'd, by way of repriſal, two Poictevin gentlemen to be apprehended, as they were paſſing by Tholouſe, in their return from a pilgrimage to St. James of Compoſtella. Theſe violent ſteps cauſing a very warm quarrel between the two princes, Richard revived the pretenſions of the houſe of Poictou to the earldom of Tholouſe; upon which, he penetrated that earl's country, with a numerous army, and ſubdued Moiſſac and ſeveral other places. Raymund, being perſuaded, that the king of England was the author of this war, demanded the aſſiſtance of France; and, tho' Philip was very ſenſible, that Richard might poſſibly undertake this war, without his father's knowledge, under the pretence of aſſiſting the earl of Tholouſe, his vaſſal, he made a diverſion in Berri, and took Iſſoudun; which renewed the rupture between the two monarchs, when they ſeemed

* Gervaſe complains, that, during the year 1188, the whole kingdom was grievouſly oppreſſed, about the tenths or the tax for the Cruſade; and Hoveden ſays, that the Engliſh paid above 70,000 l. towards it, and the Jews in England 60,000 l.

to

1188. to be reſolved on nothing leſs, than the death and utter ruin of the Infidels.

Richard goes over to the king of France.

It will be ſufficient to give an account of the conſequences of this war, as the beginning of it was not attended with any remarkable incidents; but, whilſt it was vigorouſly purſued by both parties, when Henry leaſt expected it, his ſon, Richard, deſerting him, went over to the king of France. In all appearance, this was brought about by Philip's intrigues, tho' the hiſtorians have not taken notice of them; but, however that be, Richard alledged two cauſes of complaint againſt the king, his father. The firſt was, that he detained from him the princeſs Alice, and had even propoſed to Philip, who preſs'd him to conſummate the marriage, to marry her to prince John, on more beneficial terms; and, whether this was really the caſe, or Philip had invented this falſity, to prejudice him againſt Henry he believed, or, at leaſt, ſeemed to believe that a project was formed to place his youngeſt brother on the throne. The other occaſion of complaint was, that Henry had refuſed to conſent to a truce, offered by Philip, alledging that it was more expedient to conclude a peace, and adjuſt their reſpective pretenſions, before they entered upon their expedition to the Holy-Land; becauſe, in conſequence of ſuch a treaty, he would have been obliged to reſtore what he had conquered from the earl of Tholouſe, whereas, by a truce, theſe conqueſts would have ſtill remained in his poſſeſſion.

1189. Henry in vain negotiates a peace. Hoved. Gervaſe.

Richard's defection, as it embarraſs'd the affairs of his father, was, for that very reaſon, extremely agreeable to Philip; but Henry, finding that, by this means, ſome of his provinces in France had abandoned him, and that he was, on that account, almoſt diſabled from carrying on the war, did all that was poſſible to forward the concluſion of a peace, and held a conference with the king of France concerning it; but Philip propoſed ſuch rigid conditions, as could not at all be reliſhed by the king of England. He inſiſted, that the marriage between Richard and Alice ſhould be conſummated; and that the prince ſhould be crowned, before the death of his father. Henry's paſſion for Alice would not ſuffer him to accept of the former of theſe articles, and, perhaps, there were other weighty reaſons, againſt his reſigning her to Richard; and, as for the latter, his own experience, at his expence, had too well inſtructed him, how imprudently he had acted, in crowning his eldeſt ſon, Henry, to be willing to run the ſame riſque for Richard, who ſeem'd to be no leſs dangerous than his brother. This firſt attempt proving abortive, Henry made another overture for a peace; but Philip, now more untractable than before, farther demanded, that Henry ſhould take prince John along with him to the Holy-Land, leſt, in Richard's abſence, he ſhould ſeize on the crown, if their father ſhould die in the expedition. Henry, incenſed at Philip, for thus intermeddling in the affairs of his family, broke off the negotiation; which confirmed Richard's ſuſpicions, that his father deſigned to deprive him of the crown, and give it to his younger brother. 1189.

Philip receives Richard's homage.

In the mean time, Philip received homage from Richard, for all the provinces of France belonging to the crown of England, pretending that Henry was guilty of rebellion, in waging war againſt his ſovereign.

Henry is perplexed.

Upon this proceeding, the effuſion of chriſtian blood was renewed, with greater fury than ever; and the zeal againſt the Infidels inſenſibly abated. Henry, in the courſe of this war, was expoſed to the greateſt perplexities; for moſt of his ſubjects in France had joined his ſon againſt him; inſomuch, that, when he kept his Chriſtmas at Saumur, he had the mortification to find himſelf attended with no more than three or four nobles. His vexation was farther increaſed, by the ill ſucceſs of the next campaign; and his troops, being every-where defeated, were, at length, reduced to ſo ſmall a number, that he was in no condition to continue the war. In this extremity, he deſired the pope to interpoſe, in order to procure a peace, but to no purpoſe; for, tho' the pope ſent his legates into France, who threatened Philip with excommunication, if he prevented the king of England from performing his vow, theſe menaces did not anſwer the end propoſed by them. The French king fiercely replied, that his holineſs had no right to concern himſelf with the affairs of the kingdom; eſpecially, when the matter in hand related to the chaſtiſement of a vaſſal, who had audaciouſly rebelled againſt his authority. He added, with an inſulting air: "He did not "doubt, but that the ſmell of the king of "England's ſterlings made the legates talk in "that ſtrain;" and ſome ſay, that Richard would have run one of the legates thro', with a ſword, if he had not been prevented. Henry, dreading the conſequences of this unfortunate war, was obliged, at length, ſince the pope could do him no ſervice, to conſent to Philip's own terms, the principal of which were, as follows: M. Paris.

The articles of peace.

That all Henry's ſubjects, both French and Engliſh, ſhould ſwear fealty to Richard; and that thoſe, who had eſpouſed the ſon's cauſe, ſhould not return to the father, till within one month before he ſet out for the Holy-Land.

That the two monarchs, with prince Richard, ſhould meet at Vezelay in le Nivernois, in order to begin their journey.

That all the king of England's ſubjects, ſhould have a free paſſage, all over France, paying only the old cuſtoms.

That Henry ſhould pay the king of France 20,000 marks, for the damages ſuſtain'd in the war.

That all the Engliſh barons ſhould ſwear, that, upon Henry's violation of the treaty, they would aſſiſt the king of France againſt him.

That the cities of Tours and Mans ſhould be poſſeſſed by Philip, till the king of England performed all theſe articles.

Henry's lofty ſpirit could not, without extreme reluctancy, ſubmit to ſuch hard conditions; and the remembrance of the advantages

1189. tages he had, all along, gained over France, before this fatal war, only added an accent to his misfortunes. This mortification was ſucceeded by another, which he could not reſiſt; for he, at laſt, diſcovered, that prince John, his darling ſon, during the late war, held a treacherous correſpondence with Philip, and was concerned in all his brother's plots, to dethrone a father, that had always expreſs'd the moſt tender regard and affection for him. His grief, on this occaſion, threw him into ſuch a furious paſſion, that he curs'd the very day of his birth, and utter'd imprecations againſt his ſons, which the biſhops then preſent could never prevail on him to revoke. Preſently after, he was taken ill at Chinon; and apprehending that he was near his end, he ordered, that he ſhould be carried into the church before the altar; where, after he had confeſs'd himſelf, and ſhewn ſome ſigns of repentance, he gave up the ghoſt. His eyes were no ſooner cloſed, than he was deſerted by all his domeſticks; and ſome of them had even the inſolence to ſtrip him, and leave him quite naked in the church. His corpſe was afterwards removed to Fontevraud; and he was interr'd in the choir of the nunnery, which he himſelf had founded there, purſuant to his own orders. It is extremely remarkable, that, upon his ſon Richard's approach, who came to meet the funeral pomp, in order to attend the corpſe of his father to the grave, the blood, in great abundance, guſhed out of the mouth and noſtrils; the ſight of which, tho' that prince was naturally very hard-hearted, ſo deeply affected him, that he burſt out into tears, and openly accuſed himſelf, of being the occaſion of his father's death.

The character of Henry II. Brompt.

Thus, died Henry II, one of the moſt illuſtrious heroes of his age, as well for the greatneſs of his genius as the extent of his dominions; but ſuch was the mixture of his vices and virtues, that it is exceedingly difficult to give him a general, and, at the ſame time, a juſt character. He was valiant, prudent, mild, generous, politick, ſtudious, learned, and of an exalted genius *; whilſt, on the contrary, he was a prince of exceſſive haughtineſs, boundleſs ambition †, and inſatiable luſt. Being never ſatisfied with love, or empire, he ſpent his whole life, in the purſuit of new conqueſts, in both; for he attempted the chaſtity of all that came in his way, not excepting the princeſs deſigned for his own ſon; but theſe failings, in a great meaſure, balanced all his other noble endowments. In the beginning of his reign, he was as much feared and reſpected, as any king in Europe; and he was eſteemed to be the happieſt prince in the world, before Becket's affair interrupted his felicity; but that fatal conteſt, which created him ſo many troubles, being followed by diſſentions in his own family, the remainder of his life was a continued ſeries of misfortunes. However, all theſe misfortunes center'd in himſelf; for the kingdom had never been in ſuch flouriſhing circumſtances, as in the reign of Henry II. Upon his acceſſion to the throne, England became one of the moſt powerful ſtates in Europe, and began to be on a level with France, to which before it was very much inferior; and, beſides the large and rich provinces, which he annexed to the crown of England, the conqueſt of Ireland adds a great luſtre to his reign, and ought to endear his memory to the Engliſh. He died, on the 6th of July, in 1189, in the 57th year of his age, after a reign of 34 years, 8 months, and 12 days. 1189.

His legitimate iſſue.

He had five ſons, by Eleanor of Guienne, his wife, but Richard and John only ſurvived him; Geoffrey, his third ſon, left a ſon and daughter, of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. Matilda, his eldeſt daughter, eſpouſed to the duke of Saxony ‡, died immediately after him; Eleanor was married to Alphonſo, king of Caſtile; and Johanna, to William II, ſirnamed the Good, king of Sicily.

His ſpurious iſſue.

Henry had alſo two natural ſons, by Roſamond Clifford; William, ſirnamed Long-Sword, who was earl of Salisbury, and Geoffrey, who was archbiſhop of York. Henry had likewiſe another natural ſon, named Morgan, who, being elected biſhop of Durham, could not obtain the pope's confirmation, becauſe he refuſed to take the name of his mother's father.

The corpſe of king Arthur was found in this reign. Brompt.

Some hiſtorians relate, that, in this reign, a grave was found, in the church-yard of Glaſſenbury-abbey, containing three bodies laid one upon another, each of them in a diſtinct coffin. The firſt was ſuppoſed to be Guinever, ſecond wife to the great Arthur; the ſecond, Mordred his nephew; and the third, Arthur himſelf, diſtinguiſhed by a leaden croſs, with this inſcription: "Here lies the illuſtri-" ous king Arthur in the iſle of Avalon." What is farther added, that his legs were thrice longer than thoſe of the largeſt men, and that there was the diſtance of a ſpan between his eye-brows, renders the whole relation ſomewhat ſuſpicious; but, whether this diſcovery was real or fictitious, it was of uſe to undeceive ſome weak people among the Welch, who ſtill expected the return of their heroe.

* He only impriſoned thoſe that hunted in his foreſts, ſo great was his lenity; and he was very liberal to widows and orphans. During a famine in Mans and Anjou, in 1176, he ſupplied 10,000 people, with food out of his ſtores; and he never laid any heavy tax or tribute upon his ſubjects. Brompton, Diceto.

† He declared, in his proſperity, "The whole world was no more than ſufficient for one great man."

‡ From Henry, duke of Saxony, ſon-in-law to Henry II, by his wife, Matilda, is lineally deſcended his preſent majeſty king GEORGE.

6. RICHARD I. ſirnamed Cœur de Lion.

1189. Richard's former complaints now appear to be groundleſs.

HENRY was no ſooner laid in his grave, than it evidently appeared, that Richard's complaints were only pretences, to varniſh over his rebellion. He had preſſingly ſollicited for leave, to conſummate his marriage with Alice of France, and complained of the king his father's great injuſtice, in obſtructing his felicity; and yet, when this pretended happineſs was in his own power, he was altogether unconcerned about it. His jealouſy, on the account of prince John, his brother, alſo vaniſhed, on a ſudden; for he continued, above a month in France, after Henry's death; whereas he would, doubtleſs, have embarqued for England, with all poſſible expedition, had he been apprehenſive of any danger, from that quarter. His firſt care was to make a viſit to Philip, in order to do him homage, and thank him for his protection; upon which, that monarch reſtored to him all the places he had conquered, during the late war. Richard, after this, went and received the ducal crown of Normandy, and was girt with the ſword of that dutchy, at Roan; where he remained, for ſome time; and, indeed, ſo far were the Engliſh from taking the advantage of his abſence, to diſpute his title to the crown, that his orders were obſerved, with the ſame punctuality, as if he had been actually inveſted with it. He, firſt of all, order'd his mother, queen Eleanor, to be releaſed, who languiſhed in priſon, for 16 years; and he likewiſe entruſted her with the adminiſtration of the government, during his abſence, allowing her to ſet at liberty what priſoners ſhe pleaſed. The queen, being taught, by her own misfortunes, to pity thoſe of others, took a particular pleaſure, in relieving the miſerable; and, during the reſidue of her days, cheerfully embraced all opportunities of exerciſing her charity to ſuch as were debarred from the ſweets of liberty.

He baniſhes, from his preſence, all his adherents againſt his father.

Eleanor's compaſſion for priſoners was very natural; but Richard's treatment of thoſe, that, for his ſake, had incurred his father's reſentment, is extremely ſurprizing. Inſtead of rewarding them, in proportion to their expectations, he forbade them his preſence, and affected to diſtinguiſh, by his favours, all that were proof againſt his ſollicitations; which ratifies what has been often remarked, that they, who make uſe of unjuſt means, to accompliſh their deſigns, deteſt, in their hearts, the inſtruments they employ, and approve of the ſteady conduct of ſuch, as are not to be ſeduced from their integrity.

He is crowned at London.

Richard, having ſettled all his affairs in France, came over to London; where he was ſolemnly crowned by Baldwin, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who adminiſter'd to him the uſual oath; which had been taken by all the kings, ſince the Norman conqueſt, tho' not ſo much as one of them made a conſcience of performing it. The archbiſhop freely reminded Richard of this, conjuring him, at the ſame time, not to preſume to accept of the royal dignity, unleſs he reſolved inviolably to obſerve the vows and oaths he had juſt then made; to which Richard replied, that, by the aſſiſtance of God's grace, he would punctually perform them all, without any exception. 1189.

Some Jews are ſlain. G. Neubrig.

The ceremony of the coronation was ſomewhat interrupted, by the maſſacre of ſome Jews, who, ſtriving too eagerly to get into the church, to ſee the ſolemnity, were expoſed to the rage of the rabble, who killed ſeveral of them, before their fury could be reſtrained; but, the king ordering ſtrict inquiſition to be made, the authors of this diſorder were deſervedly put to death.

The ardor of the chriſtians for the Cruſade.

If it ſhould ſeem aſtoniſhing, that the people ſhould treat the Jews, with ſuch cruelty, on ſo ſlight an occaſion, it is to be conſider'd, that, ſince the news of the taking of Jeruſalem was ſpread over Europe, nothing but vengeance was breathed againſt the enemies of Chriſt; and that, though the Jews were not at all concerned in the late revolution in the eaſt, their not being chriſtians was, alone, ſufficient, to render them odious; and, at this juncture, they would infallibly have met with ſtill worſe uſage, if the preparations for the Cruſade had not, at length, turned the edge of the people's fury againſt the Saracens. This zeal, eſpecially in France and England, was ſo ardent, that the number of the Croiſes was prodigious; for every one gloried, either in enliſting himſelf to go, in perſon, againſt the Infidels, or in contributing money, for the ſupport of the war. Richard made a vow, that he would engage in this expedition, before his father's deceaſe; which he renewed, at the late interview between him and Philip, when both theſe monarchs agreed to join their forces, and proceed to Paleſtine, in order to relieve the chriſtians. Richard was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, when Philip put him in mind of his promiſe; but there was no need of many ſollicitations, to prevail on this prince; for ſo far was he from having any thoughts of declining his journey, that his mind was wholly employed in making preparations for it, and, on this very account, he neglected all his other affairs. Whether his chief motive to this undertaking was a pure principle of zeal and devotion, or an eager deſire of acquiring fame, I will not preſume to determine; tho', from Richard's character, one would be apt to conclude, that he was prompted to it, more by glory than religion.

Richard's ways and means for raiſing money.

As the king of England deſigned to lead a very numerous army into Paleſtine, it was neceſſary to raiſe vaſt ſums, for its maintenance; and,

1189. accordingly, this engroſs'd all his time and care, till he enter'd upon his voyage. The late king left, in his coffers, above 100,000 marks; and Richard procured little leſs from the treaſurer and others, who had the management of the revenues, in the preceding reign; but, theſe ſums being inſufficient, he uſed all imaginable methods, to increaſe them. He ſold almoſt all the crown-lands to the higheſt bidder; and, as the dignitaries, among the clergy, had the moſt ready money, they improved this opportunity, more than others. The biſhop of Durham purchaſed the earldom of Northumberland; upon which the king jocoſely ſaid, "He had made a young earl of an "old biſhop"; but ſuch was this prelate's ambition, that he, moreover, gave 1000 marks, to be juſticiary, during his abſence. The king of Scotland alſo, on this occaſion, offered Richard 10,000 marks, provided he would reſign Berwick and Roxborough, and give up his pretenſions to the ſovereignty of Scotland; and, Richard readily accepting this propoſal, ſurrendered the two places, and, by an authentick charter, diſcharged the king of Scotland, and his ſucceſſors, from the homage extorted from him by Henry II.

Many of his ſubjects were highly diſguſted, at theſe alienations; and ſome of them took the freedom to repreſent to the king, that they were of dangerous conſequence; but Richard ſilenced their clamours, with the following reply: "I would ſell London itſelf, could I meet "with a chapman able to purchaſe it". The ſums, amaſs'd by theſe extraordinary means, not yet anſwering to the vaſtneſs of his projects, as multitudes had inconſiderately taken the croſs, he obtained from the pope a power to diſpenſe with thoſe that repented of their vow; and this new expedient brought him in abundance of money. Having made the beſt uſe of theſe general methods, he proceeded to exact money from the richeſt of his ſubjects, and borrowed of thoſe that led an unblameable life; but, as for thoſe, over whom he had the leaſt advantage, he threatened to call them to a ſtrict account, and conſtrained them to prevent it, by valuable preſents. Thus, he forced Glanville, a wealthy lawyer, whom he had impriſoned, to purchaſe his liberty, with 15000 l. ſterling; and tho' he was reſolved to entruſt Longchamp, his favourite, lately made chancellor, with the great-ſeal, in his abſence, he demanded of him 3000 l. to continue him in that poſt. In the mean time, the clergy exerted themſelves, to ſupply him with ſoldiers; the pulpits reſounded with the great merit of ſerving in the holy war; and all the penances, enjoined by the confeſſors, tended to promote this grand deſign. The army, by theſe means, quickly became very numerous, and ſo far better accommodated with all things, as every officer, and even private man, provided themſelves with neceſſaries.

Richard's uneaſineſs, on the account of his brother.

Tho' the king expreſs'd a ſingular ſatisfaction, in ſeeing the preparations for his voyage in ſuch forwardneſs; yet the apprehenſion of his brother John's ſeizing on the crown, in his abſence, which would, in all probability, be long, gave him uneaſineſs. He could have heartily wiſh'd 1189. to have had his company with him; but, as John ſeemed to have no fancy to the voyage, he would not oblige him to it, by an involuntary vow. However, being a ſtranger to his ambition, he determined to heap favours on the young prince, imagining that they would engage him to make a grateful return; and, with this view; he inveſted him with the earldoms of Cornwall, Dorſet, Somerſet, Nottingham, Derby, and Lancaſter, giving him alſo in marriage Aviſa, heireſs to the houſe of Glouceſter. The archbiſhop of Canterbury prohibited this match, by reaſon of their being too nearly related, as Henry I. was great grandfather to them both; but, at preſent, there was a ſort of neceſſity for it. The late earl of Glouceſter, Aviſa's father, for ſome private reaſons, made prince John his heir; which would infallibly have occaſioned a great law-ſuit; and there was ſome danger of the prince's being caſt, and of his raiſing diſturbances, on that account. The death of his wife, daughter to the earl of Mortagne, naturally paved the way, for the reconciliation of the parties, by joining them in marriage; and, therefore, tho' the archbiſhop's prohibition was founded on the canons, it, for once, gave way to reaſons of ſtate; for they were married at Marlborough, and John became alſo earl of Glouceſter, in right of his wife. After all, tho' Richard had, in a manner, ſhared his kingdom with his brother, he would not allow him to have any concern in the government, during his abſence, leſt it ſhould render him too powerful; nay, he cauſed him to ſwear, that he would go and remain in Normandy, tho', before his departure, he releaſed him from his oath; but he committed the regency to Longchamp, jointly with the biſhop of Durham. Longchamp was a Norman of mean extraction, who, by his intereſt with the king, was promoted to be biſhop of Ely, high-chancellor, and the pope's legate over all England; and theſe dignities, together with the regency, made him the moſt powerful ſubject, that had ever been in the kingdom; for which reaſon, a certain author very juſtly ſtiles him the prince and pontiff of the Engliſh, ſince all the power, ſpiritual and temporal, was united in his perſon. Brompt.

He enters into an alliance with the king of Scotland.

After Richard had taken all neceſſary precautions, for the government of the ſtate, to ſecure its tranquillity, he was deſirous of renewing his alliance with the kings of Scotland and Wales; and, accordingly, he invited both theſe princes into England, in order to adjuſt their reſpective pretenſions, and ſo prevent any interruption of the peace of his ſubjects. The king of Scotland, meeting Richard at Canterbury, entered into a ſtrict alliance with him; and, as ſome relate, ſent his brother, David, with 1000 Scotchmen, to attend him in his voyage. Griffin, king of Wales, ſent Rees, his eldeſt ſon, into England; but, ſome difference, in point of ceremony, ariſing, that prince returned in a paſſion, without ſeeing the king; yet, as Richard's affairs with the Welch were of no great importance, that accident did not occaſion him to delay his journey. Hoved.

Every

1190.

1190. Richard, going over into France, joins Philip, at Vezelai.

Every thing being, now, in readineſs for his departure, Richard paſſed over into France, with all his troops, and marched for Marſeilles, where his fleet had orders to meet him; and the French and Engliſh joined at Vezelai, according to agreement. The two monarchs, upon their arrival, renewed their alliance, obliging themſelves to protect and defend each other, on all occaſions; and, beſides, they both agreed, that all quarrels between their ſubjects, whilſt they were abroad, ſhould be ſuperſeded, till their return; and the biſhops, who thus far attended them, promiſed to excommunicate all, that ſhould preſume to diſturb the tranquillity of either of the kingdoms. The two kings, having concerted the neceſſary meaſures, to compleat their deſigns, they marched together, as far as Lyons; but here they parted, Philip taking the way of Genoa, but Richard that of Marſeilles, where he waited, ſome time, for his fleet, to no purpoſe. A violent tempeſt had ſo diſpers'd his ſhips, that they could not, as yet, be rejoined; and, part of them being driven, by ſtreſs of weather, into Portugal, the king of that country employed the aſſiſtance ſent him by Providence, for the relief of the city of Santaren, that was beſieged by the Miramolin or emperor of Africa. The fleet being, thus, prevented from arriving at Marſeilles, ſo ſoon as the king expected, impatient to be at Meſſina, the place appointed for a general rendezvouz of the Croiſes, he hired ſome veſſels at Marſeilles; and, with part of his troops, he embarqued for Sicily. Richard being forced by ſome accident, to come to an anchor, at the mouth of the Tiber, the pope ſent the biſhop of Oſtia, to invite him to ſpend a few days at Rome, for a refreſhment; but he refuſed the invitation. Quickly after, the fleet arrived, with the reſt of the army, and, continuing his courſe, the 20th of September, he reached Meſſina; but the ſight of ſuch a great armament raiſed no leſs admiration in the Sicilians, than jealouſy in the king of France, who was uneaſy to find the forces of his vaſſal ſuperior to his own.

The affairs of Sicily.

Tancred, then on the throne of Sicily, was natural ſon to king Roger, who left behind him William, a legitimate ſon, ſirnamed the Bad, and a daughter, called Conſtantia, a nun at Palermo. William the Bad had, for his ſucceſſor, William the Good, who, marrying Johanna of England, Richard's ſiſter, died, without iſſue; and, on his death, Clement III, then pope, pretended, that Sicily, as a fief of the church, was devolved to the holy ſee. In the interim, Tancred prevailed on the Sicilians to elect him, under the pretence, that Sicily wanted a king, to defend her againſt the Saracens, who were already poſſeſſed of part of the iſland. Clement dying, at this juncture, Celeſtine III, who ſucceeded him, maintaining the ſame pretenſions, treated Tancred, as an uſurper, reſolving to do all that was poſſible, to deprive him of the crown; but, apprehending that he could not, alone, execute this deſign, he applied to the emperor Henry VI. of the houſe of Swabia, and made over the kingdom of Sicily to him, as a gift, provided he could conquer it; and, that he might have another title, beſides that of donation, he cauſed the princeſs Conſtantia to be taken out of the nunnery of Palermo, and, diſpenſing with her vow, married her to Henry, tho' ſhe was 50 years of age. However, Conſtantia proved to be with child, in her 52d year; and, to put the truth of it out of queſtion, ſhe was publickly brought to bed, in a tent, of a ſon, named Frederick. The queen dowager of Sicily being, probably, too far concern'd in the pope's meaſures, Tancred committed her to priſon; but, upon Richard's arrival, ſhe was releaſed, and ſent to the king, her brother, who was not contented with ſuch a ſlight ſatisfaction. He demanded for the queen, his ſiſter, the dowry aſſigned her by king William II, her husband, and threatened to make uſe of compulſive methods, on Tancred's refuſal; upon which, the king of Sicily conſidered Richard, as his real enemy. Richard, perceiving Tancred to be backward in anſwering his demand, and, perhaps, ſuſpecting ſome treachery, for his own ſecurity, ſeized on a caſtle and monaſtry, near Meſſina, where he lodged his ſtores, under an able garriſon; but the king of Sicily, who was of a jealous temper, taking it for granted, that Richard was come, at the pope's inſtance, in order to dethrone him, ordered the inhabitants of Meſſina, by reaſon of ſome diſorders in their city, to expel all the Engliſh; which, of courſe, was attended with the effuſion of blood. The king of England, exaſperated at this outrage, reſolved, at once, to attack Meſſina; but, upon Tancred's proteſtations, that he had no hand in the riot and would puniſh the authors of it, he deferred the execution of his deſign. However, as the Meſſinians ſtill continued to refuſe to open their gates to the Engliſh, and Tancred delayed the promiſed ſatisfaction, he, at length, determined, to enter it, by force. Accordingly, he aſſaulted the city, in ſuch a furious manner, that he took, it in the firſt attack; and he directly ordered his banners to be diſplayed on the walls, even in the part of the town that was allotted to the French; for the two monarchs agreed, that, to prevent any diſputes among the ſoldiers, each of the nations ſhould have one half of the city to themſelves, for their neceſſary occaſions. It was, therefore, evident, that Richard, by ſetting up his banners in the French diviſion, violated his agreement with Philip; and this prince ſo highly reſented it, that it would have occaſioned an entire rupture between the two kings, had not the affair been adjuſted, by the mediation of the great men of both nations. Richard, at length, removed his banners, and proteſted, that, without any view of affronting Philip, he only intended to force the king of Sicily to give him ſatisfaction, for the injurious treatment of the Engliſh; and, to demonſtrate his ſincerity, he reſigned the cuſtody of Meſſina to the templars, till the quarrel between him and Tancred ſhould be decided. Upon this, Tancred, who till now remained at Palermo, came to Richard at Meſſina, and entered into a treaty with him; by which he obliged

1190.

Richard takes Meſſina.

1190. obliged himſelf to pay to the queen dowager of Sicily 20,000 ounces of gold, and as many to Richard, in lieu of certain legacies, left by William the Good to his father-in-law, Henry II. A match was likewiſe agreed on, between Arthur duke of Bretagne, Richard's nephew, and Tancred's daughter; and Tancred alſo promiſed to fit out ten gallies and ſix large ſhips, for the ſervice of the Croiſes. Upon theſe advantageous terms, Richard gave up all his other pretenſions, and ſubjected his dominions to the pope's cenſures, if he ſhould violate his oath; and, theſe two princes ſeeming to be thoroughly reconciled, Richard made a preſent to Tancred of king Arthur's ſword, named Caliburn by the Britons.

1191. Tancred ſows ſedition between Richard and Philip.

Tancred, after all, could not digeſt a treaty, which force alone had compelled him to ſign; and he exerted himſelf, to engage the king of France in his quarrel againſt Richard; but, this project failing, he reſolved to be revenged on both the monarchs, at once, by creating a diſſention between them. Accordingly, he privately inſinuated to the king of England, that Philip had formed evil deſigns againſt him; and he even ſhewed him a letter, as he pretended, from the duke Burgundy, to prove the truth of his inſinuation. Richard, giving credit to this information, expoſtulated with the king of France, who accuſed him of being ſollicitous to find out pretences, to diſſolve their union; and, at length, they came to an open rupture. Philip ſent Richard word, that, unleſs he conſummated his marriage with Alice, purſuant to his promiſe, he ſhould regard him, as his mortal enemy; and Richard replied, that he could, by no means, marry a princeſs that had a child by his father, propoſing to prove it by ſeveral witneſſes then on the ſpot; but Philip thought it improper to purſue an affair, which, he was perſuaded, might be prejudicial to his ſiſter's honour. After ſeveral conferences, he conſented, that Richard ſhould have liberty to marry whom he pleaſed; whereas that prince had already concluded a marriage with Berenguella of Navarre. Tho' Philip's moderation ſeemed to reſtore a good underſtanding between the two monarchs; yet ſuch were the prejudices that Richard imbibed againſt him, by the means of Tancred's late information; and, on the other hand, Richard's allegations againſt Alice ſo highly incenſed Philip, that they never afterwards were cordial friends; nevertheleſs, they made preparations, for the continuation of their voyage.

Hoved. An Engliſh hiſtorian affirms, that, whilſt they were preparing for their departure, Richard, touch'd with remorſe for his ſins, made a general confeſſion of all his exceſſes, which was attended with a very viſible reformation and amendment of life; but it could be wiſh'd, that this author had given us a more particular account of the fruits of his repentance; for it is extremely ſurprizing to find no other effect of it, than his deſire to confer with one Joachim, a Ciſtercian abbot. Joachim, all over Italy, was eſteemed to be a prophet; and, in all probability, Richard ſent for him, purely, to gratify his curioſity. It is ſaid, that, preaching on a certain day before the king, he aſſerted, that antichriſt was already born and at Rome, that he would be placed in the papal chair, and exalt himſelf "above all the "gods"; i. e. above all the princes of the earth. Soon after this, the emperor and empreſs received, on their knees, the imperial crown from the hands of the pope, who, having ſet it on their heads, kick'd it off with his foot, to ſhew his ſuperiority; which action furniſhed ample matter for reflection, to ſuch as were prepoſſeſſed in the abbot's favour; and they maintained, that his prediction was accompliſhed by the pope's proceeding. 1191.

The two kings having ſpent the winter at Meſſina, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year permitted, Philip put to ſea; but Richard ſtaid a while longer in Sicily, to wait for the arrival of Eleanor, his mother, with the princeſs of Navarre, his bride; and both theſe princeſſes arrived, a few days after Philp's departure; but Eleanor returned home immediately, leaving Berenguella with her daughter, the queen dowager of Sicily, who accompanied her brother to the Holy-Land. Upon this, Richard embarqued directly, with a fleet of 150 ſail, 52 gallies, 10 large ſhips of burden laden with proviſions, and many ſmall veſſels, for the ſervice of the fleet. It does not particularly appear, what forces were ſhipped off, on this occaſion; but, from the number of ſhips employed in the expedition, it is natural to conclude, that the Engliſh army muſt have been vaſtly numerous. Whilſt the fleet was rowing between the iſlands of Cyprus and Rhodes, a ſudden and violent tempeſt aroſe, which diſpers'd the ſhips, and drove part of them on ſhore, on the coaſt of Cyprus; which iſland was then ſubject to Iſaac of the Comnenian race, who, from being only a governor under the emperor of Conſtantinople, had uſurped the ſupreme power, and aſſumed the imperial title. He was a covetous and brutiſh man, that, by reaſon of his cruelties and extortions, was deteſted by his ſubjects, who waited for a proper opportunity, to free themſelves from his tyranny; which they now met with, by the arrival of the Engliſh fleet, ſooner than they expected. This inhuman prince, inſtead of relieving the Engliſh, that were ſtranded, near the port of Limiſſo, impriſoned thoſe that eſcaped, and ſeized their effects; and he would not ſuffer the ſhip, that had the princeſſes on board, to enter the harbour, but left them expoſed to the wind and the waves. The ſcattered fleet rejoining again, on the coaſt of Cyprus, Richard was extremely incenſed, when he received the news of Iſaac's barbarity to the Engliſh; yet, being unwilling to retard his voyage, he only demanded the priſoners and what had been ſeized; but, upon Iſaac's inſulting anſwer, he made a deſcent into the iſland, and compell'd him to abandon the ſhore, after he had ſeen a dreadful ſlaughter among his troops. The Engliſh, improving this advantage, attacked the city of Limiſſo, of which they became maſters, by the firſt, aſſault, and took Iſaac and his only daughter priſoners; but, a few days after, this pretend-

The character of Iſaac, king of Cyprus.

His cruelty to the Engliſh.

1191. ed emperor found the means to eſcape. However, not being able to find any place of refuge, he, at laſt, choſe to make a voluntary ſurrender of himſelf to the king of England, whom he earneſtly intreated not to put him in irons; and Richard, granting his requeſt in a literal ſenſe, commanded him to be bound with fetters of ſilver *.

Richard becomes maſter of the iſland.

Richard, on the taking of Limiſſo, reſolved to undertake the conqueſt of the whole iſland of Cyprus; and the Cypriots, at once, ſubmitted to a prince, whom they conſidered, as their deliverer, who ratified all the privileges they were poſſeſs'd of, under the emperors of Conſtantinople. In the mean time, Guy of Luſignan, king of Jeruſalem, who procur'd his liberty, by delivering up the city of Aſcalon to the ſultan, waited on the king of England in order to implore his protection; and he was attended by Geoffrey, his brother, Raymond of Antioch, Boamond, his ſon, and other princes and lords of Paleſtine. Richard likewiſe conſummated his marriage with Berenguella, in Cyprus, and not at Meſſina, as ſome have related; and, before he left this iſland, he ſent Iſaac, his priſoner, to Tripoli in Syria, to be confined there; but, as for his daughter, he took her with him to Paleſtine. Such was his regard for this beautiful princeſs, that it was ſuſpected, compaſſion was not the ſole motive of his keeping her near him; and this ſuſpicion received confirmation, when it was obſerved, that his affection to his new queen gradually abated; but theſe particulars are more proper for a romance than a hiſtory.

The troubles in England.

Notwithſtanding Richard's ſucceſſes abroad, his Engliſh ſubjects were ſufferers, by his abſence; for he had no ſooner croſs'd the ſea, than the two regents, diſagreeing, came, at length, to an open rupture. Longchamp had very much the advantage over his collegue, not only on the account of his dignities, but by his extenſive abilities; and, accordingly, under the pretence that their diſſention was extremely prejudicial to the affairs of the ſtate, he had the policy to exclude him, by degrees, from his ſhare in the adminiſtration, and aſſumed the whole power to himſelf. This arbitrary proceeding might have been varniſh'd over, with the neceſſity of the king's ſervice, had it been made by one of another character; but it was notorious, that Longchamp was of an imperious temper and boundleſs ambition, which led him to look upon all his high poſts to be inferior to his merit. He affected to appear in publick with a retinue more numerous and ſplendid than that of a king; for an hiſtorian affirms, that it uſually conſiſted of 1500 perſons, beſides the guards in his houſe, tho' he was originally no more than a farmer's ſon; and it is farther related, that, when he lodged, but a ſingle night, in a monaſtery, he conſumed the revenue of three years. He treated all degrees of men, with intolerable inſolence, exerting his power, in ſuch a haughty manner, as could ſcarce be tolerated in a ſovereign; nay, a certain author obſerves, that the laity found him to be more than a king, and the clergy, than a pope. Beſides, he was a Norman and very partial to the foreigners; which alone was ſufficient to render him odious to the Engliſh. The biſhop of Durham gave an account of his caſe, in a letter to the king, who, receiving his complaints at Marſeilles, ſent him his letters patent, appointing him juſticiary, from the Humber to the confines of Scotland; but, upon the receipt of them, that prelate was ſo imprudent, as to put them into Longchamp's hands, who, under the pretence of examining their contents, refuſed to reſtore them; and he, moreover, order'd the biſhop to be apprehended, and detained him in priſon, till he reſigned certain caſtles, which gave him too great power in the northern parts of the kingdom. 1191.

He deſpiſes the counſellors appointed by the king, who complain to prince John.

Richard had appointed ſix lords, for counſellors to the regent; but Longchamp, inſtead of conſulting their advice, treated them, on all occaſions, with the utmoſt contempt; inſomuch that, at length, together with the biſhop of Durham, they carried their complaints to prince John, who was ſtill ſtiled earl of Mortagne, as well as during his firſt marriage. The young prince, rejoicing at this opportunity, to interpoſe in the adminiſtration, readily promiſed them his protection; and, from that time, he managed the diſcontents of moſt of the great men againſt the regent, with ſo much dexterity, that each of them aſſured him of their aſſiſtance; ſo that nothing was wanting, to compleat the ruin of Longchamp, except a pretence, which, ſoon after, came in his way.

The occaſion of Longchamp's ruin.

Some time before Richard's departure, Geoffrey, his baſtard-brother, was elected archbiſhop of York; but, whether his conſent was not asked, or he deſigned that ſee for another, this election was ſo diſpleaſing to the king, that, in his paſſion, he reſolved to impriſon Geoffrey; yet, upon his proteſting that he would not inſiſt on his election, he forgave him, on condition that he would never apply to the pope, for his confirmation, enjoining him alſo to remain in Normandy, till the expedition to the Holy-Land was concluded. However, in the king's abſence, Geoffrey demanded and obtained the pope's bull, to confirm his election; and, without acquainting the regent, intended to repair into England and take poſſeſſion of his dignity. Longchamp, receiving intelligence of it, ſent orders to Dover, to have him apprehended; and Geoffrey had but juſt time, upon his arrival, to take ſanctuary in a church; yet, notwithſtanding this precaution, he was dragg'd from the altar, and confined in Dover-caſtle. Prince John made the beſt uſe of this outrage, to the diſ-

* An antient poet has, thus, deſcribed the weapon, with which Richard ſubdued Cyprus:

This king Richard I underſtond,
Ere he went out of Englond,
Let make an axe for the nones,
Therewith to cleave the Saracens bones.
The head in ſooth was wrought full weele,
Thereon were twenty pound of ſteele;
And when he came to Cyprus lond,
This ilkon axe he took in hond. Matt. Prid. M. A.

advantage

1191. advantage of Longchamp; and being ſupported by all the lords, he ſent him abſolute orders, to releaſe the archbiſhop. Longchamp, by refuſing to comply with them, furniſhed John with the pretence he wanted; and, a few days after, the regent was ſummoned to appear before an aſſembly of the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, convened at London, in St. Paul's church. Longchamp was now, on a ſudden, abandon'd by all the world, and conſtrained to make his appearance before the aſſembly, who were reſolved upon his ruin; and he was accuſed of exceeding the bounds of his commiſſion, in ſeveral particulars, but principally in uſurping the authority, which ſhould have been ſhared between him, his collegue, and the ſix counſellors. The archbiſhop of Roan and the earl of Pembroke likewiſe complained, that, having received a patent from the king, appointing them joint commiſſioners with Longchamp in the government, that prelate would not ſuffer them to have any concern in the adminiſtration; but ſome authors aſſert, that they durſt not ſhew their patent to the regent, leſt he ſhould detain it, as he did that of the biſhop of Durham. However that be, upon theſe accuſations, Longchamp was turned out of the regency, which was lodged in the hands of the archbiſhop of Roan, till the king's pleaſure was known concerning it; and they deprived him of the cuſtody of the tower of London and Windſor-caſtle; and, his enemies, not contented with this ſeverity, forced him, by their menaces, to lay down his legate's croſs, in the church of Canterbury, after which, he was committed to priſon. Some days after, he made his eſcape; but he was taken again, on the ſea-ſide, diſguiſed in a woman's habit, with a bundle of linnen under his arm; and, in this dreſs, he was carried to Dover-caſtle, with a great mob at his heels. Nevertheleſs, prince John, dreading the pope's reſentment, releaſed him, and permitted him to retire into Normandy, where he was no ſooner arrived, than he ſent complaints of his uſage, both to the pope and the king. The king received this account very late; but the pope's letter came to his hands much ſooner, who was ſo highly exaſperated at Longchamp's treatment, and the contempt that was ſhewn to his legatine character, that he directly ſent orders to the biſhops, to excommunicate prince John, on that account. The prince, being terrified by the pope's menaces, would have reſtored Longchamp, were it not for the biſhops themſelves, who dreaded to be again ſubject to the authority of that haughty prelate; and, by this means, the pope's orders were rendered ineffectual, and the late regent durſt not return into England.

The pope orders the biſhops to excommunicate prince John, but they refuſe to do it.

Prince John projects means to ſecure the crown.

The preſent ſituation of affairs giving John an opportunity of being more concerned in the government, than the king, his brother, intended, he made the beſt uſe of it, to pave his way to the crown; and, if he did not deſign to aſcend the throne, during his brother's life, it is, at leaſt, certain, that he was reſolved to ſecure the ſucceſſion, if the king ſhould die, whilſt abroad. He very well knew, that Arthur, duke of Bretagne, his nephew, who was the ſon of Geoffrey, his elder brother, had a better title than himſelf; and, therefore, he was the more ſollicitous to have this point ſettled, before-hand, to prevent the competition of ſuch a dangerous rival. With this view, he did all that was poſſible, to render himſelf popular to the Engliſh, and eſpecially the Londoners, whoſe rights and privileges he cauſed to be confirmed by an aſſembly-general; and, by this, he ſo firmly attached the hearts of the citizens to his intereſt, that, when they ſwore allegiance to the king, they voluntarily made a ſolemn promiſe, to own him for their ſovereign, provided the king died, without iſſue. Thus, the prince gained ground, by degrees, and, at the ſame time, by ſecret practices, raiſed a party, capable of ſupporting him againſt his nephew; and which afterwards he would have employed, even againſt the king, his brother. In the mean time, Richard render'd his name immortal by his valiant exploits, and inſpired the Saracens with a dread of the approaching diſſolution of their empire; but, before I deſcend to particulars, it will be proper briefly to deſcribe the preſent ſtate of the Holy-Land, and likewiſe to take notice of what was tranſacted there, ſince the recovery of it by the chriſtians. 1191.

The affairs of the kingdom of Jeruſalem.

The kingdom of Jeruſalem, conſiſting of Paleſtine and part of Syria, taken from the Saracens, was erected by the chriſtians, Godfrey of Bulloigne being the firſt king, who was crowned with a crown of thorns; and, having reigned, about a year, he was ſucceeded by Baldwin, his brother, who, after a reign of 18 years, left the crown, by his death, to his couſin Baldwin II, who enjoyed it 13 years. Foulke, earl of Anjou, by marrying his daughter, became king of Jeruſalem, after his deceaſe, and ſate on the throne 11 years. He had, by his firſt wife, Geoffrey, earl of Anjou, father to Henry II. king of England; but, by his ſecond, he had two ſons; and Baldwin the eldeſt enjoyed the crown of Jeruſalem, for 24 years, being ſucceeded by his brother, Almeric, who reigned 12 years. Baldwin IV, his ſon and ſucceſſor, deſpairing of any iſſue, nominated Baldwin, his nephew, the ſon of his eldeſt ſiſter, Sibyl, by William of Montferrat, to be his heir; who, dying, after a reign of 12 years, left the guardianſhip of young Baldwin V, and the regency of the kingdom, to Raymond, earl of Tripoli. In the interim, Sibyl, the king's mother, married Guy of Luſignan, who, in right of his wife, claimed the guardianſhip of the king and the government of the ſtate; and the earl of Tripoli, to no purpoſe, inſiſted on the late king's will againſt him; for Guy, ſupported by his wife, ſeized on the regency, and, ſoon after, aſcended the throne, upon the death of Baldwin, tho' it was ſuſpected, that he diſpatched him, by poiſon, to pave the way for his ſucceſſion. The earl of Tripoli made preparations, in order to dethrone Guy, whom he conſidered, as an uſurper and the murderer of the late king; but Guy applied to Saladine, ſultan of Egypt, for aſſiſtance, which ſtep proved to be very fatal to the chriſtians

1191. ſtians of Paleſtine. The Infidel prince, rejoicing at ſo fair an opportunity, to recover the dominions of his anceſtors, under the pretence of aſſiſting the king of Jeruſalem, enter'd Paleſtine with a formidable army, and directly took Acres or Ptolemais, Aſotus, Berytus, and ſome other places; but, at length, putting off the maſque, he made it evident, that he deſigned to expel the chriſtians. Guy, being convinced of his error, when it was too late, ſhut himſelf up in his capital; but, for want of proviſions, it was impoſſible for him to hold out, above a month, or prevent his falling into the hands of the enemy. He was afterwards obliged to ſurrender Aſcalon to the ſultan, to obtain his liberty; and, thus, Saladine, at once, deſtroyed both the competitors to the crown of Jeruſalem.

For the recovery of this kingdom, the kings of France and England had engaged in the preſent expedition, with powerful armies, conſiſting of all the nations in Europe, but chiefly of the French and Engliſh; and, before Philip's arrival, Guy of Luſignan, Conrade, marqueſs of Montferrat, and ſeveral other princes and lords, with ſome German, Flemiſh, and Italian troops, had begun the ſiege of Acres, which had now laſted, a whole year. The king of France no ſooner landed his men, than he encamped round the city, and continued the ſiege, tho' with little ſucceſs; but Richard, arriving afterwards, with freſh troops, ſo vigorouſly purſued it, that, at laſt, Saladine ſurrendered the place, by capitulation *.

Among the occurrences of this famous ſiege, there was one, tho' trifling in itſelf; yet, attended with ſuch remarkable conſequences, and ſo very prejudicial to the king of England, that it deſerves to be related. In an aſſault made by the chriſtians, Leopold, duke of Auſtria, taking one of the towers, ordered, that his banner ſhould be inſtantly erected; but Richard, apprehending this action to be injurious to the two monarchs, that commanded in chief, ſent ſome of his men, to pull it down and trample it under their feet. Leopold was highly incenſed at this indignity, tho' he concealed his reſentment, till he ſhould meet with a proper opportunity to diſcover it; but, unfortunately for Richard, it offered, when he leaſt expected it, and the duke of Auſtria was but too ſucceſsful, in his revenge, as the ſequel will inform us.

1192. A diſſention between the two kings.

The two monarchs, being maſters of Acres, had encouragement to purſue their conqueſts; but, juſt as the chriſtian army expected to march to Jeruſalem, a diſſention between the two commanders defeated their expectations. Richard had gained a certain ſuperiority, which extremely mortified the king of France; for the number and good condition of his forces, his perſonal valour, of which he had given ſeveral proofs, at the ſiege of Acres, and the very taking of that city had attracted the particular eſteem and reſpect of the whole army. Philip, however, not daring openly to complain, that his rival was more reſpected than himſelf, made uſe of pretences, to diſguiſe his reſentment; and, in the firſt place, he demanded of Richard half the iſle of Cyprus, alledging that they had agreed to ſhare all their conqueſts. Richard replied, that their agreement was limited to what was conquer'd from the Infidels; and that Philip underſtood it, in that reſtrained ſenſe, ſeeing he had appropriated to himſelf what belonged to the earl of Flanders, who died at the ſiege of Acres, without the leaſt thoughts of giving him a ſhare. This was attended with another occaſion of quarrel; for, the crown of Jeruſalem being in diſpute between Guy of Luſignan and Conrade, marqueſs of Montferrat, Richard eſpouſed Guy's cauſe; whilſt Philip publickly declared for the marqueſs. The grounds and reaſons of their reſpective pretenſions were briefly, as follows. 1192.

The ſtate of the diſpute between Guy of Luſignan and the marqueſs of Montferrat.

Almeric, king of Jeruſalem, had, by his firſt wife, of the houſe of Courtenay, Baldwin IV, his ſucceſſor, and a daughter, named Sibylla; and, by his ſecond wife, niece to Emanuel, emperor of Conſtantinople, he had a daughter, called Iſabella. Sibylla was firſt married to William of Montferrat, by whom ſhe had Baldwin V, heir to Baldwin IV, his uncle; but her ſecond husband was Guy of Luſignan, by whom ſhe had ſeveral children, who all died before their mother. Iſabella, Sibylla's ſiſter, by a ſecond venter, had alſo two husbands, the firſt being Humphrey de Toron, who refuſed the crown offered him by the barons of Jeruſalem, after the death of Baldwin V; and her ſecond husband was Conrade, marqueſs of Montferrat, who claimed the title of king of Jeruſalem, in right of his wife, whoſe eldeſt ſiſter was lately deceaſed, without iſſue. The point in debate, therefore, was, whether Guy of Luſignan ought to retain the title of king of Jeruſalem, after the death of his wife, Sibylla, or reſign it to the marqueſs of Montferrat, whoſe wife was now ſole heireſs of the kingdom. Indeed, the conteſt was about an empty name, ſince Saladine was maſter of the capital and almoſt all the country; but yet this title would prove to be of conſequence, when the kingdom ſhould be reſtored by the arms of the Croiſes. Philip was in the intereſt of the marqueſs of Montferrat; and, perhaps, on that very account, Richard ſupported the pretenſions of Guy of Luſignan; for ſcarce a day paſs'd, but ſomething contributed to inflame their mutual animoſity. If Philip was jealous of Richard's glory, the other, in his turn, complained, that the king of France, through ſpite and envy, obſtructed the progreſs of the arms of the chriſtians; but, in the height of theſe conteſts, they were both ſeized with the ſame

* It is ſaid, that this ſiege laſted above two years; and the author of Richard's travels to Jeruſalem aſſures us, that 300,000 pilgrims periſhed in it. Among theſe were Conrade, duke of Servia, and ſeveral foreign earls; Baldwin, archbiſhop of Canterbury, Ralph de Glanville, chief-juſtice of England, William de Mandeville, William, earl of Ferrers, and ſome whoſe poſterity flouriſh, to this day; viz. Ingelram de Fiennes, from whom the lord Say and Seal is deſcended; the lord Dacres; Theophilus Clinton, earl of Lincoln, whoſe arms retain the badge of the holy war, ſtars, creſcents, and croſſes; as alſo St. John, Minthul, Tilney, Scrope, Pigot, Laiburne, Mowbray, Talbot, Malet, &c. Brompt. Hoved. Viniſauf.

diſtemper,

1191. distemper, which endangered their lives, tho' they escaped, with the loss of their hair.

1192. Philip returns to France.

After their recovery, Richard seem'd to be, more than ever, desirous to pursue the conquests over the Infidels; but Philip resolved to return to France, being so weak after his late illness, that he was scarce able any more to enter upon action; tho', perhaps, his principal reason was his extreme impatience, to take possession of Artois, which fell to him, by the death of the earl of Flanders. He imparted this resolution to Richard, who was exceedingly surprized at it, being afraid, that Philip, upon his return, would attack his dominions in France; and, therefore, as one of the articles of their agreement was, that neither of them should desert the cause, without the other's consent, he insisted upon Philip's continuing the Croises, till they were masters of Jerusalem. However, as he could not force him to stay, he left him at his liberty, upon his taking a solemn oath, in the presence of the bishops and the principal officers of both armies, that he would not attack any place belonging to Richard, either in France or England, till within forty days after that prince's return into his own dominions. Philip, when he quitted Palestine, left 10,000 men under the command of the duke of Burgundy, and publickly gave them orders, to pay the same obedience to the king of England, as to himself; but, in all probability, they received other secret instructions; and this Mezerai does, in effect, acknowledge, when he tells us, that Richard would have become master of Jerusalem, if the duke of Burgundy's jealousy had not prevented his designs.

Richard and Saladine kill their prisoners.

Presently after Philip's departure, Richard and Saladine exhibited a spectacle of horror, in the view of their armies, by commanding the prisoners, on both sides, to be put to death; but it is not easy to determine, which of the two princes was the first author of this barbarity. Some historians charge it upon Saladine, whilst others accuse the king of England; yet the last seem to have the best grounds for their opinion. The Saracen monarch refused to perform the articles of the surrender of Acres *; whereas no other reason is assigned for his cruelty, than his natural fierceness, tho' he appears, on other occasions, to be a prince of great generosity. The duke of Burgundy, copying after Richard, likewise ordered the Turkish captives in his hands to be beheaded; but, tho' I will not presume to fix the limits of the law of arms, with respect to prisoners, whose sovereign refuses to perform the articles of a capitulation, or the extent of reprisals; yet I think it may be safely affirmed, that whosoever acts up to the very height of his power, on such occasions, is in danger of committing a very great injustice. However that be, instances of the like cruelty seldom occur in history.

The siege of Ascalon is resolved on by the Croises.

Richard afterwards held a great council of war, which came to a resolution about the siege of Ascalon; and, in pursuit of this project, he marched along the sea-side whilst his fleet, freighted with stores, rowed, in sight of the troops, and supplied them with necessaries. Saladine, apprized of the design of the Croises, with an army of 300,000 men, posted himself, to advantage, in their way; but Richard, notwithstanding, resolved to attack him. He was sensible, that, if he could defeat that army, the taking of Ascalon would be the fruits of his victory, and that it would even facilitate the siege of Jerusalem; whilst, on the other hand, if he declined an engagement, such a numerous army of Infidels would, on all occasions, obstruct the progress of his arms. He, therefore, having drawn up his forces, advanced towards the enemy, in a resolute manner, James d' Avesnes commanding the right wing, the duke of Burgundy the left, and himself the main body; but Saladine, as he had concealed part of his army, from the view of the christians, behind some hills, without stirring from his advantageous post, waited to receive the attacks of the enemy. 1192.

A description of the battle.

The right wing of the Croises beginning the fight, the Saracens made so vigorous a defence, being supported by the superiority of their number, that they put them into great disorder; and it was some time, before they could recover themselves. James d'Avesnes was slain, in attempting to revive the drooping spirits of his frighted troops; whilst, at the same time, the duke of Burgundy furiously attack'd the right wing of the Saracens; but, these retreating as they fought, pursuant to the general's orders, the duke, with more courage than conduct, advanced, a considerable distance beyond the body of the army. Saladine, upon this, ordered the troops that lay in ambush, to move forward, who, surrounding the wing commanded by the duke of Burgundy, made a terrible slaughter.

Richard obtains a glorious victory.

The honour of repairing the loss of the christians was reserved for the king of England, who, on his side, in spite of the brave resistance of the enemy, constrain'd them to retreat in disorder; and he was in pursuit of them, when he received the news of the ill state of his right wing and the danger of his left. Upon this, directly marching to the duke of Burgundy's relief, he fell upon the victorious troops of Saladine, performing such surprizing acts of valour, as excited the admiration of those who envied him most; and some relate, that, being personally engaged with Saladine, he dismounted him, and would have taken him prisoner, were it not that the Saracens, using their utmost efforts, rescued him out of his hands. However that be, Saladine was obliged to reinforce his right wing, with the victorious troops of the left; and, as this could not be done, without some disorder, the right wing of the christians finding that they were not so vigorously pressed, as before, quickly rallied and so furiously attacked the Saracens, who opposed them, that they compelled them, at length, to betake themselves to flight.

* Saladine refusing to redeem the heads of the Turkish captives, by the payment of a certain sum, according to the articles, it is probable, that Richard began with beheading the prisoners in his power, to the number of 5000, according to Hoveden; but Vinisauf reckons no more than 2500.

1192. In the interim, Richard maintained the fight, on the left, with a firmneſs that ſeemed to be ſupernatural, tho' he was in danger of being overpowered by numbers, all the forces of the enemy being employ'd againſt him, had not his right wing come to his aſſiſtance; but the Saracens, perceiving that they were attacked, in their flank, by the freſh troops, broke their ranks, with ſuch confuſion, that it was impoſſible for Saladine to rectify this diſorder. The chriſtians, making the beſt uſe of this advantage, preſs'd them ſo furiouſly, that, at laſt, they entirely routed that prodigious army; and, thus, Richard, by his courage and conduct, obtained a compleat victory over the Infidels, 40,000 of whom lay dead in the field of battle; whilſt James d' Aveſnes was the only officer of diſtinction, that was ſlain, on the ſide of the chriſtians.

He repairs the cities that Saladine had diſmantled.

Upon this memorable victory, Richard proceeded to the maritime cities of Aſcalon, Joppa, and Cæſarea, which Saladine, having demoliſhed their walls, was pleaſed to abandon; but it was of the laſt conſequence to the Croiſes to repair theſe cities, and erect magazines for the army, when they ſhould be farther advanced into the enemy's country. This, probably, was the ſole motive of Richard's ſtay at Joppa, tho' ſome have cenſured him, for not improving his victory, by marching directly to Jeruſalem. However, I cannot apprehend, that he is to be blamed, upon their authority; for ſo very few are qualified to judge rightly of theſe matters, eſpecially, when the circumſtances are but imperfectly known, that I take it to be imprudent to paſs a verdict.

Richard's great deliverance.

Whilſt Richard remained at Joppa, an unfortunate accident befel him, from which he was almoſt miraculouſly delivered; for, on a certain day, being fatigued with hunting, as he lay aſleep under a tree, having only ſix perſons about him, he was rouzed, by the ſudden approach of ſome Saracen horſe. As they were but few in number, without the leaſt dread, he inſtantly mounted his horſe and purſued them; upon which, feigning a retreat, they drew him into an ambuſcade, and he found himſelf, on a ſudden, ſurrounded by a whole ſquadron. He defended himſelf, for a long time, with an aſtoniſhing bravery; but, at length, four of his attendants being ſlain, he was upon the point of being killed, or taken, when William Deſpreaux cried out, in the Saracen language, "I am the king "of England." Theſe words were no ſooner uttered, than thoſe, that were upon Richard, left him, to have ſome concern in the taking of Deſpreaux, whom they ſuppoſed to be the king; and, by the means of this device, Richard had leiſure to make his eſcape, whilſt the Saracens, contented with their ſucceſs, conducted their priſoner to Saladine. Deſpreaux had the policy to conceal his artifice, till he was brought before the ſultan; but then he ingenuouſly own'd to this prince what he had done, to ſave his maſter. Saladine applauded his fidelity, and highly honoured him; yet, as he was confident, that Richard would, at any rate, ranſom a captive, that had been ſo ſignally ſerviceable to him, he demanded and obtained ten Emirs or Saracen princes, in exchange for this faithful ſervant. 1192.

Prompt.

He takes a great Babylon-caravan.

The maritime places being ſufficiently repaired, Richard marched to Jeruſalem, in order to beſiege it; but, in his way, he fortunately met the Babylon-caravan, carrying to that city a prodigious quantity of rich merchandizes and all ſorts of proviſions. The caravan was guarded by 10,000 horſe, who, perceiving themſelves to be near the chriſtian army, would have immediately retreated; but Richard, with 5000 horſemen, attacked them ſo furiouſly, that he put them to flight, and had the caravan, as the prize of his victory. He took, on this occaſion, 3000 loaded camels and 4000 horſes or mules, with an ineſtimable booty, all which he order'd to be diſtributed among his ſoldiers. Upon this ſucceſs, continuing his march to Jeruſalem, he arrived at an high hill, from whence he had the pleaſure of ſurveying that famous city, the taking of which was the principal end of his expedition; but, the country adjacent being deſtitute of forage, he was conſtrained to defer the ſiege, to the ſpring; which gave his enemies and thoſe, that envied his glory, a pretence to deſert him. The duke of Auſtria led the way; and the duke of Burgundy quickly followed his example, who conſider'd Richard, as the king of France's rival; and tho' he died, at Acres, juſt as he was upon the point of embarquing, it did not prevent the French forces from returning to Europe. The retreat of the Germans and French; the marqueſs of Montferrat's refuſal to aſſiſt, with the Italian troops, in a conqueſt which he claimed himſelf, and yet was deſigned for another; the accounts he received of the ſtate of his affairs in England; his apprehenſions that Philip would, in his abſence, declare war againſt him; the decreaſe of his troops, by ſickneſs as well as battles; all theſe reaſons, taken together, were abundantly ſufficient to juſtify his truce with Saladine, notwithſtanding the many rude and falſe aſperſions caſt upon Richard, by the French hiſtorians, for deſerting the cauſe, when in ſight of Jeruſalem. It is obvious, that, with the few troops that remained, it was impoſſible for him to take that city; for, during the winter, it was ſupplied with all manner of ſtores, and the garriſon was little inferior to the chriſtian army. Saladine, being informed that Richard entertained thoughts of retreating, to haſten his departure, offer'd him a three years truce; and all the chief officers of the chriſtian army joyfully embraced the propoſal. Richard, therefore, agreed to the truce, which was propoſed, on theſe conditions: That the city of Aſcalon ſhould be diſmantled, and not fortified again, by either party, during the truce; that the chriſtians ſhould ſtill enjoy Joppa or Jaffa and Acres or Ptolemais, with the other cities they were poſſeſs'd of in Paleſtine; and that they ſhould be allowed to go in pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, without any charge, and have free commerce over all Saladine's dominions.

1192. nions. The treaty being concluded, Richard sent Saladine word, that he might depend upon another visit from him, to attempt, once more, the recovery of the Holy-Land; to which the sultan, tho' a Barbarian, returned a polite answer, viz. "If it must be my fate to lose "that part of my dominions, I would rather "it should be to the king of England, than to "any other monarch in the world." This was the result of the famous Crusado, which had drained France and England, both of men and money; and, whilst, it was of very little service to the eastern christians, it almost ruin'd those of Europe, by reason of the prodigious sums expended upon it; and, besides, it occasioned a destructive war between France and England, as we shall see hereafter.

The marquess of Montferrat is chosen general of the christians in Palestine, and is assassinated. Hemingford.

Richard, being apprehensive that Saladine would break the truce, in his absence, assembled the principal officers of the army, to elect a general for the troops designed to be left in Palestine; and the marquess of Montferrat was chosen, tho' the king of England had openly declared against him; yet he gave his consent, and sacrificed his private resentment to the publick good of the christians. The marquess, presently after, was stabb'd by two villains, belonging to the Old Man of the Mountain, who was the head or master of a sort of ruffians, that inhabited near Antioch, stiled Chassins, or by some such name; and these, being entirely devoted to his will and pleasure, he dispatched into all parts of the world, upon the like occasions; for which reason, the French call him the prince of the Assasins, or, perhaps, the term, Assasin, is derived from the name of the people in his service *. Richard, at first, was suspected to be the author of this murder; but the marquess himself was so far from being of this opinion, that, just before he expired, he order'd his wife to resign to the king of England the city of Tyre, which he had in his possession. Upon the decease of the marquess, by Richard's management, the earl of Champagne, his as well as the king of France's nephew, was elected in his stead; upon which, he caused him to marry Isabella, the deceased's widow, who brought him, for her dowry, the titular kingdom of Jerusalem. As for Guy of Lusignan, in lieu of an empty title, he actually put him in possession of the kingdom of Cyprus, tho' he had before sold it to the templars; for, upon the repeated complaints of the Cypriots, of the insupportable tyranny of their new masters, Richard imagined, that he had a right to revoke the sale. Whether this proceeding was strictly just is, at present, a needless enquiry; since it is sufficient to observe, that the kingdom of Cyprus, for near 200 years, continued in the family of Guy of Lusignan.

Richard, in his return home, unhappily enters the duke of Austria's dominions.

The affairs of the east being, thus, settled, Richard, embarquing at Ptolemais, sailed to Corfu, an island situated at the mouth of the Adriatick gulph; and, probably, he intended to land at some port, in the bottom of the gulph, and so proceed, by land, through Germany; tho' some affirm, that he was driven, by stress of weather, into these parts. However that be, he was forced, by a violent tempest, on the coast of Istria, and, from thence, between Aquileia and Venice, where the galleot, he was on board, split against a rock; and tho' it was with exceeding difficulty, that he escaped this danger, he, at once, rushed into another, by entering the dominions of the duke of Austria, and taking the road to Vienna. If this was not the effect of his ignorance of the country, it will be next to impossible, to dive into his design; for it was not only entirely out of his way to England, but he hazarded his person, in the territories of a prince, whom he had mortally affronted, at the siege of Acres. Nevertheless, he continued his journey, disguised like a pilgrim; but, by reason of his profuse expences, and the imprudence of some of his attendants, a rumour was soon spread abroad, that the king of England was in the country. The duke of Austria, receiving intelligence of it, ordered the pretended pilgrim to be so narrowly watched, that he was seized at a small village near Vienna; but the emperor Henry VI. afterwards demanding this royal captive, the duke delivered him into his hands, upon an assurance of having a large share of his ransom. Thus, Richard, 1193. whose glorious actions had exalted him above all the princes of his time, deprived of his liberty, was in the power of a most sordid and avaricious monarch.

The effects of his imprisonment, in England.

The news of Richard's imprisonment presently flew over Europe, and particularly into England; but queen Eleanor, his mother, instantly, made use of all possible precautions, to prevent its being the cause of a fatal revolution. She represented to the principal barons, that the best method, of proving their loyalty to their sovereign, was to exert themselves, in opposing prince John's attempts upon the crown, to which they were no strangers; that this step ought to be, first of all, taken, to preserve the peace of the realm; and that afterwards other affairs might demand their care. The queen's exhortations, the king's unhappy condition, and the fame he had acquired in the east concurr'd to secure the allegiance of the barons; and, therefore, they entered into an association, to exclude prince John from the government, at a time when he resolved to have the sole administration of publick affairs. It did not a little mortify his ambition, to find other regents appointed, during the king's imprisonment; tho' he still endeavoured to dissolve an association so prejudicial to his designs. He declared, that his only view was to guard against the pretensions of his nephew, the duke of Bretagne, if Richard should die in prison; but all his proceedings evidently shewed, that he rather intended to obstruct the king's return, if he should be so fortunate, as to obtain his

* They were a precise sect of Mahometans, about 40,000, in number, who inhabited six cities near Antaradus in Syria; and they would stab any prince, or engage in any other dangerous enterprize, at the command of their leader. The marquess of Montferrat was murdered, in the streets of Tyre, by two of them, whom he entertained in his service, upon their pretending to embrace christianity. M. Paris.

liberty.

1193. liberty. He made uſe of the utmoſt efforts, to become maſter of the fortified towns, and to bring over the governors to his intereſt; and it is no wonder, that, at this juncture, he prevailed with ſome; but he generally met with ſo great oppoſition, that, at length, he deſpaired of ſucceſs, without the king of France's aſſiſtance. He, therefore, went over to that kingdom, in order to have an interview with Philip; and, as he paſſed through Normandy, he ſpent ſome days at Roan, in trying, by all poſſible means, to corrupt the loyalty of the Normans; but, being diſappointed, he repaired to Paris, where he entered into a treaty with Philip, who joyfully embraced this opportunity of embroiling Richard's affairs.

Hoved. Brompt.

Some hiſtorians tell us, that John obliged himſelf to marry the princeſs Alice, whom Richard refuſed, and to do homage to the crown of France, for the kingdom of England; but yet it is certain, that the treaty, itſelf, which is in the Collection of the Publick Acts, is ſilent about it; nor is it probable, that John, who was already married, ſhould promiſe to eſpouſe another wife. It ſeems to be, therefore, more likely, that Philip, as the treaty imports, was contented with John's doing homage, for all the provinces of France belonging to the crown of England.

John had no ſooner diſpatch'd his buſineſs in France, than he returned to England, in order to ſollicit the king of Scotland, to eſpouſe his cauſe; but William, ſtill retaining a grateful ſenſe of Richard's generous uſage, was entirely deaf to all his ſollicitations. As neither the Normans nor the king of Scotland could be gained over to his party, having cauſed a rumour to be ſpread, that Richard died in priſon, he demanded the crown; but, as there was no other advice of the king's death, the Engliſh would not take this raſh ſtep in his favour. However, their refuſal furniſhed him with a pretence to ſeize on ſome fortified places, and he attempted to ſubdue, by force, what he could not obtain by other methods; but his party was ſo inconſiderable, that it was impoſſible for him to make any remarkable progreſs.

Philip attacks Normandy.

In the mean time, Philip, believing that John's pretenſions, at home, would give ſuch employment to the Engliſh, as to render them incapable of ſending any ſuccours abroad, in direct contradiction to the oath he took, upon leaving Paleſtine, made himſelf maſter of Giſors, Evreux, and all le Vexin, and then beſieged Roan, which he was in hopes of ſurprizing; and the taking of it would, of courſe, have put him in poſſeſſion of the reſt of Normandy; but the earl of Leiceſter, who had thrown himſelf into the city, ſome days before, after an aſſault, repulſed the French, with great loſs, and compell'd Philip to raiſe the ſiege.

Eleanor in vain applies to the pope.

Queen Eleanor, having guarded againſt the ambition of her younger ſon, made the king's releaſe her next and principal ſtudy; and, as the emperor had nothing, that was plauſible, to alledge againſt him, ſhe flattered herſelf, that the pope's mediation might be of ſignal ſervice, in the preſent extremity. She, therefore, frequently wrote to his holineſs, to intreat him to undertake the cauſe of the king, her ſon; but, finding that all her ſollicitations were ineffectual, ſhe, at laſt, in an expoſtulatory letter, plainly declared, that ſhe was provoked at his indifference. She complained, that he would not take the leaſt ſtep, in behalf of the impriſoned king; that he refuſed to ſend a nuncio to the emperor, tho' he had often ſent legates to all the chriſtian princes, on much leſs important occaſions; that this behaviour was ſo far the more aſtoniſhing, as it would not, in the leaſt, diſparage his pontifical dignity, ſhould he go, in perſon, and ſollicit the releaſe of ſo great a monarch, who had lately hazarded his life in the ſervice of the church; that the many kind offices, for which the holy ſee ſtood indebted to the kings of England, merited ſome return; and, in a word, that the ſervices done the popes, during the ſchiſms, could not be forgotten, without ingratitude; but all theſe inſtances could not prevail on the pope, to engage in the behalf of an unfortunate prince, leſt he ſhould diſguſt the king of France, who preſs'd him, on the other hand, not to interpoſe, on the preſent occaſion. 1193.

Richard is brought before the diet of the empire, and accuſed of ſix particulars.

In the interim, the emperor, who wanted a pretence for his injuſtice, ordered Richard to be brought to Haguenaw, where the diet of the empire was aſſembled; and the deputies ſent by the queen and council to the king, met him on the road, ignominiouſly conducted, like a criminal. This piercing ſight drew tears from their eyes, at which the king himſelf could not forbear weeping; and, after they had, in the moſt affectionate terms, expreſs'd their concern for his misfortune, they aſſured him of the fidelity of his ſubjects, in general, and gave him an account of his brother's attempts and his ſtrict alliance with the king of France; and Richard found, from theſe informations, that it would be extremely improper for him to diſpute with the emperor, upon the terms of his freedom. When the king was brought before the aſſembly of the German princes, the emperor laid ſix articles to his charge; of which only one could concern himſelf, but none the German nation, in particular. I. He accuſed Richard, of joining in a league with Tancred, to ſupport that uſurper on the throne of Sicily. II. He alledged, that, by his conteſts with the king of France, he had prevented the conqueſt of Jeruſalem. III. That he unjuſtly invaded Cyprus, and employed the arms of the Croiſes, in dethroning a chriſtian prince. IV. That he affronted the duke of Auſtria, at the ſiege of Ptolemais. V. That he was concerned in the murder of the marqueſs of Montferrat. VI. And laſtly, the emperor repreſented the truce he concluded with Saladine, as a very heinous crime, and charged him with holding a correſpondence with that Infidel prince, that was extremely detrimental to Chriſtendom.

His defence.

Tho' neither the emperor nor the princes of Germany had any right to ſit, as judges, upon the king of England, Richard did not think it proper to call in queſtion their authority; for he was unwilling to give occaſion for delays

1193. delays, which would have been of dangerous conſequence; and, in all probability, that was the ſole view of the emperor. He, therefore, was ſatisfied with briefly declaring, that, tho' he conſider'd himſelf, as accountable to none, for his actions, he was ready to vindicate himſelf, before that illuſtrious aſſembly; becauſe it highly concerned his honour, to convince the world of his innocence. He then proceeded to make his defence againſt the emperor's allegations; and, to the firſt, he anſwer'd, that his treaty with Tancred had no relation at all to the emperor; and that he treated with him, as with a king in actual poſſeſſion of the crown. To the ſecond, he replied, that the king of France's jealouſy was the ſole cauſe of the ſmall progreſs that was made, in the conqueſt of the Holy-Land, upon whom the whole blame ought to be charged, ſince he firſt deſerted the cauſe. To the third, relating to the conqueſt of Cyprus, he made anſwer, that the prince, whom he deprived of that kingdom, was both an uſurper and a tyrant, and, by his cruelty, had juſtly provoked his vengeance; that he had demonſtrated, that he did not act, in this proceeding, from a principle of avarice or ambition; ſince he voluntarily reſigned the iſland to Guy of Luſignan, to repair his loſs of the kingdom of Jeruſalem. As for the fourth, he only ſaid, that the duke of Auſtria had already ſufficiently revenged on him an affront, for which he might have demanded ſatisfaction, in a more honourable manner; and, as for the murder of the marqueſs of Montferrat, he declared, with ſome emotion, that all his paſt actions were ſo many proofs of his being utterly incapable of uſing ſuch infamous means, to gratify his revenge; and he farther added, that the marqueſs himſelf cleared him, before his death, in ordering his wife to put into his hands the city of Tyre. He ſpoke more fully to the laſt article, concerning his maintaining a good underſtanding with Saladine; and he took notice, tho' with great modeſty, of the ſhare he had in the victory obtained over that prince. He accuſed the duke of Burgundy of deſerting him, merely, out of jealouſy, when he was juſt upon the point of beſieging Jeruſalem; and, in fine, he ſaid, it was obvious, that, in making a truce with the Saracens, he had no ſordid views; ſince, of all the booty he acquired, by taking the Babylon-caravan, he reſerved nothing to himſelf, except the ring on his finger.

The German princes intercede for Richard.

This defence, which exceedingly confounded the emperor, excited the compaſſion of the German princes; and they were ſo convinced of the injurious treatment of Richard, that they unanimouſly ſollicited the emperor, to uſe him, in a more generous manner; but all their intreaties could not prevail on that covetous prince, to releaſe his priſoner, before he had extorted an exorbitant ranſom; and he was the more unreaſonable, in his demands, as the king of France had ſent the biſhop of Beauvais, to offer him a large ſum, to keep Richard in perpetual impriſonment. The captive king, therefore, to obtain his liberty, was conſtrained to promiſe the payment of 150,000 marks of ſilver, a third of which the duke of Auſtria was to have, for his ſhare; and the emperor farther required, that this ſum ſhould be brought into Germany, at Richard's peril and charge; that he ſhould releaſe the emperor of Cyprus and his daughter, and give his niece, Eleanor of Bretagne, in marriage to the duke of Auſtria's eldeſt ſon. Some tell us, the emperor likewiſe obliged him, to make an abſolute reſignation of the kingdom of England; tho' he preſently reinveſted him with it, to hold it of him, by the annual tribute of 5000 l. ſterling. Indeed, this fact is not altogether improbable, conſidering Richard's unhappy condition; but yet it is ſcarce credible, that ſuch an illuſtrious prince, tho' a priſoner, ſhould ſtoop to perform ſuch a mean and unworthy action. Beſides, it does not appear, that the emperor ever laid any claim to England, by vertue of this pretended reſignation; and, therefore, the ſame hiſtorians, who relate this particular, add, that Henry, before his death, renounced all his pretenſions to that kingdom. To render their account more probable, the emperor's donation of the kingdom of Arles to Richard is urged, which, they alledge, was given him, in return for the ſovereignty of England; but, from this very gift, it may be preſumed, that Richard's homage for Arles is confounded with that for England; and, indeed, it is evident, from the Collection of the Publick Acts, that Henry conferred the title of king of Arles on Richard, who, doubtleſs, did him homage, for that imaginary kingdom, which had not been enjoyed by the emperors, for many years.

Money, for the king's ranſom, is raiſed in England.

The treaty was no ſooner ſigned, than Richard acquainted the queen, his mother, with it, intreating her to do all that was poſſible, to raiſe the money for his ranſom; but this was a vaſt ſum, at that time, in England. Richard himſelf, when he went to the Holy-Land, almoſt drained the kingdom of all the coin; and the Croiſes alſo carried away great ſums. However, ſuch was the zeal of the juſticiaries, that they raiſed 100,000 marks, by taxes, and by borrowing a year's wooll of the abbies of the Ciſtercians and the religious houſes of the order of Sempringham *; to which was added the plate belonging to the churches, upon the queen's promiſe to reſtore it, after the king's return.

1194. As ſoon as Philip received the news of Richard's agreement with the emperor, he ſent John word, "to take care of himſelf, ſince "the devil was like to get looſe"; and this threw the prince into the greateſt conſternation. All his hopes, at once, vaniſhed; and he was upon the point of falling into the hands of a juſtly incenſed brother. His only remedy, in this perplexity, was to ſtrengthen his alliance with Philip; and, accordingly, theſe two princes, having one common intereſt, agreed to join together, in their attempts, to engage the emperor, by advantageous offers, to detain Richard in priſon. The biſhop of Beauvais was again diſpatched, to make Henry the following propoſals: That, provided he would promiſe to

* This order was firſt inſtituted, at Sempringham in Lincolnſhire, now a ſeat of the Clinton's, earls of Lincoln, in 1148.

1194. detain Richard, till Michaelmas, Philip would pay him down, at once, 50,000, and John 30,000, marks; that, after the expiration of that term, they would remit him, monthly, 1000 l. ſterling, during Richard's impriſonment; that, if he would put him into their power, they would pay the whole ranſom of 150,000 marks; and, in fine, if this offer was rejected, the ambaſſador was commiſſioned to tender him the ſame ſum, to keep him priſoner, only one year. Theſe propoſals made ſuch an impreſſion on the ſelfiſh emperor, that he deferred the king's deliverance, till the ſucceeding diet, which was to be held at Spires, in a few months; tho' Eleanor was arrived at Worms, with 100,000 marks and hoſtages, for the payment of the remainder. It is natural to conclude, that Richard was, to the laſt degree, aſtoniſhed, at the receipt of this unwelcome news; and, indeed, his caſe being now, in all appearance, deſperate, the interval, till the next diet, was the moſt melancholy and diſconſolate part of his whole life; for the emperor had actually determined to comply with the king of France's offers, and ſacrifice his honour to his inſatiable avarice. The diet being aſſembled at Spires, in February, the emperor addreſſed himſelf to the German princes, in terms which evidently declared, that he had no regard for his agreement with the king of England; but they, being ſurprized at this proceeding, in ſo many words, aſſured him, that, as they were pledges of the treaty, they could not, in honour, ſee it violated, and even intimated, that he ſhould not break it, with impunity. Whether Henry was overawed by their menaces, or ſhame had ſome influence over him, he releaſed his priſoner, upon receiving the 100,000 marks and hoſtages, for the 50,000 that remained; and Richard, directly leaving Germany, repaired to the Low-Countries, proceeding on his journey to England, with all poſſible expedition; which was abſolutely neceſſary, becauſe the emperor, repenting of his releaſe, ſent after him, in order to have him ſeized, but to no purpoſe, as it was too late. The king embarqued at Antwerp, and ſafely arrived at Sandwich, on the 20th of March, 1194, after a four years abſence, 15 months of which he ſpent in a priſon.

Richard is releaſed.

The proceedings of the emperor and the duke, with reſpect to the reſt of the ranſom.

Before I finiſh what relates to Richard's impriſonment, I ſhall here take notice of ſome particulars, concerning the payment of the reſidue of Richard's ranſom, both with reſpect to the emperor and the duke of Auſtria; the latter of whom, having frequently ſollicited Richard, to ſatisfy his demand, ſent Baldwin of Betune, one of his hoſtages, to acquaint him, that he would come upon thoſe he had in his power, if the treaty of Haguenaw was not ſpeedily put in execution. Richard, who was no ſtranger to the cruel diſpoſition of that prince, immediately ſent Baldwin back with the princeſs Eleanor, that the ſtipulated marriage might be conſummated, till the remainder of the ranſom was paid; and it is highly probable, that the emperor, keeping the 100,000 marks, turn'd over the debt of the 50,000 to the duke of Auſtria; but, however that be, Eleanor and Baldwin found, upon their arrival at Vienna, that the duke was dead, by a fall from his horſe. Before he expired, he made his will, 1194. in which he ordered the king of England's hoſtages to be releaſed; confeſſing that he had unjuſtly detained him, and could not, in conſcience, demand a ranſom. Nevertheleſs, the prince, his ſon and ſucceſſor, would ſtill have kept them in his cuſtody, if the biſhops had not oppoſed his deſign; for they declared, that they would not ſuffer his father's corpſe to be buried, till his laſt will was performed; and the pope alſo aſſured him, in a letter, that he had given orders to the archbiſhop of Saltzburg, to excommunicate him, if he did not directly releaſe the hoſtages. The young prince, being terrified by theſe menaces, ſet the hoſtages at liberty; and, having no great inclination for the princeſs of Bretagne, he ſent her likewiſe back into England. As for the emperor, his quarrel with the pope, and the war he deſigned againſt France, convincing him, that he might have occaſion for the king of England, he ſent a biſhop to beg his pardon, and aſſure him, that he intended to reſtore what had been extorted from him; but he died, ſoon after, at Meſſina, before he performed his promiſe.

Richard reduces prince John's party.

Richard was received by his ſubjects, with ſuch demonſtrations of joy and affection, that he forgot his late ignominious captivity. He, firſt of all, diſcharged his vow, to offer to God the rich ſtandard of Cyprus, in St. Edmund's church; and then he marched to reduce ſome caſtles, that were ſtill poſſeſſed by John's adherents, Nottingham-caſtle being the only one, that held out a ſiege of ſome days. In the interim, he ordered the prince, his brother, then in France, to be ſummoned to appear, within 40 days, and anſwer the accuſations exhibited againſt him; but, John not appearing, within the limited time, the king cauſed a ſentence to be paſſed againſt him, confiſcating all his lands, and declaring him incapable of ſucceeding to the crown.

He is crowned.

This affair being over, Richard was crowned again, leſt his impriſonment might have raiſed any ſcruples in the minds of his ſubjects; and William, king of Scotland, as earl of Huntingdon, carried the ſword of ſtate, before the king. This deference and his inviolable attachment to Richard, whilſt a captive, entirely gained his affection, who gave him all poſſible proofs of his friendſhip. Indeed, he did not reſign Northumberland to him, which he very urgently demanded, upon a dubious title, that was even renounced by his predeceſſor; yet, to ſoften, in ſome meaſure, his refuſal, he granted him a charter of certain honours and privileges to be enjoyed by the kings of Scotland, whenever they came into England.

Act. Pub.

1195. Richard prepares for a war with France.

Richard had too reſolutely determined to be revenged on the king of France, to deny himſelf any longer that ſatisfaction; for the forgiveneſs of injuries is a virtue too rare among men, to be found in a prince, who was not one of the moſt ſcrupulous, in the point of religion. To this end, a powerful army was neceſſary, which could neither be raiſed nor maintained, without an extraordinary charge; whereas the kingdom, in its preſent ſtate, was ſcarce able to furniſh him with the neceſſary ſupplies. However,

1195. However, money muſt be had, by all poſſible means; and, for this purpoſe, ſeveral diſhonourable ways were put in practice. In the firſt place, he revoked all the alienations of the crown-lands, made before his departure to the Holy-Land; pretending that the purchaſers had ſufficiently reimburſed themſelves, tho' they had enjoyed theſe eſtates, but a very few years. Moreover, the great-ſeal, which he carried with him, being loſt, during his voyage, he ordered another to be made, and obliged all, that had any patents or commiſſions, to have them renewed and ſealed with the new ſeal; and his ſole view, in this, was, to extort money from private perſons, for the renewal of their charters. Beſides theſe methods, the king invented two more; the firſt of which was to prohibit tournaments, and then grant the nobility a licenſe to hold, or be preſent at them, for a certain ſum, in proportion to their rank. The ſecond was, to reſtore to his favour Geoffrey, his natural brother, and put him in poſſeſſion of the ſee of York; and the biſhop of Coventry, one of John's zealous adherents, who, as well as the prince, was condemned, received a pardon; but the former purchaſed this favour with 2000 marks, and it coſt the latter no leſs than 5000.

Philip lays ſiege to Verneuil.

The forces, Richard deſigned againſt France, being in readineſs, he was informed, as he ſat at table, that Philip was engaged in the ſiege of Verneuil; which ſo highly incenſed him, that he ſwore, he would not turn his face, till he came within ſight of the enemy; and, to keep his oath, he cauſed part of the wall of the room, where he was, to be pulled down, and, paſſing through the opening, he embarqued immediately with his troops, which waited for him, on the ſea-ſide, and ſafely arrived in Normandy. Upon his approach, Philip raiſed the ſiege, juſt as he was on the point of taking the city; and ſome ſay, that he was forced to it, by his own army, who, being ſeized with a pannick conſternation, made the beſt of their way, leaving their tents and baggage in the camp.

Richard pardons the prince, his brother.

Some time after, Richard being at Roan, the queen, his mother, introduced Prince John, who, throwing himſelf at his feet, implored his pardon; which the king, purſuant to his promiſe to the queen, was pleaſed to grant, tho' he plainly intimated, that he was not convinced of the ſincerity of his repentance: "I forgive you, ſays he, raiſing him up, and I "wiſh I could as eaſily forget your offences, as "you will my pardon."

The continuation of the war. 1195-9.

As the particulars of the war, between the two monarchs, are not very material, I ſhall only obſerve, that it laſted five years, and was often interrupted by truces, conſtantly broken by both parties, without any poſſibility of knowing, which of them ought to be blamed. The hiſtorians of the two nations were ſo ſollicitous, in the vindication of their reſpective kings, that it is manifeſt, they were too much ſway'd by their prejudices or inclinations; but, however that be, the contending monarchs met with frequent occaſions, to ſignalize their conduct and bravery; tho' ſuch was the various ſucceſs of their arms, during the war, that both of them may be ſaid to be loſers by it. Philip, among others, ſuſtained an irreparable loſs of all the antient records of the crown, which were taken, with all his baggage, in an action near Blois; for it was cuſtomary, in thoſe days, for the king to carry with him, wherever he went, the archives of the kingdom; and Mezerai, with concern, obſerves, that, on this occaſion, the hiſtory of France received a remarkable prejudice, with reſpect to the events before that engagement. 1195-9.

A truce between the two kings.

The two kings, at length, agreed upon a truce, in order to a peace; and ſome affirm, that Philip propoſed to Richard, to decide their quarrel, by five combatants of each of the parties; and that Richard gave his conſent, provided the two kings were of that number. If this was really the caſe, which, however, is ſuſpicious, the propoſal, in all probability, was not ſeriouſly made; but yet it is certain, that, tho' the two monarchs had ſeveral interviews, to negotiate a treaty, they, at laſt, parted, without any determination.

The princeſs Alice is reſtored to her brother.

The princeſs Alice, at one of theſe conferences, was reſtored to the king, her brother, who gave her in marriage to the earl of Ponthieu; for Richard, at his departure to the Holy-Land, had committed her to the cuſtody of the ſeneſchal of Normandy, who had refuſed to deliver her, without his maſter's expreſs order, tho' ſhe was often demanded by the king of France.

The queen of Sicily marries the earl of Tholouſe.

At the ſame time, Johanna, Richard's ſiſter, widow to the king of Sicily, married the earl of Tholouſe; and, on this occaſion, the king, her brother, reſigned all right and title to that earldom, as heir of the houſe of Poictiers.

The biſhop of Beauvais is taken priſoner.

During this war, Philip de Dreux, biſhop of Beauvais, who was nearly related to the king of France, being in a battle, was taken priſoner by the Engliſh; and, by reaſon of his quality and character, but, principally, ſome injurious expreſſions, in ſpeaking of Richard, his ranſom was rated ſo high, that he applied to the pope, for his protection. His holineſs earneſtly interceded, in the behalf of his dearly beloved ſon, as he called him, in a letter to the king; but Richard, in anſwer, ſent the biſhop's armour, all over bloody as it was, and asked him, whether he knew his ſon's coat? The pope, being convinced of that prelate's martial temper, by this evident proof, deſiſting from his ſollicitations, declared, that, ſince he quitted the warfare of Chriſt, for that of the world, in juſtice, he ought to ſuffer the conſequences of his choice; and, upon this reply, the biſhop, deſpairing of any aſſiſtance from the court of Rome, compounded for his ranſom, for which he was obliged to pay 2000 marks.

The French hiſtorians, in their accounts of this war, inſiſt very copiouſly on Philip's advantages, whilſt they ſlightly paſs over his loſſes; and the Engliſh, on the other hand, taking little notice of ſeveral engagements, in which the former pretend, that Richard was worſted, highly extol his great ſucceſs. Among others, they magnify a victory the king of England

1195-9. land obtained, between Courcelles and Giſors, which the French repreſent, as a trifling event; for they affirm, that Philip, advancing with 500 horſe, to view the enemy, was in danger of being ſurrounded, and compelled to retreat to Giſors, with ſome precipitation; and they farther ſay, that, the bridge of that city falling under him, he very narrowly eſcaped with his life. However, it is certain, that Richard ſent a letter to England, concerning this action, which is in the Collection of the Publick Acts, wherein he boaſts of gaining, that day, a glorious victory; and it is very unlikely, that Richard would have expreſs'd himſelf, thus, had he only routed 500 horſe. Some Engliſh writers even aſſert, that, on occaſion of this victory, Richard added to the arms of England, "Dieu & mon Droit;" but I can ſcarce believe this motto to be ſo antient, or that it owes its original to that occurrence.

A five years truce.

The two monarchs having, at length, ſufficiently tired each other, finding that all their advantages were inconſiderable, joyfully embraced an opportunity that offer'd, to put an honourable end to the war; and that was, by complying with the pope's exhortations, who ſent his legate into France, to promote a reconciliation between them. The view of his holineſs was to engage them in a freſh Cruſade, for the recovery of Jeruſalem; but they were both too much diſcouraged by the firſt, to entertain any thoughts of a ſecond expedition. Nevertheleſs, the legate's arrival procured a truce, for five years, which, in ſome meaſure, put a ſtop to the calamities of their ſubjects; and, by this truce, which was concluded at a conference, it was agreed, that each of the kings ſhould keep what was, at preſent, in their poſſeſſion.

John vindicates himſelf from Philip's accuſation.

At this interview, Philip, pretending a friendſhip for Richard, ſhewed him ſome papers, from which it appeared, that prince John had formed ſome evil deſigns againſt him; and Richard, too raſhly giving credit to him, diſpoſſeſſed his brother, once more, of all his eſtates. However, John openly vindicated his innocence, in ſending two knights to the court of France, who offered to prove, by arms, that the prince was falſly accuſed; and, upon Philip's refuſing the challenge, Richard reſtored prince John to his poſſeſſions.

A ſedition at London.

During Richard's abſence in France, the city of London was, on a ſudden, in a great combuſtion, by means of a ſedition raiſed by William Fitz-Osbern, commonly ſtiled William Long-Beard, from the length of his beard; and, by affecting, on all occaſions, to be an advocate for the poor, he had gained the hearts of the populace, who held him in extreme veneration. He, at length, made uſe of this advantage, to excite a ſedition in the city, on account of a tax, the burden of which, he alledged, would entirely fall on the meaneſt of the people; and Hubert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, then juſticiary of the realm, could not appeaſe the tumult, without obliging the principal citizens to take up arms; but, Long-Beard, finding that he was vigorouſly preſs'd, fled, for refuge, to the church of St. Mary le Bow, where he was apprehended, and afterwards hang'd in chains, with nine of his accomplices *. 1195-9.

Robin Hood.

About this time alſo lived the famous Robin Hood, with his companion Little John, who, it is ſaid, infeſted Yorkſhire with their robberies. Some will have it, that he was ſprung from a great family, and reduced to that courſe of life, by his extravagance; that he never hurted any perſon of either ſex, and, ſparing the poor, robb'd only the rich; but, a proclamation being iſſued out againſt him, he fell ſick, at the nunnery of Berkely, and, deſiring to be let blood, was betrayed and bled to death.

Richard, upon his truce with France, had an opportunity of returning to England, to enjoy ſome repoſe, after all his fatigues, ſince his acceſſion to the crown; and, beſides, his preſence in that kingdom was neceſſary, to reform ſeveral abuſes, that were occaſioned by his abſence. Accordingly, he reſolved upon it; but an unexpected accident defeated his deſign. A Limoſin gentleman, finding in his eſtate a treaſure, which had been hid there, for many ages, the king alledged, that, as it was found in a country, that held of the dutchy of Guienne, of which he had the ſovereignty, it belonged to him. The gentleman agreed to compound the matter, by giving him a part; but Richard, inſiſting on the whole, he applied to Vidomar, viſcount of Limoges, for protection, who ſheltered him in the caſtle of Chaluz; but the king, being highly incenſed, marched directly into le Limoſin, in order to beſiege the caſtle. When he came nigh it, he went round it, in order to take a view of the place; yet, approaching too near, Bertram Gordon, an archer, who was upon the walls, ſhot him with an arrow, in the ſhoulder, cloſe to his neck. The wound was not mortal, in itſelf, tho' made ſo by the unskilfulneſs of the ſurgeon that dreſs'd it; and it is reported, that the king's intemperance did not a little contribute to inflame it. However that be, the wound gangrened; and he died of it, on the eleventh day, after he had endured a great deal of pain and miſery; and the caſtle being taken, before his death, and the perſon, that wounded him, brought into his preſence, the king ask'd him, why he ſought his life? Bertram anſwer'd, with an aſtoniſhing boldneſs, that it was in revenge of his father and brother, whom the king had ſlain, with his own hand; and that he gave God thanks for his ſucceſs, being ready to ſuffer, with pleaſure, the moſt ſevere torments, ſince he had the good fortune, to free the world from ſuch a tyrant. Tho', one would

The occaſion of Richard's death.

* R. de Diceto tells us, that, his body being ſtolen away and buried, his followers pretended, that miracles were performed, at his grave; but, guards being ſet at the place, and thoſe, that came thither to pray, ſoundly beaten for their pains, the cheat was diſcovered, and the people ſoon left off their devotions to that pretended ſaint. In 1197, there was a great famine and mortality in all parts of England; during which, Richard, finding ſhips at St. Valeri, laden with Engliſh corn, he order'd all the men, belonging to theſe veſſels, to be hanged. Hoved.

have

1199. have thought, this reply would rather have exaſperated the dying prince; yet he not only forgave him, but order'd him to be releaſed, with a preſent of 100 ſhillings; however, immediately after, Marchard, general of the Flemings, cauſed the miſerable wretch to be flead alive.

Richard makes prince John his heir.

Richard, before he expired, made his will, leaving his kingdom, with all his other dominions, and three parts in four of his money, to his brother, John, reſerving the remainder for the poor and his domeſticks; tho' he had formerly, at Meſſina, appointed his nephew Arthur, duke of Bretagne, to be his heir; which is evident from his letter, from thence, to the pope, now to be ſeen, in the Collection of the Publick Acts. In all probability he altered his ſentiments, purely, to prevent commotions in his dominions; for no other reaſon can be aſſigned, for his nominating his brother to be his ſucceſſor, to the prejudice of his nephew, who had as juſt a claim as prince John to the crown. In his laſt will, he ordered his body to be interr'd at Fontevraud, at the feet of his father, to teſtify his ſorrow, for the many troubles he created him, during his life; and his heart was to be carried to Roan, as a proof of his affection to the Normans; but his bowels were to be ſent into Poictou, to ſhew the little regard he had for the Poictevins, with whom he was diſguſted. He left behind him only a natural ſon, named Philip, to whom he bequeathed the lordſhip of Cognac, in the dutchy of Guienne *.

His character.

This was the end of Richard the I. king of England, ſirnamed Cœur de Lion, on the account of his great courage; and, except his valour, which ſomewhat reſembled a brutal fierceneſs, it does not appear, that he was adorned with any other virtue, to furniſh matter for his panegyrick. As for his bounty and magnificence, which ſome have advanced, as encomiums in his character; it ought to be conſidered, that, if he was liberal and ſplendid, it was at the expence of his ſubjects, from whom he extorted vaſt ſums, by diſhonourable means; but, on the contrary, we find in him a great number of vices, and ſome of the moſt enormous. His unnatural rebellion, againſt his own father, is a blemiſh, that may be juſtly caſt upon his memory; and it is even evident, that the Almighty was pleaſed to puniſh him, for it, by a continued ſeries of troubles, during a reign of ten years, and eſpecially by a captivity of 15 months. He was likewiſe remarkable, for an inſatiable avarice, which was the occaſion of his death; and ſuch was his pride, that he treated his equals, with contempt, and his inferiors, as ſlaves. In a word, if the report of certain hiſtorians be true, an unbridled luſt hurried him, not only to neglect the queen, his wife, in order to abandon himſelf to an infamous debauchery, but even to ſins againſt nature; for it is affirmed, that a poor hermit upbraided him, for that deteſtable crime, before his whole court, and conjured him, in the name of God, to reflect on the deſtruction of Sodom. However that be, all the authors, that have written his life, agree, that pride, avarice, and luſt were his reigning vices; and it is related, that being admoniſhed by Fulke, curate of Neville, a man famous, for his zeal, to throw off thoſe wicked habits, commonly called his three daughters, he jocoſely replied, that it was his deſign; and that, accordingly, he would reſign the firſt to the templars, the ſecond to the monks, and the third to the biſhops.

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Richard was tall and well made, his eyes being blue and ſparkling, and his hair of a yellow colour, inclining to red. It may be ſaid, that England, where he never was, above eight months, during his whole reign, was very unhappy under his government; ſince he oppreſs'd his ſubjects, with exorbitant taxes and impoſitions; whilſt the people received no other benefit, in return for theſe prodigious ſums, than a little glory for their king, tho' they were contented with it, as it redounded to the honour of the Engliſh nation.

Remarks on the uſe of the croſs-bow.

It is obſerved, as a thing extremely remarkable, that this prince, who reſtored the uſe of the croſs-bow, loſt his life, by the means of that inſtrument; as if Heaven deſigned to puniſh him, for reviving that diabolical invention; but this remark does not ſeem to be built on a ſolid foundation. I have already taken notice, that the Engliſh made uſe of croſs-bows, in the conqueſt of Ireland, in the reign of Henry II. and it is not at all probable, that they ſhould diſcontinue it, in the few years that were ſince elapſed.

The arms of England.

Richard was the firſt king of England, that carried in his ſhield three lions paſſant, in which he was imitated by his ſucceſſors †.

Companies eſtabliſhed at London.

The city of London, in this reign, began to have a new aſpect, with reſpect to its government ‡, being divided into ſeveral corporations or companies, as at this day.

* At Fontevraud, where his corpſe was interred, with a gilt image, the ſix following verſes were written, in gold letters, giving an account of his greateſt and moſt glorious exploits; viz. his victory over the Sicilians, the conqueſt of Cyprus, the ſinking of the great galeaſs of the Saracens, which he met, as he ſailed from Cyprus to the Holy-Land, the taking of the Babylon-caravan, and the defence of Joppa againſt the Infidels.

Scribitur hoc tumulo, rex auree, laus tua, tota
Aurea, materiæ conveniente nota.
Laus tua prima fuit, Siculi, Cyprus altera, Dromo
Tertia, Caravana quarta, ſuprema Joppe.
Suppreſſi Siculi, Cyprus peſſundata, Dromo
Merſus, Caravana capta, retenta Joppe. Camd. Rem.

† The great ſeals of each may be ſeen in Sandford and Speed; and it does not appear, that the Norman kings, Richard's predeceſſors, bore any arms, at leaſt, ſuch as are aſcribed to them. Sandford's Gen. Hiſt.

‡ In 1191, the citizens of London obtained the privilege to be governed by two bailiffs or ſheriffs; and likewiſe to have a mayor. Henry Cornhill and Richard Reynere were the two firſt bailiffs or ſheriffs; and the firſt mayor was Henry Fitz-Alwin, who continued in that office, above 24 years. Vid. Stow's Survey.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK VIII.

The Reigns of King JOHN and HENRY III. containing the ſpace of 73 years; with the State of the Church, from 1154 to 1272.

7. JOHN, ſirnamed Lack-Land *.

1199. Reflections on John's right to the crown.

THO' Richard made prince John heir to all his dominions; yet it did not take off all exceptions againſt his title to the crown. Whatſoever abſolute power a prince may be poſſeſs'd of, whilſt alive, as ſoon as his eyes are cloſed by death, his laſt will is no farther regarded, than it is conſiſtent with the law, unleſs it be executed by compulſive methods. The late king, by his deceaſe, left two queries, in the affair of the ſucceſſion, not eaſy to be decided; the firſt of which was, whether, according to law, Arthur, duke of Bretagne, as the repreſentative of his father, Geoffrey, John's elder brother, had as much or more right than his uncle, who was one degree nearer? and, ſecondly, whether, provided the laws were in favour of the nephew, Richard might diſpoſe of his dominions, by a will, in direct oppoſition to them.

The diverſity of the laws of the ſeveral ſtates, concerned in the ſucceſſion, rendered the ſolution of theſe queries extremely difficult; and, beſides, in England, the largeſt and moſt conſiderable ſtate, there was no ſettled law, about the ſucceſſion to the crown, by which the kings were allowed, or debarred from, the power of diſpoſing of it, at their pleaſure; and, if the Engliſh Hiſtory had been ſearched, for examples, to eſtabliſh a precedent, this way of proceeding would have been equally intricate and perplexing. From the Norman conqueſt to the time of Richard's death, there was no occaſion to eſtabliſh, or exclude, the right of repreſentation, with reſpect to the crown; tho' there were ſeveral inſtances, during the Saxon monarchy; but, as there were others directly contrary, the deciſion of this matter would ſtill be far from being an eaſy task; moreover, the Saxon laws and cuſtoms had not been obſerved, for above a century, the Normans having introduced a new ſyſtem into the kingdom. The moſt valid argument, in John's behalf, was, that, as there were no eſtabliſhed laws, concerning this point, his title was as good as his nephew's; and he had alſo Richard's will, in his favour; but, on the other hand, in moſt of the provinces, belonging to the Engliſh, in France, the right of repreſentation, in the lineal deſcent, was generally received. This affair, then, muſt have been liable to great diſputes, were it to be determined in a court of juſtice, or in the general-aſſembly of the ſtates, by an impartial judgment; but John was reſolved to make uſe of a ſhorter and, at the ſame time, a more effectual method. He apprehended his right to be inconteſtable, or, perhaps, his ambition would not ſuffer him to be more ſcrupulous, with regard to Arthur than to the king, his brother; but, however that be, he had with him, abroad, Hubert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and William Marſhal, afterwards earl of Pembroke, two lords, that were entirely devoted to his ſervice, and whoſe intereſt was very great in England; and, for the ſake

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John's meaſures to ſecure the crown.

* Henry, his father, gave him that nickname; becauſe, in his will, he left him no lands nor inheritance, but only recommended him to be provided for by his elder brother. Brompt.

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1199. of expedition, ſo neceſſary, at this juncture, he immediately diſpatched them into that kingdom, with orders to act in concert with the queen, his mother, and the chief juſticiary, who had, for ſome time, eſpouſed his cauſe. As for queen Eleanor, tho', it ſeems, ſhe was in ſuſpence, between her ſon and grandſon, a private reaſon byaſs'd her, in favour of prince John; for ſhe was afraid, that, if Arthur ſucceeded to the crown, his mother, Conſtantia, would come over and claim the adminiſtration of affairs, during her ſon's minority, who was then only 13 years of age; which would have given the greateſt uneaſineſs, to one of her lofty ſpirit and temper.

The zeal and policy of his friends.

The four perſons, whom John employed, as his agents, ſerved with him, zeal and ſucceſs. The juſticiary had great power, during the interregnum; and the archbiſhop was at the head of the clergy. Eleanor was exceedingly beloved and reſpected in the kingdom; and William Marſhal was a lord diſtinguiſhed by his merit, tho' not by his dignities. Having concerted the moſt proper meaſures, to bring about their deſigns, they attempted to gain the magiſtrates of the cities and towns, in order, by their means, to engage the people, that they might afterwards meet with leſs oppoſition from the nobles; and, their endeavours ſucceeding, according to their expectations, they imagined, that they were in a condition, to venture upon ſummoning the leſſer nobility, to take the oath of allegiance to John; and there were very few that refuſed it, becauſe it appeared to be agreeable to the general ſenſe of the nation, and they were ſtrangers to the duke of Bretagne, who had never been in England. Upon this, the biſhops and barons were ſummoned, on the ſame account; but theſe were not ſo inclinable to ſwear fealty to that prince. Many of them called in queſtion the juſtice of John's title; and, beſides, they conſidered themſelves, as the moſt proper judges in the affair, inſtead of being obliged to ſubmit to the deciſions of others. However, as the body of the people had declared for John, they judged it to be imprudent, abſolutely to refuſe the oath that was demanded; and, therefore, under the pretence of examining the laws of the realm, they requeſted a delay. In the interim, believing a civil war to be unavoidable, they began to fortify their caſtles, and make preparations, to ſupport the moſt juſt cauſe, or, at leaſt, that which ſeemed to be moſt conducive to their own advantage; and theſe ſteps alarmed the prince's adherents. As they knew, that he was not beloved, they were apprehenſive, that the barons had reſolved to oppoſe him; and, to prevent this deſign, they convened, at Northampton, an aſſembly-general; where they exerted themſelves, to bring over thoſe, whom they moſt ſuſpected. Among other things, they promiſed, in John's name, that he would fully reſtore all the rights and privileges of the nobility and commons; and, upon this promiſe, joined to others privately made to the moſt obſtinate, all the lords unanimouſly agreed to ſwear fealty to John, inſomuch that the whole kingdom was in his intereſt, before his arrival. The king of Scotland, in the mean time, ſent an ambaſſy, to demand Northumberland, which gave ſome uneaſineſs to thoſe that were at the helm; for they were afraid, that he deſigned to make a conqueſt of that country, which would have been very eaſy, at this juncture, England not being in a condition to maintain a war; yet they found means to content the ambaſſadors, with fair words, promiſing, that, as ſoon as John arrived, he would give their maſter entire ſatisfaction. 1199.

John becomes maſter of the late king's treaſure.

In the interim, John himſelf was not idle in France; where he was detained by two important affairs. In the firſt place, he was employed in a negotiation with Robert of Turnham, who had the cuſtody of Richard's treaſure, in the caſtle of Chinon; and, at length, he prevailed on that officer to deliver to him the money in his hands, and alſo to ſurrender the two important cities of Saumur and Chinon, of which he was governor. The other affair, about which John was ſollicitous, was to procure the ſovereignty of the provinces, the Engliſh held in France; but, tho', in England, he had all deſirable ſucceſs, the caſe was otherwiſe in the foreign parts; for his nephew created him great uneaſineſs. Beſides his natural right to theſe provinces, it was to be feared, that the king of France would aſſiſt him, with all his forces, to take poſſeſſion of them; and, indeed, nothing could be more advantageous to him, than to ſee them rent from the Engliſh monarchy. Moreover, every circumſtance ſeemed to concur in Arthur's favour; for the governor of Angers had already reſigned that place to him; and all the lords of Poictou, Touraine, Maine, and Anjou were reſolved to own him, for their ſovereign. John was, in a manner, excluded from a conſiderable part of his brother's dominions; and, therefore, as he was poſſeſs'd of Richard's treaſure, he determined to make the beſt uſe it, to gain the principal lords of Normandy. Accordingly, he levied an army and beſieged Mans, which had eſpouſed the cauſe of the duke of Bretagne; and, taking it, without much oppoſition, he believed it to be neceſſary to ſtrike a terror into the Normans, by an inſtance of ſeverity, to deter them from declaring war againſt him. To this end, he ordered the walls of Mans to be razed, and the chief burghers to be made priſoners; upon which, whatever inclinations they might have to Arthur, they apprehended it to be a piece of prudence, to ſubmit to his uncle, that they might avoid the impending evils; and they had no ſooner taken this reſolution, than John came to Roan, where he was crowned duke of Normandy, by the archbiſhop of that city, who had been extremely active, in diſpoſing the people in his favour.

It was in vain for prince John to think of reducing the other provinces in France, before he had aſcended the throne of England; for ſuch a delay might not only be prejudicial to his affairs, but the undertaking itſelf would be impracticable, without the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh. For theſe reaſons, he embarqued for that kingdom; and, arriving at London, the

1199. the 25th of May, he caused himself to be crowned, the next day, in Westminster-abbey; when, before the ceremony, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, made the following speech to the lords and people assembled, on that occasion:

The archbishop of Canterbury's speech.

"No person can have a right to the crown "of this realm, unless, after an humble invo- "cation of God's spirit, he be, first, unanimously elected, for his extraordinary virtues, "and then solemnly anointed king, in imita- "tion of the example of Saul and David, whom "God was pleased to set over his people, tho' "neither of them was the son of a king, or "of royal descent. The former was chosen, "for his valour; and the latter, for his humility and piety; and it was the will of the "Almighty, that such, as were to be invested "with the regal power, should be eminently "distinguished by their virtues. For the same "reason, if any one of the family of the late "king excels the rest, we ought readily to "consent to his election. I speak this, in the "behalf of the noble duke John, here present, "brother to our illustrious king Richard, who "died, without issue; and this prince, being "endowed with all sorts of virtues, and espe- "cially great valour and prudence, we elect "king of England".

John's coronation.

After this short harangue, the archbishop placed the crown on John's head, having, first, administered to him the usual oath, tho' the bishop of Durham protested against this coronation, as being performed, in the absence of the archbishop of York; but this exception, as it had neither law nor custom, for its foundation, was entirely disregarded.

Remarks on the archbishop's speech.

Some pretend to prove, from the archbishop of Canterbury's speech, that the kings of England, in those days, succeeded to the crown, only by election; since the archbishop declared it, on so solemn an occasion, without the least opposition; and they farther insist on the silence of the prince elected, who must have been offended at such a bold assertion, if he had not been sensible, that the people had a just right to this privilege. However, I cannot apprehend, that this inference is conclusive; for, at this rate, Hubert took upon him to declare, that John came to the crown, only by election, tho' it does not appear, that the states were, first, consulted about it; nay, we do not find, that, even after he had ended his speech, he so much as ask'd the opinion of the assembly; but that he immediately proceeded to the coronation of the king, upon the acclamations of the people, who were assembled together, to see the ceremony. Moreover, if John was now elected, wherefore did the whole kingdom swear allegiance to him before? Was it customary to take the oath, before the election? Or, is there any precedent for it, in elective kingdoms? Besides, if the right of election was then established in England, why did the archbishop alledge the examples of Saul and David, when those of the former English kings would have been more to the purpose? Some authors do not scruple to affirm, that the whole assembly was exceedingly surprized at this prelate's discourse; and that, after the ceremony was over, being asked the reason of this extraordinary proceeding, he replied, "I foresaw, that John would embroil "the affairs of the kingdom, and, therefore, "judged it to be expedient to acquaint him, "that he ascended the throne by election, and "not by hereditary succession; in order to "lead him always to remember, that those, "who gave him the crown, had likewise the "power to take it away." If this particular was genuine, the right of election would be confuted by the very words of the archbishop; for what occasion was there for any private reasons, to justify the use of a right, that was certainly established; but it is highly improbable, that Hubert should have the gift of foreseeing events, that did not happen, till after the course of several years. 1199. M. Paris.

To set this speech in a true light, it will be sufficient to consider the circumstances of this pretended election. Hubert was entirely in John's interest; and his business was to put him in possession of a crown, to which the duke of Bretagne had plausible pretensions. However, as the English, either by promises or threatenings, were prevailed on, to swear fealty to John, it was, by no means, proper to say, that he ascended the throne, by hereditary right; since the question, between him and Arthur, had been neither examined nor decided; but it was very advantageous for him, to succeed to the crown, by a sort of election, as it gave him a title to his coronation, and also gained him the people of England, who were more likely to support their own choice, than maintain him, in his pretended hereditary right, which lay open to so many difficulties and objections.

The chief events in John's reign.

John was 32 years old, when he came to the crown, of which he was ardently desirous; but, by the just judgment of God, it render'd him more miserable, than ever; for his whole reign was a scene of the most terrible misfortunes, Philip Augustus, king of France, pope Innocent III, and the barons of his own kingdom being his most implacable enemies. The first deprived him of almost all the provinces, held by his predecessors in France; the second wrested from him the crown of England, tho' he afterwards restored it, upon the terms of a dishonourable homage; and the third forced him to give up all the prerogatives enjoyed by the kings of England, since William the Conqueror. These are the three most remarkable events of this reign, which I shall relate, as briefly as the nature of the thing will allow.

He rewards his friends.

John was no sooner crowned, than he rewarded those, who had been instrumental, in placing him on the throne; for William Marshal was created earl Pembroke; and Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, the justiciary, was honoured with the title of earl of Essex. Archbishop Hubert looked upon the office of high-chancellor, conferred upon him by the king, to be a sufficient recompence; tho', in the opinion of many, by accepting it, he disparaged his ecclesiastical dignity. It must be owned, that chancellors had been formerly made archbishops of Canterbury, as

1199. as in the case of Thomas Becket; but this is the first instance of an archbishop's being invested with the office of a chancellor.

John evades the king of Scotland's demands.

John, having secured an interest in the English, continued no longer in the kingdom, than was necessary to amuse the king of Scotland, who very urgently demanded the restitution of Northumberland and Cumberland, and threatened to invade those counties, unless he had speedy satisfaction; but, tho' the king of England did not intend to comply with his demands, he judged it to be imprudent to reject them, at the present juncture. He, therefore, rather chose to persuade him, by gentle methods, to be satisfied with a general promise, till his affairs in France permitted him to enter into a negotiation with him; and, indeed, this was the only course he could take, since, in relinquishing the English provinces in France, he endangered the loss of all his other dominions.

The dutchess of Bretagne puts herself and son, under Philip's protection.

Constance, Arthur's mother, perceiving, that John designed to seize on all the provinces in France, possess'd by Henry II. and Richard, as she was in no condition, to oppose it, she resolved to put the duke, her son, under the king of France's protection; and, with this view, she desired that monarch, to come and hold an interview with her at Tours; where she delivered the young duke into his hands, and, at the same time, surrendered the principal places of Bretagne, Touraine, Poictou, Anjou, and Maine, to hold them for Arthur.

Philip breaks the truce.

As Philip was, above all other things, desirous of recovering the provinces enjoyed by the English in France, it is no wonder, that he embraced such a favourable opportunity; tho', under the pretence of acting for Arthur, he now broke the five years truce he had made with Richard. He even became master of Evreux and the province of Maine, whilst the Bretons had surprized Angers, from whence Marchad, John's general, had expell'd them, a little before. The king of England, receiving intelligence of these proceedings, embarqued directly for France; and, upon his arrival at Roan, he mustered together an army of English and Normans, which was soon reinforced, by the lords of his party, from the other provinces. This great armament alarmed Philip; and, being unwilling to run any risque, he pretended to desire, to put an end to his differences with the king of England, by a negotiation, and, accordingly, demanded a truce, for 50 days. John, who vainly imagined, that the terror of his arms constrained Philip, to desist from his projects, instead of improving his advantages, being deceived by his enemy, consented to a truce; but, before it was expired, the two monarchs had a conference, between Butivant and Gaillon, to negotiate a treaty. Philip express'd himself, in such a lofty strain, as evidently shewed, that he was void of all fear, demanding the Norman Vexin for himself, and Poictou, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine for Arthur, for which provinces he had now received that prince's homage; but this demand was so opposite to John's designs, that there was not the least prospect of a peace between the two kings, who, upon the breaking up of the conference, renewed their hostilities.

1199. The death of Johanna, the king's sister.

Johanna, countess of Tholouse and queen dowager of Sicily, John's sister, died, in the beginning of this war, at Roan, where she came to visit the king, her brother; and she was interred, at Fontevraud, near Henry and Richard, her father and brother.

Philip disgusts Arthur.

Whilst John was employed about his sister's funeral, Philip was in Bretagne; where he subdued certain castles, that had declared for John, and, among others, the castle of Balun, which he ordered to be razed, as soon as he was possess'd of it; but William de la Roche, the young duke's governor, in the name of his pupil, complained of this proceeding, as a violation of the treaty made with Philip. Indeed, they had agreed, that all the places, taken from the enemy, should be surrendered to the duke, when he came of age; but Philip scornfully replied, "It was unreasonable to expect, "that the duke of Bretagne's interest should "hinder him from consulting his own"; and, without giving the governor any other satisfaction, he proceeded on his march, to besiege Lavardin. However, upon John's approach, with a powerful army, he retired into Maine; and, being afterwards obliged to quit that province, he shelter'd himself in his own dominions.

Constance and Arthur are reconciled to John.

In the interim, William de la Roche, who was a prudent governor, finding that Philip only made use of his young master, as an instrument, to promote his own advantage, removed Constance and Arthur from his court, and, after a reconciliation, brought them to the king of England; and this step might have proved fatal to Philip, if he had not by good fortune, or, perhaps, good management, recovered his loss. There were some in John's court, who, being bribed by the king of France, or out of affection to the duke, intimated to Constance, that she and her son were both in danger of their lives, near a prince, who would be so great a gainer by their death; which, at length, made such an impression on the princess and the young duke, that they privately withdrew from king John's court, and put themselves, again, under Philip's protection.

The good state of John's affairs.

As Arthur's return gave the king of France a pretence, for carrying on the war, it also defeated all the hopes that John had entertained, whilst the young prince was in his custody; but, as he had entered into an alliance with the emperor Otho, his nephew, who promised to make a powerful diversion, in his favour, and had likewise brought over the earl of Flanders, and, by a surprizing turn, all Guienne had just declared for him, he was in a condition to maintain the war, without dreading the enemy.

1200. Philip sues for a peace.

However, John chose rather to listen to the proposals of peace, which Philip insinuated to him, by the cardinal of Capua; for the king of England's numerous forces, his alliance with the emperor and the earl of Flanders, and the reinforcements he might expect from the Gascoigns, convinced him, that it was impossible for him to make any great progress, during the present posture of affairs; and, therefore, he attempted to procure, by a peace, what he had

1200. no proſpect of obtaining, by arms. As he had no farther regard for the duke's intereſt, than as it was ſubſervient to his own, he readily abandon'd that prince, for the ſake of an advantageous treaty with John; which, after a ſhort truce, was concluded, on the following terms.

The articles of the treaty between the two kings.

That Philip ſhould not give any aſſiſtance to the duke of Bretagne, but ſuffer John to take poſſeſſion of Poictou, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, without interruption.

That he ſhould reſtore to John the earldoms of Evreux, Berri, Auvergne, and, in general, whatſoever was taken from the Engliſh, ſince Richard's deceaſe.

That, immediately after the reſtitution of Berri and Auvergne, John ſhould reſign theſe provinces, for a certain time, to prince Lewis, Philip's ſon, and pay him 20,000 marks of ſilver, for the dowry of Blanche of Caſtile*, his niece, whom that prince was to marry.

That, provided John died, without iſſue, he ſhould leave theſe two provinces to Lewis.

That John ſhould not aſſiſt, directly, or indirectly, the emperor Otho, his nephew, who was engaged in a war with France.

This treaty was fatal to the duke of Bretagne; for that prince, being unable to reſiſt the king, his uncle, without the aſſiſtance of France, ſoon loſt all the provinces, that had declared for him; nay, he was obliged to do homage to John, for Bretagne, as his predeceſſors had always done to the dukes of Normandy. Nevertheleſs, tho' the king of France had deſerted him, he choſe rather to remain at his court, than to truſt himſelf with an uncle, of whom he had entertained a ſuſpicion, that could not be effaced out of his mind.

Hoved.

Prince Lewis is married to Blanche of Caſtile.

The peace being ſigned, queen Eleanor ſet out for Spain, to conduct Blanche of Caſtile, her grand-daughter, who was betrothed to prince Lewis; and, the kingdom of France being under an interdict, ſhe brought the young princeſs to Roan, where the nuptials were celebrated; and, as all the articles of the treaty were executed, except the ſurrender of Berri and Auvergne, to the prince of France, John likewiſe made good this part of his engagement. Thus, the two courts parted, there being, in all appearance, a thorough underſtanding between them.

The emperor ſends an ambaſſy to John. Ann. Burt.

In the interim, the emperor ſent ambaſſadors to the king, his uncle, to upbraid him, on the account of his late treaty with Philip, and alſo to demand ſome jewels that Richard left him, in his will, with the earldoms of York and Poictou; but, as John had no farther occaſion for his friendſhip, he found reaſons, or pretences, to diſpenſe with giving him ſatisfaction.

John deprives Arthur of his provinces.

Philip was equally punctual, in the performance of his part of the articles; and he did not ſeem to be, in the leaſt, concerned at the king of England's proceedings, who diſpoſſeſs'd Arthur of all the provinces that were given him, Bretagne alone, to which John had no pretenſions, remaining in ſubjection to the duke.

However, whilſt John made ſuch a progreſs in his conqueſts, he was himſelf vanquiſhed by the charms of Iſabella of Angouleme, one of the greateſt beauties, in her time, who had been contracted to Hugh, earl of Marche; but, by reaſon of her youth, the marriage was not, as yet, conſummated; and ſeveral obſtacles afterwards intervened, tho' the contract was ſtill in force. Such was John's paſſion for this lady, that he was reſolved to poſſeſs her, in ſpite of all oppoſition; tho' there were no leſs than two marriages in his way, viz. his own with Aviſa of Glouceſter, who, in the courſe of nine years, had never diſobliged him, and that of Iſabella with the earl of Marche. As for the firſt, as Aviſa was related to him, within the degrees prohibited by the canons, and the archbiſhop of Canterbury had proteſted againſt his marriage, he requeſted the pope to diſannul it; and, whether his holineſs was diſpoſed to gratify the king's demand, or rejoiced at this opportunity, for exerting his papal authority, he appointed the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux and two other biſhops, to be judges of the caſe. The commiſſioners, after a ſlender examination, declared John's marriage with Aviſa to be null and void; upon which, the king demanded Iſabella of the earl of Angouleme, her father, who reſigned her to him, not ſcrupling to violate his promiſe, to procure a crown for his daughter.

1200. His paſſion for Iſabella of Angouleme.

He diverces Aviſa, and marries Iſabella.

This is the account, that moſt of the hiſtorians give of John's ſecond marriage; and they aſſure us, that his paſſion for Iſabella was the real motive of his diſſolving the firſt. Nevertheleſs, a certain author attempts to vindicate the king, by intimating that Aviſa was divorced, before he was enamour'd with Iſabella; but I queſtion, whether the authority of a ſingle hiſtorian can outweigh the teſtimony of all the reſt.

Diceto.

Conſtance marries Guy de Thouars.

Preſently after the king's marriage, Conſtance of Bretagne, who was married to Ralph, earl of Cheſter, having loſt her ſecond huſband, or, according to ſome, voluntarily quitted him, eſpouſed, for her third, Guy de Thouars; and ſhe died, about a year after, in 1201, leaving behind her, by this third marriage, a daughter, named Alice, who was dutcheſs of Bretagne, upon the deceaſe of Arthur, her brother.

The Engliſh have a mean opinion of their king.

John eſteemed himſelf to be happy, in obtaining, for a moderate ſum and the reſignation of Berri and Auvergne, the provinces in France, enjoyed by his predeceſſors; but the Engliſh conſider'd their king, as an indolent and cowardly prince, for meanly purchaſing a peace, when every circumſtance concurred, in promiſing him good ſucceſs, by the war. However, their murmurs gave John very little uneaſineſs; for he thought, that he was ſufficiently a gainer, in depriving the duke, his nephew, of the protection of France, and reducing him to Bretagne alone, which he likewiſe expected, hereafter, to have in his own poſſeſſion.

John returns to England.

Having ſettled his affairs in France, he returned to England, where, convening an aſſembly or parliament, he demanded a ſubſidy of three ſhillings on every hyde of land, for the

* She was the daughter of Alphonſus VIII. and Eleanor, daughter of Henry II.

dowry

1200. dowry of Blanche of Caſtile, purſuant to his agreement with Philip; and this demand, at firſt, met with great oppoſition. They could not apprehend, that the Engliſh were under any obligations, to pay the dowry of a Spaniſh princeſs, upon her marriage to a French prince; yet, as it was the firſt ſupply that he had required, they conſented to grant it; but, with ſo much reluctance, that he evidently perceived, how difficult it would be, for the future, to raiſe money upon the people, unleſs he became abſolute, which, it is pretended, from that time, he was ſollicitous to effect.

The archbiſhop of York oppoſes the levying of a ſubſidy.

In the mean while, Geoffrey, his natural brother, who was archbiſhop of York, in ſpite of the conſent of the ſtates for this tax, forbad the collectors to levy it, within his dioceſe, tho' he had not the leaſt right, to oppoſe what was decreed by the body of the nation; but he was a turbulent and ambitious perſon. John was extremely ſurprized at Geoffrey's conduct, after the ſignal ſervice he had done him, during Richard's abſence, in releaſing him from priſon, and openly eſpouſing his cauſe againſt Longchamp; yet, being willing to uſe him, in a gentle manner, he only inſiſted on his attending him in France, believing that his abſence would put an end to this affair; but, that prelate refuſing to comply with his orders, he ſeized on his temporalities. This puniſhment was incapable of humbling the archbiſhop's imperious temper, who excommunicated James de Poterne, ſheriff of the county of York, with all his officers employed in levying the tax, and laid his whole dioceſe under an interdict, becauſe the people did not ſupport him; for he imagined, that all the kingdom would be forward, in declaring for him; but, when he found, that no body would ſtir in his favour, he made it his buſineſs, to promote his reconciliation to the king. The preſent juncture was very proper for his purpoſe; for, John being about to be crowned with his new queen at Weſtminſter, he was pleaſed, on ſuch a joyful occaſion, to grant his brother the pardon he deſir'd.

M. Paris. Hoved.

Immediately after this ſolemnity, Hugh, biſhop of Lincoln, died at London, with the reputation of ſanctity.

The kings of England and Scotland hold an interview at Lincoln, where the latter does homage to the former.

Ever ſince Richard's death, the king of Scotland was very importunate, for the reſtitution of the two counties, which he claimed; and, perceiving, at length, that he was only amuſed with general promiſes, he openly threatened, that he would do himſelf juſtice, by force of arms. John was, therefore, obliged to ſet about this affair, which gave him ſome diſturbance; but, inſtead of treating by ambaſſadors, he judged it to be moſt adviſable to hold an interview with William, and, accordingly deſired him to come to Lincoln, where he went himſelf, in order to meet him. Before they enter'd upon the negotiation, John, in the preſence of the great men of both nations, and before all the people, required William to do him homage; and, that prince conſenting to it, the ceremony was performed on a hill, ſince called Bore-Hill, without the city, when the archbiſhop adminiſtered the oath of fealty to the vaſſal-king. It does not appear, for what lands William did this homage; tho', as the Scotch hiſtorians have not poſitively determined the point, the Engliſh conclude, that it was for the whole kingdom of Scotland. But this inference is not altogether juſt; and, beſides, it is improbable, that this prince ſhould voluntarily ſubmit to a vaſſalage, from which he had been freed by the late king, before he went to the Holy-Land; and we do not find, that there was any alteration, in this reſpect, ſince Richard had, by an authentick charter, renounced his ſovereignty over Scotland. However that be, the homage being paid, the king of Scotland would have moved his affair; but John had the addreſs to defer it, alledging that he could agree to nothing, without the conſent of the ſtates; and he even obliged William to ſwear, that he would not diſpoſe of his daughter in marriage, without his approbation. 1200.

M. Paris. Hoved. Diceto.

Whilſt the two monarchs were at Lincoln, the corpſe of Hugh, late biſhop of that city, was removed thither from London; and, having both of them ſet out, to meet it, they, for ſome time, carried the coffin on their ſhoulders.

John reſtores the Ciſtercians to his favour.

It was here alſo, that the Ciſtercians, who refuſed to pay the late tax, ſent 12 abbots to the king; and, falling proſtrate at his feet, they implored his mercy. The king, pierced with the ſight, on his knees, asked their bleſſing, and promiſed, that he would found an abbey for their order; and, accordingly, ſome time after, he built the abbey of Bowley, or Beaulieu, in Hampſhire, which he endowed with the privilege of ſanctuary and large revenues.

The canons of Lincoln reject a biſhop nominated by the king.

John's reſpect to the biſhop of Lincoln's body, and his condeſcenſion to the Ciſtercian monks, did not, as he expected, gain him the affection of the clergy; for, ſoon after, when, the ſee, of Lincoln being vacant, according to the cuſtom of his anceſtors, he recommended a perſon to the canons of that church, tho' the prince's nomination, had been hitherto, regarded, it was now rejected, with outrageous contempt. Innocent III, then pope, having reſolved to deprive princes of their ſhare in the election of biſhops and abbots, had previouſly concerted meaſures, to ſuperſede the king's nomination; and, for this reaſon, the canons, being aſſured of the protection of the court of Rome, ſhewed ſo little reſpect to their ſovereign.

Hubert calls a ſynod, in ſpite of the king's prohibition.

Some time after, Hubert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, tho' he had expreſſed ſuch a zealous attachment to the king's intereſt, on a ſudden, loſt it, when the rights of the clergy and the privileges of his ſee came to be ſupported; for, being given to underſtand, that Innocent, who aſcended the papal throne, at 35 years of age, formed a project of rendering the clergy entirely independent of the juriſdiction of their ſovereigns, by the pope's directions, not only held a ſynod, without asking the king's leave, but even in oppoſition to his poſitive prohibition, by Geoffrey Fitz-Peers, earl of Eſſex, his juſticiary. In all likelihood, John's not reſenting this daring preſumption was extremely prejudicial to his affairs; for the clergy plainly, apprehending

1200. prehending, that, being terrified by the example of the king, his father, he was reſolved ſtudiouſly to avoid any conteſts with them, made the worſt uſe of this knowledge, on more important occaſions. Hubert, not ſatisfied with deſpiſing the orders of his ſovereign, affected to equal him, in ſome meaſure, and even to ſurpaſs him, in magnificence; for, whilſt the king kept his Chriſtmas at Guilford, with great ſolemnity, the archbiſhop celebrated the the ſame feſtival at Canterbury, in ſuch a pompous and ſplendid manner, that the king conſidered it, as a ſort of bravado. John, to mortify the archbiſhop's vanity, cauſed himſelf to be crowned again at Canterbury, with no other view than to put him to very great expences; but this petty revenge only ſhewed, how much he dreaded to attack directly thoſe who were in credit and power.

1201. Hubert ſurpaſſes the king, in magnificence.

The diſcontents of the Engliſh barons.

If John's treaty with France gave his ſubjects an ill opinion of him, his proceedings, after his return into England, confirmed them in their ſentiments. Moſt of the barons entertained ſome ſcruples, about the juſtice of his title to the crown; and, if they had ſworn allegiance to him, it was upon condition, that he would reſtore the privileges of the nobility and commons; whereas they now found, that on the contrary, he daily uſurped an arbitrary power, which led them to believe, that he had a deſign upon their liberties. They were greatly diſpleaſed with the ſubſidy, that he had obtained, by a ſort of compulſion; and they afterwards obſerved, that, in a progreſs he took to the north, under the pretence of treſpaſſes on his foreſts, he had, contrary to the privileges of the people, in an arbitrary manner, exacted large ſums from the northern counties; and that, beſides, he debauched their wives and daughters, without the leaſt regard to their merit or quality. All theſe conſiderations prejudiced the minds of the barons againſt their ſovereign; and they held private conferences, at which they agreed to aſſiſt each other, in caſes of oppreſſion. They likewiſe reſolved to embrace the firſt opportunity of acquainting the king, that they would never ſubmit to an abſolute power, which offer'd, ſooner than they expected; for, the Poictevins revolting, John ſummoned all the barons to appear, with their horſes and arms, at Portſmouth, to attend him into France, in order to chaſtiſe the revolters. The barons, under ſome pretence, aſſembled at Leiceſter; and, a few days after, they ſent the following meſſage to the king, "That, before they went over with him, he "ſhould reſtore their privileges, purſuant to "his promiſe before his coronation". John was of an impetuous temper, more capable of being ſwayed by counſels that ſoothed his paſſions, than by prudent advice; and, therefore, tho' ſeveral of his miniſters adviſ'd him to give the barons ſome ſatisfaction, or, at leaſt, fair promiſes, till their heat was abated, without conſidering the dangerous conſequences of ſuch violent meaſures, he demanded of the barons their caſtles, as pledges of their fidelity. At the ſame time, marching at the head of ſome troops, he attack'd Beauvoir-caſtle, which he took in a few days; and this firſt ſucceſs ſtriking a terror into the barons, who had not, as yet, made any preparations for their defence, they made their ſubmiſſion; and, having delivered their children, as hoſtages, they came to Portſmouth. Whether the chaſtiſement of the Poictevins was only uſed by John, as a pretence, to raiſe money from the nobility, or he was afraid to leave the kingdom, at this juncture, he was pleaſed to diſpenſe with the attendance of the barons, for two marks of ſilver upon every knight's fee; tho' he diſpatched the earl of Pembroke with ſome troops into Normandy, and followed him, in perſon, as ſoon as he thought, that he might do it with ſafety. 1201.

John renews the treaty with Philip.

Upon his arrival at Roan, Philip deſired to have a conference with him; in which he gave him ſuch proofs of his eſteem and friendſhip, as might have deceived a prince of greater penetration. At this interview, the treaty was renewed, and ſeveral great lords of both courts were reciprocally made ſureties, who promiſed to ſerve againſt the aggreſſor, in caſe of a rupture between the two kings; but ſuch engagements, tho' very frequent in thoſe days, were ſcarce ever obſerved; and, therefore, princes have, long ſince, diſcontinued a cuſtom, that was often found to be uſeleſs and ineffectual. The two monarchs, before they parted, conſented to contribute the 40th part of their revenues to the holy war, and exhorted the richeſt of their ſubjects to copy after their examples; and Philip invited the king of England to ſpend ſome days at Paris, where he lodged him in his own palace, and, in a word, did all that was poſſible, to convince him of the reality of his affection for him *.

Philip's intrigues againſt John.

The alliance between the two kings was, indeed, likely to prove firm and laſting, ſince it was entirely voluntary; but it ſoon appeared, that Philip's careſſes to his pretended friend were only ſo many artifices, to enſnare him; for, in the very height of them, he was projecting to deprive him of all his dominions in France. Hugh, earl of Marche, was a very proper inſtrument, to promote his deſigns, who was highly incenſed againſt the king of England, for preventing his marriage to a lady, that was contracted to him, and taking her to himſelf; and, accordingly, Philip formed his ſcheme upon that earl's inclination, and uſed his utmoſt efforts, to excite him to revenge, giving him an aſſurance of a powerful aſſiſtance. The earl of Marche was no ſooner aſ-

* This year, Walter de Lacy, a powerful lord in Ireland, under the pretence of holding an interview with John de Courcy, earl of Ulſter, aſſaulted him, kill'd abundance of his men, and purſued him; and the earl, in his flight, being invited by Hugh, Walter de Lacy's brother, to take ſanctuary in his caſtle, was there detained as a priſoner. In the interim, his adherents waſted the lands of Walter and Hugh de Lacy, till the earl was releaſed; yet, on Good-Friday following, when the ſaid earl was going, unarmed and bare-foot, in pilgrimage to a church, he was perfidiouſly apprehended by his own people, for a ſum of money, and delivered to Hugh de Lacy, by whom he was ſent to king John, who, on this account, gave Hugh de Lacy the earldom of Ulſter and lordſhip of Connaught, which belonged to John de Courcy, who made a conqueſt of it, in the reign of Henry II. Hoved.

ſured

1201. ſured of the protection of France, than he attempted to corrupt the Poictevins, by ſeveral cabals; and ſuch was his ſucceſs, that, in a ſhort time, they were diſpoſed to rebel againſt John, for whom they had not the leaſt reſpect or affection. Upon this, Hugh accquainted the young duke of Bretagne, that he had now a fair opportunity, for recovering the provinces that the king, his uncle, had ſeized; which Arthur, at once, determined to embrace, finding that the king of France had engaged to ſupport him; and the Bretons, his ſubjects, readily joined in the conſpiracy, fancying that his name was an auſpicious omen, and, for no other reaſon, believing that he would acquire as great a reputation as the famous Arthur, Thus, the earl of Marche's love, jealouſy, and reſentment, Arthur's ambition, and Philip's avarice conſpired to the ruin of king John; whilſt he ſpent his time in diverſions and entertainments with his new queen, without the leaſt apprehenſions of danger. However, at a

1202. A ſecond interview between the two kings. M. Par.

ſecond interview with Philip near Gaillon, he was alarmed, by the haughty treatment he received from that prince; for the French monarch, his project being brought to maturity, demanded, for Arthur, all John's provinces in France, with reaſonable ſatisfaction for the earl of Marche; and upon his refuſal, he ſummoned him to appear before the court of peers, and ſubmit to their judgment. John, who was extremely ſurprized to hear him talk, in ſuch an imperious ſtrain, ſo very different from that he uſed, at their late conference, refuſed to comply with his demands, and diſdained his citation; which furniſhed the king of France with the pretence he wanted to invade Normandy, where he took ſeveral places, before John could oppoſe his progreſs.

Arthur's marriage to the king of France's daughter.

Towards the middle of autumn, Philip, contented with his firſt campaign, returned to Paris, where he ſolemnized the nuptials of his eldeſt daughter with Arthur, duke of Bretagne; and his view in this was to juſtify his preſent undertaking, under the pretence of maintaining his ſon-in-law's cauſe. A few days after, Arthur departed, attended with 200 lances, to take upon him the command of the Poictevins that had revolted; and, when he came near Poictou, he received intelligence, that queen Eleanor, his grandmother, was in Mirabel, with a weak garriſon; upon which, he marched directly thither, and ſoon took the town, tho' the caſe was otherwiſe, with reſpect to the caſtle, where the queen had retired. The reſiſtance he met with convincing him, that it would be difficult for him to become maſter of the place, without a reinforcement, he called the earl of Marche to his aſſiſtance, who ran to the expedition, as to a certain victory.

In the interim, king John, being informed of his mother's danger, came to her relief, with ſo great expedition, that he approached the enemy, before they had made any remarkable progreſs in the ſiege, tho' it was ſtill in their power to make a retreat; but ſuch was the animoſity of both the leaders againſt John, that they reſolved to give him battle. The ſucceſs, however, was not anſwerable to their expectations; for, upon the firſt onſet, the king of England routed the Poictevin troops, forcing them back to Mirabel, where he made a terrible ſlaughter. To crown this victory, the duke of Bretagne, Eleanor, his ſiſter, who was called the beauty of that dutchy, the earl of Marche, and 200 knights were taken priſoners; but the ill uſe, the conqueror afterwards made of this ſucceſs, render'd it ſo fatal to himſelf, that it would have been better for him, if he had not prov'd victorious. Arthur was directly ſent to Falaiſe; and princeſs Eleanor was conducted to Briſtol-caſtle in England, where ſhe was confined 40 years. Some of the French authors repreſent this action, in another light, and affirm, that only Arthur was ſurprized in Mirabel, from whence it may be concluded, that he did not go out to fight againſt his uncle; but John's letter to England, after the victory, extant in the Collection of the Publick Acts, proves, that it was ſomething more than a ſurprize, and confirms the account of the Engliſh hiſtorians. Philip was ſo confounded, at the news of Arthur and the earl of Marche being in John's power, that he raiſed the ſiege of Arques, begun ſome days before, and returned to Paris.

1202.

John vanquiſhes Arthur, and takes him priſoner.

Mezerai.

His conference with Arthur at Falaiſe. M. Par.

John was extremely impatient to ſee the duke, his nephew, in order to prevail on him to renounce the protection of France; and, therefore, he inſtantly went back to Normandy, being confident, that Arthur, in his preſent condition, would joyfully embrace the opportunity of being reconciled to his uncle. Upon his arrival at Falaiſe, ordering him to be brought into his preſence, he aſſured him, that Philip, under the maſque of protecting him, only conſulted his own advantage; and that, from his paſt conduct, he might plainly apprehend what he was to expect from ſuch a protector. He endeavoured to perſuade him, that it was equally his duty and intereſt to adhere to his uncle, who would be a gainer in ſupporting him, and deſired nothing ſo much, as to live in amity with him, and give him convincing proofs of his affection; and, in fine, he intreated him to conſider, that, in his preſent circumſtances, his good or ill fortune entirely depended on the perſon, that was ſo ſollicitous for his friendſhip. The young prince, who was not well vers'd in the maxims of politicks, the principal of which is diſſimulation, inſtead of accepting the king's propoſals, upbraided him with uſurping the crown of England as well as the provinces in France; and, not conſidering that his life lay at his mercy, in his paſſion, he threatened, "That, to the "moment of his death, he would always in"duſtriouſly ſeek after an occaſion to be re"venged." Upon this open declaration, John ordered him to be conducted to Roan, and confined in the new tower, under the cuſtody of Robert de Vipont; and it is pretended, that, purſuant to the advice of ſome of his counſellors, the king deſigned to put out his eyes, and render him incapable of having any iſſue, but that he was diſappointed by thoſe, whom he employed, as his agents. However that be, a few days after, the young

R. Coggſhal.

1202. prince was brought to Roan, he diſappeared, on a ſudden; and it was never known, for certain, what became of him. The king's friends reported, that Arthur, attempting to eſcape out of priſon, was drowned in the river Seine; but very few gave credit to this report. On the contrary, it was generally believed, that the duke was murdered, by the command of the king, his uncle; and ſome hiſtorians give a particular account of the circumſtances of his death. They relate, that John himſelf, in a very dark night, came in a boat to the foot of the tower, where his nephew was impriſon'd; and that, cauſing him to be brought before him, he ſtabb'd him with his own hand, and order'd his body to be thrown into the Seine, ſome leagues below the town. Whatever was the manner of this prince's death, it is evident that John never fully acquitted himſelf from the charge of being the author of it; and there was ſo much the more reaſon to conclude him guilty, as he made no enquiry into this affair, which he ſhould have examined, with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs, had he not been concerned in the murder.

John is charged with the duke's murder.

M. Paris. The ſame year, the pope demanded a 40th part of the eccleſiaſtical revenues of England, towards the charge of the holy war.

Upon Arthur's death, John returned into England; and, being crowned, a fourth time, at Canterbury, he repaſſed into Normandy, where he found, that the report of Arthur's murder was every-where ſpread, with circumſtances highly reflecting on his honour and reputation. The Bretons, in particular, maintained, that, if John did not kill him with his own hand, it was, at leaſt, manifeſt, that this barbarous action could not be committed, without his conſent, or even his orders; and Philip did all that was poſſible, by his emiſſaries, to ſpirit them up to be revenged on John, for the tragical death of their ſovereign, giving them alſo to underſtand, that, provided they applied to him, as John's ſovereign lord, he would take care, that they ſhould have ample ſatisfaction; which was ſufficient encouragement to the Bretons, who were inflamed with reſentment. Guy de Thouars, husband to the deceaſed dutcheſs and guardian of Alice, her daughter, aſſembled the lords of Bretagne, at Vannes, on this occaſion; and it was unanimouſly reſolved, that application ſhould be made to the king of France, for juſtice, the biſhop of Rennes and another lord being commiſſioned to carry their complaints to Philip, who gave them a moſt gracious anſwer. He ſeemed to be more exaſperated againſt John, than the Bretons themſelves, and openly declared, that neither honour, juſtice, nor conſcience would permit him to let ſuch a parricide paſs with impunity; and, to prove that his menaces were not in vain, he himſelf demanded juſtice of the court of peers, before whom he diſplayed the barbarity of the murder committed on the body of the duke of Bretagne, in a place held of the crown of France, and of which the king of England, his vaſſal, was accuſed. The court, very readily complying with his demand, order'd John to appear before them, and anſwer to the accuſation exhibited againſt him; and that prince no ſooner received the ſummons, than he diſpatched Euſtace, biſhop of Ely, and Hubert de Burgh, as his ambaſſadors, to repreſent to Philip, that their maſter could not come to France, without a ſafe-conduct; to which the king replied, "He may come in peace;" but, when they demanded a ſafe-conduct, for his return, he roundly told them, "That depended on the ſen-" tence, which ſhould be pronounced againſt " him." The ambaſſadors then remonſtrated, that their maſter was not only duke of Normandy, but alſo king of England; and that, tho' he ſhould think it proper to hazard his perſon, the barons of the realm would never give their conſent. Philip anſwered, "What " is that to me, is not the duke of Normandy " my vaſſal? and, if he has procured a higher " title, ought I, therefore, to loſe my right " of ſovereignty?" Upon which, the ambaſſadors, without making any reply, returned, with all expedition, to inform king John, how the court of France ſtood affected towards him. 1202.

Philip excites the Bretons to revenge his death. P. Æmil.

As ſoon as the time, limited in the ſummons, was expired, Philip cauſed John to be condemned, for not appearing, and ordered all his dominions in France to be united to the crown; and it deſerves a remark, that, in the ſentence *, there is not the leaſt mention of the ſatisfaction due to the Bretons, for the murder of their ſovereign, though they were parties in the affair, and Philip pretended to engage in it, purely, on their account; from whence it is evident, that his view, in this proceeding, was not ſo much to do them juſtice, as to have an occaſion to diſpoſſeſs the monarchs of England. The Engliſh loudly complained of Philip's conduct; and the more, as John, being actually in war with France, was under an abſolute neceſſity of not appearing, eſpecially, as he was denied a ſafe-conduct, for his return; but, without any regard to their murmurs, Philip endeavoured to put the ſentence in execution.

John is ſentenced to forfeit his dominions in France. M. Paris.

In the mean while, John made no preparations for his defence; for he prepoſterouſly look'd upon Philip's ſentence, as no more than a bravado. However, when the ſeaſon of the year permitted, the king of France took the field, at the head of a numerous army; and, meeting with very little reſiſtance, he reduced the greateſt part of Normandy to his obedience. The progreſs of his arms was incapable of rouzing the king of England out of his ſlothful ſecurity; for, ſeeming to be altogether inſenſible of his loſſes, he purſued his diverſions as eagerly, as if his affairs had been in the moſt proſperous ſituation, When he received intelligence, that Philip had taken ſuch a place,

1203. Philip invades Normandy.

* According to Paulus Æmilius, in his life of Philip, the ſentence runs, thus: "That, John, duke of Norman-" dy, unmindful of his oath to Philip, his lord, had murder'd his elder brother's ſon, a vaſſal to the crown of France, " within the ſeignory of that kingdom; for which he is judged a traytor, and as an enemy to the crown of France, " to forfeit all the dominions, which he held, by homage, and that re-entry be made, by force of arms."

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1203. he replied, with great confidence, "I will ſoon "recover it"; tho', continuing at Roan, he gave the enemy time not only to ſecure, but daily enlarge their conqueſts. In a word, ſuch was his indolence and ſtupid inſenſibility, that the people publickly reported, "He was be-"witched"; and, indeed, it is natural to conclude, that Philip would have met with mighty difficulties, in his undertaking, had he been concerned with a more vigilant and active enemy, ſince the caſtle of Gailliard alone, by reaſon of the vigorous defence of the beſieged, was not taken, in leſs than five months.

The Engliſh barons deſert him.

The Engliſh barons, who attended the king into Normandy, preſſingly importuned him to exert himſelf; but they no ſooner perceived, that all their remonſtrances were ineffectual, than they left him and returned to England. In the interim, Philip, making the beſt uſe of John's invincible ſloth, continually gained ground; and, not ſatisfied with what he had obtained, by his arms, he attempted, by his emiſſaries, to excite, in Normandy, a general defection. He cauſed it to be intimated to the Normans, that, as they could not expect any aſſiſtance from England, it would be more adviſable for them to make a voluntary ſubmiſſion to the crown of France, to which they originally belonged, than be forced to it, by arms; and that, by this means, they would infallibly preſerve their antient privileges; whereas a reſiſtance, which, of courſe, muſt prove ineffectual, would certainly deprive them of their liberties. Notwithſtanding John's profound lethargy, his preſence ſecured the allegiance of ſeveral of the principal cities in Normandy; but, the very moment they perceived, that he was preparing for his departure to England, they judged it to be lawful to provide for their own ſafety. He was ſcarce embarqued, before they concluded a treaty with Philip, obliging themſelves to own him for their ſovereign, provided they were not relieved, within the ſpace of a year; but, when they found, that no preparations were making in England, moſt of them came in, before the expiration of that term; and, thus, of all Normandy, the city of Roan only remained in ſubjection to the king of England.

John's ill treatment of his Engliſh ſubjects. M. Paris.

This unfortunate prince did not entertain the leaſt thoughts of aſſiſting the Normans; and, upon his arrival in England, inſtead of doing all that was poſſible, to gain the affection of his ſubjects, ſo neceſſary, at that juncture, he accuſed his barons of deſerting him and occaſioning the loſs of Normandy. Under this pretence, the moſt unreaſonable that ever was made, he extorted from them the ſeventh part of their moveables; and, tho' the clergy had not given him the ſame cauſe of complaint, he render'd them liable to the ſame impoſition. Hubert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was himſelf his inſtrument, in oppreſſing the clergy; whilſt the juſticiary rigorouſly exacted the money from the laity. The king's indolence was matter of aſtoniſhment to all the kingdom; for they could not imagine, that a prince, who, till then, had not wanted courage, and ſeemed to be greatly attached to his own intereſt, could view the loſs of Normandy, with ſo much indifference; and, therefore, moſt of them concluded, that he was intent upon ſome great deſign, which would be diſcovered, at a proper ſeaſon. This imagination did not a little contribute to his obtaining, from the parliament, a ſubſidy of two marks and a half of every knight's fee; which was granted, in expectation that the money would be uſefully employed, in the recovery of the dominions he had lately loſt; whereas he miſapplied it, in idle expences, being contented with ſending ambaſſadors to France, to negotiate a peace. Philip, elated with his ſucceſs, was ſo far from leſſening his demands, that he farther required the princeſs Eleanor, Arthur's ſiſter, for his ſecond ſon, with all the provinces the Engliſh enjoyed in France, for her dowry. John could never reſolve to reſign his dominions, as a portion for his niece; and, beſides, it was of dangerous conſequence to deliver up to the king of France a princeſs, that, upon her brother's deceaſe, had the ſame pretenſions to the crown of England. Thus, the negotiation broke off; and the expectations of the Engliſh were entirely defeated.

1203.

1204. He obtains an aid for the war.

Philip ſends a champion into England.

Philip, ſoon after, ſent a perſon, as his champion, into England, who challenged all, that ſhould maintain, that the king, his maſter, had acted unjuſtly, in his proceedings againſt John; but the court of England did not judge it to be expedient, to commit an affair of ſuch importance to the deciſion of a ſingle combate; tho' they, at the ſame time, informed him, that, ſince he was ſo deſirous of fighting, a man ſhould be found, with whom he might have an opportunity of trying his ſtrength. There was then confined in the tower an Iriſh lord, namely, John de Courcy *, earl of Ulſter, of a gigantick ſtature, and famous for his intrepidity, who was conſider'd, as a very proper perſon, to quell the French Hector; and, the priſoner being brought to court, the king asked him, whether he would fight, in his cauſe? The earl fiercely replied, "No, not in thine; but, in "that of the kingdom, I will fight, to the laſt "drop of my blood." However, whilſt he was recovering his ſtrength, which was greatly impaired by a tedious impriſonment, the French champion, hearing of the prodigious ſtrength of his adverſary, privately withdrew into Spain, not daring to appear, either in France or England. The ſaid earl being afterwards in France, in the Engliſh army, Philip, at a conference with John, deſired to ſee ſome trial of his ſtrength; upon which, the earl, in the preſence of the two kings, ordered a large ſtake to be fixed in the ground, on which was placed a helmet; and then, looking round, with a menacing aſpect, he cut the helmet in two pieces, with his ſword. The ſword ſtuck ſo faſt in the ſtake, by means of the violence of the blow, that none, but himſelf could remove it; and, Philip asking him, why he looked round ſo fiercely, he anſwer'd, that, if he had miſs'd his

An Iriſh earl accepts his challenge. P. Æmil.

* This was the valiant John de Courcy, who, in 1177, conquered the kingdom of Ulſter in Ireland, Vid. Gir. Cambrenſ. Hibernia expugnata; and who had been perfidiouſly taken priſoner, as was, above, related.

blow,

1204. blow, he would have cut off the heads of all the ſpectators, that no man alive might be a witneſs to his ſhame.

Philip takes Roan.

If Philip could not compaſs his ends, by a ſingle champion, he was, at length, ſucceſsful, by the help of many. Towards the end of autumn, he beſieged Roan; and the citizens, having no proſpect of relief, ſurrendered, upon condition that they ſhould enjoy their antient privileges; but, as a famous author judiciouſly obſerves, "This precaution proved "as feeble againſt abſolute power, as parch-"ment againſt iron." Philip was no ſooner poſſeſs'd of Roan, than he order'd the walls to be demoliſhed; and, thus, all Normandy was reduced in ſubjection to the crown of France, and reunited to that monarchy, after it had been governed by 12 dukes of the Norman line, of which John was the laſt, for the ſpace of 320 years.

Mezerai.

He becomes maſter of the other provinces.

Philip afterwards attacked the reſt of the Engliſh provinces, which, at laſt, were obliged to ſubmit to the conqueror, after having, in vain, expected aſſiſtance from England; and nothing now remained in John's poſſeſſion, except the dutchy of Guienne, which Philip did not think it proper to invade.

Queen Eleanor's death.

Queen Eleanor, widow to Henry II. and John's mother, died, this year, in a very advanced age; who had the mortification, before her death, to ſee the decline of the Engliſh monarchy, to which ſhe had given ſuch a luſtre, by the addition of ſo many foreign dominions.

1205. John reſolves to carry the war into Poictou.

Theſe loſſes, joined with the murmurs of the Engliſh, awaken'd John out of his ſlothful ſecurity; and, when it was leaſt expected, he ſeemed to be firmly reſolved to exert himſelf, to regain both his reputation and his poſſeſſions. The Poictevins, being diſſatisfied with their new ſovereign, determined to revolt, and ſent to John, for aſſiſtance; and the king taking it for granted, that all the other provinces were of the ſame diſpoſition, he ſummon'd all the barons to meet him, with their troops, at Portſmouth, where he had order'd his fleet to be in readineſs; but, juſt as he was on the point of embarquing, the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the earl of Pembroke, throwing themſelves at his feet, intreated him to deſiſt from his intended expedition. They repreſented to him, that he had not, either in Poictou, or in any other neighbouring province, ſo much as a ſingle place to retire to, in caſes of neceſſity; that he could not expect any advantages from this war, ſince Philip was maſter of all the fortified towns; that it was evidently of dangerous conſequence for him to truſt the Poictevins, who had ſo often deceived him, and, perhaps, only invited him to aſſiſt them, in order to deliver him up to his enemy; and, in a word, they told him, that he ſo manifeſtly hazarded his life and the nation's honour, in ſuch an undertaking, that his faithful ſubjects were obliged to uſe their utmoſt endeavours, to divert him from it. Theſe remonſtrances proving to be ineffectual, they ſubjoined ſuch menaces, that he was conſtrained, at laſt, to regard their counſel; and, therefore, on a ſudden, altering his reſolution, he contented 1205. himſelf with ſending ſuccours to the Poictevins, under the command of the earl of Salisbury, his natural brother. He afterwards diſmiſs'd the army and fleet, who curſed the authors of this advice; but he was no ſooner returned to London, than he repented of his compliance with the counſel of the earl and archbiſhop. However, inſtead of quarrelling with them, he vented his indignation on the nobility, from whom he extorted large ſums, under the pretence that they had refuſed to attend him; for he ſuppoſed, tho' without the leaſt grounds, that the two lords had ſpoken, in behalf of the whole body. This was the ſecond time of his exacting, in an arbitrary manner, money from his ſubjects, without the conſent of the ſtates; but he did not do it, with impunity; for the ſequel will inform us, that, tho' vengeance was deferred, it only became more terrible, when the barons met with an opportunity, to make him feel the effects of their reſentment.

The ſecond part of John's reign.

Hitherto, we have ſeen the firſt ſcene of John's misfortunes, occaſioned by his own fault, as well as Philip's ambition; but theſe are hardly fit to be put in the balance with thoſe that ſucceeded; eſpecially, as he ſeemed to be, in a great meaſure, inſenſible of the former, whereas the others created him infinite vexation and uneaſineſs. It was not the ambition of an hoſtile prince, that involved him in a gulph of misfortunes, in the ſecond part of his reign, but the pride of him, who ſtiled himſelf the common father of all chriſtians; viz. pope Innocent III, who, for a very trivial cauſe, treated John ſo cruelly, that, ſhould a pope now preſume to act, in the like manner, doubtleſs, all Chriſtendom would riſe up againſt him. Let us deſcend to the particulars of this affair, which is the principal ſubject of this reign; but, without inſiſting on reflections, which the moſt common reader will naturally make, without our aſſiſtance, let us acquieſce in the relation of the facts, as advanced by the hiſtorians, that were moſt attached to the court of Rome.

Hubert's death.

John ſcarce had began to forget the loſs of the French provinces, when the death of the archbiſhop of Canterbury expoſed him to new troubles. The election of the archbiſhops had, for ſome time, occaſioned continual conteſts, between the ſuffragan biſhops and the monks of St. Auguſtin's; for the former claimed a right to be concerned in the election, as had been often practiſed; whilſt the monks aſſerted, that this right was peculiar to them, according to antient cuſtom, and uſed their utmoſt efforts, to keep poſſeſſion of it. Immediately after Hubert's death, ſome of the monks, combining together, whether they were afraid, that the fraternity would not inſiſt on their right, or for ſome other reaſon, reſolved to elect an archbiſhop; and, with this view, meeting at midnight in the cathedral, they choſe Reginald, their ſub-prior, in hopes of obtaining afterwards the pope's confirmation. The ſub-prior obliged himſelf, by an oath, not to divulge it, till he had himſelf acquainted his holineſs with it; and the electors made

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1205. use of a pretence, for his being ſent to Rome, attended by ſome of their cabal; but, upon his arrival in Flanders, he aſſumed the title of archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the monks, his companions, had no more diſcretion than himſelf.

John threatens the monks. The news of it reaching the king's ears, he was apprehenſive, that the whole monaſtery was concerned in the fraud, and made preparations to chaſtiſe the monks, for their raſhneſs, in electing an archbiſhop, without his licenſe; but they convinced him of their innocence, and appeaſed him by their ſubmiſſions. The electors, finding, from the clamours of the monks who were not in the intrigue, that it would be extremely difficult to accompliſh their undertaking, thought it adviſable to deſiſt; and then, the whole ſociety proceeding to a new election, the king nominated

1206. John de Gray, biſhop of Norwich, who was unanimouſly choſen, placed in the archiepiſcopal chair, and inveſted with the temporalities. Preſently after, 14 monks were diſpatched to the pope, to demand his confirmation of the new archbiſhop; and, at the ſame time, the ſuffragan biſhops of Canterbury ſent a deputation to Rome, to complain of the monks engroſſing the ſole right of electing an archbiſhop, and to repreſent to his holineſs their reaſons againſt it.

John recovers part of Poictou. Whilſt the deputies were on the road, John led a conſiderable army into Poictou, and reduced the greateſt part of that province to his allegiance; but he ſuffered himſelf to be, once more, circumvented by Philip, who, being unprepared, ſued for and obtained a truce, for two years *.

The affair of the election is brought before the pope. In the interim, the ſub-prior of St. Auguſtin's, being arrived at Rome, ſtrenuouſly ſollicited the pope, to confirm his election; but Innocent, apprehending ſome irregularity in the affair, deferred his judgment concerning it. The other deputies alſo petitioned him, to confirm the ſecond election; and, on the other hand, the agents of the biſhops brought their complaints againſt the monks. To decide theſe differences, the pope ordered the deputies, to wait on him, on a day appointed, at Viterbo; where, in his preſence, this point was diſcuſs'd, with great warmth by the contending parties. Innocent, who was already reſolved, voided both the elections, and gave orders to the deputies of the monks, to proceed to a new choice; enjoining them likewiſe to elect cardinal Stephen Langton, an Engliſhman, then at his court; but the monks, ſurprized at this order, that was without any precedent, would, at firſt, have rejected it. They alledged, in vindication of their refuſal to comply with it, that they were not authorized by their monaſtery, and that, beſides, the king's conſent was neceſſary; but the pope had no regard to theſe reaſons. He told them, that, as deputies, they were the repreſentatives of the whole monaſtery; and that the conſent of princes was needleſs, with reſpect to elections made, 1206. in his preſence; and, without allowing them time for a reply, he commanded them, on pain of excommunication, to elect cardinal Langton. The monks, overawed by the pope's preſence and menaces, obeyed his command, tho' with great reluctance †; and there was only one, viz. Elias de Brantefield, who had the courage to withſtand it; but this extraordinary election was ſoon confirmed by the pope, who conſecrated the archbiſhop elect.

1207. John extorts a ſubſidy, by violence. M. Paris. As the pope authorized 14 monks, deputed by their monaſtery, to elect an archbiſhop, the ſuffragan biſhops of Canterbury muſt, of courſe, loſe their cauſe with the monks; and, accordingly, his holineſs prohibited the biſhops to interpoſe, for the future, in the election of their metropolitans.

The emperor viſits him. In the mean while, John entirely loſt the hearts of his ſubjects, by extorting from them the 13th part of their moveables; which was, in vain, oppoſed by the clergy, ſo far as they were affected by it; for the act paſſed in parliament, and the tax was levied, as well upon the clergy as laity, tho' the former never gave their conſent, and the latter granted it, in a manner by compulſion. This violence occaſioned many complaints and murmurs, among the clergy, who, till then, had enjoyed the privilege of not being taxed, without their conſent; but, ſince it was not in their power to make reſiſtance, they attempted to be revenged, by exclaiming againſt the king's conduct, in order to render him odious to the people. The archbiſhop of York, the king's natural brother, being a prelate of an impatient temper, excommunicated all the collectors of the tax, and left the kingdom; yet, tho' the clergy had reaſon to complain, the king's friends alledged, that it was ſurprizing, that they ſhould refuſe to aſſiſt their ſovereign, in his neceſſity; when, a little before, without the leaſt murmur, they had ſuffered a legate to exact, from all the beneficed eccleſiaſticks, large ſums, for the pretended occaſions of the holy ſee. If the money, which the king procured by this tax, had been expended in the ſervice of the ſtate, it would have given ſome ſatisfaction to the nation; but they had the mortification to ſee it ſquander'd away, in the reception of the emperor, who came to viſit the king, his uncle. His deſign was to prevail on him to break the truce with France; but it was impoſſible for him to bring John to this rupture; tho', to ſoften, in ſome meaſure, his refuſal, he made him a preſent of 5000 marks, which ſerved to defray the expences of his journey.

Innocent greatly ſuſpected, that John would be diſpleaſed with Langton's election; which was an unprecedented incroachment, and extorted by compulſive methods. Indeed, for ſome time after the converſion of the Engliſh, the popes choſe ſuch as were capable of wiſely governing the riſing church, and generally

‡ The French hiſtorians affirm, that John ſued for a truce; but ſuch contradictions are frequently to be met with, between the writers of both nations. Rigord relates, that, both armies being ready for an engagement, a truce was concluded, for two years.

† Licet inviti, & cum murmuratione, aſſenſum præbuerunt. M. Par.

1207. Italians; becauſe there were few eccleſiaſticks, in England, qualified for that exalted ſtation; but, ever ſince the time of archbiſhop Theodorus, who was the laſt that was ſent from Rome, the popes had never pretended to chuſe of their own accord, the archbiſhops, without the conſent of the kings. They were contented with confirming the elections, and obliging the archbiſhops to come and demand the pall at Rome; nor had they, ſince the conqueſt, ſo much as annulled the election of an archbiſhop. The pope, therefore, to induce the king calmly to overlook this incroachment, wrote him the following letter; which, on the account of its ſingularity, deſerves to be inſerted.

Pope INNOCENT TO JOHN king of ENGLAND.

Act. Pub. M. Par.

'AMong the riches that mortals eſteem, as the moſt valuable, and deſire with the greateſt eagerneſs, it is our opinion, that pure gold and precious ſtones hold the precedency; and, tho' we are perſuaded, that your royal excellence is in no want of ſuch things, we have judged it proper to ſend you, as a mark of our good-will, four rings ſet with ſtones. We intreat you to conſider the myſteries contain'd in their form, matter, number, and colour, rather than their intrinſick value. Their roundneſs denotes eternity; which, having neither beginning nor end, ought to induce you to tend, without ceaſing, from earthly to heavenly objects, and from things temporal to thoſe that are eternal. The number four, which is a ſquare, ſignifies firmneſs of mind, not to be ſhaken by adverſity, nor elevated by proſperity, but always continuing, in the ſame ſtate; and this is a perfection, to which yours will infallibly arrive, when it ſhall be adorned with the four cardinal virtues, juſtice, fortitude, prudence, and temperance. The firſt will be of uſe to you, in judgments; the ſecond, in adverſity; the third, in dubious caſes; and the fourth, in proſperity. Gold is an emblem of wiſdom; for, as gold is the moſt precious of all metals, wiſdom, of all other endowments, is the moſt excellent, as the prophet witneſſes, in theſe words, "The ſpirit of wiſdom ſhall "reſt upon him;" and, indeed, nothing is more requiſite in a ſovereign. Accordingly, Solomon, that pacifick king, only asked of God wiſdom, to enable him rightly to govern his people. The blue colour of the emerald denotes faith; the clearneſs of the ſaphire, hope; the redneſs of the ruby, charity; and the colour of the topaz, good works; concerning which our Saviour ſaid, "Let your light ſo ſhine before men, that they "may ſee your good works." In the emerald, therefore, you have what you are to believe, in the ſaphire, what you are to hope, in the ruby, what you are to love, and, in the topaz, what you are to practiſe; in order that you may proceed, from virtue to virtue, till you come to the viſion of the God of gods in Sion.' 1207.

The pope exhorts John to own Langton for archbiſhop.

Whatever was the deſign of this myſterious letter, whether it was only a witty conceipt of the pope's, or an intimation to John, that he would ſtand in need of all the virtues repreſented by the rings, to withſtand his attacks, leſt the king ſhould miſtake his meaning, he ſent him, ſoon after, a more intelligible brief*; exhorting him to own cardinal Langton for archbiſhop of Canterbury. He aſſured him, that he was a native of England, cardinal of the Roman church, and learned in all the ſciences; and, beſides, that his holy life and chriſtian virtues would be highly advantageous to England, in its ſpiritual, as well his prudence and political virtues, in its temporal concerns. However, he did not intend, that Langton's election ſhould depend on the good pleaſure of the king, or to ſubmit to his examination; for, in another letter, he ſent his commands to the monks of St. Auguſtin's, and the ſuffragan biſhops of Canterbury, to receive the cardinal, as their metropolitan.

The king expels the monks from the monaſtery of St. Auguſtin's.

No ſooner was John informed of the tranſactions at Rome, than he fell into a moſt furious paſſion. He accuſed the monks of St. Auguſtin's of deceiving him, as well in the third as in the firſt election; and, to be revenged on them, he ſent two knights, Fulke de Cantelou and Henry de Cornhelle, who, entering the monaſtery with drawn ſwords, commanded the monks, in the king's name, to quit the place immediately, and alſo depart the kingdom, within three days, unleſs they would have their monaſtery ſet on fire, and periſh themſelves in the flames. This dreadful menace ſo terrified the monks, that, without any reply, they withdrew into Flanders to the abbey of St. Bertin and other neighbouring monaſteries; but, this revenge not giving him all the ſatisfaction he required, he wrote Innocent a very ſharp letter; 'Upbraiding 'him with his injurious annulling the canoni'cal election of the biſhop of Norwich, with'out having the leaſt pretence for it. More'over he complained of his procuring to be

* The apoſtolical letters are of two ſorts. The firſt are ſtiled briefs, becauſe written after a compendious manner, and are ſealed on wax only, cum annulo piſcatoris; i. e. with the impreſſion of a ſignet ring, which the Romaniſts believe to be the ſeal of St. Peter, the fiſherman; the other ſort are called bulls, from the leaden bulla hanging thereon. Bulla is though, among the antients, to be a golden badge, which perſons, that triumphed over their enemies, wore on their breaſts, like a medal; and it was afterwards applied to ſignify a deed, inſtrument, or writing, deſcrib'd on parchment or vellum, with a piece of lead hanging to it by a ſtring; and ſuch a writing is ſtiled a bull, from the lead annexed to it. On this label of lead, the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul are impreſſed from the papal ſeal; and, when it is affixed to the pope's letters, they are ſaid to be compleatly finiſhed. Theſe bulls, becauſe they carried the papal thunder of excommunication along with them, for the non-payment of the pope's dues, became a terror to weak people, for ſome ages, till, at length, from their frequent demands, they were turned into ridicule; for they were ſtiled bull-beggars, and uſed, as words of ſcorn and contempt, to terrify children. Eybenius Cherubinus has made a collection of them in ſix folio's; which Puffendorf makes a good uſe, in his introduction to the Hiſtory of Europe. Vid. Parerg. Jur. Can.

'elected

1207. 'elected by violence, and contrary to all manner of right, a perſon educated in France, an entire ſtranger to him, and who had always carried on a ſtrict correſpondence with his enemies. He ſubjoined, that this incroachment was altogether inconſiſtent with the prerogatives of his crown, from which he was reſolved never to depart, nor from the election of the biſhop of Norwich; and then he roundly told him, that, if his demands were rejected, he would break off all intercourſe with the court of Rome, which was of no ſmall conſequence, ſince it was certain, that the holy ſee received more money from England than any other chriſtian ſtate; and that, therefore, greater regard ought to be paid to the king of England than any other prince. In fine, he ſaid, there were prelates enough in the kingdom, qualified to govern the church; and that there was no neceſſity for having recourſe to the popes, if they ſo manifeſtly abuſed their authority.

The pope's anſwer. Act. Pub. M. Par.

Innocent had not engaged in this affair, with ſo little reſolution, as to deſiſt from it, on the king's expoſtulation; and, tho' the anſwer he returned ſeemed to be mild and obliging, it was, in the main, more proper to irritate than appeaſe him. 'He, firſt of all, blames John, for 'anſwering his kind and humble letter, in ſo 'harſh a manner, that it appeared to be rather 'intended to affront him, than to require the 'reaſons of his conduct; and then he proceeds 'to extol the merits of cardinal Langton, aſ'ſuring him, that he was a prelate of great 'parts and profound learning, and had, for 'many years, ſtudied at the univerſity of Paris, 'where he had taken his degree of doctor of 'divinity. He adds, that the conſent of 'princes was not neceſſary to elections made, 'in his preſence; yet that, out of pure con'deſcenſion, he had diſpatched two monks, 'to inform him of it, who were detained at 'Boulogne, by contrary winds. In a word, 'after attempting to prove Langton's election 'agreeable to the canons, he repreſented to him, 'that Henry II, his father, and Richard, his 'brother, had renounced the right of nomina'ting biſhops and abbots; and that, therefore, 'he ought to receive, without examination, 'the prelates, whom the church judged to be 'capable of directing the ſpiritual affairs of his 'kingdom. He concludes with this remark'able menace, that ſubmiſſion to him would be 'more for his advantage, than an obſtinate re'ſiſtance againſt God and his church, in a cauſe, 'for which the bleſſed Thomas Becket ſhed his 'blood". Theſe laſt words were ſufficient to ſtrike terror into a prince, whoſe father was ſo great a ſufferer, on much the ſame occaſion; but John, far from being terrified, reſolved, at all adventures, to free himſelf from the galling yoke of Rome.

1208. M. Paris. M. Weſt.

The pope's letter was ſoon followed by an order to the biſhops of London, Ely, and Worceſter, to ſollicit the king to ſubmit to the orders of the church; and, provided he ſhould prove contumacious, to lay the kingdom under an interdict. The biſhops, being thus commiſſioned by the pope, acquainted the king with the orders they had received from his holineſs, and intreated him to prevent; by his ſubmiſſion, a ſcandal to which his ſubjects would be no leſs expoſed than himſelf; but John was inflexible. He ſwore, by God's teeth, his uſual oath, that, if the kingdom was interdicted, he would directly baniſh all the eccleſiaſticks, to ſeek their ſubſiſtence at Rome, and put out the eyes, and cut off the ears and noſes of all the Roman prieſts, that ſhould be found in his dominions; and then he commanded the three biſhops to depart his preſence. His paſſion was ſtill farther inflamed, by the inſolence of Simon Langton, the cardinal's brother, who importunately preſs'd him to own his brother for archbiſhop; but the king, at laſt, told him, it was very ſurprizing, that an Engliſhman ſhould urge him to renounce the prerogatives of the crown; to which Langton arrogantly replied, that nothing could be done, in his behalf, unleſs he would entirely throw himſelf upon his brother's mercy. Brady.

1208.

Henry and Richard born.

The laſt year, John had a ſon, by Iſabella of Angouleme, named Henry; and, this year, the queen was delivered of another, called Richard.

The interdict is publiſhed.

In the interim, the biſhops, perceiving the king to be contumacious, at length, pronounced the ſentence of interdict upon the kingdom, and retired abroad. Divine ſervice immediately ceaſed, in all the churches; and the ſacraments were no longer adminiſter'd, except to infants or dying perſons. Publick prayers and all other eccleſiaſtical functions were diſcontinued; and, as the church-yards were ſhut up, the bodies of the dead were thrown into the ditches, like dogs, no prieſt daring, or being willing, to aſſiſt at the funerals. It might reaſonably be demanded, why the people ſhould, thus, ſuffer, for the fault of their ſovereign; and, doubtleſs, it would be difficult to aſſign a reaſon, founded on juſtice or equity. The truth is, the policy of Rome required, that the ſubjects ſhould be liable to puniſhment, that, conſidering their king, as the ſole cauſe, they might the ſooner be inclined to force him to ſubmit to the papal yoke; and, indeed, it is certain, that kings have no more authority than private perſons, when abandon'd by their ſubjects. Accordingly, the popes, who deſigned to enlarge their authority, have generally taken the advantage of a time of diſcord between the people and their ſovereigns; and, if ſometimes they have launched out, at unſeaſonable junctures, they have, for the moſt part, found their pretended authority to be little regarded; of which there is a remarkable inſtance, in the preſent reign, as the ſequel will inform us.

The king uſes the clergy with ſeverity.

The pope's rigour was inſufficient to bring John to a compliance; for, on the contrary, he reſolutely determined to convince his holineſs, that he was able to withſtand him. Purſuant to this reſolution, he confiſcated the eſtates of all the eccleſiaſticks, that obeyed th-interdict, and ſent orders to the ſheriffs to make a ſtrict enquiry after them, and expel them the kingdom; but the ſheriffs, perceiving that they could not put them in execution, without uſing great violence, durſt not puſh matters to this extremity;

1208. extremity; insomuch that, notwithstanding the king's intention, none departed the kingdom, except such as, having too zealously espoused the pope's quarrel, chose rather to go into a voluntary banishment, than remain exposed to the king's indignation. However, they, who stayed, were in no better circumstances; for outrages were daily committed upon them, and they met with no redress from the magistrates, who always sent them to the pope, for justice.

M. Paris. An. Waverl. As there was scarce a priest, in those days, that did not keep a concubine, the king, under the pretence of causing the canons of the councils to be observed, ordered all their concubines to be imprisoned; and they were obliged to pay great fines, for their liberty. Among the vast number of ecclesiasticks in the kingdom, there were some, who, in spite of the interdict, administer'd the sacraments; but, as they were continually exposed to the insults of the zealots, John issued out his commands, that those, who committed any outrage upon them, should be hanged on the next tree. The pope no sooner received the news of this proceeding, than he excommunicated all, that disobeyed the interdict, or executed the king's orders. This was the miserable state of England; for the king's adherents fell under the pope's censures, whilst he took care to persecute those, who submitted to the orders of Rome.

1209. John sends money to the emperor. In the mean time, Henry, brother to the emperor Otho, came to king John, in the beginning of the year 1209; and the design of his journey was, to demand, for the emperor, an aid of money, which the king generously granted him, tho' he was himself in pressing want.

He levies an army, under the pretence of warring against Scotland. The calamities of the English made no impression either on the king or the pope; for they both resolved to run all hazards, rather than recede from their respective pretensions. John had not the least dread of the papal thunders, with respect to spiritual affairs; yet he could not, without the greatest uneasiness, see the generality of his subjects inclined to the court of Rome. This observation rendering him apprehensive, that, sooner or later, some conspiracy would be formed against him, he judged it to be expedient to prevent the designs of his enemies, by raising an army; and, for a pretence, he complained, that the king of Scotland, in opposition to the treaty of Lincoln, had married one of his daughters, without his consent. It was easy to foresee, that a prince, who had permitted so many provinces in France to be taken, without the least resistance, did not intend vigorously to prosecute this war, on so slight an occasion; and, accordingly, he accepted the first offers, made by the king of Scotland, to give him 15000 marks, and his two daughters, as hostages. In his return from the northern frontiers, where he had led his army, he ordered the hedges to be cut down, and the ditches to be filled up, in all his forests, that the deer might have liberty to feed, in all places; and it is highly probable, that his view in this was, to punish the people in those parts, for having too openly espoused the pope's cause, and, perhaps, to deter the rest of his subjects from acting in the same manner *. When he arrived at Northampton, he was met by the prince of Wales, who, being afraid that he designed to carry the war into his country, came, with all expedition, to prevent him by his submission; and this prince accompanied the king, as far as Woodstock, where he paid him homage †. 1209.

He causes all his vassals to renew their homage. John evidently perceived, from the continuation of the interdict, that the pope was resolved to persist in his pretensions; and that, as this means was ineffectual, he would use more violent methods. The king, therefore, to screen himself from his thunders, caused all his vassals to renew their homage; for nothing, in his opinion, was more proper to frustrate the designs of the court of Rome, than to secure, by this bond, the allegiance of his subjects.

The king is excommunicated. In the interim, the pope, finding that the interdict, which had now continued, above a year, did not answer his expectations, determined to pronounce, upon John, the sentence of excommunication, and committed the publication of it to the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester; but these prelates, having still a great regard for the king, did not execute their orders, so readily as his holiness desired. However, the news of John's excommunication was quickly spread over all parts of the kingdom; tho' the sentence was not yet published. The archdeacon of Norwich, one of the officers of the exchequer, receiving notice of it, resigned his office, without leave; alledging, that his conscience would not suffer him to serve an excommunicated prince. The king, for his disrespect, ordered him to be confined in a close prison; where, it is affirmed, a leaden cope being put upon him, with the pressure of it, and for the want of victuals, he died in a few days. M. Paris.

The bishop of Lincoln imposes upon him. Notwithstanding this instance of the king's severity, Hugh de Wells, lately elected bishop of Lincoln, wounded him, in a yet more sensible part; for, having obtained leave to be consecrated by the archbishop of Roan, instead of going to Normandy, he went directly to Rome, where he received his consecration from cardinal Langton. Had this prelate been in John's power, he would, doubtless, have sacrificed him to his resentment, as well as the archdeacon of Norwich; but he was forced to rest satisfied, with seizing on his revenues. As for Hugh, he was altogether unconcerned, plainly foreseeing, that the king would, at last, be obliged to submit to the pope; whereas, by

* The king likewise, this year, issued out a proclamation, at Bristol, forbidding the taking all sorts of feathered game, in any part of England, M. West. M. Par. This, according to Tyrrel, was the first edict of this sort, that was made by a king.

† An unhappy accident, that happened, at this time, was very prejudicial to Oxford; tho' it shews the then flourishing state of that university. A certain clerk, having by chance killed a woman, made his escape; but the mayor, coming to his lodging, found three other clerks, that lived in the same house, which they had jointly hired. These, being apprehended, were hanged, a few days after, by the king's order, in contempt of the ecclesiastical liberty; upon which, near 3000 scholars left that university, some of whom went to Cambridge, and others to Reading. M. Par. M. West.

disobeying

1209. disobeying his holiness, he was in danger of losing his see.

1210. John leads an army into Ireland.

The sentence of excommunication made no impression on the king; and, besides, as it was not yet published, and, therefore, ignorance might be pleaded, the greatest part of the nobility still adhered to their sovereign. Nay, John entertained some hopes, that the sentence was no more than a penal threatening, which might be revoked, upon his giving some proofs of steadiness. However, he levied a numerous army, being very sensible, that nothing was more capable of disconcerting the pope's measures; and he made use of some commotions in Ireland, as a pretence for this armament, the charges of it being paid by the Jews, not voluntarily, but by the seizure of their effects *. John himself embarqued with his army at Pembroke, and safely arrived at Dublin; where he was met by above 20 petty princes, who came to swear allegiance to him. Having received their homage, he marched against the king of Connaught, the author of the troubles that occasioned his coming into Ireland; and, this prince being taken prisoner, in a battle, the war was happily ended, and the whole island reduced to the king's obedience. Before his departure, John established the English laws and customs in Ireland, and made John de Grey, bishop of Norwich, his justiciary, who caused the Irish money to be coined, of the same weight and fineness, as in England, that the same money might be common in both kingdoms; and it was expected in England, that, at his return, he would disband the army; but, for a pretence to keep it on foot, he quarrelled with the prince of Wales. In the mean while, having occasion for money, to maintain his troops, he imposed, by his own authority, a tax of 100,000 l. upon the estates of the clergy; and then, marching against the Welch, he forced them to deliver 28 hostages.

1211. The pope sends two nuncio's into England.

The steps taken by John, to render himself formidable, gave the pope the greatest uneasiness; for he plainly saw, that it would be equally dangerous to the holy see to desist from the contest, or to carry it on any farther, uncertain of the issue; and, indeed, it might be of very pernicious consequence, even with respect to other christian states. Before he came to a resolution, in this affair, Innocent sent Pandulph, a subdeacon, and Durand, a knight-templar, as his nuncio's, into England, under the pretence of promoting a reconciliation between the king and his clergy; tho' nothing could be more opposite to his real intention, which was to discover John's designs, that he might concert his measures accordingly. The nuncio's, upon their arrival, prevailed so far on the king, that he promised the ecclesiasticks leave to return to their churches; that cardinal Langton should enter into possession of the see of Canterbury; and that the church of England should be restored to all the liberties, privileges, and immunities, enjoyed in the time of Edward the Confessor. One would have imagined, that so considerable advantages should have contented the nuncio's; especially, since the king gave up the main point in dispute, in consenting to receive Langton, as archbishop. Besides, they should have previously considered, that, in an accommodation, it was reasonable, the pope and clergy should also make concessions, on their part; but this rule is overlooked, in affairs relating to the church. What she is pleased to stile an accommodation is nothing less than an entire submission to her orders, and an absolute compliance with all her demands. We have already seen a remarkable instance to this purpose, in the affair of Thomas Becket; and now we have another, which confirms the same truth, besides those that will occur, in the course of this History. Had John been more resolute, or, at least, waited, till the nuncio's, of their own accord, had made these proposals, and then seemed to accept them, with reluctance, he might, possibly, have obtained a reconciliation, upon these terms; but he was concerned with persons of greater subtlety than himself, whose sole view was to dive into his sentiments, in order to make the best use of them against him. When they found that he complied so far, they insisted on the restitution of all that was taken from the clergy, and an ample reparation of the damages they sustained, on the account of this contest; and, because he would not agree to this, which, in effect was impossible, the negotiation broke off, and the nuncio's returned, after publishing the king's excommunication, which the bishops, till then, declined.

1211.

The pope finding, from John's advances, that he was desirous of putting an end to this affair, at any rate, and that it was, merely, on the account of his inability, that he rejected the last article, resolved to make the best use of these discoveries, to promote his own advantage; but he artfully concealed his intentions, till he had constrained the king to cast himself upon his mercy. Tho' the reparation of the English clergy was the farthest from his thoughts, he continually insisted on that article, in order to have a handle to bring about his designs; and, as he was sensible, that John was not beloved by the people, and still less by the nobles, who were kept in obedience, purely, by their oath of allegiance, he judged it to be necessary to break that bond, by which they were still attached to their sovereign. He, therefore, taking occasion, from the king's inability, which he was pleased to call rebellion and obstinacy, published a bull, absolving John's subjects from their oaths, and enjoining them, on pain of excommunication, to refuse him all obedience; and this terrible blow had such a fatal influence, that most of the barons, transported to have so fair an opportunity of being revenged on the king, began to

* The Jews of both sexes were seized, all over England, and barbarously used, till they would ransom themselves, according to the king's pleasure; and, among the rest, a Jew at Bristol, tho' cruelly tormented, refusing to ransom himself, the king order'd, that his tormenters should, every day, pull out one of his cheek-teeth, till he paid down 10,000 marks, who accordingly pull'd out seven, in as many days; but, relenting on the eighth day, after the loss of seven teeth, he parted with 10,000 marks, to save the rest. M. Par. King John procured from the Jews about 60,000 marks. An. Waverl.

1211. combine together to place another on the throne; nay, ſome authors affirm, that the majority ſigned an addreſs to the king of France, inviting him to England, and promiſing to acknowledge him for their ſovereign.

1212. The king reſolves to invade Wales.

In the interim, John, who had received no intelligence of their intentions, lived in a ſecurity, that was matter of aſtoniſhment to all the world; for he ſpent his time in entertainments and diverſions, as if he had nothing to do, and the pope's bull was not of dangerous conſequence. At this juncture, the Welch, who were never long quiet, making incurſions into the Engliſh territories, John was ſo highly incenſed, that he commanded the 28 hoſtages he had in his power to be hanged; and then he determined to carry the war into Wales, and utterly extirpate the inhabitants of that country.

He is informed of a plot againſt him. M. Paris.

Whilſt he was making preparations for this expedition, the king of Scotland ſent him an account of a dangerous conſpiracy, that was in agitation againſt him, in England; but John, not giving any credit to his information, continued his march, at the head of his army, to Cheſter, with a view of beginning the war with the Welch. Upon his arrival at that city, he received freſh intelligence concerning the conſpiracy, which was confirmed, from ſo many different places, that he could no longer diſpute the truth of it; and then he began to conſider the officers of the army, as ſo many ſecret enemies, in whom he could not confide; and, therefore, diſmiſſing his troops, he retired to London, where, he imagined, he might remain, with greater ſafety. In proceſs of time, his fears being, in ſome meaſure, abated, by certain advice, that the barons were in no readineſs to put their deſigns in execution, he demanded hoſtages of them, as pledges of their obedience; and there were very few that ventured to refuſe a compliance with his demand *, leſt they ſhould be ſacrificed to his ſuſpicions, before they were in a poſture of defence. Indeed, their meaſures, as yet, were in a very precarious ſituation; and, if it be certain, that they had made application to the king of France, that monarch had not given them any poſitive promiſe of aſſiſting them; for, in all probability, he was enclined to ſtay, till matters were more embroiled, before he openly declared his intention.

Remarks on the hiſtorians of John's reign.

Here it is, that Matthew Paris takes occaſion to paint John's tyranny, in the blackeſt colours; for he affirms, that he had not the leaſt regard to the Engliſh; that he debauched the wives and daughters of the prime nobility; that he baniſhed ſome the realm, upon mere ſuſpicions, and reduced others, by the confiſcation of their eſtates and other illegal practices; but, as I have already obſerved, the monkiſh writers are to be read, with great caution, when they relate any affair, in which the court of Rome was concerned. Indeed, this hiſtorian, now and then, very ſharply inveighs againſt the perſon of Innocent III. yet it is, at the ſame time, manifeſt, that his deſign was to vindicate the pope's extreme rigour to king John; which he could not more artfully purſue, than by tarniſhing the reputation of that prince, in order to divert the reader's compaſſion. 1212.

The famous prediction of a hermit.

Whilſt the king was extremely ſollicitous, about the iſſue of the plots of his enemies, he met with an exceeding mortification, tho' he ſeemed to overlook it; for Peter de Pontefract, a hermit, who was famous in England, for predicting future events, publickly propheſied, that, by Aſcenſion-Day following, John ſhould be depoſed, and the crown transferred to another; upon which, the king ſent for the hermit, who, in his preſence, maintained what he had ſaid, and was, on that account, committed to priſon *.

The pope depoſes the king of England.

In the mean while, the pope took, at Rome, all neceſſary meaſures, to accompliſh his project; and, being deſirous of making it appear to the world, that a zeal for juſtice and religion was the ſole motive of his actions, he made it his particular ſtudy to ſhew, that he had no private intereſt in view, in his quarrel with the king of England. The more effectually to conceal his deſign, he cauſed a petition to be preſented to him by cardinal Langton, and the reſt of the proſcribed biſhops, humbly beſeeching him to apply a remedy to the evils, which had ſo long infeſted the church of England; and, this petition giving him a pretence to call a conſiſtory, he delivered a ſpeech to the cardinals, in which he aggravated, to the utmoſt of his power, the injuries John had done, and daily did, to the church; and he concluded with ſaying, that, as his obſtinacy was incapable of being ſubdued by the church's cenſures, he had ſummoned them together, to conſider of means to oblige this ſtubborn ſon to return to his duty. The reſult of the council was, that John, being convicted of rebellion againſt the holy ſee, deſerved to be depoſed; and that his holineſs ſhould place another prince on the throne of England. Purſuant to this advice, Innocent thunder'd out the ſentence of depoſition againſt king John; and then he commiſſioned Philip, king of France, to execute the ſentence, promiſing, for a reward, the remiſſion of all his ſins, together with the crown of England to him and his heirs for ever, as ſoon as he had dethroned the preſent tyrant. A few days after, he publiſhed a bull, exhorting all chriſtian princes to promote, as much as was poſſible, this expedition, which was ſolely intended to revenge the injuries done to the catholick church; and in it he likewiſe took under his protection all that ſhould contribute money, or other aſſiſtance, to conquer

* Euſtace de Veſci and Robert Fitz-Walter, who were engaged in the conſpiracy againſt him, retired; the firſt into Scotland, and the latter into France.

† M. Paris, tells us, that John was very anxious to know of the hermit, how he ſhould loſe his crown, whether by death, or otherwiſe; but all the ſatisfaction, he received from him, was, that he might be aſſured, he would not, on that day, be king; and the hermit farther ſaid, that, if he was convicted of a lie, he might then puniſh him, at his pleaſure; upon which, the king confined him, till he ſhould ſee the event of his prediction.

the

1212. the enemy of the church, granting them the ſame privileges with thoſe that viſited the holy ſepulchre *.

Geoffrey's death. Towards the end of this year, Geoffrey, archbiſhop of York, natural ſon of Henry II, departed this life; who was a prelate of a narrow genius, tho' haughty, pragmatical, and extremely paſſionate; and one that would have done a world of miſchief, had he been in a condition to act up to the violence of his inclinations †.

1213. Philip accepts the pope's commiſſion to invade England. Mezerai. Philip having recived the pope's commiſſion, not ſatisfied with depriving John of a great part of his dominions in France, he devoured already, in his imagination, the kingdom of England; and his vaſt preparations evidently declared, how deſirous he was of ſucceeding, in this undertaking. The ſhips, of which his fleet was to be compoſed, came, from all parts, to the mouth of the Seine; whilſt the princes, his vaſſals, and the great men of his realm led their troops to Roan, where he had appointed the rendezvous of his army. King John was, for his part, equally ſollicitous to oppoſe the threatened invaſion; for he ſummoned all his tenants, in chief, to meet him at Dover, with their troops, on pain of the forfeiture of their fiefs, and of being exemplarily puniſhed, in their perſons. He likewiſe iſſued out orders, that all the ſhips, belonging to his ſubjects, ſhould be in readineſs, at the ſame place, threatening to baniſh the maſters, that ſhould fail to be there, on any account whatſoever; by which means, he ſoon aſſembled more ſhips and troops, than the was able to maintain; inſomuch that he was obliged to diſmiſs part of his fleet, and retain only 60,000 of the beſt ſoldiers ‡. However, this number was ſufficient to defend him from all inſults, had they cordially ſerved him; but this prince was more skilful, in procuring the fear than the love of his ſubjects ††.

Pandulph the pope's legate comes to John. Whilſt the two monarchs were, with equal ardor, preparing for an engagement; whilſt the ſea was covered with ſhips, and both ſhores with troops, expecting, every moment, to enter upon action, the pope gave his laſt inſtructions to Pandulph, one of the forementioned nuncio's, who, on this occaſion, was made legate for England. His publick inſtructions were, to exert himſelf to prevail on John to ſubmit to the church; but his private ones were, to give the finiſhing ſtroke to the pope's project. He paſſed through France, where, upon a review of Philip's great armament, he commended his zeal and diligence; and then he embarqued, in order to meet the king of England at Dover. He no ſooner came into his preſence, than he acquainted him, that his enemy's forces were able to make a conqueſt of England, even tho' the whole kingdom were united, for their common defence; but that John was very far from having any grounds to rely on the people's affections. To convince him of it, beyond all contradiction, he gave htm to underſtand, that Philip had received private aſſurances, from moſt of the great men of England, that they would do all that was poſſible, to promote his cauſe; which, being a confirmation of his former informations, ſo viſibly ſhook his reſolution, that he could not diſguiſe, from the legate, the terror that ſeized his ſoul. John's preſent diſpoſition of mind preciſely anſwered Pandulph's intention; who, making the beſt uſe of this advantage, repreſented to him, that there was only one way left, to ſecure himſelf from the impending danger, viz. to put himſelf under the pope's protection, who, as a kind and merciful father, was ſtill willing to receive him, with open arms; but, as he added, "To deſerve this "favour, you muſt become a dutiful ſon to the "church, and promiſe a faithful obedience to "all the pope's injunctions; who, in imitation of Him, whoſe repreſentative he is on "earth, deſires not the death of a ſinner, but "rather that he ſhould return from his evil "ways." 1213. M. Weſt. M. Paris.

No prince was ever in ſuch circumſtances as John; for, ſtanding between two precipices equally dangerous, he could not poſſibly avoid caſting himſelf down either the one or the other, nor had he leiſure to conſider, which of them was the moſt eligible. Pandulph inceſſantly ſollicited him to accept the pope's gracious offer; whilſt Philip, on the contrary, allowed him no time to conſult, what courſe he ſhould take; but his jealouſy of his army, and his dread of a treachery, the fatal conſequences of which he very plainly foreſaw, gave him the greateſt uneaſineſs. On which ſide ſoever he turned his eyes, he perceived, that he was on the point, either of falling into the hands of his moſt inveterate enemy, or lying at the mercy of the pope, who was the ſole author of his misfortunes; and, of theſe two extreams, the laſt ſeemed to be the leaſt inſupportable, becauſe he did not apprehend the pope's whole deſign. The legate did not, at once, acquaint him with all the conditions required by his

* The pope wrote alſo to the great men, knights, and warriors of different nations, to engage in this war, ſigning themſelves with the croſs, as if it were for the expedition into the Holy-Land. M. Paris.

† This year alſo, on the 10th of July, a great part of London was conſumed to aſhes, by a fire that began in Southwark, and, having deſtroyed the church of St. Mary Overy, ſpread as far as the bridge; and, whilſt multitudes ran, ſome to behold, and others to quench the flames, the houſes on the other ſide of the bridge likewiſe took fire. The people being, thus, incloſed, many were obliged to leap into the Thames, whilſt others, crowding into the boats that came to their relief, occaſioned their own deſtruction, they and the boats ſinking together; inſomuch that near 3000 perſons periſhed, either by the water or the fire. M. Par. Ann. Waverl.

‡ Who were encamped upon Barham-Down in Kent. The biſhop of Norwich brought him 500 knights, and bodies of horſe from Ireland. M. Par.

†† The writs, iſſued out, on this occaſion, which may be ſeen at large, in M. Paris, evidently ſhew, that, in thoſe days, there were no ſtanding armies, either in England or France; but that the only forces, for the defence of the kingdom, were the militia of England, conſiſting of the earls and barons, with their tenants and vaſſals, who were obliged, by their tenures, to come into the field, in the caſe of a foreign invaſion, or domeſtick rebellion. The writs are directed to all the ſheriffs of the kingdom, commanding them to ſummon all the earls, barons, knights, freemen, and eſquires; and thoſe for the ſhips, to all the bailiffs of ſea-ports, &c. M. Par.

holineſs,

1213. holineſs, for his favour and protection, being contented, for the preſent, with obliging him, by a ſolemn oath, to obey the pope, in all things for which he was excommunicated; to make a full reparation of all the damages the clergy and laity had ſuſtained, by reaſon of the interdict; to pay down, in part of reſtitution, 8000 l. ſterling; to reſtore to his favour the proſcribed biſhops and others, eſpecially, cardinal Langton and the priors and monks of St. Auguſtin's; to confirm all theſe particulars by his letters patent, and cauſe ſuch biſhops and barons, as the pope, or his legate, ſhould appoint, to ſtand ſureties for him; to declare with ſolemnity, that, if he, or any other by his order, ſhould violate this agreement, he would for ever loſe the cuſtody of vacant churches, and the biſhops and barons, his ſureties, ſhould be authorized to ſerve the pope againſt him. Beſides, he promiſed to ſend letters of ſafe-conduct to the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the other exiled biſhops, that they might return to their reſpective churches; and, laſtly, he ſwore not to proſecute any perſon, whether layman or eccleſiaſtick, for any matter relating to the preſent affair *.

John complies with the legate's terms. Act. Pub.

Such was the ſtate, to which John was reduced, that he would have thought even theſe conditions to be tolerable, had nothing been added to them; but the oath, exacted from him, to obey the pope, in all things, included a tacit condition, the extent of which Pandulph did not judge it expedient to explain, before he was entirely engaged. However, the legate afterwards made the king ſufficiently ſenſible of the meaning of that article, when he told him, in ſo many words, that his offences againſt God and the church were of ſuch a nature, that, unleſs he reſigned his crown to the pope, he could not give him abſolution. This propoſal, doubtleſs, extremely ſurprized the unfortunate prince; but he had advanced too far now to recede. His late proceeding had entirely alienated thoſe of his ſubjects, who, till then, preſerved ſome remains of affection; and, as he could not confide in his troops, he was deſtitute of means to withſtand Philip's powerful attacks. He was, therefore, under an indiſpenſable neceſſity of ſubmitting to this rigid condition; which he would have infallibly rejected, had he, at firſt, underſtood the full extent of his oath. Accordingly, the next day, he repaired to Dover-church, attended by the legate and a numerous train of lords and officers of the army; and, in the preſence of all the people, taking off his crown, he laid it, with the other enſigns of royalty, at the legate's feet, as the pope's repreſentative. After this, he ſigned a charter, by which he reſigned to the pope the kingdom of England, with the lordſhip of Ireland; and, in the ſaid charter, he declared, that he made this reſignation, neither out of fear nor by conſtraint, but of his own free will, with the advice and conſent of the barons of the realm, as the only means of attonement, for his offences againſt God and the church. From that moment, he owned himſelf a vaſſal of the holy ſee, and, as ſuch, obliged himſelf to pay the annual rent of 1000 marks; viz. 700 for England, and 300 for Ireland. In fine, he agreed, that if he, or any of his ſucceſſors, denied the ſubmiſſion due to the holy ſee, he ſhould forfeit his right to the crown †, and then he did homage to the pope, in the perſon of the legate; who, to ſhew the grandeur of his maſter, ſpurned, with his foot, the money, that the king offer'd, as an earneſt of his ſubjection. The ſpectators of this ignominious ceremony were incenſed at theſe abject ſubmiſſions; tho' none of them had the courage to declare their ſentiments, except the archbiſhop of Dublin, who proteſted againſt them, but to no purpoſe. The legate, having obtained whatever he demanded, kept the crown and ſceptre, five entire days; and then he reſtored them to John, intimating to him, that he ought to conſider it, as a ſingular favour from the holy ſee. This extraordinary tranſaction had a natural effect on the minds of the people; for, if they had but a little regard for their ſovereign before, this ſhameful ſubmiſſion render'd him altogether contemptible, and they thought him unworthy to wear a crown, which he had ſo meanly reſigned to another. On the other hand, Innocent's extreme haughtineſs occaſioned reflections, to his diſadvantage; and, tho' one would have imagined, that John muſt, of courſe, be deeply affected with what had happened, he ſeemed to be the firſt that forgot it. He even appeared to triumph, in preſerving his crown, in ſpite of the hermit's prediction; and, tho' it was too fully accompliſhed, he was ſo cruel, as to order him to be hanged, as a falſe prophet.

1213.

Pandulph, having diſpatched his buſineſs in England, embarqued at Dover, for France, without taking off the interdict, or giving the king abſolution; and, when he came to Philip, he enjoined him, in the pope's name, to deſiſt from his intended expedition. He repreſented to him that, the king of England being now a dutiful ſon of the church, it was no longer neceſſary to execute the pope's ſentence againſt him; but Philip, who was exceedingly amazed at this diſcourſe, as he did not engage in the preſent undertaking, from a religious motive, openly refuſed to obey the legate's orders. He told him, that he had made theſe expenſive preparations againſt England, in compliance with the pope's preſſing ſollicitations, for the remiſſion of his ſins; and that, therefore, no contrary orders, nor all the menaces in the world, ſhould prevent him from purſuing his deſigns. Thus, reſolved, he called a council of the chief lords of the kingdom, and of the princes, his vaſſals, that then attended him; and, as he was highly exaſpera-

Pandulph orders Philip to deſiſt from his intended expedition.

John reſigns his crown and does homage to the pope. Act. Pub. M. Paris. Knight.

* M. Paris relates theſe articles, at large, drawn up in the form of a charter, dated the 13th of May, being the Monday before Aſcenſion-Day, in which are recited the names of William earl of Salisbury, Reginald earl of Boulogne, William earl of Warren, and William earl of Ferrars, who, with 12 other lords, ſwore, in behalf of the king.

† "Cadet a jure regni." M. Paris. The ſame author recites the charter, at large, which was ſigned by the king himſelf, in the preſence of Henry archbiſhop of Dublin, John biſhop of Norwich, and ſeveral other lords.

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1213. ted againſt Innocent, the terms he uſed, in ſpeaking of him to the aſſembly, were not very reſpectful ; and the leſs ſo, as it was greatly for his purpoſe, to paint the pope's proceedings, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt lively colours ; ſince his view was to prevail on all the lords to ſwear, that they would not deſert him, even tho' the pope ſhould thunder out his cenſures againſt him.

The princes and lords of the council were inclinable to a compliance ; for the earl of Flanders was the only one that oppoſed the propoſal, and in a manner that highly reflected on Philip's character. He affirmed, that the deſigned expedition againſt king John was, in itſelf, neither juſt nor honourable, and alſo become impracticable, by the pope's prohibition ; and that it would be much more conſonant to the rules of honour and equity, to reſtore what had been taken from that prince, in France, than to form new projects, to make an advantage of his misfortunes. Philip, reſenting theſe reproaches upon his conduct, reſolved, in the firſt place, to humble the earl of Flanders ; in order to deter the reſt of his vaſſals, by this example, and likewiſe to deprive the king of England of the aſſiſtance he might expect from ſo firm a friend ; and, poſſibly, he rejoiced at an opportunity of diſengaging himſelf from his preſent embarraſsment. He could not, without diſhonour, obey the pope's orders ; nor could he purſue his deſigns againſt John, without expoſing his perſon to an excommunication, and his kingdom to an interdict. However that be, he order'd his fleet to ſail to the coaſt of Flanders ; whilſt he led his army to attack the earl, by land. The progreſs of his arms, at firſt, was ſo great, that, in all probability, the earl of Flanders would have been ruined, if John had not ſent his naval force, to aſſiſt him ; but the earl of Salisbury, who commanded the Engliſh fleet, ſurprizing that of Philip, entirely deſtroyed it. It is related, that the Engliſh took 300 ſhips, and ſunk 100 ; and that the French themſelves ſet fire to the reſt, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy ; which fatal loſs, blaſting all Philip's meaſures, obliged him to relinquiſh his undertaking and return to Paris.

Philip turns his arms againſt the earl of Flanders. Rigord.

John reſolves to carry the war into France.

This victory, on a ſudden, animated the courage of king John ; and, as he was aſſured of the pope's friendſhip, he determined to carry the war into France, and attempt to recover his loſt dominions ; beſides, the emperor and the earl of Flanders promiſed to make a powerful diverſion, in his favour. He, therefore, order'd his army to march to Portſmouth, and his fleet to meet him there ; but, juſt as he was ready to embarque, the barons ſent him word, that they could not attend him, unleſs he was firſt abſolved from his excommunication. Upon this declaration, he diſpatched a ſafe-conduct to cardinal Langton and the reſt of the exiles, that they might come and abſolve him ; and he gave them to underſtand, that he would readily perform all his engagements, and particularly thoſe relating to them. The biſhops, upon their arrival, repaired to the king at Wincheſter ; who, throwing himſelf at their feet, intreated them to have compaſſion on him and the kingdom. The cardinal, raiſing him up, led him to the church ; where, before all the people, he adminiſtered to him the following oath : " That he would M. Paris. " protect the holy church, to the utmoſt of " his power ; re-eſtabliſh the good laws of " his predeceſſors, and eſpecially thoſe of king " Edward ; cauſe juſtice to be diſpenſed to " his ſubjects, according to the juſt judgment " of his court ; reſtore to corporations and " private perſons their rights and privileges ; " and, before Eaſter next, make ample ſatiſ- " faction for all the damages he had occa- " ſioned." After this, the king renewed his oath of fealty and obedience to the pope ; and then the cardinal gave him abſolution. John ſeemed to be ſo well pleaſed, to find himſelf, at length, freed from ſo many perplexities, that, to convince the cardinal he entertained no ſecret prejudice againſt him, he made him, that very day, dine at the ſame table with him.

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This affair being over, John went to Portſmouth ; but, when he talked of embarquing, the barons, who came there, upon his ſummons, repreſented to him, they had ſtaid ſo long at Portſmouth, that all their money, intended for the preſent expedition, was ſpent ; and that, therefore, they were in no condition to attend him. Tho' he was extremely mortified at this diſappointment, he judged it adviſable to conceal his uneaſineſs ; and, fancying that, upon the point of honour, they would follow him, he, with his own family, ſailed for Jerſey. After he had waited there ſome days, perceiving that he was abandoned by all, he returned to England, to chaſtiſe the diſobedience of the barons *. Having raiſed M. Paris. ſome troops, he marched towards the center of the kingdom, deſigning to have it in his power, to prevent them from taking up arms, or oppreſs thoſe that ſhould firſt appear ; but the cardinal archbiſhop, coming to him at Northampton, acquainted him, that, as none of the barons were legally † condemned, he could not enter upon a war with the barons, without violating the oath he had lately made. The king, incenſed at this remonſtrance, replied, with a loud voice, that he did not want his advice ; and, refuſing to hear him any more, he continued his march, as far as Nottingham. However, Langton, following him, the next day, declared, that he would excommunicate all, who ſhould take up arms, before the relaxation of the interdict ; and, this menace leading John to apprehend, that his troops would deſert him, he was conſtrained to deſiſt from his undertaking ; yet he appointed a day for the barons, to appear and anſwer, for their diſobedience.

John reſumes his former deſign.

Langton's proceedings were ſufficient to ſhew, that he was not thoroughly reconciled

* Ralph de Coggeſchal imputes the miſcarriage of this voyage, chiefly to the barons of the north, who alledged, that they were not obliged to attend him, according to the tenure of their eſtates.

† Abſque judicio curiæ ſuæ. M. Par.

1213. Langton shews the barons the charter of Henry I. M. Paris.

to the king; but of this he, ſoon after, gave a more convincing proof; for, in an aſſembly of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, convened at London, about the reſtitution the king had promiſed to make, he took occaſion to inveigh very warmly againſt him. He ſaid, "That, before he abſolved the king, he "cauſed him to ſwear, that he would reſtore "to the church, nobility, and commons their "rights and privileges; tho' it was manifeſt, "that, inſtead of taking the leaſt ſtep, in or-"der to perform his oath, he would have "commenced a war againſt his barons, be-"fore they were legally convicted, which was "a plain evidence of his evil deſigns; that it "was, therefore, abſolutely neceſſary, for the "good of the publick, to preſs him to make "good his ſolemn engagements; and, as diffi-"culties might occur, in the particulars de-"manded of the king, he added, that a char-"ter might be uſed of one of their former "monarchs, of which he had fortunately found "a copy, in ſpite of the pains that were ta-"ken to bury it in oblivion." The charter, the cardinal mentions, was that granted by Henry I. to his ſubjects, in the beginning of his reign; authentick copies of which had been ſent to all the principal monaſteries, that were loſt by the negligence of thoſe, to whoſe cuſtody they were committed, or, perhaps, by the means of Henry I. himſelf, or his ſucceſſors; but this, which, probably, was the only one, that remained, Langton cauſed to be publickly read before the aſſembly. The barons, tho' they had only a confuſed notion of this charter, were extremely well pleaſed with its being found, but more ſo with the contents; and, therefore, they, at once, reſolved to make it the foundation of their demands. Upon this, they mutually obliged themſelves, by an oath, to uſe their utmoſt efforts, to obtain the re-eſtabliſhment of their antient privileges; and the cardinal likewiſe promiſed to do all that was poſſible, to promote their deſigns; which was the firſt league or confederacy made in England, in defence of the nation's intereſt againſt the king.

John implores the pope's protection.

Notwithſtanding the care of the barons to conceal their intentions, till a proper opportunity came in their way, the king ſoon received intelligence of their league; but, as it was not in his power to diſſolve it, he imagined, that the moſt effectual method, for his own ſecurity, would be to put himſelf under the pope's protection. Accordingly, he diſpatched a truſty meſſenger to his holineſs, to implore his aſſiſtance, in this critical extremity; and his requeſt was attended with a very handſome preſent *. Innocent was tranſported with joy, to find that there was a proſpect of a diſſention between the king and the barons; and, indeed, as the reſignation of the crown, which he had extorted from John, was, in itſelf, ſo repugnant to all the principles of juſtice and full of nullities, it muſt, of courſe, have been ſuperſeded, had there been a ſtrict and cordial union between the king and the nobles. The pope therefore, reſolved to make the beſt uſe of their diſcord, more firmly to eſtabliſh the ſovereignty he had lately acquired over England †; and, with this view, he ſent cardinal Nicholas, biſhop of Tuſculum, now Fraſcati, as his legate, into England, to relax the interdict, and reconcile the king and the clergy, as to the promiſed reſtitution. John offering 100,000 marks, the legate ſeemed to be contented with the ſum; but the biſhops openly rejected it, chuſing rather to ſuffer the kingdom to lie under the intolerable burden of an interdict, than recede, in the leaſt, from their pretenſions. The legate, upon this, acquainting the king with the pope's orders, repreſented to him, that he could never expect to enjoy uninterrupted tranquillity, till he had put himſelf entirely under the protection of the holy ſee; "that, to this purpoſe, it was neceſſary "to make a ſecond reſignation of his crown, "the firſt being liable to many exceptions; "and that then the pope, being indiſpenſably "obliged to ſupport him, would infallibly deli-"ver him from all his troubles."

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1214. The pope ſends a legate into England. M. Paris.

John conſents to a ſecond reſignation of his crown.

John, having almoſt as many enemies as barons in the kingdom, was once more perſuaded to that ſervile compliance; ſince he had no other refuge, except the pope's protection, and, convening a general aſſembly at Weſtminſter, before all the lords, he, a ſecond time, ſolemnly reſigned his crown to the pope, with all the formalities the legate was pleaſed to demand. He likewiſe ſigned another charter, in which care was taken to ſupply all the defects of the former; and, to render it more authentick, it was ſealed with gold, whereas the firſt was only ſealed with wax; and then the king gave it to the legate, for the uſe of the pope, his maſter. The confederate barons plainly perceived, that their ſecret was diſcovered, and that John's ſecond reſignation was the price of the pope's protection; and, as nothing was more oppoſite to their deſign, than the vaſſalage to which John had ſubjected the kingdom, cardinal Langton proteſted againſt it, and laid his proteſtation upon the altar.

The pope commiſſions his legate to fill the vacant benefices.

Innocent was extremely incenſed, that a cardinal ſhould ſo directly oppoſe the intereſts of the holy ſee; tho' he durſt not, at this juncture, attack him, leſt it ſhould induce the Engliſh to join with Langton, in the defence of their liberties. Indeed, it was, by no means, adviſable for the court of Rome, to let the nation ſo ſoon feel the weight of their late ſubjection to the papal authority; but, however, to mortify the archbiſhop, the pope commiſſioned his legate, cardinal Nicholas, to

* Noverat enim rex, & multiplici didicerat experientia, quod papa ſuper omnes mortales ambitioſus erat & ſuperbus, pecuniæque ſititor inſatiabilis, & ad omnia ſcelera, pro præmiis datis vel promiſſis, cereum & proclivum, &c. M. Paris.

† This year, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, juſticiary of England, departed this life, who was a generous and learned man, and the chief ſupport of the kingdom; inſomuch that, at his death, England became like a ſhip without a rudder. He was principally concerned in the adminiſtration of all affairs, tho' he was more feared than loved by the king; who, upon the news of his deceaſe, ſaid, "Now, I ſhall be king and lord of England." M. Paris.

fill

1214. fill all the vacant benefices in England; who, ſo ſcandalouſly abuſed his power, that he not only conferred the benefices on Italians, his relations and creatures, but even ſome of them on perſons unborn. Langton, being diſguſted, becauſe his commiſſion was given to another, took occaſion, from the legate's ill conduct, to appeal to the pope againſt his proceedings, and ſent his brother Simon to Rome, to proſecute his appeal; but his holineſs was very little inclined to take notice of complaints againſt the legate, who had, juſt before, done him ſuch ſignal ſervices. Moreover, Pandulph, who was diſpatched to Rome, with the charter ſealed with gold, had exceedingly blaſted the credit of the archbiſhop and all the Engliſh lords, by repreſenting them, as turbulent perſons, tho' he extolled the king, as the moſt pious of princes; and, therefore, Innocent, regardleſs of Langton's remonſtrances, ſent orders to his legate, to relax the interdict, which had now continued, above ſix years; but, as for the ſatisfaction demanded by the clergy, he order'd, that the king ſhould pay no more than 40,000 marks, in lieu of all the reſtitution.

Thus, at laſt, an end was put to this grand affair, which render'd the king of England the pope's vaſſal; and ſuch an extraordinary event furniſhes ample matter for reflections, which are left to the reader's diſcretion. I ſhall only remark, that, if, in the firſt negotiation, the pope would have been contented with ſo moderate a reſtitution, things would then have been brought to an accommodation; for that was the ſole obſtacle to a reconciliation, as the nuncio's were pleaſed with all the reſt of the king's propoſals. But John had not, as yet, reſigned his crown to the pope; whereas, after his reſignation, the 100,000 marks were reduced to 40,000. The clergy were very much diſappointed by this reduction; yet, not daring to contradict the pope's poſitive orders, they were conſtrained to reſt ſatisfied with a little, in compariſon of the immenſe ſums they expected. However, the biſhops took care to indemnify themſelves; ſince they did not give any ſhare of the 40,000 marks to the inferior clergy and monaſteries. The latter made their complaints to the legate; but he told them, that, as he had received no orders from the pope, it was not in his power to redreſs their grievance.

John carries the war into France.

John, perceiving that he was freed, tho' to his eternal ſhame, from this vexatious affair, reſolved to proſecute the deſign, which he was obliged to drop, by reaſon of the diſobedience of the barons; for he hoped to meet with more ſubmiſſion from his ſubjects now, than whilſt he lay under the ſentence of excommunication. Having made the neceſſary preparations, he came to Rochelle, with a numerous army, and, entering Poictou, ſubdued that province, with as much eaſe as it was taken from him; and, fluſh'd with this ſucceſs, he marched into Anjou, and rebuilt the walls of Angiers, which he had formerly demoliſhed. This ſudden attack ſurprized Philip, who being then engaged in the Low-Countries, in an important war with the emperor and the earl of Flanders, could not, ſo ſoon as was convenient, oppoſe this new enemy; yet his ſon, prince Lewis, raiſing an army, with all poſſible expedition, advanced towards Anjou; whilſt the Engliſh beſieged the ſtrong caſtle of La Roche au Moine. John, upon the approach of the French army, reſolved to raiſe the ſiege and give Lewis battle; but, the Poictevins refuſing to follow him, he was forced to retreat, and with ſome precipitation. The French hiſtorians relate, that, being vigorouſly attack'd, in his retreat, he ſuſtained a great loſs; but the Engliſh authors affirm, that Lewis, upon John's raiſing the ſiege, retired, without purſuing him. The King of England, in ſpite of this accident, had troops ſufficient for him to expect a good iſſue of the war, had it continued; but the news of the victory gained by Philip in Flanders, at the battle of Bovines, led him to think of a retreat. This victory, the moſt conſiderable that France had ever obtained *, convincing John, that the whole burden of the war would lie upon him, he demanded a truce for five years, by the mediation of the pope's legate; and, tho' a famous hiſtorian affirms, that Philip granted it, purely, in compliance with the pope's preſſing ſollicitations, it may be preſumed, that he did not conſent to it, with any reluctance; for he could deſire nothing more to his advantage, than that the Engliſh ſhould quit his dominions, ſince they had nothing to loſe, whilſt he might have ſuſtained the loſs of very conſiderable poſſeſſions.

Rigord.

Mezerai.

The third part of John's reign.

We now proceed to the third period of John's reign, which was, to the full, as vexatious as the two former; for, in theſe, he contended with two foreign powers, who triumphed over him; but, in this, we ſhall find him engaged with his own ſubjects, and reduced, in order to ſupport himſelf on the throne, to lay waſte his own kingdom, with an army of different nations, till, at length, a foreign prince receives the oath of allegiance from the people of England.

The barons league for the reſtoration of their liberties.

The king, after ſo many misfortunes, in all appearance, expected, at the expence of his honour, to paſs the remainder of his days in peace; but his paſt conduct, mixed with arrogance, caprice, tyranny, imprudence, and cowardice, had created a great diſcontent in the minds of his ſubjects, that muſt, of courſe, produce fatal effects. As he loſt the hearts of the people, the barons became more imperious; for their hopes of ſucceſs, in their proceedings, were properly built on the little affection of the people for their ſovereign. No ſooner was

* This memorable battle was fought, on the 27th of July, between Tournay and Liſle; and tho' the allies, viz. the emperor Otho, Ferdinand earl of Flanders, with the dukes of Lovain and Brabant, had no leſs than 120,000 men, and Philip's army was much inferior, as to number, and he was, beſides, thrown off his horſe and trampled under foot; yet, at laſt, he entirely ſubdued his enemies. Otho was put to flight, and died, ſome time after, with grief; five earls were taken priſoners, one of whom was William Long-Sword, king John's baſtard brother; and no prince, after that, durſt oppoſe Philip. Chr. Mailros. M. Paris.

John

1214. John returned into England, from his French expedition, than the barons reſolved, to demand, in a body, the re-eſtabliſhment of their privileges; and the principal lords, under the pretence of a pilgrimage, met at St. Edmundſbury, where they came to a reſolution, to require of the king the confirmation of the charter of Henry I. which contained, in ſubſtance, the liberties enjoyed by the Engliſh, during the Saxon monarchy. Before they parted, it was agreed, that, immediately after Chriſtmas, they would wait on the king, in a body, and preſent their petition; and, in the interim, each of them went to their reſpective habitations, to provide men, horſes, and arms, to be in a condition to force the king, if there was occaſion, to comply with their demands. However, before I deſcend to particulars, it will be proper to enquire into the riſe of this quarrel; and the foundation of the barons pretenſions, and the king's refuſal of what they demanded, was, as follows.

M. Paris.

The ſtate of the caſe between the king and the barons.

It is undeniably evident, that, in the reigns of the firſt Norman kings, and eſpecially under William the Conqueror, the Engliſh were oppreſſed; nay, not ſo much as an Engliſhman was left in poſſeſſion of any conſiderable fee *; whilſt the Normans and other foreigners were decked with their ſpoils. The Engliſh, in thoſe days, to no purpoſe, alledged their privileges; for the Normans did not conſider it, as any injuſtice, for the king to exerciſe a deſpotick power, as long as it was advantageous to themſelves. The laws of Edward the Confeſſor were ſo little regarded, that it was almoſt treaſonable to mention them; but, when theſe very Normans were firmly ſettled in their new acquiſitions, they began to apprehend the dangerous conſequences of an arbitrary government, which might deprive them of the poſſeſſions, that the Conqueror had given their anceſtors; and, therefore, by degrees, they aſſumed the Engliſh genius, being entirely addicted to liberty, and were deſirous of the reeſtabliſhment of the Saxon laws. All diſtinction between the two nations was aboliſhed; and every one affected to be ſtiled Engliſh, rather than Normans. This was, perhaps, the chief reaſon, why the Norman language did not prevail in England; notwithſtanding the care and pains of William I. Upon all fair occaſions, the Normans expreſs'd themſelves, like Engliſhmen, and ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on the revival of the laws of Edward; and they particularly made the beſt uſe of the circumſtances of William Rufus, Henry I. and Stephen, when they aſcended the throne. As theſe princes had not properly any right to the crown, they were obliged to ſatisfy the demands of their ſubjects; and, indeed, what the barons required would have been extremely reaſonable, from the mouth of an Engliſhman; but theſe very pretenſions, with reſpect to the Normans, might very juſtly be diſputed. Accordingly, tho' theſe three princes ſolemnly promiſed to revive the Saxon laws, they never, in good earneſt, ſet about the performance of their promiſes; yet it muſt be owned, that theſe repeated engagements gave the barons, of Norman deſcent, a right, which they wanted before. The circumſtances of the three firſt Norman kings, at their acceſſion to the throne, were, therefore, the true cauſe of theſe unjuſt proceedings, which were ſo very prejudicial to their ſucceſſors; for they knew, that their Norman ſubjects had no right to demand the revival of the laws of Edward, which muſt, of courſe, be violated, to ſettle them in the eſtates they poſſeſſed in England; but they were conſtrained to promiſe what they never deſigned to perform. The charter of Henry I. was never executed; and, whatſoever care was taken to ſend copies of it to the principal monaſteries, it was, by a great chance, that a ſingle one was found, 100 years after, by cardinal Langton. If, then, the rights of the barons be, originally conſidered, it muſt be concluded, that they were built upon a ſandy foundation, becauſe the chief fiefs were poſſeſſed by the deſcendents of thoſe, to whom they were granted by William the Conqueror; but, on the other hand, it muſt be confeſs'd, that the many ſolemn promiſes of all the kings, ſince the conqueſt, to reſtore the Saxon laws, commonly termed the laws of St. Edward, gave the Engliſh Normans a very plauſible right to demand the performance of them.

From what has been ſaid, it naturally follows, that, if the barons imagined they had a right to require the reſtoration of the privileges of the Engliſh nation, John believed that he was equally authorized to refuſe it; and, as this diſpute remained undetermined, during ſeveral reigns, both parties kept up their repective pretenſions. When the king was in a weak condition, the barons attempted the recovery of the Engliſh liberties; and the prince, at ſuch a juncture, was forced to put them off with fair promiſes, which he never intended to perform; but, under able and flouriſhing kings, the conteſt was ſtifled, and the barons waited for a more favourable opportunity. They thought a very fit occaſion now came in their way, which they reſolved to improve; for John was ſo deteſted and deſpiſed by his ſubjects, that he could never expect to regain their affection, and he had not the leaſt proſpect of the aſſiſtance of king Philip, his implacable enemy. The emperor and the earl of Flanders were both cruſhed by the battle of Bovines; and it was not to be ſuppoſed, that the king of Scotland would aſſiſt a prince, with

* Not only knight's fees, and part of knight's fees, but alſo honours and baronies, which were the greater fees, were ſtiled fees; and not without reaſon, for, except they were held by grand ſerjeantry only, they were commonly compoſed of knight's fees. In general, fee is a name applicable to all ſeigneuries, Hors de ſon feo, Hors de ſa baronie, i. e. out of his barony; and it may be obſerved, that feoffment, originally, ſignified the grant of a feud or fee; tho', by cuſtom, it afterwards ſignified a grant, with livery and ſeiſin, of a free inheritance to a man and his heirs, reſpect being had rather to the perpetuity of the eſtate granted, than the feudal tenure. This has been termed a feoffment in fee-ſimple; and out of the fee-ſimple has been derived another ſort of inheritable eſtate, which has been called a conditional fee or fee-tail. There are alſo feoffments for life. Vid. Madox's Diſſert. on the Chart. and Inſtrum.

whom

1214. whom he was diſguſted. As for the pope's aid, ſince it only conſiſted of ſpiritual arms, it did not give the barons the leaſt uneaſineſs; being ſenſible that ſuch weapons have no edge, but what they receive from fear and the circumſtances of time and place; and, as they had reaſon to hope, that the people would join them, in the defence of their common intereſts, they did not apprehend, that the papal thunderbolts would do them any conſiderable damage. John, therefore, was under a neceſſity of yielding, on the preſent occaſion; for, being deprived of the French provinces, he had no refuge againſt the Engliſh.

1215. The barons demand the reſtoration of the laws of St. Edward.

The barons, certain of ſucceſs, came to the king at London, and demanded, in expreſs and poſitive terms, the re-eſtabliſhment of the laws of St. Edward, with the other rights and privileges contained in the charter of Henry I. and they alledged, that, as this was no more than what he himſelf had ſolemnly promiſed, before his abſolution, their moſt humble petition could not be conſidered, as an innovation, much leſs as the effect of the ſpirit of rebellion. This petition, tho' it was expreſs'd, in the moſt reſpectful language, alarm'd the king; and, perceiving that they were reſolute, inſtead of rejecting it, he deſired them to wait for his anſwer, till Eaſter, aſſuring them, that he would then declare his intentions; but tho' it was obvious, the king only amuſed them, they were afraid of being blamed, if they did not acquieſce in this delay and retire.

John renews the fealty and homage of all his ſubjects.

In the interim, John cauſed the oath of fealty to be renewed by all his ſubjects, as well as homage by all his immediate vaſſals; after which, he aſſumed the croſs, as if he deſigned to go to the Holy-Land, in order to ſhelter himſelf under the church's protection *; whilſt, on the other hand, the pope ſent a letter to the barons, exhorting them to continue in obedience to their ſovereign, tho' it proved ineffectual.

The barons preſs him for an anſwer.

Eaſter was no ſooner come, than the great men met at Stanford, and made a powerful army, in which were above 2000 knights, beſides other horſe and foot, armed with divers weapons; inſomuch that the king, who was at Oxford, in expectation of their coming, did not think it convenient to expoſe his perſon, in a conference with them. Before they advanced any nearer, being then at Brackley in Northamptonſhire, he diſpatched the earl of Pembroke to enquire, what the laws and liberties were, which they mentioned, in their petition; upon which, they preſented a long memorial of the laws and cuſtoms, obſerved in the time of the Saxon monarchs; declaring that, if he would not confirm them, they were reſolutely determined to compel him, by ſeizing his caſtles. John, upon the peruſal of this memorial, was ſo furiouſly enraged, that he ſaid, with a loud voice, the barons wanted nothing leſs, than to deprive him of the regal authority; and he ſolemnly ſwore, "He never would grant "his ſubjects ſuch liberties, as would render "himſelf a ſlave."

1215.

They chuſe a general, and begin hoſtilities.

This anſwer convincing the barons, that force was abſolutely neceſſary, they choſe the lord Robert Fitz-Walter, for their general, ſtiling him the marſhal of the army of God and his holy church; and, marching to Northampton, they beſieged the caſtle fifteen days; but, that place holding out longer than they expected, they raiſed the ſiege, and went to Bedford, of which they became maſters. Soon after, receiving advice, that, by means of a ſecret negotiation with ſome of the principal burghers of London, one of the gates of that rich and powerful city would be reſigned to them, they ſet forward, with ſo great expedition, that, in two marches, they arrived at Aldgate; and, this gate being opened to them, they entered the city, at break of day, before the king, who was in the tower, had the leaſt intelligence of their approach. This great advantage animating them to engage in any enterprize, they reſolved to beſiege the king in the tower; and, whilſt they were employed in this ſiege, for which they were obliged to make great preparations, they ſent circular letters to all the lords of the king's party, as well as thoſe that ſtood neuter; aſſuring them, that their eſtates would be rifled, and their houſes demoliſhed, if they did not join them, in ſupport of the common cauſe of the kingdom. Theſe menaces prevailed on all the neutral lords to eſpouſe the cauſe of the barons; nay, ſome of the king's beſt friends abandoned him, to avoid the impending evils. The king, becoming more tractable, by reaſon of this defection, diſpatched the earl of Pembroke, to inform the barons, that he was ready to comply with their demands; which was, in effect, to throw himſelf upon their mercy; and, after a ſhort negotiation, it was agreed, that the king and the barons ſhould meet, on a day appointed, in a meadow named Runnemede †, to conclude this affair.

M. Paris.

The king ſigns two charters. M. Paris M. Weſt.

The barons came, in a body, to the place prefixed, whilſt the king was attended only by five or ſix lords; among whom was the cardinal archbiſhop, who affected to act, as mediator, tho' he was the chief author of the commotions. As the barons would not, in the leaſt, recede from their pretenſions, the king could not deny any of their demands; and, moreover, he conſidered, that, the higher they were, he would have a more plauſible pretence to retract, when a proper opportunity offered; and, therefore, without objecting to any of the articles propoſed, he ſeemed freely to grant what, in reality, was extorted by compulſive methods. He ſigned two charters, in which the barons

* About this time, the king granted a charter, for the freedom of elections, to biſhopricks and abbies, to elect their biſhops and abbots, without the king's nomination; which was contrary to the practice of his anceſtors. M. Paris. The nomination of fit perſons, to be choſen biſhops, to abbies, deans and chapters, was, never after, fully reſtored, till the 25th of Henry VIII.

† Between Staines and Windſor. M. Weſt. tells us, that Runnemede ſignifies the mead of council; becauſe, in antient times, treaties concerning the peace of the kingdom had often been held there. Both parties met on the 5th of June, and pitched their tents in a meadow; and, on the king's ſide, appeared the archbiſhops of Canterbury and Dublin, and ſome other lords, both ſpiritual and temporal; but thoſe, on the ſide of the barons, were vaſtly more numerous.

1215. inſerted, whatſoever they pleaſed; the firſt of which was termed the Charter of Liberties, or the Great Charter *, and the other, the Charter of the Liberties of the Foreſt. From a peruſal of theſe charters which will be inſerted, at the end of this reign, it will appear, what oppreſſions the Engliſh had been expoſed to, ſince the conqueſt, and what privileges they obtained, on this occaſion; and, from that time, theſe two charters have been the foundation of the Engliſh liberties, in ſpite of the attempts of John himſelf, and ſome of his ſucceſſors, to annul them.

Act. Pub. M. Par. Theſe charters were ſigned by the king, and all the lords ſpiritual and temporal, ſealed with the great ſeal, and confirmed by the king's ſolemn oath; and there were choſen, with the king's conſent, 25 barons, to any four of whom all perſons might make their complaints of the violation of the charters. It was farther agreed, that the four barons, who were firſt to be informed of any grievance, ſhould acquaint the king with it; and, if it was not redreſs'd, within 40 days, ſhould give notice of it to all the barons, for whom, in that caſe, it ſhould be lawful to take up arms, and ſeize the king's caſtles, in order to compel him to redreſs the grievance; yet all violence to the king's perſon, the queen, and their iſſue was excepted. But, to remove the ſcruples of the people, about taking up arms againſt their ſovereign, the king conſented, that all perſons ſhould ſwear to aſſiſt the barons, in all caſes relating to the two charters; and, laſtly, he ſent his letters patent, directed to all his ſheriffs, commiſſioning them to take the oaths of all his ſubjects, that they would punctually obſerve the two charters; and, if it was neceſſary, force the king to obſerve the ſame †.

John repents of ſigning the charters. M. Par. The obſervation of an hiſtorian, on the like occaſion, is very pertinent here, "that "the king did not deſign to bind himſelf with "chains of parchment"; for all the precautions of the barons ſerved only to make him the more ſollicitous to find out means, to free himſelf from a yoke, that to him ſeemed intolerable. Thoſe, who attended him being, for the moſt part, foreigners, alſo inflamed his reſentment, by aggravating the pride and inſolence of the barons; for, as they knew, that theſe charters, which preſcribed bounds to the regal power, muſt be prejudicial to them, they inceſſantly repreſented to him, how injurious he had been to himſelf, in ſubſcribing them; and, in a word, all their diſcourſes turned upon this ſingle point, to put him upon meaſures to deliver himſelf from his ſubjection. They ſoon ſucceeded in their deſign; but the main difficulty lay in the execution of it. This unhappy prince, continually tormented by his own thoughts, and the virulent reproaches of his courtiers, grew ſo reſerved and melancholy, as ſufficiently expreſs'd his vexation; for, tho' he projected means to be revenged, he was at a loſs for men and money, to that purpoſe; and he could diſcover no other remedy, than to apply to the barons themſelves, againſt whom they were intended, which was entirely impracticable. At laſt, his deſpair ſuggeſted to him a way of raiſing troops, tho' he was not in a condition to pay them; viz. to ſend ſome of his confidents into France, Germany, and Flanders, with orders to promiſe ſuch, as would enter into his ſervice, the confiſcated eſtates of the rebellious barons, as he was pleaſed to ſtile them; and he farther empowered theſe agents to make grants, before-hand, of the lands of the Engliſh lords, and to paſs the deeds in form. Thus, William the Conqueror had formerly aſſembled a numerous army, which rendered him maſter of England; and his followers were amply rewarded. The conſideration of the noble eſtates, theſe had acquired in the kingdom, led others now to try the ſame experiment, in expectation of the ſame advantages; for, at all times, there are too many ambitious or deſperate perſons, who greedily catch at all opportunities of enriching themſelves, without any regard to the juſtice or injuſtice of the cauſe they eſpouſe. 1215.

He demands the popes aid. Act. Pub. M. Par. In the mean while, John, to ſecure the court of Rome, ſent a letter to the pope ††, informing him of the conſtraint put upon him, though, as he aſſures him, he had proteſted, that, being a vaſſal of the holy ſee, he could do nothing, without his conſent; and, at the ſame time, he ſent a copy of the charters, intreating his holineſs to obſerve, that all the articles were ſo many incroachments on the regal power, and conſequently on the lord paramount. Thus, he flatter'd the pope, in the moſt ſenſible part; and, on this foundation, he requeſted him to abſolve him from his oath, that he might, with a ſafe conſcience, exert himſelf, to ſhake off this yoke. Having taken theſe meaſures, with all poſſible ſecrecy, the more effectually to prevent a diſcovery of his intentions, he choſe the Iſle of Wight, for the place of his reſidence; where, for a conſiderable time, he converſed only with fiſhermen and ſailors, and diverted himſelf, by walking on the ſea-ſhore with his domeſticks. When it came to be known, that the king was retired to the Iſle of Wight, people were, in vain, inquiſitive, about the cauſe of his retreat; ſome jocoſely ſaid, that he was become a fiſherman, or merchant; and others, that he deſigned to turn pyrate; but, tho' he was no ſtranger to theſe ſcoffs, he entirely diſregarded them, and, during three months, waited patiently, for the return of his agents and the arrival of the foreign troops.

Innocent threatens the barons. M. Par. As for the court of Rome, Innocent fell into a moſt

* Charta Communium Libertatum, or Magna Charta. M. Par.

† According to another agreement printed in Dr. Brady's Appendix, the city of London was to remain in the hands of the barons, till the 15th of Auguſt, that year; and the archbiſhop was to hold the tower, for the ſaid term. Vid. Rymer's Fœdera.

†† John's letter to the pope concludes, thus: "Pro certo habentes, quod poſt Deum, perſonam veſtram, & auctoritatem ſedis apoſtolicæ, habemus unicum & ſingulare præſidium, &, ſub veſtri confidentia patrocinii, reſpiramus." Rapin.

1215. a moſt violent paſſion with the barons, for preſuming, without conſulting him, to oblige their ſovereign to ſign ſuch charters, and lay a conſtraint upon a prince, who had taken the croſs, and was under the church's protection; and, in his rage, he ſwore, by St. Peter, that, at all adventures, their raſhneſs ſhould not paſs with impunity. He likewiſe ſent them a letter, enjoining them to renounce what they had extorted from their king; but the barons, deſpiſing his injunctions, and without any dread of his thunders, ſeized on Rocheſter, which cardinal Langton put into their hands *; where they found a prodigious quantity of ammunition, laid in by the king, for his own occaſions, which, perhaps, was the reaſon of their taking that place.

He annuls the charters, and abſolves the king from his oath.

In the interim, the pope annulling the two charters, and abſolving the king from his oath, John's affairs began to aſſume a new aſpect, by the intelligence he received, that his agents had enliſted great numbers of adventurers in his ſervice; upon which, he, with all ſpeed, quitted the Iſle of Wight, and went to Dover; where he had the ſatisfaction to ſee vaſt multitudes arrive from Brabant, Flanders, Normandy, Poictou, and Gaſcoigne, all of them ſoldiers of fortune, and ready to venture their lives, for an eſtate. Theſe adventurers were ſo numerous, that the hiſtorians, who mention their number, are ſcarce to be credited; but, by a ſudden accident, Hugh de Boves, one of the leaders, with 40,000 men, periſhed in the ſea. If theſe had ſafely landed, John might, doubtleſs, have treated the Normans ſettled in England, as William the Conqueror had formerly done the Engliſh; tho' there were troops enough ſtill left, to enable him to trample on the barons, who little expected ſuch a ſurprizing revolution. The king, firſt of all, beſieged Rocheſter, which, after a long reſiſtance, ſurrendered, at laſt, in ſpite of the attempts of the barons to throw in ſome ſuccours; and he was ſo highly incenſed, that he would have hanged the whole garriſon, if the generals had not repreſented to him, that he would expoſe his own troops to the ſame barbarous uſage †. Upon this ſucceſs, he divided his army into two bodies, giving the command of one to his natural brother, the earl of Salisbury, in order to ravage the ſouthern counties; whilſt he, with the other, marched into the northern parts, to make them feel the effects of his reſentment. England was never in ſuch deplorable circumſtances, having two armies of rapacious foreigners in her very bowels, who made moſt terrible devaſtations; and we may naturally conclude, that they did not ſpare the houſes and lands of the barons, who, finding that they were not in a condition to appear in the field, retired to London.

He excommunicates the barons.

In the mean time, the pope thundered out an excommunication againſt the barons, ordering Pandulph and the biſhop of Rocheſter, to enjoin cardinal Langton, in his name, to publiſh the bull; but the archbiſhop, under the pretence that the pope was impoſed upon, refuſed to comply, till he had himſelf acquainted his holineſs with all the particulars; tho', the truth is, he could not reſolve to proceed againſt thoſe, whom he had himſelf encouraged to take up arms againſt the king. Upon this, the two commiſſioners publiſhed the excommunication themſelves, and ſuſpended the archbiſhop, purſuant to their orders; but the barons, pretending that they were not particularly named in the bull, perſiſted in their endeavours to defend themſelves againſt the king. As for Langton, he was ſent for to Rome, where he was in danger of being depoſed; but the pope, relenting at the ſollicitations of the other cardinals, only confirmed his ſuſpenſion. Some time after, he voided his brother Simon's election, who was choſen archbiſhop of York, and placed his enemy, Walter de Grey, in his room; from whom, however, he exacted, for his pall, 10,000 l. ſterling ‡, for the occaſions of the holy ſee; and, after ſeveral mortifications at Rome, Langton's ſuſpenſion was, at laſt, taken off, on condition that he would not return to England, till the commotions were entirely appeaſed.

The barons are again excommunicated. Act. Pub.

Innocent alſo publiſhed another bull, in which the barons were excommunicated, by name; and their lands were laid under an interdict, as well as the city of London, which had eſpouſed their cauſe. As the barons expected this ſecond bull, they were determined to overlook it, and prevent the publication of it in London; alledging that it was obtained by falſe ſuggeſtions, and conſequently invalid; that, beſides, the pope had no right to interfere in temporal affairs, ſince St. Peter received from Chriſt only ſpiritual power; and, therefore, it was neither juſt nor reaſonable, that chriſtians ſhould tamely ſubmit to be governed, by the ambition and avarice of the popes. One would not have imagined, that they, who diſcourſed in this ſtrain, were the very perſons who refuſed to ſerve the king, becauſe he was excommunicated, if there were not 1000 inſtances to prove, how apt men are to ſquare their opinions by their intereſts; yet the pope had the mortification to find his authority deſpiſed, without being able to help it, becauſe the people were againſt him; in which, caſe, his thunders are always ineffectual. In the mean while, John continued his ravages in the kingdom, and eſpecially in the lands of the confederate barons; and numberleſs outrages and cruelties were committed, on this occaſion, which increaſed the animoſity of the barons againſt the king.

Such was the wretched ſtate of the confederate barons, that they, at laſt, came to a deſperate

* Qui, qua conſcientia neſcio, illud regis inimicis tradidit. M. Par. Rapin.

† William de Albiney, whom the barons had made governor under the archbiſhop, William de Lancaſter, William de Emesford, and ſome others, were ſent priſoners to Corf-caſtle; but the common ſoldiers, except the croſs-bow-men, were all hanged. M. Paris.

‡ From hence it may be conjectured, what immenſe ſums of money the pope, in thoſe days, extorted out of England, as well as the vaſt riches of the clergy; when an archbiſhop was to pay the pope as much, as would now be equal to 50,000 l. It is ſaid, he was promoted to the ſee of York, for not having known a woman.

1215. ſperate reſolution, to hazard their own ruin with that of the whole kingdom, to have the ſatisfaction of being revenged on the king; and, with this view, they acquainted the king of France, that, if he would ſend over prince Lewis, his ſon, they would place him on the throne of England, provided he brought ſufficient forces, to deliver them from the tyranny of their preſent ſovereign. Nothing could be more agreeable to Philip, than this propoſal of the barons, who, once before, was intent upon the conqueſt of that iſland; and, if the loſs of his fleet, more than the pope's menaces, obliged him to deſiſt from his undertaking, he was ſtill ardently deſirous of accompliſhing it, upon a proper occaſion. The rupture between John and the barons giving him a favourable opportunity, he embraced it immediately; demanding only from the barons 25 hoſtages, for the performance of their promiſe; but, theſe hoſtages being arrived at Paris, prince Lewis, then in Languedoc warring againſt the Albigenſes, came to the king, his father, to prepare for this important expedition; and, ſending directly ſome troops to the barons, he aſſured them, that he would ſoon follow, in perſon, with more powerful ſuccours.

1216. Great preparations in France. M. Par.

The pope, receiving the news of theſe preparations in France, diſpatched Gallo, as his legate thither; who, having obtained an audience of the king, prohibited him, in the pope's name, to carry his arms into England, which was a part of St. Peter's patrimony, and threatened all perſons with excommunication, that ſhould, directly or indirectly, aſſiſt the Engliſh barons. Philip replied, that England was no patrimony of St. Peter, becauſe John could not ſubject his kingdom, without the conſent of the ſtates; that ſuch an extraordinary act was beyond the power of any king; and that the maxims, which his holineſs would introduce, were too prejudicial to all ſtates to be admitted *; yet this was the very ſame perſon, who, three years before, thought, that he was intitled to England, by the ſole authority of the pope. However, this is an inconteſtable proof, that the pope's exorbitant power was not allowed, from a religious principle, but from a motive of intereſt or fear; and from it we find, that, that the court of Rome, at certain times, met with mortifications, which ſhe readily connived at; whilſt, on other occaſions, ſhe exerted her authority, in the moſt haughty and imperious manner.

Lewis lands in England.

Lewis, in ſpite of the pope's prohibition, was ſoon in a readineſs to embarque for England, with a fleet of 700 ſail; whilſt John, tho' he went to Dover, upon the firſt notice of the deſigns of the French, not thinking himſelf in a condition to hinder their deſcent, retired to Wincheſter; inſomuch that Lewis landed his troops at Sandwich, without the leaſt interruption. After this, he marched a- 1216. gainſt Rocheſter, which made but a feint reſiſtance; and the taking of that city drew after it the whole county of Kent, except Dover-caſtle, where John had left an able garriſon, under Hubert de Burgh, who was a brave and faithful governor.

The abbot of St. Auguſtin excommunicates him. Thorn.

In the interim, the pope ſent Gallo, his legate, orders to repair into England, and to publiſh the bull of excommunication againſt the barons; and, at the ſame time, he empowered the abbot of St. Auguſtin's, to denounce prince Lewis excommunicated, the very moment he landed in England. Lewis, to divert this blow, repreſented to the abbot in a letter, his right to the crown of England; alledging, among other reaſons, that, as John aſcended the throne, only by the conſent of the barons, the ſame authority might depoſe him, and place another in his room; but the abbot, who was not convinced by his arguments, declared prince Lewis and his adherents excommunicated, purſuant to the pope's expreſs orders; yet this could not deter that prince from his undertaking. As ſoon as he was poſſeſs'd of Rocheſter he marched to London; where the barons and citizens ſwore allegiance to him, upon his ſolemn oath to reſtore to all their loſt eſtates, and to the nation their antient privileges. It does not appear, from the Engliſh hiſtorians, that this prince was crowned; tho' it is certain, that he diſpoſed of every thing relating to the government, as if he had been lawfully inveſted with the regal authority. He made Simon Langton his chancellor; who, being exaſperated againſt the pope, prevailed on the barons and Londoners to contemn his cenſures, and, in ſpite of the interdict, to attend divine ſervice, which was celebrated, as uſual; and Lewis readily conſented to what was ſo agreeable to his own intentions. He foreſaw theſe obſtacles, before he engaged in this expedition; and he was, therefore, reſolutely determined to diſregard them; copying, in this, after his father and the French biſhops, who appealed to the pope, when better informed, from the ſentence of interdict denounced on the whole kingdom †; for appeals to a future general council were not, then, much in uſe, nor the commodious diſtinction between the holy ſee and the perſon of the pope. M. Par.

Lewis makes great progreſs. M. Par. An. Waverl.

Lewis's party being daily augmented, as he continued his progreſs, he quickly ſubdued moſt of the ſouthern counties; and then he marched towards Norfolk and Suffolk, which alſo ſubmitted to him. During theſe ſucceſſes, he met with no oppoſition, except from William de Collingham, who, with 1000 archers, cloſely following the prince's army, attacked the French that ſtraggled, for the ſake of plunder. Soon after, Lewis's adherents in the north took the city of York, and intreated him to

* All the great men of France unanimouſly declared, that they would maintain, even to death, "That no king "or prince, without the conſent of the barons, could give away, or reſign his kingdom, and thereby enſlave his "nobility." M. Par.

† Pope Boniface the VIII, upon a quarrel with Philip, excommunicated him, and abſolved his ſubjects from their allegiance; which ſo highly incenſed him, that he procured the pope to be condemned in a ſynod, for ſimony, murder, atheiſm, adultery, &c. and his bull, which he aſſerted, that he was ſupreme lord, in temporal affairs, was burnt by the parliament of Paris, and by the ſtates of France, who declared againſt the papal uſurpations.

he

1216. come into thoſe parts, to compleat the conqueſt of all the country beyond the Humber; but, whilſt he was making preparations for it, he received a letter from his father; reproving him, for leaving behind him the caſtles of Dover and Windſor, which were of greater importance than the northern counties. Upon this, he returned to beſiege Dover; whilſt the Engliſh barons inveſted Windſor. About this time, Alexander I. king of Scotland, purſuant to Lewis's ſummons, came and did him homage, in perſon, for the lands he held of the crown of England; upon which, the prince and the barons ſwore, that they never would make peace, without his knowledge; tho' this promiſe was not afterwards punctually performed. Preſently after, John was deſerted by the Flemiſh and Poictevin troops; for Lewis found means to entice them from his ſervice.

He vindicates his claim to England, before the pope. M. Par.

In the mean while, the ambaſſadors, the prince diſpatched to Rome, exerted their utmoſt skill, to vindicate their maſter's pretenſions to the crown of England; and they chiefly inſiſted on his marriage with Blanche of Caſtile, alledging that, John being lawfully depoſed by the barons, the crown was devolved to Blanche, his niece *. The pope objected, that, admitting that John was lawfully depoſed, his children ought not to be involved in the ſame misfortune; and, ſuppoſing his children, young as they were, to be partakers of their father's crimes, Eleanor of Bretagne, Arthur's ſiſter, who was ſtill alive, preceded all others; and, finally, that the emperor Otho, ſon of Henry II's eldeſt daughter, ought certainly to have the preference to Blanche of Caſtile, who was born of the youngeſt. The ambaſſadors anſwered, that, Eleanor's father and Otho's mother being deceaſed, repreſentation could not take place; but, as the mother of Blanche was ſtill living, her daughter might juſtly repreſent her; but the pope replied, why ſhould Blanche be preferred to the king of Caſtile, her brother, and the queen of Leon, her eldeſt ſiſter? This queſtion was not eaſy to be reſolved; but, as the ambaſſadors, on this occaſion, were, not ſo ſollicitous, about the reaſon of the thing, as to advance ſome plauſible allegations, in order to ſatisfy the pope, they were not at a loſs, for an anſwer; affirming that, when there were ſeveral heirs, and the next of kin did not appear and put in his claim, a more diſtant relation might take poſſeſſion of the inheritance, ſaving to the other his right; and that, upon this foundation, their maſter had entered England; but, if afterwards a nearer than himſelf ſhould lay claim to it, he would be always ready to give him a reaſonable ſatisfaction. Innocent was obliged to acquieſce in this reply; as it ſhewed a deference to the pope, in debating the matter before him; tho', whatſoever his deciſion might be, Lewis was reſolved to proſecute his pretended right, which was founded more upon force than equity.

In the interim, John, who, till now, durſt not venture to take the field, leaving Winchester, marched into Norfolk and Suffolk, where he committed great ravages; but, hearing that the barons had raiſed the ſiege of Windſor, with a view of giving him battle, he retired to an advantageous poſt near Stanford; where it would have been extremely difficult to attack him. He took care not to hazard a battle, being apprehenſive, that the officers of his army, moſt of whom were ſubjects of the king of France, would, to be reconciled to Lewis, be guilty of ſome remarkable treachery; and, moreover, he expected ſome advantages, by prolonging the war; for he believed, that the Engliſh would, in a little time, become weary of the French, who already began to be very inſolent and aſſuming, and did not, in the leaſt, ſtudy to conform themſelves to their temper and manners; and, indeed, he had ſome reaſon to entertain theſe apprehenſions; for the barons were exceedingly diſguſted, to ſee all the rewards diſtributed to the foreigners, and their own eſtates beſtowed on the favourites of the prince, whom they had invited over, as if the Engliſh had no right to the conqueſts, that were made. However, all this, perhaps, would not have engaged them to take other meaſures, if what was diſcovered by the viſcount de Melun, one of Lewis's prime confidents, had not, in a manner, compelled them to provide for their own ſecurity. If certain authors may be credited, this nobleman, being ſeized by a mortal diſtemper, at London, ſent for ſuch of the barons, as were poſted there, to guard the city; to whom he declared, that he could no longer conceal a ſecret, which lay heavy on his conſcience, and, if not immediately diſcloſed to the Engliſh, would infallibly drag them to utter deſtruction. Then he repreſented to them, that the prince was reſolved to baniſh all the barons, that had taken up arms againſt king John, as traytors to their country; and he farther ſaid, that this reſolution was taken, in a council of 16 French lords, of which himſelf was one, and confirmed by the prince, with an oath. He aſſured them, upon the words of a dying man, that what he related was true; and he told them, that his veracity ought the leſs to be diſputed, as he was juſt on the point of appearing before the tribunal of God. The French hiſtorians ſtile this ſecret a fiction; and, indeed, it is not eaſy to conceive, what could be Lewis's motive, to make ſuch an oath, beforehand, in the preſence of 16 witneſſes, even on the ſuppoſition, that he deſigned to inſinuate, that this would be a means amply to reward their ſervices; for it would have been extremely imprudent to reveal ſo early ſuch a black deſign. However, whether this ſecret was real, or only invented to ſow diſſenſion between the French and the Engliſh, being whiſpered about, it made a very deep impreſſion on the minds of the barons; and it had the greater influence over them, as it agreed with their former ſuſpicions of the French. From this time, many repented of their calling in the foreigners; and no leſs than 40 ſecretly aſſured king John, that they

1216. John ravages Norfolk and Suffolk. Act. Pub. M. Weſt.

The viſcount of Melun diſcovers a ſecret to the barons. Knight. M. Par.

* Mathew Paris has given a particular account of the arguments advanced, pro and con; which contains not only the clear ſtate of this controverſy, but alſo many curious points, with reſpect to the feudal law of that age.

1216. they would return to their allegiance; but the reſt durſt not confide in a prince, whom they had ſo greatly offended, being too well acquainted with his cruel and revengeful diſpoſition.

John carries his crown to Lynn.

In the mean while, that unfortunate prince, not knowing whom to truſt, being jealous even of his own friends, inceſſantly marched, from place to place, to diſconcert the meaſures of his enemies; but, thinking himſelf ſafeſt in the county of Norfolk, he choſe the little town of Lynn to be the repoſitory of his treaſures, his crown and ſceptre, and other things of value; and this town had expreſſed ſuch affection and loyalty for him, that, among other preat privileges that he granted it, as marks of his gratitude, he made it a mayor-town, and preſented the firſt mayor with his own ſword, which is carefully preſerved there, to this day. However, being preſs'd by the barons, he determined to remove his treaſures from Lynn to a certain place in Lincolnſhire, where he intended to retire; and he very narrowly eſcaped drowning with his whole army, in a large marſh *, that parts the two counties of Lincoln and Norfolk. Before he was quite over the tide, coming up the river Well-ſtream, which overflows the marſh-land, at high-water, expoſed him to the greateſt danger; but, tho' he eſcaped himſelf, all his baggage, was ſwallowed up by the waters. He arrived, that night, at Swine's-head-abbey, where he lodged; but his vexation for his loſs, which, in his preſent condition, was irretrievable, threw him into a violent fever, which was the more inflamed, by inconſiderately eating peaches; and, the next day, not being able to ride, he was carried in a litter to Sleford-caſtle; from whence, the day after, he proceeded to Newark. Here the king, perceiving his illneſs to increaſe, made his will, and appointed Henry, his eldeſt ſon, then only 10 years of age, to be his heir; and the care of his ſalvation employed his thoughts, during the reſidue of his ſickneſs, which put an end to his life, on the 18th of

His death.

October, 1216, in the 51ſt year of his age, after an unhappy reign of 17 years, 7 months,

T. Wikes. Knighton. Hemingf.

and 10 days. His body was removed to Worceſter, purſuant to his own order, and interr'd, with little funeral pomp, in the cathedral; where his tomb, with his image upon it, is to be ſeen, at this day †. Some relate, that he was poiſoned by a monk of Swine's-head-abbey; but this is very improbable, ſince it is not taken notice of by any of the contemporary hiſtorians.

John's character.

If this prince's character be drawn, from Matthew Paris, his chief hiſtorian, he muſt be repreſented, as one of the vileſt wretches that ever lived; but, as I have elſewhere remarked, the hiſtories of princes, who had any conteſts with the court of Rome, are to be very cautiouſly peruſed; and, therefore, in my opinion, to come at the truth, it is moſt expedient ſolely to examine the actions of this monarch, in order to trace his temper and inclinations. It muſt be confeſs'd, that his unjuſt proceedings naturally conveigh a very diſadvantageous idea of him, when we conſider his injurious treatment of Richard, his brother; the death of prince Arthur, of which he never fully acquitted himſelf; the perpetual impriſonment of Eleanor of Bretagne, his niece; his putting away Aviſa of Glouceſter; his extreme indolence, when Philip Auguſtus was employed in ſubduing his dominions in France; his ignominious reſignation of his crown to the pope; the breach of his faith with the barons; and his calling in an army of foreign mercenaries, to be revenged on his own ſubjects. However, after all that has been ſaid, if one was diſpoſed to undertake his vindication, with reſpect to moſt of theſe articles, it would not, perhaps, be ſo difficult, as it ſeems, at firſt view; but, without entering upon a ſubject, which would carry me too far, I ſhall only apply to this prince what I have already obſerved, concerning William Rufus; that, finding in king John ſcarce a ſingle valuable quality, it is not worth while to make a digreſſion, to juſtify ſome particular actions; tho' it is evident, that the writers of his life have painted him, in blacker colours than he deſerved. This prince had great failings; yet they would not have been ſo viſible or ſo aggravated by the hiſtorians, had he been contemporary with a king of France leſs politick and ambitious, a pope of leſs pride and more conſcience, and a nobility leſs turbulent and factious. As for levying taxes, without the conſent of the ſtates, it had been often practiſed, ſince the Norman conqueſt, as the reader muſt have remarked, in ſome former reigns; and yet ſeveral modern hiſtorians ſharply exclaim againſt him, as if, in thoſe days, England enjoyed the ſame privileges, as at preſent; whereas it is notorious, that the caſe was otherwiſe then, when there was a neceſſity to recur to the time of the Saxon monarchy, to diſcover the very foundations of thoſe privileges.

1216.

John's fortune never ſuited his natural temper; for, tho' he was a lover of eaſe and quiet, he was perpetually involved in troubles. He was fit neither for proſperity nor adverſity, the former rendering him extremely inſolent, and the latter, to the laſt degree, dejected; ſo that, doubtleſs, a middle ſtate of life would have moſt been agreeable to his diſpoſition.

M. Par. Hemingford.

He is charged with exceeding Henry II, his father, in luſt; a vice of which princes are ſeldom very reproachfully accuſed, unleſs with a determined view of defaming him for other reaſons. It cannot be denied, that the monks have attempted to repreſent him, in the moſt odious light, in order to excuſe the pope's proceedings againſt him; which is manifeſt from the calumny they caſt upon his memory, in

* The waſhes between a place, ſtiled the Croſs-Keys, in Norfolk, and Forſdike in Holland in Lincolnſhire.

† His tomb of grey marble is placed between the choir and the high altar; the figure of the king, as large as the life, and the biſhops, St. Oſwald and St. Wulſtan, at his head, in little, with their cenſers in their hands, are carved in ſtone, which ſeems to be as antient, as the time of Henry III; but the altar-tomb, on which it is placed is of a modern fabrick. There is no inſcription. Sandf. Geneal.

aſſerting,

1216. asſerting, that he ſent ambaſſadors to the Miramolin of Africa, with an offer of his kingdom, and a promiſe to embrace the Mahometan religion, which is altogether improbable. However, ſome modern hiſtorians affirm it, for a truth; believing that Matthew Paris *, who wrote in the reign of Henry III, John's ſon, would not have preſumed to advance it, had it been groundleſs; but this argument does not ſeem to be concluſive, ſince that author has even expreſs'd himſelf in very diſreſpectful terms of Henry III, without any dread of his reſentment, from which, perhaps, he was ſcreened, when he wrote; and, beſides, books in thoſe days, were not immediately diſperſed, remaining often a great while concealed in the monaſteries, before they were publiſhed.

John was ever unfortunate; and, if we may give credit to the hiſtorians, always deteſted by his own ſubjects; tho' this conſtant hatred of the Engliſh is not to be reconciled with the great eaſe, with which he levied his armies, and even whilſt he lay under the ſentence of excommunication. We muſt, therefore, diſtinguiſh two periods in his reign; in the firſt of which, from his coronation to his reſignation of the crown to the pope, if he was not greatly eſteemed, it, at leaſt, does not appear, that he was ſo odious, as he was afterwards rendered by his imprudent conduct. The ſecond period, commencing at his reſignation, ends with his life; during which, it muſt be confeſſed, that his ſubjects had an extreme averſion to him; and yet, if his government be conſidered abſtractly from his perſonal qualities, it may be ſaid, that he was not one of the worſt of kings. He was the firſt or chief, that appointed thoſe excellent forms of civil government in London, and moſt other cities in the kingdom; and, according to Camden and others, the firſt that coined ſterling money. The ceremonies, obſerved in the creation of earls, owe their original to this prince; and, in fine, he eſtabliſhed the Engliſh laws in Ireland, and granted the cinque-ports the privileges they enjoy, at this day †. Knighton.

1216.

John had no iſſue by his two firſt wives; but, by Iſabella of Angouleme, his third wife, he had two ſons and three daughters. Henry was his ſucceſſor; and Richard was earl of Cornwall, tho' afterwards elected king of the Romans. Of his three daughters, Johanna was married to Alexander II, king of Scotland; Eleanor was eſpouſed firſt to William Marſhall, earl of Pembroke, but, after his deceaſe, to Simon de Montfort, earl of Leiceſter; and Iſabella was given in marriage to the emperor Frederick II, ‡. His wives and iſſue.

The moſt important foreign events, during this reign, were the taking of Conſtantinople by the arms of the French and Venetians, in 1204, and the Cruſade againſt the Albigenſes **, which gave riſe to the inquiſition ††. Remarkable foreign events.

* He not only mentions the names of the ambaſſadors, viz. Thomas Hardington and Ralph Fitz-Nicholas, Knights, with Robert of London, a prieſt, but likewiſe deſcribes, at large, the manner of the audience they had of the black king; and how he deſpiſed their maſter, for his meanneſs of his ſpirit, and diſmiſs'd them with contempt. He likewiſe relates, that John, ſome time after he had made his peace with Innocent, declared, "That nothing had ſuc-"ceeded with him, ſince he was reconciled to God and the pope"; and, that, after a hunting, at the opening of a ſtag, he ſhould have ſaid, "See, how fat that deer is! and yet I dare ſwear he never heard maſs." M. Par.

† Becauſe they obliged themſelves, and their heirs, to provide the king, upon a reaſonable ſummons, 80 able veſſels, at their own charges, for 40 days, and, after that, to receive wages from the king. Knighton.

‡ He had alſo five natural ſons, viz. Richard, Geoffrey Fitz-Roy, Sir John Courcy, Osbert Giffard, and Oliver, and a daughter, named Joan, from whom many noble families are deſcended. Vid. Sandf. Geneal.

** About the year 1160, Waldo, a merchant of Lyons, who applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the ſcriptures, finding that there were no grounds for ſeveral of the Romiſh doctrines, particularly, tranſubſtantiation, publickly oppoſed them; and his followers, after him, were named Waldenſes, who, being chaced from Lyons, overſpread Dauphine and Provence. It is ſaid, that, to prevent their growth, Philip Auguſtus razed 300 gentlemen's ſeats, and deſtroyed ſeveral fortified towns; but, inſtead of extirpating them, this only diſperſed them over a great part of Europe, and they multiplied ſo faſt, that, in leſs than a century after Waldo, in the ſmall biſhoprick of Paſſau alone, there were upwards of 80,000. The articles of their faith, which they drew up and dedicated to the king of France, prove, that they agreed, in moſt points, with the preſent proteſtants; and, in 1200, in the province of Albigeois in Languedoc, from whence they were ſtiled Albigenſes, they ſtood upon their own defence; but Philip, warring againſt them, expelled them into Bohemia and Savoy, and ſeveral retired into England. The Cruſade againſt them, it is reported, conſiſted of 500,000 men, who wore their croſſes on their breaſts, to be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe that went to the Holy-Land, who wore them on their ſhoulders.

†† Pope Gregory IX. was the firſt that erected this horrid tribunal, eſtabliſhing it at Tholouſe, where it was ſoon pulled down, on the account of its cruelties. Italy and Spain embraced it; but Charles V, attempting to ſet it up in the Low-Countries, by this means, loſt thoſe provinces. This court is under the direction of the Dominicans, and takes cognizance of hereſy, Judaiſm, &c. and the delinquents, being confined in dungeons, never ſee the light, till they accuſe themſelves and their accomplices; for they never know or are confronted with their accuſers. The congregation of the inquiſition was eſtabliſhed by Paul III, and confirmed by Sixtus V, conſiſting of 12 cardinals and a great number of prelates and divines; and the cardinals are inquiſitors general, who depute ſubſtitutes in the provinces.

* Charta regis WILLIELMI Conquiſitoris.

WILLIELMUS rex Anglorum, dux Normannorum, omnibus hominibus ſuis Francis & Anglis, ſalutem.

De religione & pace publica.

I. Statuimus imprimis ſuper omnia, unum Deum per totum regnum noſtrum venerari, unam fidem Chriſti ſemper inviolatam cuſtodiri, pacem, & ſecuritatem & concordiam, judicium & juſtitiam inter Anglos & Normannos, Francos & Britones Walliæ & Cornubiæ, Pictos, & Scotos Albaniæ, ſimiliter inter Francos & Inſulanos, provincias & patrias, quæ pertinent ad coronam & dignitatem, defenſionem & obſervationem & honorem regni noſtri, & inter omnes nobis ſubjectos per univerſam monarchiam regni Britanniæ firmiter & inviolabiliter obſervari. Ita quod nullus alii forisfaciat in ullo ſuper forisfacturam noſtram plenam.

De fide & obſequio erga regem.

II. Statuimus etiam, ut omnes liberi homines fœdere & ſacramento affirment, quod intra & extra univerſum regnum Angliæ (quod olim vocabatur regnum Britanniæ) Willielmo regi domino ſuo fideles eſſe volunt, terras & honores illius omni fidelitate ubique ſervare cum eo, & contra inimicos & alienigenas defendere.

De Normanni ſeu Francigenæ cæde.

III. Volumus autem & firmiter præcipimus, ut omnes homines, quos nobiſcum adduximus, aut poſt nos venerint, ſint ſub protectione & in pace noſtra per univerſum regnum prædictum; & ſi quis de illis occiſus fuerit, dominus ejus habeat intra V dies homicidam ejus ſi poterit; ſin autem, incipiat perſolvere nobis XLVI marcas argenti, quamdiu ſubſtantia domini illius perduraverit: ubi vero ſubſtantia domini defecerit, totus hundredus, in quo occiſio facta eſt, communiter ſolvat quod remanet.

De jure Normannorum qui ante adventum regis Gulielmi cives fuerant Anglicani.

IV. Et omnis Francigena, qui tempore Edwardi propinqui noſtri fuit in Anglia particeps conſuetudinum Anglorum, quod ipſi dicunt † Anhlote & Anſcote, perſolvat ſecundum legem Anglorum.

De clientelari ſeu feudorum jure, & ingenuorum immunitate.

V. Volumus etiam ac firmiter præcipimus & concedimus, ut omnes liberi homines totius monarchiæ regni noſtri prædicti, habeant & teneant terras ſuas & poſſeſſiones ſuas bene & in pace, libere ab omni exactione injuſta, & ab omni tallagio, ita quod nichil ab eis exigatur vel capiatur, niſi ſervicium ſuum liberum, quod de jure nobis facere debent & facere tenentur; & prout ſtatutum eſt eis & illis a nobis datum & conceſſum jure hæreditario imperpetuum, per commune concilium totius regni noſtri prædicti.

De nocturnis cuſtodiis.

VI. Statuimus etiam & firmiter præcipimus, ut omnes civitates & burgi & caſtella & hundredi & wapentachia totius regni noſtri prædicti, ſingulis noctibus vigilentur & cuſtodiantur in gyrum, pro maleficis & inimicis, prout vicecomes & aldermanni, & præpoſiti & cæteri ballivi & miniſtri noſtri melius, per commune concilium ad utilitatem regni, providebunt.

De menſuris & ponderibus.

VII. Et quod habeant per univerſum regnum menſuras fideliſſimas & ſignatas, & pondera fideliſſima & ſignata, ſicut boni prædeceſſores ſtatuerunt.

De clientum ſeu vaſſallorum præſtationibus.

VIII. Statuimus etiam & firmiter præcipimus, ut omnes comites & barones, milites, & ſervientes, & univerſi liberi homines totius regni noſtri prædicti, habeant & teneant ſe ſemper bene in armis & in equis, ut decet & oportet, & quod ſint ſemper prompti & bene parati ad ſervicium ſuum integrum nobis explendum & peragendum, cum ſemper opus adfuerit, ſecundum quod nobis debent de feodis & tenementis ſuis, de jure facere, & ſicut illis ſtatuimus, per commune concilium totius regni noſtri prædicti, & illis dedimus & conceſſimus in feodo jure hæreditario; hoc præceptum non ſit violatum ullo modo, ſuper forisfacturam noſtram plenam.

Ut jura regia illæſa ſervare pro viribus conentur ſubditi.

IX. Statuimus etiam & firmiter præcipimus, ut omnes liberi homines totius regni noſtri prædicti ſint fratres conjurati ad monarchiam noſtram & ad regnum noſtrum pro viribus ſuis & facultatibus, contra inimicos pro poſſe ſuo defendendum & viriliter ſervandum, & pacem & dignitatem coronæ noſtræ integram obſervandam, & ad judicium rectum, & juſtitiam conſtanter omnibus modis pro poſſe ſuo ſine dolo & ſine dilatione faciendam. [Hoc decretum ſancitum eſt in civitate London.]

Ne venditio & emptio fiat niſi coram teſtibus & in civitatibus.

X. Interdicimus etiam, ut nulla viva ‡ pecunia vendatur aut ematur niſi intra civitates, & hoc ante tres fideles teſtes, nec aliquam rem vetitam, ſine fidejuſſore & warranto: quod ſi

* Printed in Mr. Lombard's Archaionom. and in Sir Roger Twiſden's edition of the ſame work, from the antient manuſcript copy in the Red Book in the exchequer. † i. e. Payment of ſcot and lot. ‡ i. e. Pecus.

aliter

aliter fecerit, ſolvat & perſolvat & poſtea forisfacturam.

De emporiis & jure urbium, pagorumque notæ melioris.

XI. Item nullum mercatum vel forum ſit, nec fieri permittantur, niſi in civitatibus regni noſtri, in burgis & muro vallatis, & in caſtellis & in locis tutiſſimis, ubi conſuetudines regni noſtri & jus noſtrum commune & dignitatis coronæ noſtræ, quæ conſtituta ſunt a bonis prædeceſſoribus noſtris deperiri non poſſunt, nec defraudari, nec violari, ſed omnia rite & in aperto & per judicium & juſtitiam fieri debent. Et ideo caſtella, & burgi & civitates ſitæ ſunt & fundatæ, & ædificatæ, ſcilicet, ad tuitionem gentium & populorum regni, & ad defenſionem regni, & idcirco obſervari debent cum omni libertate & integritate & ratione.

De purgatione forenſi in judiciis publicis.

XII. Decretum eſt etiam * ibi, ut ſi Francigena appellaverit Anglum de perjurio aut murdro, furto, homicidio, (Ran quod dicunt) apertam rapinam quæ negari non poteſt, Anglus ſe defendat per quod melius voluerit, aut judicio ferri, aut duello: Si autem Anglus infirmus fuerit, inveniat alium, qui pro eo faciat: Si quis eorum victus fuerit, emendet regi XL ſolid. Si autem Anglus Francigenam appellaverit, & probare voluerit judicio aut duello, volo tunc Francigenam purgare ſe ſacramento, non ferro.

Firmantur leges Edwardi regis.

XIII. Hoc quoque præcipimus, ut omnes habeant & teneant leges Edwardi regis in omnibus rebus, adauctis his, quas conſtituimus ad utilitatem Anglorum.

De juſtitiæ publicæ fidejuſſoribus.

XIV. Omnis homo qui voluerit ſe teneri pro libero, ſit in plegio, ut plegius eum habeat ad juſtitiam, ſi quid offenderit, & quiſquam evaſerit, talium videant plegii, ut ſolvant, quod calumniatum eſt, & purgent ſe quodam evaſo nullam fraudem noverint. Requiratur hundredus & comitatus (ſicut anteceſſores ſtatuerunt) & qui juſte venire debent & noluerint, ſummoneantur ſemel; & ſi ſecundo non venerint, accipiatur unus bos; & ſi tertio, alius bos; & ſi quarto, reddatur de rebus hujus hominis quod calumniatum eſt, quod dicitur Ceathgel, & inſuper regis forisfactura.

De ſervis & eorum manumiſſione.

XV. Et prohibemus ut nullus vendat hominem extra patriam; ſi qui vero velit ſervum ſuum liberum facere, tradat eum vicecomiti per manum dextram in pleno comitatu, quietum illum clamare debet a jugo ſervitutis ſuæ per manumiſſionem, & oſtendat ei liberas vias & portas, & tradat illi libera arma, ſcil. lanceam & gladium, deinde liber homo efficitur.

De ſervis.

XVI. Item ſi ſervi permanſerint ſine calumnia per annum & diem in civitatibus noſtris, vel in burgis muro vallatis, vel in caſtris noſtris, a die illa liberi efficiuntur, & liberi a jugo ſervitutis ſuæ ſint imperpetuum.

De ſuppliciorum modo.

XVII. Interdicimus etiam, ne quis occidatur vel ſuſpendatur pro aliqua culpa, ſed enerventur oculi & abſcidantur pedes, vel teſticuli vel manus, ita quod truncus remaneat vivus in ſignum proditionis & nequitiæ ſuæ, ſecundum enim quantitatem delicti debet pœna maleficis infligi: iſta præcepta non ſint violata ſuper forifacturam noſtram plenam. Teſtibus, &c.

Alia charta continens inſtitutiones ſive leges regis Willielmi; quæ videntur additiones prioribus §.

Willielmus Dei gratia, rex Anglorum, omnibus ad quos ſcriptum hoc perveniat, ſalutem & amicitiam, quod mando & præcipio per totam Angliæ nationem cuſtodiri.

De examine forenſi.

XVIII. Si Anglicus homo compellet aliquem Francigenam per ‡ bellum de furto vel homicidio vel aliqua re pro qua bellum fieri debeat, vel judicium inter duos homines, habeat plenam licentiam faciendi. Et ſi Anglicus bellum nolit, Francigena compellatus adlegiet ſe in jurejurando contra eum per ſuos teſtes ſecundum legem Normanniæ.

De eodem.

XIX. Item ſi Francigena compellet Anglicum per bellum de eiſdem rebus, Anglicus plena licentia defendat ſe per bellum vel per judicium, ſi magis ei placeat. Et ſi neutrum ſit, (id eſt invalidus) & nolit bellum vel non poſſet, quærat ſibi legalem defenſorem.

De eodem.

XX. Si Francigena victus fuerit, perſolvat regi LX ſolid. Et ſi Anglicus nolit ſe defendere per bellum vel per teſtimonium, adlegiet ſemper ** Dei judicium.

De examine forenſi.

XXI. De omnibus utlagariæ rebus, rex inſtituit, ut Anglicus ſe purget ad judicium; & ſi Anglicus appellet Francigenam, de utlagaria & hoc ſuper eum inveritare velit, defendat ſe Francigena per bellum. Et ſi Anglicus non audeat eum probare per bellum, defendat ſe Francigena pleno juramento, non in verborum obſervantiis.

* i. e. Londini.

§ Theſe are not in the Red Book of the exchequer, but to be found in Brompton's Chronicle, Col. 982. and are alſo in the manuſcript belonging to the dean and chapter of Rocheſter, called Textus Roffenſis. p. 47.

‡ i. e. battle or duel. ** i. e. Ordeal.

Charta libertatum regis HENRICI primi.

M. Paris. p. 55.

HENRICUS Dei gratia rex Angliæ, &c. Hugoni de Boclande vicecomiti & omnibus fidelibus ſuis tam Francis quam Anglicis in Herefordſyre, ſalutem. Sciatis me Dei miſericordia & communi concilio baronum, regni Angliæ regem eſſe coronatum.

I. Et quia regnum oppreſſum erat injuſtis exactionibus, ego reſpectu Dei & amore, quem ergo vos omnes habeo, ſanctam Dei eccleſiam liberam facio, ita quod nec eam vendam nec ad firmam ponam, nec mortuo archiepiſcopo vel epiſcopo, vel abbate, aliquid accipiam de dominio eccleſiæ, vel de hominibus, donec ſucceſſor in eam ingrediatur.

II. Et omnes malas conſuetudines, quibus regnum Angliæ injuſte opprimebatur, inde aufero, quas malas conſuetudines in parte hic pono.

III. Si quis baronum meorum, comitum, vel aliorum, qui de me tenent, mortuus fuerit, hæres ſuus non redimet terram ſuum, ſicut facere conſueverat tempore patris mei, ſed juſta & legitima relevatione relevabit eam: ſimiliter & * homines baronum meorum legitima & juſta relevatione relevabunt terras ſuas de dominis ſuis.

IV. Et ſi quis baronum, vel aliorum hominum meorum, filiam ſuam tradere voluerit, ſive ſororem, ſive nepotem, ſive cognatam, mecum inde loquatur; ſed neque ego aliquid de ſuo pro hac licentia accipiam, neque defendam ei, quin eam det, excepto ſi eam dare voluerit inimico meo.

V. Et ſi mortuo barone vel alio homine meo filia hæres remanſerit, dabo illam cum conſilio baronum meorum cum terra ſua.

VI. Et ſi mortuo marito, uxor ejus remanſerit, & ſine liberis fuerit, dotem ſuam & maritagium habebit, & eam non dabo marito, niſi ſecundum velle ſuum. Si vero uxor cum liberis remanſerit, dotem ſuam & maritagium habebit, dum corpus ſuum legitime ſervabit; & eam non dabo niſi ſecundum velle ſuum, & terræ liberorum cuſtos erit ſive uxor, ſive alius propinquior, qui juſtus eſſe debet: & præcipio, ut homines mei ſimiliter ſe contineant erga filios & filias & uxores hominum ſuorum.

VII. Monetagium commune, quod capiebatur per civitates vel comitatus, quod non fuit tempore Edwardi regis, hoc ne amodo fiat omnino defendo.

VIII. Si quis captus fuerit ſive monetarius ſive alius cum falſa moneta, juſtitia recta inde fiat.

IX. Omnia placita & omnia debita, quæ regi fratri meo debebantur, condono, exceptis firmis meis, & exceptis illis, quæ pacta erant pro aliorum hæreditatibus, vel pro illis rebus, quæ juſtius alios contingebant. Et ſi quis aliquid pro hæreditate ſua pepigerat, illud condono & omnes releviationes, quæ pro rectis hæreditatibus pactæ erant.

X. Et ſi quis baronum vel hominum meorum infirmabitur, ſicut ipſe dabit vel dare diſpoſuerit pecuniam ſuam: ita datam eſſe concedo.

XI. Quod ſi ipſe præventus, vel armis, vel infirmitate, pecuniam ſuam nec dederat, nec dare diſpoſuerit, uxor ſua, ſive liberi aut parentes, & legitimi homines ſui, pro anima ejus eam dividant: ſicut eis melius viſum fuerit.

XII. Si quis baronum vel hominum meorum forisfecerit, non dabit vadium in miſeria pecuniæ ſuæ, ſicut faciebat tempore patris, vel fratris mei, ſed ſecundum forisfacturæ modum: nec ita emendabit ſicut emendaſſet retro tempore patris mei vel fratris.

XIII. Quod ſi perfidiæ vel ſceleris convictus fuerit, ſicut culpa, ſic emendet.

XIV. Murdra etiam retro ab illa die, qua in regem coronatus ſum, omnia condono, & ea quæ amodo facta fuerint juſte emendentur ſecundum legem regis Edwardi.

XV. Foreſtas, communi concilio baronum meorum in manu mea, ita retinui, ſicut pater meus eas habuit.

XVI. Militibus, qui per loricas terras ſuas defendunt, terras dominicarum carucarum ſuarum quietas ab omnibus geldis & omni proprio, dono meo concedo; ut ſicut tam magno gravamine alleviati ſunt, ita equis & armis bene ſe inſtruant, ut apti & parati ſint ad ſervitium meum, & ad defenſionem regni mei.

XVII. Pacem firmam pono in toto regno meo, & teneri amodo præcipio. Legem regis Edwardi vobis reddo, cum illis emendationibus, quibus pater meus eam emendavit, conſilio baronum ſuorum.

XVIII. Si quis aliquid de modo, vel de rebus alicujus poſt obitum regis Willielmi fratris mei cepit, totum cito reddatur abſque emendatione; & ſi quis inde aliquid retinuerit, ille ſuper quem inventum fuerit, graviter mihi emendabit.

His teſtibus Mauricio Londonienſi epiſcopo, Willielmo Wintonienſi electo, Girardo Herefordenſi epiſcopo, Henrico comite, Simone comite, Waltero Giffard comite, Roberto de Monte forti, Rogero Bigod, & aliis multis.

* i. e. Tenentes.

Charta

Charta regis STEPHANI.

W. Malm. de Geſt. Reg. p. 179.

I. EGO Stephanus Dei gratia, aſſenſu cleri & populi in regem Angliæ electus, & a domino Willielmo archiepiſcopo Cantuariæ & ſanctæ eccleſiæ Romanæ legato conſecratus, & ab Innocentio ſanctæ ſedis Romanæ pontifice poſtmodum confirmatus, reſpectu & amore Dei ſanctam eccleſiam liberam eſſe concedo, & debitam reverentiam illi confirmo.

II. Nihil me in eccleſia, vel in rebus eccleſiaſticis ſymoniace acturum, vel permiſſurum eſſe promitto.

III. Eccleſiaſticarum perſonarum & omnium clericorum, & rerum eorum juſtitiam & poteſtatem & diſtributionem bonorum eccleſiaſticorum manu epiſcoporum eſſe, perhibeo & confirmo.

IV. Dignitates eccleſiarum, privilegiis earum confirmatas, & conſuetudines earum antiquo tenore habitas, inviolate manere concedo & ſtatuo.

V. Omnes eccleſiarum poſſeſſiones, & tenuras, quas die illa habuerant, qua Willielmus rex avus meus fuit vivus & mortuus, ſine omnium calumniantium reclamatione eis liberas & abſolutas eſſe concedo.

VI. Si quid vero de habitis aut poſſeſſis ante mortem regis, quibus modo careat eccleſia, deinceps repetierit, indulgentiæ & diſpenſationi meæ vel diſcutiendum, vel reſtituendum reſervo.

VII. Quæcunque vero poſt mortem regis liberalitate regum, largitione principum, oblatione, vel comparatione, vel qualibet tranſmutatione fidelium collata ſunt confirmo.

VIII. Pacem meam & juſtitiam in omnibus facturum & pro poſſe meo conſervaturum promitto.

IX. Foreſtas quas Willielmus rex avus meus, & Willielmus avunculus meus inſtituerunt & tenuerunt, mihi reſervo. Cæteras omnes, quas Henricus rex ſuperaddidit, eccleſiis & regno quietas reddo & concedo.

X. Si quis autem epiſcopus vel abbas, vel alia eccleſiaſtica perſona ante mortem ſuam rationabiliter ſua diſtribuerit, vel diſtribuenda ſtatuerit, firmum manere concedo.

XI. Si vero morte præoccupatus fuerit, pro ſalute animæ ejus, eccleſiæ conſilio eadem fiat diſtributio.

XII. Dum vero ſedes propriis fuerint paſtoribus vacuæ, & ipſæ, & omnes earum poſſeſſiones, in manu & cuſtodia clericorum vel proborum hominum, ejuſdem eccleſiæ committantur, donec paſtor canonice ſubſtituatur.

XIII. Omnes exactiones & Meſcheningas, & injuſtitias, ſive per vicecomites, vel per alios quoſlibet male inductas, funditus extirpo. Bonas leges & antiquas & juſtas conſuetudines in murdris, & placitis & aliis cauſis obſervabo, & obſervari præcipio, & conſtituo: apud Oxeneford anno incarnationis Domini 1136. regni mei primo.

Charta libertatum Angliæ HENRICI II.

Ex. vol. II. concil. Britan. Do. Hen. Spelman. p. 51.

HENRICUS Dei gratia rex Anglorum, dux Normanniæ & Acquitaniæ, comes Andegaviæ, baronibus & fidelibus ſuis Francis & Anglicis, ſalutem.

I. Sciatis me ad honorem Dei & ſanctæ eccleſiæ & pro communi emendatione totius regni mei, conceſſiſſe & reddidiſſe & præſenti charta mea confirmaſſe, Deo & ſanctæ eccleſiæ & omnibus comitibus, & baronibus, & omnibus hominibus meis, omnes conſuetudines quas rex Henricus avus meus eis dedit & conceſſit; ſimiliter etiam omnes malas conſuetudines, quas ipſe delevit & remiſit, ego remitto & deleri concedo pro me & hæredibus meis.

II. Quare volo & firmiter præcipio, ut ſancta eccleſia, & omnes comites & barones, & omnes mei homines, omnes illas conſuetudines & donationes & libertates, & liberas conſuetudines habeant & teneant, libere & quiete, bene & in pace, integre, de me & hæredibus meis, ſibi & hæredibus ſuis, adeo libere & plenarie in omnibus, ſicut rex Henricus avus meus eis dedit & conceſſit, & charta ſua confirmavit. Teſt. Richardo de Luci.

Charta

CHARTA Communium Libertatum; ſive MAGNA CHARTA regis JOHANNIS; ex autographo Cottoniano *.

JOHANNES Dei gratia rex Anglie, dominus Hybernie, dux Normannie, Aquitanie, & comes Andegavie, archiepiſcopis, epiſcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, juſticiariis, foreſtariis, vicecomitibus, prepoſitis, miniſtris, & omnibus ballivis & fidelibus ſuis, ſalutem. Sciatis nos intuitu Dei & pro ſalute anime noſtre & omnium anteceſſorum & heredum noſtrorum, ad honorem Dei, & exaltationem ſancte eccleſie, & emendationem regni noſtri, per conſilium venerabilium patrum noſtrorum Stephani Cantuarienſis archiepiſcopi, totius Anglie primatis & ſancte Romane eccleſie cardinalis, Henrici Dublinienſis archiepiſcopi, Willielmi Londonienſis, Petri Wintonienſis, Joſcelini Bathonienſis & Glaſton, Hugonis Lincolnienſis, Walteri Wygornienſis, Willielmi Coventrenſis, & Benedicti Roffenſis epiſcoporum; magiſtri Pandulfi domini pape ſubdiaconi & familiaris, fratris Eymerici magiſtri militie templi in Anglia; & nobilium virorum Willielmi Mareſcalli comitis Pembrok, Willielmi comitis Sarum, Willielmi comitis Warennie, Willielmi comitis Arundell, Allani de Galweya conſtabularii Scotie, Warini filii Geroldi, Petri filii Hereberti, Huberti de Burgo ſeneſcalli Pictavie, Hugonis de Nevill, Matthei filii Hereberti, Thome Baſſet, Alani Baſſet, Philippi de Albiniaco, Roberti de Roppele, Johannis Mareſcalli, Johannis filii Hugonis, & aliorum fidelium noſtrorum. In primis conceſſiſſe Deo, & hac preſente charta noſtra confirmaſſe, pro nobis & heredibus noſtris in perpetuum,

I. Quod Anglicana eccleſia libera ſit, & habeat jura ſua integra, & libertates ſuas illeſas; & ita volumus obſervari, quod apparet ex eo, quod libertatem electionum que maxima & magis neceſſaria reputatur eccleſie Anglicane, mera & ſpontanea voluntate, ante diſcordiam inter nos & barones noſtros motam, conceſſimus & charta noſtra confirmavimus, & eam optinuimus a domino papa Innocentio tertio confirmari; quam & nos obſervabimus, & ab heredibus noſtris in perpetuum bona fide volumus obſervari.

II. Conceſſimus etiam omnibus liberis hominibus regni noſtri, pro nobis & heredibus noſtris in perpetuum, omnes libertates ſubſcriptas, ha-

'The CHARTER of Liberties, or the GREAT CHARTER granted by king JOHN to his ſubjects in 1215.

The Great Charter.

'JOHN by the grace God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitain, and earl of Anjou; to the archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, earls, barons, juſticiaries of the foreſts, ſheriffs, governors, officers, and to all bailiffs and others his faithful ſubjects, greeting. Know ye, that we † in the ſight of God, and for the health of our ſoul and thoſe of our anceſtors and heirs, and to the honour of God, the exaltation of his holy church, and the reformation of our kingdom, by the advice of our venerable fathers, Stephen archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and cardinal of the holy Roman church; Henry archbiſhop of Dublin, William biſhop of London, Peter of Wincheſter, Jocelin of Bath and Glaſtonbury, Hugh of Lincoln, Walter of Worceſter, William of Coventry, Benedict of Rocheſter, biſhops; and maſter Pandulph, the pope's ſubdeacon and antient ſervant, brother Aymerick maſter of the Temple in England, and the noblemen William Mareſcall earl of Pembroke, William earl of Salisbury, William earl of Warren, William earl of Arundel, Alan de Galoway, conſtable of Scotland, Warin Fitz-Gerald, Peter Fitz-Herebert, and Hubert de Burgh, ſeneſchal of Poictou, Hugo de Neville, Matthew Fitz-Herebert, Thomas Baſſet, Alan Baſſet, Philip de Albiney, Robert de Ropele, John Mareſcall, John Fitz-Hugh, and others our liegemen; have, firſt of all, granted to God, and, by this our preſent charter, confirmed, for us and our heirs for ever,

'I. That the church of England ſhall be free ‡, and have all her rights and liberties inviolably preſerved **; [and we will that they be ſo obſerved, which appears from hence, that the freedom of elections, which is accounted moſt neceſſary for the church of England, of our own free will, we have granted and confirmed by our charter, and procured it to be ratified by pope Innocent III, before the diſcord between us and our barons; which charter we ſhall obſerve, and do will it to be faithfully obſerved by our heirs for ever.]

'II. We have alſo granted to all the freemen of our realm, for us and our heirs for ever, all the underwritten liberties, to them and their

* This charter is exactly printed, from an authentick copy of the original in the Cotton library, taken by Mr. David Caſsley, deputy-librarian. The notes at the bottom, referred to by the letters a, b, c, &c. contain ſuch paragraphs, or articles, as occur in the Magna Charta in M. Paris, but are not to be found in the Cottonian copy; and whatſoever is inſerted between the crotchets, [ ], are the clauſes that were omitted in the Magna Charta of Henry III. and all the ſucceeding charters.

† According to Sir Edward Coke, John was the firſt king of England, that, in his grants, wrote in the plural number; for his predeceſſors uſed Ego, I, but John and all his ſucceſſors, Nos, We. 2d Inſtitute. p. 2.

‡ That is, all the eccleſiaſticks in the kingdom ſhall enjoy their goods and poſſeſſions, free from any unjuſt exactions and oppreſſions; but this article does not exempt them from the lawful duties they owe to the king, or any of his ſubjects. Coke ibid.

** They did not, by this, obtain any new rights, but only the confirmation of thoſe they enjoyed before. Coke, p. 3.

bendas

bendas & tenendas eis & heredibus ſuis, de nobis & heredibus noſtris.

III. Si quis comitum vel baronum noſtrorum, ſive aliorum tenentium de nobis in capite per ſervitium militare, mortuus fuerit, & cum deceſſerit heres ſuus plene etatis fuerit, & relevium debeat, habeat hereditatem ſuam per antiquum relevium, ſcilicet heres vel heredes comitis de baronia comitis integra per centum libras. Heres vel heredes baronis de baronia integra per centum libras. Heres vel heredes militis de feodo militis integro per centum ſolidos ad plus: & qui minus debuerit, minus det ſecundum antiquam conſuetudinem feodorum.

IV. Si autem heres alicujus talium fuerit infra etatem, & fuerit in cuſtodia: cum ad etatem pervenerit, habeat hereditatem ſuam ſine relevio & ſine fine.

V. Cuſtos terre hujuſmodi heredis qui infra etatem fuerit, non capiat de terra heredis niſi rationabiles exitus, & rationabiles conſuetudines, & rationabilia ſervitia, & hoc ſine deſtructione & vaſto hominum vel rerum. Et ſi nos commiſerimus cuſtodiam alicujus talis terre vicecomiti vel alicui alii qui de exitibus illius nobis reſpondere debeat, & ille deſtructionem de cuſtodia fecerit vel vaſtum, nos ab illo capiemus emendam, & terra committatur duobus legalibus & diſcretis hominibus de feodo illo, qui de exitibus reſpondeant nobis vel ei cui eos aſſignaverimus. Et ſi dederimus vel vendiderimus alicui cuſtodiam alicujus talis terre, & ille deſtructionem inde fecerit vel vaſtum, amittat ipſam cuſtodiam, & tradatur duobus legalibus & diſcretis hominibus de feodo illo, qui ſimiliter nobis reſpondeant, ſicut predictum eſt.

VI. Cuſtos autem quamdiu cuſtodiam terre habuerit, ſuſtentet domos, parcos, vivaria, ſtagna, molendina, & cetera ad terram illam pertinentia de exitibus terre ejuſdem, & reddat heredi cum ad plenam etatem pervenerit terram ſuam totam inſtauratam de carrucis &

‘ heirs, to have and to hold them of us and ‘ our heirs.

‘ III. If any of our earls *, barons, or o- ‘ thers, who hold of us, in chief, by military ‘ ſervice, ſhall die, and, at the time of his ‘ death, his heir ſhall be of full age, and owe ‘ a relief, he ſhall enjoy his inheritance, by the ‘ antient relief †; i. e. the heir or heirs of an ‘ earl, for a whole earl's barony, by a hundred ‘ pounds; the heir or heirs of a baron, for a ‘ whole barony, by an hundred pounds ‡; the ‘ heir or heirs of a knight, for a whole knight's ‘ fee, by an hundred ſhillings, at moſt; and ‘ he that oweth leſs ſhall give leſs, according ‘ to the antient cuſtom of fees.

‘ IV. But if the heir of any ſuch ſhall be un- ‘ der age and ** in ward (a), when he comes ‘ of age, he ſhall have his inheritance, without ‘ relief or fine (b).

‘ V. The warden of the land of ſuch an heir, ‘ who ſhall be under age, ſhall only take of ‘ the land of ſuch an heir reaſonable iſſues, rea- ‘ ſonable cuſtoms, and reaſonable ſervices ††, ‘ and without deſtruction or waſte of the men ‘ or things (c). And if we ſhall commit the ‘ wardſhip of thoſe lands to the ſheriff, or any ‘ other, who is anſwerable to us for the iſſues ‘ of the land; and if he ſhall make deſtruction ‘ or waſte upon the ward-lands, we will oblige ‘ him to give ſatisfaction, and the land ſhall be ‘ committed to two lawful and diſcreet tenants ‘ of that fee, who ſhall be anſwerable for the ‘ iſſues to us, or to him whom we ſhall aſſign. ‘ And if we ſhall give or ſell the wardſhip of any ‘ ſuch lands to any one, and he make deſtruc- ‘ tion or waſte upon them, he ſhall loſe the ‘ wardſhip, which ſhall be committed to two ‘ lawful and diſcreet tenants of that fee, who ‘ ſhall be likewiſe anſwerable to us, as hath ‘ been ſaid.

‘ VI. But the warden, ſo long as he ſhall ‘ have the wardſhip of the land, ſhall keep up ‘ the houſes, parks, warrens, ponds, mills, and ‘ other things pertaining to the land, out of ‘ the iſſues of the ſame land, and ſhall reſtore ‘ to the heir, when he comes of full age, his

(a) [His lord ſhall not have the wardſhip of him, nor his land, before he hath received his homage; and after ſuch heir ſhall be in ward, and attain to the age of 21 years.]

(b) [Yet ſo, that if he be made a knight *†, whilſt he is under age, nevertheleſs the lands ſhall remain in the cuſtody of the lord, until the aforeſaid time.] (c) [Upon the eſtate.]

* There was not a duke, marqueſs, or viſcount then in England; for Edward the Black Prince was the firſt duke, being created duke of Cornwall, in 2 Edw. III. and Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, was created marqueſs of Dublin, in 8 Rich. II. The firſt viſcount on record, and that ſate in parliament, by that name, was John, viſcount of Beaumont, created 18 Henry VI. Coke, p. 5. and, as to the titles of earl and baron, Vid. Selden's Titles of Honour.

† When any of the king's tenants, in chief, died, the king, as the guardian of his heir, ſeized his lands, who kept them, till the heir was of age; but, upon his being 21 years old, the heir might ſue to have his eſtate, having done homage to the king, and paid a certain compoſition termed a relief, which, at firſt, was ſettled, in proportion to every man's degree, from an earl to a farmer; but, ſome time before king John's death, it appears, there was introduced a heavy incroachment of an uncertain relief, being entirely arbitrary, which, under a plauſible name, was called rationabile relevium, a reaſonable relief. The deſign of this clauſe, therefore, is to reſtore this affair to its antient ſtate. Vid. Coke's 2d Inſt. p. 7.

‡ Or rather 100 marks; for the antient relief of a barony was the fourth part of its yearly value, and the yearly value of a barony conſiſted of 13 knight's fees and a quarter, which, by a juſt computation, amounted to 400 marks.

** The heirs of the tenants in chief, during their minority, were ſaid to be in ward; but this wardſhip was aboliſhed by the ſtatute 12 Charl. II. c. 24.

†† Iſſues, i. e. the rents and profits of the lands or tenements of the ward; by cuſtoms are meant things due by cuſtom and preſcription, and appendant to the ſaid lands, viz. advowſons, commons, &c. alſo fines of tenants, by copy of court-roll; and ſervices are the drudgery and labour due from copy-holders to their lords. Coke, p. 12, 13.

*† Tho' the heir, upon his being made a knight, was out of ward, as to his body; yet his land remained in the cuſtody of the lord. Coke, p. 11.

wainnagiis ſecundum quod tempus wainnagii exiget, & exitus terre rationabiliter poterunt ſuſtinere.

'whole land ſtocked with ploughs and carriages, 'according as the time of wainage ſhall require, 'and the iſſues of the land can reaſonably 'bear (a).

VII. Heredes maritentur abſque diſparagatione; ita tamen quod antequam contrahatur matrimonium, oſtendatur propinquis de conſanguinitate ipſius heredis.

'VII. Heirs ſhall be married without diſ-'paragement *, [ſo as that, before matrimo-'ny ſhall be contracted, the neareſt to the 'heir in blood ſhall be acquainted with it.]

VIII. Vidua poſt mortem mariti ſui ſtatim & ſine difficultate habeat maritagium & hereditatem ſuam; nec aliquid det pro dote ſua vel pro maritagio ſuo, vel hereditate ſua, quam hereditatem maritus ſuus & ipſa tenuerint die obitus ipſius mariti; & maneat in domo mariti ſui per quadraginta dies poſt mortem ipſius, infra quos aſſignetur ei dos ſua.

'VIII. A widow, after the death of her 'husband, ſhall immediately, and without any 'difficulty, have her marriage † and her in-'heritance; nor ſhall ſhe give any thing for 'her dowry or her marriage, or her inheri-'tance, which her husband and ſhe held, at 'the day of his death; and ſhe may remain 'in the manſion-houſe of her husband, 40 days 'after his death; within which term her dow-'ry ſhall be aſſigned (b).

IX. Nulla vidua diſtringatur ad ſe maritandum, dum voluerit vivere ſine marito. Ita tamen quod ſecuritatem faciat quod ſe non maritabit ſine aſſenſu noſtro, ſi de nobis tenuerit, vel ſine aſſenſu domini ſui de quo tenuerit ſi de alio tenuerit.

'IX. No widow ſhall be diſtrained ‡ to 'marry herſelf, ſo long as ſhe is willing to live 'without a husband. But yet ſhe ſhall give 'ſecurity that ſhe will not marry without our 'conſent, if ſhe holds of us, or without the aſ-'ſent of the lord of whom ſhe holds, if ſhe 'holds of another.

X. Nec nos, nec ballivi noſtri ſeiſiemus terram aliquam nec redditum pro debito aliquo, quamdiu catalla debitoris ſufficiunt ad debitum reddendum: nec pleggii ipſius debitoris diſtringantur, quamdiu ipſe capitalis debitor ſufficit ad ſolutionem debiti.

'X. Neither we, nor our bailiffs **, ſhall ſeize 'any land ††, or rent, for any debt, ſo long as 'the debtor's chattels are ſufficient to pay the 'debt (c); nor ſhall the ſureties of the debtor 'be diſtrained, ſo long as the principal debtor 'is ſufficient for the payment of the debt.

XI. Et ſi capitalis debitor defecerit in ſolutione debiti, non habens unde ſolvat, pleggii reſpondeant de debito; & ſi voluerint habeant terras & redditus debitoris, donec ſit eis ſatisfactum de debito quod ante pro eo ſolverint, niſi capitalis debitor monſtraverit ſe eſſe quietum inde verſus eoſdem pleggios.

'XI. And if the principal debtor fail in the 'payment of the debt, not being able to diſ-'charge it (d), then the ſureties ſhall anſwer the 'debt; and, if they will, they ſhall have the lands 'and rents of the debtor, until they ſhall be 'ſatisfied for the debt which they paid for 'him, unleſs the principal debtor can ſhew, 'that he is acquitted of it, againſt the ſaid 'ſureties.

XII. Si quis mutuo ceperit aliquid a Judeis plus vel minus, & moriatur antequam debitum illud ſolvatur, debitum non uſuret quamdiu heres fuerit infra etatem, de quocumque teneat; & ſi debitum illud inciderit in manus noſtras, nos non capiemus niſi catallum contentum in charta.

'XII. [If any one have borrowed any thing 'from the Jews, more or leſs, and dies before 'the debt be diſcharged, no intereſt ſhall be 'paid for that debt, ſo long as the heir is un-'der age, of whomſoever he may hold; and, 'if the debt falls into our hands, we will only 'take the chattel mentioned in the charter or 'inſtrument.]

(a) [And all theſe things ſhall be obſerved in the cuſtodies of vacant archbiſhopricks, biſhopricks, abbies, priories, churches, and dignities, appertaining to us; unleſs theſe wardſhips are not to be ſold.]

(b) [If it was not aſſigned before, or unleſs the houſe ſhall be a caſtle; and, if ſhe departs from the caſtle, there ſhall directly be provided for her a compleat houſe, in which ſhe may decently dwell, till her dower be aſſigned, as hath been ſaid; and ſhe ſhall in the mean while have her reaſonable eſtover, i. e. competent maintenance, out of the common revenue; and there ſhall be aſſigned to her, for her dowry, the third part of all the lands her husband was poſſeſs'd of, whilſt alive, except ſhe were endowed with leſs, at the church-door.]

(c) [And that the debtor be ready to diſcharge it.]

(d) [Or will not diſcharge it, when he is able.]

* Diſparagement was, in a legal ſenſe, the matching an heir in marriage under his degree, or againſt decency. Coke Littl. p. 107. Jacob.

† Maritagium, i. e. ſhall be at liberty to marry whom ſhe pleaſes, Coke p. 16. According to Bracton, a woman that was an heireſs could not marry, without the conſent of the lords, of whom ſhe held her eſtates, on the pain of the forfeiture of them. Bract. l. 2. p. 88.

‡ Compelled by ſeizing her goods.

** That is, the ſheriff and his under-bailiffs. Coke, p. 19.

†† The king before this act of grace, had, for his debt, by order of the common law, the execution of the body, lands, and goods of the debtor. Coke, ibid.

XIII. Et

XIII. Et ſi quis moriatur, & debitum debeat Judeis, uxor ejus habeat dotem ſuam, & nichil reddat de debito illo; & ſi liberi ipſius defuncti, qui fuerint infra etatem, remanſerint, provideantur iis neceſſaria ſecundum tenementum quod fuerit defuncti; & de reſiduo ſolvatur debitum, ſalvo ſervitio dominorum. Simili modo fiat de debitis que debentur aliis quam Judeis.

'XIII. [And, if any one ſhall die indebted to 'the Jews, his wife ſhall have her dowry, and 'pay nothing of that debt; and, if the children 'of the deceaſed be under age, they ſhall be pro-'vided with neceſſaries according to the tene-'ment, or real eſtate, of the deceaſed; and out 'of the reſidue the debt ſhall be paid, ſaving the 'ſervice of the lords. In like manner, let it be 'with the debts due to other perſons than Jews.]

XIV. Nullum ſcutagium vel auxilium ponatur in regno noſtro niſi per commune conſilium regni noſtri, niſi ad corpus noſtrum redimendum; & primogenitum filium noſtrum militem faciendum; & ad filiam noſtram primogenitam ſemel maritandam; & ad hec non fiat niſi rationabile auxilium.

'XIV. No ſcutage * or aid ſhall be impo-'ſed in our kingdom, unleſs by the common 'council of our kingdom, except to redeem 'our perſon; and to make our eldeſt ſon a 'knight, and once to marry our eldeſt daugh-'ter; and for theſe things ſhall only be paid 'a reaſonable aid.

XV. Simili modo fiat de auxiliis de civitate London. & civitas London. habeat omnes antiquas libertates & liberas conſuetudines ſuas, tam per terras quam per aquas.

'XV. [In like manner it ſhall be concern-'ing the aids of the city of London; and] 'the city of London ſhall enjoy all its antient li-'berties and free cuſtoms, as well by land as by 'water.

XVI. Preterea volumus & concedimus, quod omnes alie civitates, & burgi, & ville, & portus habeant omnes libertates & liberas conſuetudines ſuas, et ad habendum commune conſilium regni de auxilio aſſidendo aliter quam in tribus caſibus predictis.

'XVI. Moreover, we will and grant, that 'all other cities, and boroughs, and towns (a), 'and ports ſhall have all their liberties and free 'cuſtoms; and ſhall have the common council 'of the realm concerning the aſſeſſment of their 'aids †, except in the three caſes aforeſaid.

XVII. Vel de ſcutagio aſſidendo, ſummoneri faciemus archiepiſcopos, epiſcopos, abbates, comites, & majores barones ſigillatim per literas noſtras.

'XVII. [And for the aſſeſſing of ſcutages 'we ſhall cauſe to be ſummoned the archbiſhops, 'biſhops, abbots, earls, and great barons ſingly 'by our letters.]

XVIII. Et preterea faciemus ſummoneri in generali per vicecomites, & ballivos noſtros, omnes illos qui de nobis tenent in capite ad certum diem, ſcilicet ad terminum quadraginta dierum ad minus, & ad certum locum; & in omnibus literis illius ſummonitionis cauſam ſummonitionis exprimemus.

'XVIII. [And moreover, we ſhall cauſe to 'be ſummoned, in general, by our ſheriffs and 'bailiffs, all others that hold of us, in chief **, at 'a certain day, viz. 40 days before their meet-'ing, at leaſt, to a certain place; and, in all let-'ters of ſuch ſummons, we will declare the 'cauſe of the ſummons.]

XIX. Et ſic facta ſummonitione negotium ad diem aſſignatum procedat ſecundum conſilium illorum qui preſentes fuerint, quamvis non omnes ſummoniti venerint.

'XIX. [And ſummons being thus made, the 'buſineſs ſhall proceed on the day appointed, 'according to the advice of thoſe that ſhall be 'preſent, although all that were ſummoned 'come not.]

XX. Nos non concedemus de cetero alicui quod capiat auxilium de liberis hominibus ſuis, niſi ad corpus ſuum redimendum; & ad faciendum primogenitum filium ſuum militem; & ad primogenitam filiam ſuam ſemel maritandam; & ad hec non fiat niſi rationabile auxilium.

'XX. We will not for the future grant to any 'one, that he may take aid of his own free 'tenants, unleſs to redeem his body; and to 'make his eldeſt ſon a knight and once to 'marry his eldeſt daughter; and for theſe 'things there ſhall only be paid a reaſonable 'aid.

XXI. Nullus diſtringatur ad faciendum majus ſervitium de feodo militis, nec de alio libero tenemento quam inde debetur.

'XXI. No man ſhall be diſtrained to per-'form more ſervice for a knight's fee, or other 'free tenement, than is due from from thence.

XXII. Communia placita non ſequantur curiam noſtram, ſed teneantur in aliquo loco certo. Recognitiones de nova diſſaiſina, de morte anteceſſoris, & de ultima preſentatione

'XXII. Common pleas ſhall not follow our 'court, but ſhall be holden in ſome certain 'place. Trials upon the writs of Novel Diſſei-'ſin, of Mort d' Anceſtor, and of Darreine

(a) [And barons of the Cinque-ports ‡.]

* Scutage was the military ſervice, due to the king from his tenants, in chief; and it alſo was applied to ſignify what they paid to the king, in lieu of that ſervice, and likewiſe the tax impoſed on each vaſſal, for the ſervice of the publick; which ſcutages, ſince the Norman conqueſt, were often impoſed, without the conſent of the ſtates. Rapin.

† i. e. they ſhall ſend their repreſentatives to the common council of the kingdom. Dr. Brady.

‡ The Cinque-ports, in Kent, had great privileges, which king John had augmented; and the governors of them were called barons, as at this day. Rapin.

** From whence it ſeems to follow, that only tenants, in chief, had a right to ſit in the common council or parliament; for it would have been natural to mention here the repreſentatives of the commons, had they enjoyed that right, in thoſe days. Rapin.

†† This was an antient law of England, as is evident from Glanville, l. 12. c. 9, 10. Coke, p. 21.

non

non capiantur niſi in ſuis comitatibus, & hoc modo: nos, vel ſi extra regnum fuerimus, capitalis juſticiarius noſter, mittemus duos juſticiarios per unumquemque comitatum per quatuor vices in anno: qui cum quatuor militibus cujuſlibet comitatus electis per comitatum, capiant in comitatu, & in die & loco comitatus aſſiſas predictas.

'Preſentment * ſhall not be taken but in their 'proper counties and after this manner: we 'or, if we ſhall be out of the kingdom, our 'chief juſticiary, ſhall ſend two juſticiaries 'through every county four times a year; who 'with the four knights choſen out of every 'ſhire, by the people, ſhall hold the ſaid aſſizes 'in the county, on the day and at the place 'appointed †.

XXIII. Et ſi, in die comitatus, aſſiſe predicte capi non poſſint, tot milites & libere tenentes remaneant de illis qui interfuerint comitatui die illo, per quos poſſint judicia ſufficienter fieri, ſecundum quod negotium fuerit majus vel minus.

'XXIII. And if, on the day appointed for 'the ſaid aſſizes, any matters cannot be deter-'mined, ſo many of the knights and freeholders, 'as were at the aſſizes aforeſaid, ſhall be ap-'pointed to decide them as are neceſſary, ac-'cording as there is more or leſs buſineſs (a).

XXIV. Liber homo non amercietur pro parvo delicto, niſi ſecundum modum delicti; & pro magno delicto amercietur, ſecundum magnitudinem delicti, ſalvo contenemento ſuo; & mercator eodem modo ſalva mercandiſa ſua.

'XXIV. A freeman ‡ ſhall not be amerced 'for a ſmall fault, but according to the degree 'of the fault; and for a great crime, in propor-'tion to the greatneſs of it, ſaving to him his 'contenement **; and after the ſame manner a 'merchant, ſaving to him his merchandiſe.

XXV. Et villanus eodem modo amercietur ſalvo wainnagio noſtram ſi inciderint in miſericordiam ſuo; & nulla dictarum miſericordiarum ponatur niſi per ſacramentum proborum hominum de viſneto.

'XXV. And a villain (b) ſhall be amerced 'after the ſame manner, ſaving to him his wai-'nage ††, if he falls under our mercy; and 'none of the foreſaid amerciaments ‡‡, ſhall be 'aſſeſſed, but by the oath of honeſt men of the 'neigbourhood (c).

XXVI. Comites & barones non amercientur, niſi per pares ſuos, & non niſi ſecundum modum delicti.

'XXVI. Earls and barons ſhall not be a-'merced, but by their peers *†, and in pro-'portion to the quality of the offence.

XXVII. Nullus clericus amercietur de laico tenemento ſuo, niſi ſecundum modum aliorum predictorum, & non ſecundum quantitatem beneficii ſui eccleſiaſtici.

'XXVII. No eccleſiaſtick ſhall be amerced, 'but according to the proportion aforeſaid, and 'not according to the value of his eccleſiaſti-'cal benefice.

XXVIII. Nec villa, nec homo diſtringatur facere pontes ad riparias, niſi qui ab antiquo & de jure facere debent.

'XXVIII. Neither a town, nor any perſon, 'ſhall be diſtrained to make bridges over ri-'vers, unleſs thoſe that antiently and of right 'they are obliged to do it (d).

XXIX. Nullus vicecomes, conſtabularius, coronatores, vel alii ballivi noſtri teneant placita corone noſtre.

'XXIX. No ſheriff, conſtable ††, coroner, 'or other our bailiffs, ſhall hold pleas of the 'crown.

XXX. Omnes comitatus, hundredi, wapentakia, & trethingi ſint ad antiquas firmas,

'XXX. [All counties, hundreds, wapen-'takes, and trethings ſhall ſtand at the old

(a) 24. [Aſſizes of Darreine Preſentment to churches ſhall be always taken before the juſticiaries of the bench.] (b) [Of any other than our own.] (c) [Of the county.]
(d) 30. [No river for the future ſhall be imbanked, but what was imbanked in the time of king Henry, our grandfather.]

* A writ of Aſſize of Novel Diſſeiſin lies, where a tenant, for ever, or for life, is ejected and diſſeized of his lands or tenements, rents, common of paſture, common way, or of an office, toll, &c. that he may recover his right; a writ of Mort d'Anceſtor lies, where any of a man's near relations die, ſeized of lands, rents, or tenements, and, after their deaths, a ſtranger ſeizes upon them; and a writ of Darreine Preſentment, where a man and his anceſtors have preſented to a church, and, after it is become void, a ſtranger preſents to it, by which the perſon having a right is diſturbed. G. Jacob. This article greatly contributed to the eaſe of the jurors, as well as to the ſaving of charges to the parties concerned; for the writs of Aſſize of Novel Diſſeiſin, &c. were before returnable, either before the king, or in the court of common-pleas, and to be taken there. Coke, p. 24.

† In all probability, the kings, ſince the conqueſt, had aboliſhed, or exceedingly altered, this way of trying cauſes, in order to have the deciſion of them in their own power. Rapin.

‡ By which term here, and in moſt places, we muſt underſtand freeholders, i. e. thoſe that held their lands of the king, or ſome other lord, by a certain relief.

** Contenementum. i. e. the means of a man's ſubſiſtence; as the arms of a ſoldier, &c.

†† Viz. his carts and implements of husbandry.

‡‡ Amerciament, derived from the French word Merci, ſignifies the pecuniary puniſhment of an offender againſt the king, or other lord in his court, that is found guilty, and lies at the mercy of the king or his lord. Jacob.

*† As in England there are two orders or degrees of ſubjects, peers of the realm and commoners; the peers of the nobles are all the peers of the realm, and the commoners are all the peers one of another. Rapin.

†† That is, conſtable of a caſtle. Theſe were, in antient times, men of repute and authority; for, as to pleas of the crown, &c. they had the ſame authority, within their precincts, as the ſheriff had, within his bailiwick, before this act, and they uſually ſealed with their own portraiture on horſeback. Every caſtle regularly contains a manor; ſo that every conſtable of a caſtle is conſtable of a manor.

abſque

absque ullo incremento, exceptis dominicis maneriis nostris.

XXXI. Si aliquis tenens de nobis laicum feodum, moriatur, & vicecomes vel ballivus noster ostendat literas nostras patentes de summonitione nostra de debito quod defunctus nobis debuit; liceat vicecomiti vel ballivo nostro attachiare & inbreviare catalla defuncti inventa in laico feodo ad valentiam illius debiti, per visum legalium hominum, ita tamen quod nichil inde amoveatur, donec persolvatur nobis debitum; quod clarum fuerit & residuum relinquatur executoribus ad faciendum testamentum defuncti, & si nichil nobis debeatur ab ipso omnia cattalla cedant defuncto, salvis uxori ipsius & pueris rationabilibus partibus suis.

XXXII. Si aliquis liber homo intestatus decesserit, catalla sua per manus propinquorum, parentum, & amicorum suorum per visum ecclesie distribuantur; salvis unicuique debitis que defunctus ei debebat.

XXXIII. Nullus constabularius vel alius ballivus noster capiat blada vel alia catalla alicujus, nisi statim inde reddat denarios, aut respectum inde habere possit de voluntate venditoris.

XXXIV. Nullus constabularius distringat aliquem militem ad dandum denarios pro custodia castri si facere voluerit custodiam illam in propria persona sua, vel per alium probum hominem si ipse eam facere non possit propter rationabilem causam.

XXXV. Et si nos duxerimus vel miserimus eum in exercitum, erit quietus de custodia secundum quantitatem temporis quo per nos fuerit in exercitu.

XXXVI. Nullus vicecomes vel ballivus noster vel aliquis alius capiat equos vel caretas alicujus liberi hominis pro cariagio, faciendo nisi de voluntate ipsius liberi hominis.

XXXVII. Nec nos, nec ballivi nostri capiemus alienum boscum ad castra vel alia agenda nostra, nisi per voluntatem ipsius cujus boscus ille fuerit.

XXXVIII. Nos non tenebimus terras illorum qui convicti fuerint de felonia, nisi per unum annum & unum diem, & tunc reddantur terre dominis feodorum.

XXXIX. Omnes kydelli de cetero deponantur penitus de Thamisia & de Medewaye, & per totam Angliam nisi per costeram maris.

XL. Breve quod vocatur precipe de cetero non fiat alicui de aliquo tenemento, unde liber homo amittere possit curiam suam.

'ferms, without any increase, except in our 'demesne lands.]

'XXXI. If any one, that holds of us a lay-'fee, dies, and the sheriff, or our bailiff, shews 'our letters patent of summons concerning the 'debt, due to us from the deceased, it shall be 'lawful for the sheriff, or our bailiff, to attach 'and register the chattels of the deceased found 'upon his lay-fee, to the value of the debt, by 'the view of lawful men, so as nothing be re-'moved, until our whole debt be paid, and the 'rest shall be left to the executors to fulfil the 'will of the deceased; and if there be nothing 'due from him to us all the chattels shall re-'main to the deceased, saving to his wife and 'children their reasonable shares.

'XXXII. [If any freeman dies intestate, his 'chattels shall be distributed by the hands of his 'neareſt relations and friends, by view of the 'church, saving to every one his debts which 'the deceased owed.]

'XXXIII. No constable or bailiff of ours 'shall take corn or other chattels of any man (a), 'unless he presently pays him money for it, or 'hath respite of payment from the seller (b).

'XXXIV. No constable shall distrein any 'knight to give money for castle-guard, if he 'shall do it, in his own person, or by another 'able man, if he shall be hindered from doing 'it, by any reasonable cause.

'XXXV. And if we shall lead him, or if 'we shall send him into the army, he shall be 'free from castle-guard, for the time he shall 'be in the army by our command (c).

'XXXVI. No sheriff or bailiff of ours, or 'any other, shall take horses or carts of any 'freeman for carriage, without his consent (d).

'XXXVII. Neither shall we, nor our of-'ficers, take any man's timber for our castles, 'or other uses, unless by the consent of the 'owner of the timber (e).

'XXXVIII. We will retain the lands of 'those that are convicted of felony, but one 'year and a day; & then they shall be deli-'vered to the lord of the fee.

'XXXIX. All wiers, for the future, shall be 'demolished in the rivers of Thames and Med-'way, and through all England, except upon 'the sea-coast.

'XL. The writ, which is called Præcipe *, 'for the time to come, shall not be granted to 'any one of any tenement, by which a free 'man may lose his cause.

(a) [Who is not of the town, where the castle is.]
(b) [But, if he be of the same town, he shall pay him within 40 days.]
(c) [For the fee, for which he did service in the army.]
(d) [Without paying according to the rate antiently appointed, i. e. for a cart and two horses ten-pence a day; and for a cart with three horses fourteen-pence a day.]
(e) No demesne cart of any ecclesiastical person, or knight, or any lady shall be taken by our officers.]

* The writ, termed Præcipe quod reddat, from the first words in it, it appears, was applied to several uses; but, in general, it signifies an order from the king, or some court of justice, to put a man in possession, that complains of having been unjustly ejected; and, in all appearance, this article occasioned several abuses. Rapin.

XLI. Una menſura vini ſit per totum regnum noſtrum, & una menſura cerviſie, & una menſura bladi, ſcilicet quarterium Londonienſe, & una latitudo pannorum tinctorum & ruſſettorum & halbergettorum, ſcilicet due ulne infra liſtas. De ponderibus autem ſit ut de menſuris.

'XLI. There ſhall be one meaſure of wine 'and one meaſure of ale, through our whole 'realm, and one meaſure of corn, i. e. the 'London-quarter; and one breadth of dyed 'cloth and ruſſets and haberjects *, i. e. two 'ells within the liſt; and the weights ſhall be 'as the meaſures.

XLII. Nichil detur vel capiatur de cetero pro brevi inquiſitionis de vita vel membris, ſed gratis concedatur, & non negetur.

'XLII. Nothing, for the future, ſhall be 'given or taken for a writ of inquiſition † of 'life or limbs, but it ſhall be granted gratis, 'and not denied.

XLIII. Si aliquis teneat de nobis per feodifirmam, vel per ſokagium, vel per burgagium, & de alio terram teneat per ſervitium militare, nos non habebimus cuſtodiam heredis nec terre ſue que eſt de feodo alterius, occaſione illius feodifirme vel ſokagii, vel burgagii, nec habebimus cuſtodiam illius feodifirme, vel ſokagii vel burgagii, niſi ipſa feodifirma debeat ſervitium militare.

'XLIII. If any one holds of us by fee-farm, 'or ſocage, or burgage ‡, and holds land of 'another, by military ſervice, we will not have 'the wardſhip of the heir or land, belonging 'to another man's fee, by reaſon of what he 'holds of us by fee-farm, ſocage, or burgage; 'nor will we have the wardſhip of the fee-farm, 'ſocage, or burgage, unleſs the fee-farm is 'bound to perform military ſervice.

XLIV. Nos non habebimus cuſtodiam heredis vel terre alicujus quam tenet de alio per ſervitium militare, occaſione alicujus parve ſergenterie quam tenet de nobis per ſervitium reddendi nobis cultellos vel ſagittas vel hujuſmodi.

'XLIV. We will not have the wardſhip of 'an heir, nor of any land, that he holds of an-'other, by military ſervice, by reaſon of any 'petit-ſerjeanty he holds of us, by the ſervice 'of giving us daggers, arrows, or the like.

XLV. Nullus ballivus ponat de cetero aliquem ad legem ſimplici loquela ſua ſine teſtibus fidelibus ad hoc inductis.

'XLV. No bailiff, hereafter, ſhall put any 'man to his law **, (a) upon his ſingle accuſa-'tion, without credible witneſſes produced to 'prove it.

XLVI. Nullus liber homo capiatur, vel impriſonetur, aut diſſaiſietur, aut utlagetur, aut exuletur, aut aliquo modo deſtruatur; nec ſuper eum ibimus, nec ſuper eum mittemus, niſi per legale judicium parium ſuorum, vel per legem terre.

'XLVI. No freeman ſhall be taken, or im-'priſoned, or diſſeis'd (b), or out-lawed, or 'baniſhed, or any way deſtroyed; nor will we 'paſs upon him, or commit him to priſon, un-'leſs by the legal judgment of his peers, or by 'the law of the land ††.

XLVII. Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus, aut differemus rectum aut juſticiam.

'XLVII. We will ſell to no man, we will 'deny no man, nor defer right or juſtice.

XLVIII. Omnes mercatores habeant ſalvum & ſecurum exire de Anglia & venire in Angliam, & morari & ire per Angliam, tam per terram quam per aquam, ad emendum & vendendum, ſine omnibus malis toltis, per antiquas & rectas conſuetudines preterquam in tempore gwerre, & ſi ſint de terra contra nos gwerrina.

'XLVIII. All merchants (c) ſhall have ſafe 'and ſecure conduct to go out of and to come 'into England ‡‡, and to ſtay there, and to 'paſs, as well by land as by water, to buy and 'ſell, by the antient and allowed cuſtoms, 'without any evil tolls, except in time of war, 'or if they be of any nation in war with us.

XLIX. Et ſi tales inveniantur in terra noſtra in principio gwerre attachientur ſine dampno corporum & rerum donec, ſciatur a nobis vel capitali juſticiario noſtro quomodo mercatores terre noſtre tractentur qui tunc invenientur in terra contra nos gwerrina; & ſi noſtri ſalvi ſint ibi, alii ſalvi ſint in terra noſtra.

'XLIX. And if any ſuch ſhall be found in 'our land, in the beginning of a war, they ſhall 'be attached, without damage to their bodies 'or goods, until it may be known unto us, or 'our chief juſticiary, how our merchants are 'treated in the nation at war with us; and, if 'ours be ſafe there, they ſhall be ſafe in our 'land.

L. Liceat unicuique de cetero exire de regno noſtro, & redire, ſalvo & ſecure per terram &

'L. [It ſhall be lawful, henceforward, for any 'one to go out of our realm, and return ſafely and

(a) [Nor to an oath.] (b) [Of his freehold, or liberties, or free cuſtoms.]
(c) [Unleſs they be publickly prohibited.]

* A ſort of coarſe cloth.

† This was a writ directed to the ſheriff, to enquire, whether a man committed to priſon, on ſuſpicion of murder, was juſtly impriſoned, or only out of malice and ill-will. Jacob.

‡ To hold in fee-farm is, when there is ſome rent reſerved by the lord, upon the creation of the tenancy; in ſocage, on condition of plowing the lord's land, and doing other inferior offices of husbandry; and, in burgage, when the inhabitants of a borough held their tenements of the king, at a certain rent.

** To make his law, i. e. to take his oath, &c. †† That is, by a legal proceſs, &c. Dr. Brady.

‡‡ Foreign merchants, by ſome antient laws, were prohibited to come into England, except in fair-times, and even then were not allowed to ſtay, above 40 days. Coke, p. 57.

per

per aquam ſalva fide noſtra, niſi tempore gwerre per aliquod breve tempus propter communem utilitatem regni, exceptis inpriſonatis & utlagatis ſecundum legem regni, & gente de terra contra nos gwerrina, & mercatoribus de quibus fiat ſicut predictum eſt.

'ſecurely, by land and by water, ſaving his allegiance to us, unleſs in time of war, by ſome 'ſhort ſpace for the common benefit of the 'kingdom, except priſoners and out-laws, ac-'cording to the law of the land, and people in 'war with us, and merchants who ſhall be in 'the condition aforeſaid.]

LI. Si quis tenuerit de aliqua eſcaeta ſicut de honore Walingeford, Notingeham, Bononia, Lainkaſtrie, vel de aliis eskaetis que ſunt in manu noſtra, & ſunt baronie, & obierit, heres ejus non det aliud relevium, nec faciat nobis aliud ſervitium quam faceret baroni ſi baronia illa eſſet in manu baronis, & nos eodem modo eam tenebimus quo baro eam tenuit.

'LI. If any man holds of any eſcheat, as of 'the honour of Wallingford, Nottingham, Bo-'logne, Lancaſter, or other eſcheats that are in 'our hands, and are baronies, and dies, his heir 'ſhall not give any other relief, or do any o-'ther ſervice to us than he would to the baron, 'if the barony was in poſſeſſion of the baron; 'and we will hold it as the baron held it (a).

LII. Homines qui manent extra foreſtam non veniant de cetero coram juſticiariis noſtris de foreſta per communes ſummonitiones, niſi ſint in placito, vel pleggii alicujus vel aliquorum qui attachiati ſint pro foreſta.

'LII. [The men who dwell without the fo-'reſt, for the future, ſhall not come before our 'juſticiaries of the foreſt upon ſummons, but 'ſuch as are impleaded, or the pledges for any 'that were attached for ſomething concerning 'the foreſt (b).

LIII. Nos non faciemus juſticiarios conſtabularios, vicecomites, vel ballivos niſi de talibus qui ſciant legem regni, & eam bene velint obſervare.

'LIII. We will not make any juſticiaries, 'conſtables, ſheriffs, or bailiffs, but ſuch as 'know the law of the realm, and are diſpoſed 'duly to obſerve it.

LIV. Omnes barones qui fundaverunt abbatias unde habent cartas regum Anglie, vel antiquam tenuram, habeant earum cuſtodiam cum vacaverint, ſicut habere debent.

'LIV. All barons, who are founders of ab-'bies, and have charters of the kings of Eng-'land for the advowſon, or are entitled to it 'by antient tenure, may have the cuſtody of 'them, when void, as they ought to have.

LV. Omnes foreſte que aforeſtate ſunt tempnoſtro, ſtatim deafforeſtentur, & ita fiat de ripariis que per nos tempore noſtro poſite ſunt in defenſo.

'LV. All woods, taken into the foreſts (c) 'in our time, ſhall forthwith be laid out again '(d), and ſo ſhall it be done with the rivers 'taken or fenced in by us, during our reign.

LVI. Omnes male conſuetudines de foreſtis, warennis, & de foreſtariis & warrennariis, vicecomitibus, & eorum miniſtris, ripariis & earum cuſtodibus ſtatim inquirantur in quolibet comitatu per duodecim milites juratos de eodem comitatu, qui debent eligi per probos homines ejuſdem comitatus, & infra quadraginta

'LVI. All evil cuſtoms concerning foreſts, 'warrens, and foreſters, warreners, ſheriffs, 'and their officers, rivers and their keepers, 'ſhall directly be enquired into in each county 'by 12 knights of the ſame ſhire, choſen by 'the moſt creditable perſons of the ſame coun-'ty, and upon oath; and, within 40 days af-

(a) [Nor will we, on the account of ſuch barony or eſcheat, have any eſcheat or wardſhip of any of our men, unleſs he, that held the barony or eſcheat, held of us, in chief, elſewhere.]

(b) 59. [No county-court, for the time to come, ſhall be holden, but from month to month; and, where there uſed to be a greater interval, let it be ſo continued. 60. Neither any ſheriff, nor his bailiff, ſhall keep his turn in the hundred, oftener than twice in the year, and only in the accuſtomed place, i. e. once after Eaſter, and once after Michaelmas; and the view of frank-pledge ſhall be held after Michaelmas, without occaſion *, and ſo that every one ſhall enjoy the liberties, which he had and was wont to have, in the time of king Henry our grandfather, or ſuch as he afterwards obtained. 61. But the view of frank-pledge ſhall be ſo made, that our peace may be kept, and the tything be full, as uſual. 62. And the ſheriff ſhall not ſeek occaſions †, but ſhall be content with what the ſheriff uſed to have, for making his view, in the reign of king Henry, our grandfather. 63. For the future, it ſhall not be lawful for any man to give his land to a religious houſe, ſo as to take it again, and hold it of that houſe. 64. Nor ſhall it be lawful for any religious houſe to receive land, ſo as to grant it again to the donor, to hold of him. If any man, henceforward, ſhall ſo give his land to a religious houſe, and be convicted of it, his gift ſhall be void, and the land ſhall be forfeited to the lord of the fee ‡. 65. Scutage hereafter ſhall not be taken, as in the time of king Henry our grandfather; [and the ſheriff ſhall oppreſs no man, but be content with what he uſed to have.] 66. Saving to the archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, priors, templars, hoſpitallers, earls, barons, knights, and all others, as well eccleſiaſticks as ſeculars, the liberties and free cuſtoms which they enjoyed before: Theſe being witneſſes, &c.

(c) [By king Richard our brother.]

(d) [Unleſs they were our demeſne woods.]

* Sine occaſione, i. e. without oppreſſion. Dr. Brady. † Occaſiones, cauſes to oppreſs any man. Id.

‡ The reaſons of theſe two articles were, becauſe, by holding their lands of the church, the ſervice due from the fees, deſigned for the defence of the kingdom, was unduly withdrawn; and, beſides, the chief lords loſt the eſcheats, wardſhips, reliefs, and the like. Many artifices were made uſe of, to evade the force of this law; but they were effectually prevented, at laſt, by the ſtatute of Mortmain, 7 Edw. II.

dies

dies poſt inquiſitionem factam, penitus, ita quod nunquam revocentur, deleantur. o—

LVII. Omnes obſides & cartas ſtatim reddemus que liberate fuerunt nobis ab Anglicis in ſecuritatem pacis, vel fidelis ſervitii.

LVIII. Nos amovebimus penitus de balliviis parentes Gerardi de Athyes, quod de cetero nullam habeant balliviam in Anglia; Engelardum de Cygony, Andream, Petrum, & Gyonem, de cancellaria; Gyonem de Cygony, Galfridum de Martyni, & fratres ejus, Philippum Markum, & fratres ejus, & Galfridum nepotem ejus, & totam ſequelam eorundem.

LIX. Et ſtatim poſt pacis reformationem, amovebimus de regno omnes alienigenas milites, baliſtarios, ſervientes ſtipendiarios, qui venerint cum equis & armis ad nocumentum regni.

LX. Si quis fuerit diſſeiſitus, vel elongatus per nos, ſine legali judicio parium ſuorum, de terris, caſtallis, libertatibus, vel jure ſuo, ſtatim ea ei reſtituemus; & ſi contentio ſuper hoc orta fuerit, tunc inde fiat per judicium viginti quinque baronum, de quibus fit mentio inferius in ſecuritatem pacis.

LXI. De omnibus autem illis de quibus aliquis diſſeiſitus fuerit, vel elongatus, ſine legali judicio parium ſuorum per Henricum regem patrem noſtrum, vel per Ricardum regem fratrem noſtrum, que in manu noſtra habemus, vel que alii tenent, que nos oporteat warantizare reſpectum habebimus uſque ad communem terminum cruce-ſignatorum. Exceptis illis de quibus placitum motum ſuit, vel inquiſitio facta per preceptum noſtrum, ante ſuſceptionem crucis noſtre; cum autem redierimus de peregrinatione noſtra, vel ſi forte remanſerimus a peregrinatione noſtra, ſtatim inde plenam juſticiam exhibebimus.

LXII. Eundem autem reſpectum habebimus, —o de foreſtis deafforeſtandis, quas Henricus pater noſter vel Ricardus frater noſter afforeſtaverunt, & de cuſtodiis terrarum que ſunt de alieno feodo, cujuſmodi cuſtodias hucuſque habuimus, occaſione feodi quod aliquis de nobis tenuit per ſervitium militare, & de abbatiis que fundate fuerint in feodo alterius quam noſtro, in quibus dominus feodi dixerit ſe jus habere; & cum redierimus, vel ſi remanſerimus a peregrinatione noſtra, ſuper his conquerentibus plenam juſticiam ſtatim exhibebimus.

LXIII. Nullus capiatur *nec* impriſonetur, propter appellum femine, de morte alterius, quam viri ſui.

LXIV. Omnes fines, qui injuſte & contra legem terre facti ſunt nobiſcum, & omnia a-

'ter, the ſaid inqueſt ſhall be utterly aboliſhed, 'ſo as never to be reſtored (a).

'LVII. We will forthwith give up all ho-'ſtages and engagements, delivered unto us by 'our Engliſh ſubjects, as ſecurities of the peace, 'and of their faithful ſervice.

'LVIII. We will entirely remove from our 'bailiwicks the relations of Gerard de Athyes, 'ſo as that, henceforward, they ſhall have no 'bailiwick in England; and likewiſe Engelard 'de Cygony, Andrew, Peter, and Gyon, from 'the chancery; Gyon de Cygony, Geoffrey 'de Martyn and his brothers, Philip Mark and 'his brothers, and Geoffrey, his nephew, and 'their whole retinue.

'LIX. And, immediately after the reſtora-'tion of the peace, we will ſend out of the 'realm all foreign ſoldiers, croſsbow-men, and 'ſtipendiaries, who are come with horſes and 'arms, to the injury of the kingdom.

'LX. If any one hath been diſpoſſeſſed, or 'deprived by us, without the legal judgment 'of his peers, of his lands, caſtles, liberties, or 'right, we will forthwith reſtore them to him; 'and if any diſpute ariſes upon this head, it 'ſhall be decided by the 25 barons hereafter 'mentioned *, for the preſervation of the peace.

'LXI. As for all thoſe things, of which any 'one has been diſpoſſeſſed or deprived, without 'the legal judgment of his peers, either by king 'Henry our father, or king Richard our bro-'ther, which we have in our hands, or are 'poſſeſſed by others, and we are bound to 'warrant and make good, we ſhall have a re-'ſpite, till the term uſually allowed the Croiſes; 'excepting thoſe things about which there is a 'ſuit depending, or of which an inqueſt hath 'been made by our order, before we undertook 'the Cruſade; but when we return from our 'pilgrimage, or if we do not perform it, we 'will forthwith cauſe full juſtice to be admini-'ſtered therein.

'LXII. The ſame reſpite we ſhall have for 'diſafforeſting the foreſts, which Henry our 'father, or Richard our brother, have afforeſt-'ed; and for the wardſhip of the lands in an-'other's fee, in the ſame manner as we have 'hitherto enjoyed thoſe wardſhips, by reaſon 'of a fee held of us by knight's ſervice; and 'for the abbies founded in any other fee than 'our own, in which the lord of the fee claims 'a right; and when we return from our pil-'grimage, or if we ſhould not perform it, we 'will forthwith do full juſtice to all the com-'plainants in this behalf.

'LXIII. No man ſhall be taken or impri-'ſoned, upon the appeal of a woman, for the 'death of any other man than her husband.

'LXIV. All unjuſt and illegal fines, and all 'amerciaments impoſed unjuſtly and contrary

(a) [No freeman, for the future, ſhall give or ſell any more of his land, but ſo that, out of the reſidue, the ſervice due to the lord of the fee may be ſufficiently performed.]

* Viz. the earls of Clare, Albemarle, Glouceſter, Wincheſter, Hereford, earl Roger, earl Robert, earl Mareſcall junior, Rober Fitz-Walter ſenior, Gilbert de Clare, Euſtace de Veſci, Hugh Bigod, William de Munbray, the mayor of London, Gilbert de Laval, Robert de Ros, conſtable of Cheſter, Richard de Perci, John Fitz-Robert, William Malet, Geoffrey de Say, Roger de Munbray, William de Huntingfield, Richard de Muntfichet, William de Albiney. M. Paris.

merciamenta

merciamenta facta injuste & contra legem terre, omnino condonentur, vel fiat inde per judicium viginti quinque baronum de quibus *fit* mentio inferius in securitate pacis, vel per judicium majoris partis eorundem, una cum predicto Stephano Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, si interesse poterit, & aliis quos secum ad hoc vocare voluerit; & si interesse non poterit, nichilominus procedat negotium sine eo. Ita quod, si aliquis vel aliqui, de predictis viginti quinque baroniibus, fuerint in simili querela, amoveantur, quantum ad hoc judicium, & alii loco illorum per residuos de eisdem viginti quinque tantum ad hoc faciendum electi, & jurati substituantur.

'to the law of the land shall be entirely forgiven, or left to the decision of the 25 barons 'hereafter mentioned for the preservation of 'the peace, or of the major part of them, together with the foresaid Stephen archbishop 'of Canterbury, if he can be present, and others whom he shall think fit to take along 'with him; and, if he cannot be present, the 'business shall nevertheless go on without him. 'But so, that if one or more of the foresaid '25 barons be plaintiffs in the same cause, they 'shall be set aside, as to this particular affair; 'and others be chosen in their room out of the 'said 25, and sworn by the rest to decide that 'matter.

LXV. Si nos dissaisivimus, vel elongavimus Walenses de terris, vel libertatibus, vel rebus aliis, sine legali judicio parium suorum, eis statim reddantur; & si contentio super hoc orta fuerit, tunc inde fiat in Marchia per judicium parium suorum; de tenementis Anglie, secundum legem Anglie, de tenementis Wallie, secundum legem Wallie, de tenementis Marchie, secundum legem Marchie: idem facient Walenses nobis & nostris.

'LXV. If we have disseized or dispossess'd 'the Welch of any lands, liberties, or other 'things, without the legal judgment of their 'peers, they shall directly be restored to them; 'and, if any dispute arises upon this head, it 'shall be determined in the Marches, by the 'judgment of their peers; for tenements in 'England, according to the law of England; 'for tenements in Wales, according to the law 'of Wales: The same shall the Welch do to us 'and our subjects.

LXVI. De omnibus autem illis de quibus aliquis Walensium dissaisitus fuerit, vel elongatus, sine legali judicio parium suorum, ÷ per Henricum regem patrem nostrum vel Richardum regem fratrem nostrum, que nos in manu nostra habemus, vel que alii tenent, que nos oporteat warantizare, respectum habebimus usque ad communem terminum cruce-signatorum: illis exceptis de quibus placitum motum fuit vel inquisitio facta per preceptum nostrum, ante susceptionem crucis nostre; cum autem redierimus, vel si forte remanserimus a peregrinatione nostra, statim eis inde plenam justiciam exhibebimus, secundum leges Walensium, & partes predictas.

'LXVI. As for all those things, of which 'any Welchman hath been disseized or deprived, with the legal judgment of his peers, by 'king Henry our father, or king Richard our 'brother, which we either have in our hands, 'or others are possess'd of, and we are obliged 'to warrant it, we shall have a respite, till the 'time generally allowed the Croises; excepting 'those things about which a suit is depending, 'or of which an inquest has been made by our 'order, before we undertook the Crusade; but 'when we return, or if we do not perform our 'pilgrimage, we will immediately do them full 'justice, according to the laws of the Welch, 'and of the parts aforesaid.

LXVII. Nos reddemus filium Lewelini statim, & omnes obsides de Wallia, & cartas que nobis liberate fuerunt in securitatem pacis.

'LXVII. We will forthwith give up the son 'of Lewelin, and all the Welch hostages, and 'the engagements they entered into with us 'for the preservation of the peace.

LXVIII. Nos faciemus Alexandro regi Scottorum, de sororibus suis & obsidibus reddendis, & libertatibus suis, & jure suo, secundum formam in qua faciemus aliis baronibus nostris Anglie, nisi aliter esse debeat per cartas quas habemus de Willielmo patre ipsius, quondam rege Scottorum; & hoc erit per judicium parium suorum in curia nostra.

'LXVIII. We shall treat with Alexander 'king of Scots, about the restoring of his sister 'and hostages, and his liberties and right, in 'the same manner as we shall do to the rest of 'the barons of England, unless by the engage'ments of his father William, late king of Scots, 'with us, it ought to be otherwise; and this 'shall be left to the decision of his peers in our 'court.

LXIX. Omnes autem istas consuetudines predictas, & libertates quas nos concessimus in regno nostro tenendas, quantum ad nos pertinet erga nostros omnes de regno nostro, tam clerici quam laici observent, quantum ad se pertinet erga suos.

'LXIX. All the foresaid customs and liber'ties which we have granted to be holden in 'our realm, as much as it belongs to us towards 'our people, all our subjects, as well clergy as 'laity, shall observe, as far as they are concern'ed, towards their dependents.

LXX. Cum autem pro Deo, & ad emendationem regni nostri, & ad melius sopiendam discordiam inter nos & barones nostros ortam, hec omnia predicta concesserimus, volentes ea integra & firma stabilitate gaudere ∴, facimus & concedimus eis securitatem subscriptam; videlicet quod barones eligant viginti quinque

'LXX. And whereas, for the honour of 'God, and the amendment of our kingdom, and 'for quieting the discord between us and our 'barons, we have granted all the things afore'said, willing to render them firm and lasting, 'we do give and grant our subjects the follow'ing security; viz. that the barons may chuse

barones de regno, quos voluerint, qui debeant pro totis viribus ſuis obſervare, tenere, & facere obſervari, pacem & libertates quas eis conceſſimus, & hac preſenti carta noſtra confirmavimus. Ita ſcilicet quod ſi nos, vel juſticiarius noſter, vel ballivi noſtri, vel aliquis de miniſtris noſtris, in aliquo erga aliquem deliquerimus, vel aliquem articulorum pacis aut ſecuritatis tranſgreſſi fuerimus, & delictum oſtenſum fuerit quatuor baronibus de predictis viginti quinque baronibus, illi quatuor barones accedant ad nos, vel ad juſticiarium noſtrum ſi fuerimus extra regnum, proponentes nobis exceſſum, petent, ut exceſſum illum ſine dilatione faciamus emendari: & ſi nos exceſſum non emendaverimus, vel ſi fuerimus extra regnum juſticiarius noſter non emendaverit, infra tempus quadraginta dierum, computandum a tempore quo monſtratum fuerit nobis, vel juſticiario noſtro, ſi extra regnum fuerimus, predicti quatuor barones referant cauſam illam ad reſiduos de viginti quinque baronibus, & illi viginti quinque barones cum communa totius terre, diſtringent & gravabunt nos modis omnibus quibus poterunt, ſcilicet per captionem caſtrorum, terrarum, poſſeſſionum, & aliis modis quibus poterunt donec fuerit emendatum ſecundum arbitrium eorum; ſalva perſona noſtra, & regine noſtre, & liberorum noſtrorum, & cum fuerit emendatum intendent nobis ſicut prius fecerunt.

LXXI. Et quicunque voluerit de terra, juret, quod ad predicta omnia exequenda parebit mandatis predictorum viginti quinque baronum, & quod gravabit nos pro poſſe ſuo cum ipſis; & nos publice & libere damus licentiam jurandi cuilibet qui jurare voluerit, & nulli unquam jurare prohibebimus.

LXXII. Omnes autem illos de terra qui per ſe & ſponte ſua noluerint jurare viginti quinque baronibus de diſtringendo & gravando nos cum eis, faciemus jurare eoſdem de mandato noſtro, ſicut predictum eſt.

LXXIII. Et ſi aliquis de viginti quinque baronibus deceſſerit, vel a terra receſſerit, vel aliquo alio modo impeditus fuerit, quo minus iſta predicta poſſent exequi, qui reſidui fuerint de predictis viginti quinque baronibus, eligant alium loco ipſius, pro arbitrio ſuo, qui ſimili modo erit juratus quo & ceteri.

LXXIV. In omnibus autem, que iſtis viginti quinque baronibus committuntur exequenda, ſi forte ipſi viginti quinque preſentes fuerint, & inter ſe ſuper re aliqua diſcordaverint, vel aliqui ex eis ſummoniti, nolint, vel nequeant intereſſe, ratum habeatur & firmum, quod major pars eorum qui preſentes fuerint providerit, vel preceperit, ac ſi omnes viginti quinque in hoc conſenſiſſent, & predicti viginti quinque jurent quod omnia antedicta fideliter obſervabunt & pro toto poſſe ſuo facient obſervari.

LXXV. Et nos nichil impetrabimus ab aliquo, per nos, nec per alium, per quod aliqua iſtarum conceſſionum & libertatum revocetur vel minuatur, & ſi aliquid tale impetratum fuerit irritum ſit & inane; & nunquam eo utemur per nos, nec per alium.

'25 barons of the kingdom, whom they think 'fit, who ſhall, with all their might, hold and 'obſerve, and cauſe to be obſerved, the peace 'and liberties we have granted them, and by 'this our preſent charter confirmed. So as 'that, if we, our juſticiary, our bailiffs, or any 'of our officers, ſhall in any caſe fail in the per-'formance of them, towards any perſon; or 'ſhall violate any of theſe articles of peace and 'ſecurity, and the offence is notified to four 'barons, choſen out of the 25 aforeſaid, the 'ſaid four barons ſhall repair to us, or to our 'juſticiary, if we are out of the realm; and, 'laying open the grievance, ſhall petition to 'have it redreſſed, without delay; and if it is 'not redreſſed by us, or, if we ſhould be out 'of the realm, by our juſticiary, within 40 days, 'reckoning from the time it has been notified 'to us, or to our juſticiary, if we ſhould be 'out of the realm, the four barons aforeſaid 'ſhall lay the cauſe before the reſt of the 25 'barons; and the ſaid 25 barons, together 'with the community of the whole kingdom, 'ſhall diſtrein and diſtreſs us, all poſſible ways, 'namely, by ſeizing our caſtles, lands, poſſeſ-'ſions, and in any other manner they can, till 'the grievance is redreſſed according to their 'pleaſure, ſaving harmleſs our own perſon and 'thoſe of our queen and children; and, when 'it is redreſſed, they ſhall obey us, as before.

'LXXI. And any man whatſoever in the 'realm may ſwear, that he will obey the orders 'of the 25 barons aforeſaid, in the execution 'of the premiſſes, and that he will diſtreſs us, 'jointly with them, to the utmoſt of his power; 'and we give publick and free liberty to any 'one that will thus ſwear, and never ſhall hin-'any perſon from taking the ſame oath.

'LXXII. As for all thoſe of our ſubjects, 'who will not, of their own accord, ſwear to 'join the 25 barons, in diſtreining and diſtreſ-'ſing us, we will, by our order, make them 'take the oath, as aforeſaid.

'LXXIII. And if any of the 25 barons 'dies, or goes out of the kingdom, or is hin-'dered any other way, from putting the things 'aforeſaid in execution, the reſt of the ſaid 25 'barons may chuſe another in his room, at their 'diſcretion, who ſhall be ſworn in like manner 'as the reſt.

'LXXIV. In all things that are committed 'to the charge of theſe 25 barons, if, when they 'are all aſſembled, they ſhall diſagree about 'any matter; or ſome of them, when ſummon-'ed, will not, or cannot come, whatſoever is 'agreed upon, or enjoined, by the major part 'of thoſe who are preſent, ſhall be reputed as 'firm and valid, as if all the 25 had given their 'conſent; and the foreſaid 25 ſhall ſwear, that 'all the premiſſes they ſhall faithfully obſerve, 'and with all their might cauſe to be ob-'ſerved.

'LXXV. And we will not by ourſelves, or 'others, procure any thing, by which any of 'theſe conceſſions and liberties may be revoked, 'or leſſened; and, if any ſuch thing be obtain-'ed, let it be null and void; nor ſhall we ever 'make uſe of it, either by ourſelves, or others.

LXXVI. Et

LXXVI. Et omnes malas voluntates, indignationes, & rancores ortos inter nos & homines noſtros, clericos & laicos, a tempore diſcordie, plene omnibus remiſimus, & condonavimus. Preterea, omnes tranſgreſſiones factas occaſione ejuſdem diſcordie, apaſcha anno regni noſtri ſextodecimo, uſque ad pacem reformatam, plene remiſimus omnibus clericis & laicis, & quantum ad nos pertinet plene condonavimus.

'LXXVI. And all the ill-will, anger, and 'malice ariſen between us and our ſubjects, of 'clergy and laity, from the firſt breaking out 'of the diſſenſion between us, we do fully remit 'and forgive. Moreover, all treſpaſſes occaſi-'oned by the ſaid diſſenſion, from Eaſter in the '16th year of our reign, till the reſtoration of 'peace, we hereby entirely remit to all, both 'clergy and laity, and, as far as in us lies, fully 'forgive.

LXXVII. Et inſuper, fecimus eis fieri litteras teſtimoniales patentes domini Stephani Cantuarienſis archiepiſcopi, domini Henrici Dublinienſis archiepiſcopi, & epiſcoporum predictorum, & magiſtri Pandulfi, ſuper ſecuritate iſta, & conceſſionibus prefatis.

'LXXVII. We have alſo granted them our 'letters patent teſtimonial of Stephen lord arch-'biſhop of Canterbury, Henry lord archbiſhop 'of Dublin, and the biſhops aforeſaid, and 'maſter Pandulph, for the ſecurity and conceſ-'ſions aforeſaid.

LXXVIII. Quare volumus & firmiter precipimus, quod Anglicana eccleſia libera ſit, & quod homines in regno noſtro habeant, & teneant, omnes prefatas libertates, jura, & conceſſiones, bene & in pace, libere & quiete, plene & integre, ſibi & heredibus ſuis, de nobis & heredibus noſtris in omnibus rebus & locis in perpetuum, ſicut predictum eſt.

'LXXVIII. Wherefore we will and firmly 'enjoin, that the church of England be free, 'and that all men in our realm have, and hold, 'all the foreſaid liberties, rights, and conceſ-'ſions, truly and peaceably, freely and quietly, 'fully and wholly, to themſelves and their 'heirs, of us and our heirs, in all things and 'places for ever, as is aforeſaid.

LXXIX. Juratum eſt autem tam ex parte noſtra, quam ex parte baronum, quod hec omnia ſupradicta, bona fide, & ſine malo ingenio obſervabuntur.

'LXXIX. It is likewiſe ſworn, as well on 'our part, as on the part of the barons, that 'all the things aforeſaid ſhall faithfully and ſin-'cerely be obſerved.

Teſtibus ſupradictis, & multis aliis. Data permanum noſtram in prato quod vocatur Runingmede inter Windeleſor. & Stanes quinto decimo die Junii anno regni noſtri ſeptimo decimo.

Given under our hand in the preſence of the witneſſes aforeſaid, and many others, in the meadow called Runingmede, between Windſor and Stanes, the 15th day of June, in the 17th year of our reign.

o— Deleantur per eoſdem ita quod nos hoc ſciamus prius vel juſticiarius noſter ſi in Anglia non fuerimus.

'o— So as we are firſt acquainted with it, 'or our juſticiary, if we ſhould not be in Eng-'land.

—o Eundem autem reſpectum habebimus, & eodem modo de juſticia exhibenda, *de foreſtis deafforeſtandis* vel remanſuris foreſtis.

'—o And in the ſame manner about admi-'niſtering juſtice, diſafforeſting the foreſts, or 'letting them continue.

÷ Parium ſuorum in Angl. vel in Wallia.

'÷ Either in England or Wales.

∴ Gaudere in perpetuum.—

'∴ For ever.—

Examined and compared with the original in the Cottonian library,
By David Caſsley, deputy-librarian.

There are two copies of this charter, in the Cottonian library, as antient as the time of king John; one of which has ſtill the broad ſeal, tho' part of it was melted by the flames, that, on October 23, 1731, conſumed part of the ſaid library, and alſo rendered a few letters of that charter not legible; but they were carefully ſupplied by the learned Mr. David Caſsley, & are diſtinguiſhed, above, in *Italick letters*. Both charters were evidently written by the ſame hand; and that, which is without a ſeal, has two ſlits at the bottom, from which, doubtleſs, hung two ſeals.—The few words, printed here at the end, are ſo placed in the original, and referred to by the ſame marks.

THE

THE CHARTER of FORESTS*,

Granted by king JOHN to his ſubjects, in the year 1215 §.

JOHANNES Dei gratia, rex Angliæ, &c. Sciatis quod intuitu Dei & pro ſalute animæ noſtræ & animarum anteceſſorum & ſucceſſorum, ad exaltationem ſanctæ eccleſiæ, & emendationem regni noſtri; ſpontanea & bona voluntate noſtra dedimus, & conceſſimus pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris, has libertates ſubſcriptas, habendas & tenendas in regno noſtro Angliæ in perpetuum.

I. In primis omnes foreſtæ quas rex Henricus avus noſter afforeſtavit, videantur per probos & legales homines; & ſi boſcum aliquem alium quam ſuum dominicum, afforeſtaverit ad damnum illius cujus boſcus fuerit, ſtatim deafforeſtetur. Et ſi boſcum ſuum proprium afforeſtaverit, remaneat foreſta, ſalva communia de herbagio & rebus aliis in eadem foreſta, illis qui eam prius habere conſueverunt.

II. Homines qui manent extra foreſtam, non veniant de cætero coram juſticiariis noſtris de foreſta, per communes ſubmonitiones; niſi ſint in placito, vel plegii alicujus vel aliquorum qui attachiati ſunt propter foreſtam: omnes autem boſci qui fuerunt afforeſtati per regem Richardum fratrem noſtrum, ſtatim deafforeſtentur; niſi fuerint dominici boſci noſtri.

III. Archiepiſcopi, epiſcopi, abbates, priores, comites, barones, milites, & libere tenentes, qui boſcos habent in foreſta, habeant boſcos ſuos ficut eos habuerunt tempore primæ coronationis prædicti regis Henrici avi noſtri; ita quod quieti ſint in perpetuum de omnibus purpreſturis, vaſtis & aſſartis factis in illis boſcis poſt illud tempus, uſque ad principium ſecundi anni coronationis noſtræ. Et qui de cætero vaſtum, purpreſturam, vel aſſartum facient ſine licentia noſtra in illis boſcis, de vaſtis, purpreſturis, & aſſartis reſpondeant.

IV. Regardatores noſtri eant per foreſtas, ad faciendum regardum, ſicut fieri conſuevit tempore primæ coronationis prædicti regis Henrici avi noſtri, & non aliter.

V. Inquiſitio vel viſus de expeditatione canum exiſtentium in foreſta de cætero fiat, quando fieri debet regardum; ſcilicet de tertio anno in tertium annum; & tunc fiat per viſum

'JOHN, by the grace of God, king of 'England, &c. Know ye, that for the 'honour of God, and the health of 'our ſoul, and the ſouls of our anceſtors 'and ſucceſſors, and for the exaltation of the 'holy church, and for the reformation of our 'realm, we have, of our own free-will, given and 'granted, for us and our heirs, theſe liberties 'hereafter mentioned, to be had and obſerved 'in our kingdom of England for ever.

'I. Imprimis, All the foreſts, made by king 'Henry our grandfather, ſhall be viewed by 'honeſt and lawful men; and, if he turned 'any other than his own woods into foreſts, to 'the damage of him whoſe wood it was, it 'ſhall forthwith be diſforeſted. And if he 'turned his own woods into foreſts, they ſhall 'continue ſo, ſaving the common of paſture to 'ſuch as formerly uſed to have it.

'II. Is the LII. and LV. of the Great 'Charter put into one chapter.

'III. The archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, earls, 'barons, knights, and free-tenants, who have 'their woods in any foreſts, ſhall have their 'woods as they had them, at the time of the 'firſt coronation of king Henry our grandfather; ſo as they ſhall be diſcharged for ever 'of all purpreſtures †, waſtes and aſſarts ‡, 'made in thoſe woods, after that time, to the 'beginning of the ſecond year of our coronation; and thoſe who, henceforward, ſhall 'make waſte, purpreſture or aſſart in thoſe 'woods, without our licenſe, ſhall anſwer for 'them **.

'IV. Our inſpectors ſhall go through the fo-'reſts to make a view, as it uſed to be, at the 'time of the firſt coronation of king Henry our 'grandfather, and not otherwiſe.

'V. The inquiſition, or view for lawing †† of 'dogs kept within the foreſt, hereafter, ſhall 'be when the view is made, i. e. every three 'years, and then ſhall be done by the view

* The foreſts, originally, belonged to the crown; but the kings had granted ſeveral parts and parcels to private men, who had grubbed them up and turned them into arable or paſture; tho' they ſtill were called foreſts. Theſe foreſts, being the kings own demeſnes, of which he was the ſovereign lord, continually occaſioned vexatious ſuits; not only againſt thoſe that held them of the king, but againſt the neighbouring freemen, under the pretence of the rights of the crown.

§ According to Matthew Paris. † That is, incroachments upon the king's lands.

‡ i. e. the grubbing up a wood, and making it arable, without licenſe.

** Every article of this charter evidently ſhews, how much the ſubject was oppreſſed, under the pretence of preſerving the royal foreſts. †† Cutting off their claws, &c.

&

& teſtimonium legalium hominum, & non aliter. Et ille cujus canis inventus fuerit tunc non expeditatus, pro miſericordia det tres ſolidos; & de cætero nullus bos capiatur pro expeditatione. Talis autem expeditatio ſit per aſſiſam communiter, quod tres ortelli aſcindantur de pede anteriori ſine poleta. Non expeditentur canes de cætero, niſi in locis ubi expeditari ſolent tempore primæ coronationis prædicti Henrici regis avi noſtri.

'and teſtimony of lawful men, and not otherwiſe; and he, whoſe dogs ſhall then be found 'unlawed, ſhall pay three ſhillings; and, for 'the future, no one ſhall be taken for lawing, 'and ſuch lawing ſhall be according to the 'common aſſize; viz. the three claws of the 'dog's forefoot ſhall be cut off, or the ball of 'the foot taken out; and, for the time to 'come, dogs ſhall not be lawed, unleſs in 'places where they uſed to be lawed, in the 'time of king Henry our grandfather.

VI. Nullus foreſtarius, vel bedellus, faciat de cætero ſcotallum, vel colligat garbas, vel avenam, vel bladum aliud, vel agnos, vel porcellos, nec aliquam collectam faciat; & per viſum & ſacramentum duodecim regardatorum, quando facient regardum, tot foreſtarii ponantur ad foreſtas cuſtodiendas, quot ad illas cuſtodiendas rationabiliter viderint ſufficere.

'VI. No foreſter, or bedel *, henceforward, 'ſhall make any ale-ſhots †, or collect ſheaves 'of corn, or oats, or other grain, or lambs, or 'pigs; nor ſhall make any gathering whatſo'ever, but by the view and oath of 12 inſpec'tors; and, when they make their view, ſo 'many foreſters ſhall be appointed to keep the 'foreſt as they ſhall reaſonably think ſufficient.

VII. Nullum ſuanimotum de cætero teneatur in regno noſtro, niſi ter in anno; videlicet in principio quindecim dierum ante feſtum ſancti Michaelis, quando agiſtatores veniunt ad agiſtandum dominicos boſcos, & circa feſtum ſancti Martini quando agiſtatores noſtri debent accipere panagium ſuum. Et ad iſta duo ſuanimota, convenient foreſtarii, viridarii, & agiſtatores; & nullus alius per diſtrictionem. Et tertium ſuanimotum teneatur in initio XV dierum ante feſtum ſancti Johannis Baptiſtæ pro fœnatione beſtiarum noſtrarum; & ad iſtum ſuanimotum convenient foreſtarii, viridarii, & non alii per diſtrictionem.

'VII. No ſwainmote, hereafter, ſhall be 'holden in our kingdom oftener than thrice a 'year; i. e. in the beginning of 15 days be'fore Michaelmas, when the agiſters come to 'agiſt the demeſne woods; and about the feaſt 'of St. Martin, when our agiſters are to receive 'their pannage ‡; and in thoſe two ſwain'motes, the foreſters, verderers, and agiſters 'ſhall meet, and no other by diſtreſs; and the 'third ſwainmote ſhall be held in the beginning 'of the 15 days before the feaſt of St. John the 'Baptiſt, about the fawning of our does; and 'at this ſwainmote ſhall meet the foreſters 'and verderers, and no others by compulſion.

VIII. Et præterea ſingulis quadraginta diebus, per totum annum convenient viridarii & foreſtarii ad videndum attachiamenta de foreſta tam de viridi quam de venatione, per præſentationem ipſorum foreſtariorum, & coram ipſis attachientur: prædicta autem ſuanimota non teneantur, niſi in comitatibus in quibus teneri conſueverunt.

'VIII. And moreover, every 40 days through 'the whole year, the verderers and foreſters 'ſhall meet to view the attachments of the fo'reſt, as well of vert **, as veniſon, by pre'ſentment of the foreſters themſelves; and the 'offenders ſhall be forced to appear before 'them: but the aforeſaid ſwainmotes ſhall only 'be held in the counties, where they uſed to 'be held.

IX. Unuſquiſque liber homo agiſtet boſcum ſuum in foreſta pro voluntate ſua, & habeat panagium ſuum.

'IX. Every freeman ſhall agiſt †† his wood 'in the foreſt at his pleaſure, and ſhall receive 'his pannage.

X. Concedimus etiam quod unuſquiſque liber homo poſſit ducere porcos ſuos per dominicum boſcum noſtrum, libere & ſine impedimento; & ad agiſtandum eos in boſcis ſuis propriis, vel alibi ubi voluerit. Et ſi porci alicujus liberi hominis una nocte pernoctaverint in foreſta noſtra, non inde occaſionetur, ita quod aliquid de ſuo perdat.

'X. We grant alſo, that every freeman may 'drive his hogs through our demeſne woods, 'freely and without impediment, and may a'giſt them in his own woods, or elſewhere as 'he will; and if the hogs of any freeman ſhall 'remain one night in our foreſts, he ſhall not 'be troubled, ſo as to loſe any thing for it.

XI. Nullus de cætero amittat vitam vel membra pro venatione noſtra; ſed ſi aliquis captus fuerit & convictus de captione venationis, graviter redimatur, ſi habeat unde redimi poſſit, & ſi non unde redimi poſſit, jaceat in priſona noſtra per annum unum & unum diem. Et ſi poſt annum unum & unum diem plegios invenire poſſit, exeat a priſona; ſin autem, abjuret regnum noſtrum Angliæ.

'XI. No man, henceforward, ſhall loſe life 'or limb for taking our veniſon; but if any 'one be ſeized and convicted of taking veniſon, 'he ſhall be grievouſly fined, if he hath where'withal to pay; and if he hath not, he ſhall 'lie in our priſon a year and a day. And if, 'after that term, he can find ſureties, he ſhall 'be releaſed; if not, he ſhall abjure our realm 'of England.

XII. Quicunque archiepiſcopus, epiſcopus, comes vel baro veniens ad nos per mandatum

'XII. Every archbiſhop, biſhop, earl, or 'or baron, coming to us by our command, and

* Bailiff of the foreſt. † i. e. take ale, to excuſe the offender.
‡ Money for the feeding of hogs with maſte in the king's foreſts:
** i. e. the offences committed, in cutting wood, or killing deer. †† i. e. take in his neighbour's cattle to feed.

noſtrum, tranſierit per foreſtam noſtram, licet ille capere unam vel duas beſtias per viſum foreſtarii ſi præſens fuerit; ſin autem, faciat cornari, ne videatur hoc furtive facere: item licet in redeundo idem eis facere, ſicut prædictum eſt.

'paſſing through our foreſt, may take one or 'two deer by view of the foreſter, if preſent; 'if not, he ſhall cauſe a horn to be ſounded, 'leſt he ſhould ſeem to ſteal them: alſo in their 'return, it ſhall be lawful for them to do the 'ſame thing.

XIII. Unuſquiſque liber homo de cætero ſine occaſione, faciat in boſco ſuo vel in terra ſua, quam habet in foreſta molendinum, vivarium, ſtagnum, marleram, foſſatum vel terram arabilem, extra co-opertum in terra arabili, ita quod non ſit ad nocumentum alicujus vicini.

'XIII. Every freeman, for the future, may 'erect a mill in his own wood, or on his own 'land, which he hath in the foreſt; or make a 'warren, pond, marle-pit, or ditch, or turn it 'into arable, without the covert in the arable 'land, ſo as it be not to the damage of his 'neigbour.

XIV. Unuſquiſque liber homo habeat in boſcis ſuis ærias accipitrum, ſpervariorum, falconum, aquilarum & heironum; & habeant ſimiliter mel quod inventum fuerit in boſcis ſuis.

'XIV. Every freeman may have in his 'woods the ayries of hawks, ſpar-hawks, fal-'cons, eagles, and herons; and they ſhall alſo 'have the honey which ſhall be found in their 'woods.

XV. Nullus foreſtarius de cetæro, qui non ſit foreſtarius de feudo, reddens firmam nobis pro balliva ſua, capiat cheminagium, ſcilicet pro careta per dimidium annum, duos denarios, & per alium dimidium duos denarios; & pro equo, qui portat ſummagium, per dimidium annum, unum obolum, & per alium dimidium annum, unum obolum; & non niſi de illis, qui extra ballivam ſuam tanquam mercatores veniunt, per licentiam ſuam in ballivam ſuam, ad buſcam, meiremium, corticem, vel carbonem emendum, & alias ducendum ad vendendum ubi voluerint. Et de nulla careta alia, vel ſummagio, aliquod cheminagium capiatur; non capiatur cheminagium, niſi in locis illis, ubi antiquitus capi ſolebat & debuit: illi autem qui portant ſuper dorſum ſuum, buſcam, corticem vel carbonem ad vendendum, quamvis inde vivant, nullum de cætero dent cheminagium de boſcis aliorum; nullum detur cheminagium foreſtariis noſtris præterquam de dominicis boſcis noſtris.

'XV. No foreſter, for the time to come, 'who is not a foreſter in fee, paying us rent 'for his office, ſhall take cheminage *, i. e. 'for every cart two-pence for half a year, and 'for the other half-year two-pence; and for 'a horſe that carries burthens, for half a year a 'half-penny, and for the other half-year a 'half-penny; and then only of thoſe, who 'come as buyers, out of their bailiwick, to buy 'underwood, timber, bark or charcoal, to car-'ry it to ſell in other places, where they will. 'And, for the future, there ſhall be no chemi-'nage taken for any other cart or carriage-'horſe, unleſs in the places where it antiently 'uſed and ought to be taken; but they who 'carry wood, bark, or coal upon their backs 'to ſell, tho' they get their livelihood by it, 'ſhall, henceforward, pay no cheminage; and, 'for paſſage through the woods of other men, 'no cheminage ſhall be given to our foreſters, 'except in our own woods.

XVI. Omnes utlagati pro foreſta a tempore regis Henrici avi noſtri, uſque ad primam coronationem noſtram, veniant ad pacem ſine impedimento, & ſalvos plegios inveniant quod de cætero non forisfacient nobis de foreſta noſtra.

'XVI. All perſons outlawed for offences 'committed in our foreſts, from the time of 'king Henry our grandfather, until our firſt 'coronation, may reverſe their outlawries 'without impediment, but ſhall find pledges, 'that, henceforward, they will not forfeit to 'us † in our foreſt.

XVII. Nullus caſtellanus vel alius teneat placitum de foreſta ſive de viridi ſive de venatione; ſed quilibet foreſtarius de feudo attachiet placita de foreſta, tam de viridi quam de venatione, & ea præſentet viridariis provinciarum; & cum rotulata fuerint, & ſub ſigillis viridariorum incluſa, præſententur capitali foreſtario cum in partes illas venerit ad tenendum placita foreſtæ, & coram eo terminentur.

'XVII. No caſtellan or other perſon ſhall 'hold pleas of the foreſt, whether concerning 'vert or veniſon, but every foreſter in fee ſhall 'attach pleas of the foreſt ‡, as well concerning 'vert as veniſon, and ſhall preſent them to the 'verderers of the ſeveral counties; and, when 'they ſhall be enrolled and ſealed under the 'ſeals of the verderers, they ſhall be preſented 'to the chief foreſter, when he ſhall come into 'thoſe parts, to hold pleas of the foreſt, and 'ſhall be determined before him.

XVIII. Omnes autem conſuetudines prædictas & libertates, quas nos conceſſimus in regno tenendas, quantum ad nos pertinet erga noſtros, omnes de regno noſtro, tam laici quam clerici obſervent, quantum ad ſe pertinet erga ſuos.

'XVIII. And all the cuſtoms and liberties 'aforeſaid, which we have granted to be held 'in our realm; as much as it belongs to us to-'wards our vaſſals, all of our kingdom, as well 'laity as clergy ſhall obſerve, as much as be-'longs to them towards their vaſſals **.

* i. e. money for paſſing through the foreſt. † i. e. commit no offence. Dr. Brady.
‡ i. e. may ſeize the body or goods of the offenders, to make them appear.
** The original of this charter is not extant; nor any copy more antient than the firſt of Henry III.

8. HENRY III. ſirnamed of Wincheſter.

1216. HENRY III.

THE long reign of Henry III. abounds with ſo many various events, that, for the moſt part, have little or no connexion together, that, by a particular account of all the remarkable occurrences, during this period, I ſhould be apt rather to fatigue the reader, than conveigh to him any diſtinct ideas of the affairs of thoſe days; and I ſhall, therefore, confine myſelf to ſome principal heads, which contain the ſubſtance of what was tranſacted, in this reign. Firſt, I ſhall attempt to deſcribe the ſtate of the kingdom, the genius of the king, and the character and pernicious deſigns of his miniſters; ſecondly, I will ſhew the inſatiable avarice and tyranny of the court of Rome; thirdly, the barons league, to oppoſe the arbitrary and tyrannical power intended to be introduced into the kingdom; and, laſtly, the barons abuſe of the authority they uſurped, under that pretence, and how all their proceedings were rendered ineffectual. I ſhall run over theſe general heads, with all the brevity the nature of the ſubject will allow; and to theſe almoſt every thing, that ſhall afterwards be ſaid, will have ſome reference.

The ſtate of England.

John left his crown to his eldeſt ſon; but the young prince, being then only in the tenth year of his age, was very incapable of curing the diſorders of ſuch a diſtemper'd ſtate; and the few lords, who inviolably adhered to the late king, with an army of foreigners, in whom John himſelf never durſt place any confidence, were very unlikely inſtruments to promote the reſtoration of the royal family. There was the leſs proſpect of ſuch a favourable revolution, as almoſt all the peers of the realm, ſupported by the French forces, ſeemed to be firmly united againſt it; and, beſides, Lewis's great progreſs, in ſome meaſure, promiſed him the reduction of the whole kingdom. However, in ſpite of theſe, in all appearance, inſuperable difficulties, young Henry was enabled to maintain his title to the crown, by the means of the wiſe and valiant earl of Pembroke, a loyal ſubject, who was equally qualified to project and execute the greateſt deſigns; for this generous lord, far from being diſpirited at this critical extremity, undertook to raiſe the hopes of the honeſt Engliſh, and expel the foreigners out of the kingdom.

The earl of Pembroke's ſpeech.

Immediately upon John's deceaſe, the earl of Pembroke aſſembled that prince's adherents; and, preſenting young Henry to their view, he made a ſpeech, beginning with theſe words: "Behold our king." Then, after a ſhort pauſe, he told them, "That, tho' the late "king's conduct had furniſhed the confederate "barons with a plauſible pretence to complain, "it was unreaſonable to deprive a family of "the crown, that had enjoyed it ſo long, much "more to reſign it to a foreign prince; and "that, as John's faults were perſonal, it wuold "be unjuſt to puniſh his ſon, on that account, "whoſe tender age rendered him altogether "innocent. He farther added, that the re- "medy, uſed by the confederate barons, was "worſe than the diſeaſe, ſince it tended to re- "duce the nation to an ignominious ſervitude; "and that, therefore, in the preſent poſture "of affairs, nothing could deliver them from "the impending yoke, but their ſtrict union "under a prince, who was undeniably the "lawful heir to the crown." Upon this ſpeech, the whole aſſembly cried out, with one voice, "We will have Henry for our king *;" and tho' the earl of Cheſter made ſome oppoſition, at firſt, he afterwards deſiſted, and a day was prefixed for the coronation. The ceremony was performed, with little pomp, by the biſhops of Bath and Wincheſter, in the preſence of a few lords and Gallo, the legate, who eſpouſed young Henry's cauſe, to the utmoſt of his power; and, John's crown being lately loſt in the Well-ſtream, as I have already related, they were obliged to make uſe of a plain circle or chaplet of gold, becauſe they had neither time nor means to provide one that was better; but, before the crown was ſet on his head, the cuſtomary oath was adminiſter'd to him, and the legate, who was ever intent upon his maſter's intereſt, cauſed the young prince to do homage to the holy ſee. This was no proper juncture to diſpute that homage, leſt it ſhould occaſion the loſs of the pope's aſſiſtance, and increaſe the difficulties, that Henry was, in all likelihood, to encounter, in the beginning of his reign.

1216.

The earl of Pembroke is made regent. M. Paris.

Theſe ceremonies being over, the aſſembly of the lords, as the repreſentatives of the whole nation, elected William Marſhall, earl of Pembroke, to be the king's guardian, and declared him protector, i. e. regent of the kingdom; and they could not have choſen to that high office a perſon of more extenſive abilities, a greater patriot, or a more truſty friend to the royal family. From the late king's acceſſion to the throne, for whom he, in a great meaſure, procured the crown, by his addreſs and activity, he, to the laſt, was inſeparably attached to the ſervice of that prince, and never deſerted him, even in his moſt preſſing extremities; and, as his invariable loyalty had gained him his maſter's favour and confidence, he was always truſted with his ſecrets, and conſequently more qualified, than any other, to be at the helm of affairs, in ſo tempeſtuous a ſeaſon. He perfectly underſtood the cauſe of the troubles, as well as the intereſts and intrigues of thoſe that excited them; and he likewiſe knew, that moſt of the barons were extremely diſſatisfied with Lewis, whom they invited over, on which foundation he principally built his expectations. The private ſubmiſſions of 40 of them to the king led him to hope, that the reſt would

* Fiat rex, fiat rex. Hemingf.

quickly

1216. quickly follow their example; and, indeed, nothing, except the deſpair of pardon, reſtrained the majority from abandoning prince Lewis; and, therefore, the regent was apprehenſive, that a declaration of the new king's readineſs to forgive would, in a little time, entirely diſſolve the confederacy. Moreover, it was not, in the leaſt, probable, that, after John's death, ſo many lords could reſolve to remain in ſubjection to a foreign prince, who daily gave them freſh occaſions to complain; and, in this belief, the earl of Pembroke ſent letters to all the barons and corporations in the kingdom *, to inform them of Henry's acceſſion to the crown, promiſing great rewards to ſuch, as would return to their allegiance. Theſe aſſurances and the regent's known probity induced ſeveral of the confederate barons, to entertain thoughts of making their peace with their lawful ſovereign; and prince Lewis's excommunication, which was publiſhed, every Sunday, was a farther and no leſs powerful motive to this purpoſe. It is not to be ſuppoſed, but that, among all theſe lords, there were ſome whoſe conſciences were ſo tender, as to give them ſome uneaſineſs about following the banners of an excommunicated prince; much leſs, could they ſuffer themſelves to be involved in the ſame ſentence; ſo that Lewis's affairs, on a ſudden, began to decline, at the very time, when they ſeemed to be the moſt flouriſhing. The raiſing the ſiege of Dover alſo contributed very much to diſconcert that prince's meaſures; for, tho' he often endeavoured to corrupt the loyalty of Hubert de Burgh, governor of that place, it was proof againſt all temptations; and the force he made uſe of was ſtill more ineffectual, being repulſed, with loſs, in all his aſſaults. King John's death happening, during the ſiege, Lewis imagined, that Hubert would become more tractable; and, therefore, he ordered him to be ſummoned afreſh to ſurrender; repreſenting to him, at the ſame time, that, as John's deceaſe releaſed him from his oath, he might, without any ſcruple, ſwear fealty to a prince, whom his countrymen acknowledged for their ſovereign, and who would rejoice to ſhew him marks of his eſteem. The brave governor replied, that, the late king having left a ſucceſſor, who had a juſt title to his allegiance, he would maintain his cauſe, to the laſt drop of his blood; adding, that he could never believe, the eſteem of any valiant prince could be gained by a notorious baſeneſs. Lewis's promiſes proving unavailable, he threatened Hubert, that he would put his brother, who was in his power, to death; but this menace made no impreſſion on the faithful governor, who continued to defend the place, committed to his truſt, with the ſame invincible reſolution. Lewis, at length, raiſed the ſiege, and inveſted the caſtle of Hertford, which made but a feint reſiſtance; and the taking of it gave the Engliſh lords freſh cauſe of complaint; for Robert Fitz-Walter, claiming the cuſtody of the caſtle, as belonging to him, by antient right, had the mortification to ſee a French governor placed there, with a garriſon of the ſame nation. The Engliſh barons were extremely diſguſted, to find their own inheritances given to foreigners, without the leaſt regard to their complaints; and their vexation was farther inflamed, by the indiſcretion of ſome Frenchmen, who upbraided them, as traytors, declaring that it was of dangerous conſequence to truſt them with the cuſtody of caſtles. Theſe expreſſions, together with what the viſcount of Melun is reported to have ſaid, cauſed among the Engliſh, and eſpecially among the nobility, an univerſal diſcontent, which Lewis did not, as yet, apprehend, tho' he, ſoon after, felt the effects of it; and, in the interim, he ſubdued ſome other places, before he returned to London, where he did not arrive, till towards the latter end of the year. 1216.

Lewis attempts to bribe the governor of Dover. M. Paris.

Whilſt Lewis was employed, in improving his advantages, the regent did all that was poſſible to ſupport young Henry's juſt rights; and the firſt and moſt neceſſary precaution, at this juncture, was to ſend the pope early intelligence of John's death and his ſon's coronation, and to intreat him to take the new king under his protection. Innocent very readily interpoſed, in an affair that ſo nearly concerned him, ſince England, which he conſider'd as St. Peter's patrimony, was in danger; and, accordingly, he diſpatched freſh powers to his legate, to renew the excommunication of Lewis and the confederate barons; but the prince of France proteſted againſt all that ſhould be done to his prejudice; tho', to prevent the new cenſure from having any influence over the Engliſh barons, he required all of them to renew their homage to him, on a day appointed. His proteſtation, however, did not hinder the legate from putting the pope's orders in execution; for he held a ſynod at Briſtol, where he excommunicated Lewis, with the uſual formalities; which furniſhed ſome of the lords with a pretence to refuſe the homage that Lewis demanded. The pope declares for Henry. M. Paris.

Chriſtmas approaching, both parties agreed upon a truce, during the holidays; and, in the mean time, Lewis convened a general aſſembly at Oxford; as did the regent another, tho' not ſo numerous, at Cambridge. The king's party propoſing to have the truce prolonged, Lewis, at firſt, refuſed to conſent to it; but, being informed, ſoon after, that the pope deſigned to ratify, in a full conſiſtory, the excommunication denounced by his legate, he agreed to prolong A truce between both parties.

* A letter to Hugh de Lacy, a noted baron, that is ſtill extant, contains a ſafe-conduct to come and treat with the king, with a promiſe of the reſtitution of his eſtate and privileges; and the earl of Pembroke's name is affixed alone to the letter, which is dated, November 18, in the firſt year of this reign, and runs, thus: "Rex Hugoni de Lacy "ſalutem. Mandamus vobis quod ſecure & ſine dilatione veniatis ad fidelitatem & ſervitium noſtrum, & concedimus "vobis ſalvum conductum noſtrum in veniendo ad nos & nobiſcum loquendo & inde ſalvo revertendo. Et vos ſcire "volumus quod ſi ad nos venire volueritis jura veſtra & libertates veſtras per conſilium dilectorum fidelium noſtrorum "Ranulphi comitis Ceſtrie, Willielmi comitis de Ferrariis, & aliorum fidelium noſtrorum integre vobis reſtituemus; licet "vero bone memorie Johannes pater noſter in aliquo erga vos deliquerit ipſius delicti debemus eſſe immunes, nec delic- "tum ſuum aliquotenus nobis debet imputari. Et in hujus, &c. Quia ſigillum, &c. vobis inde mittemus. Teſte "comite decimo octavo die Novembris anno regni noſtri primo. Pat. I. Hen. III.

the

1216. the truce, till a month after Eaſter, intending to go to Paris, in order to conſult the king, his father.

1217. The truce is improved to Henry's advantage.

The earl of Pembroke wiſely made the beſt uſe of this truce, to reinforce his army with new levies, and to bring over, by ſecret practices, ſome of the confederate barons; whilſt Lewis's abſence gave the barons an opportunity of concerting meaſures, to free themſelves from his yoke, by returning to the obedience of their lawful ſovereign. Several, in that interval, treated with the king; and, among the reſt, William Marſhall, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Pembroke, who, till then, had been one of the moſt zealous partiſans of France. The Cinque-ports alſo declared for Henry, and ſent out a fleet, to oppoſe Lewis's return; yet, though their fleet, engaging with the French, deſtroyed ſeveral of their ſhips, they could not prevent the prince's landing at Sandwich; but he was ſo highly incenſed at this furious attack, that he ſet on fire the town, where he landed, becauſe it was one of the Cinque-ports.

The truce being expired, the regent diſpatched the earl of Cheſter, to beſiege Mont-Sorel in Leiceſterſhire, where there was a French garriſon; and the loſs of this place, tho', in itſelf, of no great importance, might, at the preſent juncture, be extremely prejudicial to Lewis, as it was evidently his intereſt to hinder the king's party from appearing to be in a condition to recover any of his conqueſts. For this reaſon, the prince judged it to be expedient, at any rate, to raiſe the ſiege; and, with this view, he put the earl of Perche, at the head of 20,000 men, giving him orders to march to the enemy. The earl of Cheſter, upon the approach of this numerous army, raiſed the ſiege, and returned to the regent; but the French general being apprehenſive, that the earl of Pembroke was unable to withſtand ſo great forces, reſolved to lay ſiege to Lincoln-caſtle, which held out for the king, tho' the city had declared for the barons; and, in this march, the French troops made ſuch terrible devaſtations, that the hiſtorians repreſent them, as an army of devils rather than men; yet, perhaps, things are painted in a worſe light than they really were.

The regent marches to the relief of Lincoln-caſtle.

Such was the importance of the caſtle of Lincoln, that the regent reſolutely determined to uſe his utmoſt efforts, in order to relieve it; and, with this view, he aſſembled all his forces, and with ſo much expedition, that he advanced, as far as Newark, within 12 miles of Lincoln, before the beſiegers came to a reſolution, whether they ſhould expect him, or march out and give him battle. They had, all along, entertained hopes of taking the caſtle, before he could muſter his army together; but the French general, being ſurprized at the ſudden approach of the enemy, called a council of war, on that occaſion. Some gave it, as their opinion, that it was moſt adviſable to meet the enemy, becauſe, if a victory enſued, the caſtle would, at once, ſurrender; and, beſides, by going out of the city, they might have the benefit of their cavalry, in which their ſtrength chiefly conſiſted; whereas they would be entirely uſeleſs, within the walls. Others, on the contrary, affirmed, that, as the caſtle was reduced to extremities, it was more expedient to remain, within the city, and carry on the ſiege; that it was not difficult to defend the walls, till the city ſurrendered; after which, the earl of Pembroke would, of courſe, retreat, or, if not, might always be fought. This propoſal prevailing, all neceſſary preparations were made, for the defence of the city; whilſt the ſiege of the caſtle was continued. In the interim, the Engliſh army approaching, without any reſiſtance, the regent cauſed a body of choſen troops, commanded by Faulk de Brent, to enter the caſtle at a poſtern-gate, which opened into the fields; tho' it is ſtrange, that the beſiegers did not guard againſt this inconvenience; yet Faulk had no ſooner enter'd, than, purſuant to the regent's directions, he ſallied out upon the beſiegers, whilſt the king's army ſtormed one of the gates of the city. 1217.

The defeat of the French army at Lincoln.

The earl of Perche, finding that he was, thus, attacked from two different quarters, exerted himſelf, in a vigorous defence; but his troops not having room to fight, and being likewiſe deprived of the aſſiſtance of the horſe, were ſoon put in confuſion; and the royal army, animated by the preſence of the regent, and the indulgences, which the legate liberally beſtowed upon all that ſhould be ſlain in battle, continued to ſtorm the gate, in ſo furious a manner, that, in ſpite of the obſtinate reſiſtance of the French, they, at laſt, entered the city, whilſt Faulk de Brent preſs'd the enemy, on the other ſide. The earl of Perche, perceiving that his affairs were in a deſperate ſituation, reſolved not to ſurvive the ſhame of his defeat; and he was ſlain, reproaching the Engliſh of his party, for betraying him by their counſels. After the deceaſe of the general, a horrible ſlaughter was made of the French troops, who, almoſt to a man, periſhed, on this occaſion; and the city of Lincoln, which had, all along, eſpouſed the cauſe of the barons, was abandoned to a general plunder, where the ſoldiers found ſuch an ineſtimable booty, that they, therefore, ſtiled it Lincoln-fair *.

Lewis retires to London, and ſends to his father for ſuccours. M. Par.

In the mean time, prince Lewis, once more, attempted to take Dover-caſtle; but, meeting with no leſs oppoſition than before, he made no conſiderable progreſs in the ſiege; and, upon the news of the defeat at Lincoln, he retired to London, to take new meaſures. He no ſooner arrived at that city, than he ſent to the king, his father, for ſpeedy ſupplies, and proportionable to his exigences; or otherwiſe he aſſured him, he had not the leaſt proſpect of retrieving his affairs. Philip, to amuſe the pope, publickly ſent his ſon word, that he would not, any more, interpoſe in his concerns, and adviſed him to take care of himſelf; yet he ſecretly ſo contrived matters, that Blanche, his daughter-in-law, in her own name, quickly prepared a body of troops, with ſhips to tranſ-

* Geoffrey de Drapinges, the precentor, complained, that he himſelf loſt 11000 marks, which ſhews the great riches of the cathedral, which was pillaged, on this occaſion. Saer earl of Wincheſter, Henry de Boum earl of Hereford, Gilbert de Gant earl of Lincoln, commanders, and ſeveral other barons were taken priſoners. M. Par.

1217. port them into England. Had these succours safely arrived, they might have repaired Lewis's loss at Lincoln; but he was no less unfortunate at sea than on land; for the commanders of the fleet of the Cinque-ports, being informed, that the French troops were to embarque at Calais, laid themselves in their way; and, giving them battle, the greatest part of the French fleet was either sunk or taken *.

He is blocked up in London.

Lewis had scarce received intelligence of the defeat of the succours he expected from France, before he perceived, that he was besieged, or, at least, closely blocked up, by the approach of the English army; and such a train of misfortunes, with the discontents of the English, which now manifestly appeared, and the papal thunders, that, in his present declining condition, began to inspire him with terror, convinced him, that it was high time to think of a retreat. He, therefore, determined to sue to the regent, for a peace; but, notwithstanding his unhappy circumstances, he represented to him, that he would consent to no terms, except such as were honourable, and would screen his English adherents from all prosecution. This prince's generous care of the English barons, by the way, is scarce reconcilable with the resolution, said to be imputed to him by the viscount of Melun; but, however that be, the earl of Pembroke immediately granted his demand. He considered, that the king of France was still in a condition to furnish his son with powerful supplies; and that, on the other hand, too great severity to the barons would involve the kingdom in fresh commotions. In a word, he foresaw, that the using his power, with moderation, would restore tranquillity to the nation, and put the young king in peaceable possession of the crown, which was the sole view of all his proceedings; and, therefore, he readily agreed to a treaty of peace, on the following conditions:

Articles of the peace. Act. Pub.

That all persons, who had espoused Lewis's cause, since the beginning of the war, should be restored to all the rights they were possess'd of, before the troubles.

That the city of London should enjoy her antient privileges.

That all the prisoners taken, since Lewis first arrived in England, should be released; but, as to those taken, on either side, before that time, commissioners should be appointed, to enquire, whether those of his party were engaged with him, when they were made prisoners.

That the ransoms, already paid, should not be returned, and those, now due, should be punctually paid; but that nothing should be demanded of the prisoners, whose ransoms were not settled.

1217. That all the English, of whatsoever rank or degree, whether prisoners or others, who took up arms against king John, should swear allegiance to king Henry.

That the hostages delivered to prince Lewis, for the payment of the ransoms, that were become due, should be directly released, upon the payment of the money.

That all the places, towns, and castles, in Lewis's possession, should be surrendered to the king.

That the king of Scotland should be included in the treaty, provided he restored all he had taken, during the war; and that the king of England should make him the like restitution.

The same thing was stipulated, in behalf of the prince of Wales.

That Lewis should cause all the islands to be restored, that were taken, in his name.

That he should renounce the homages received from the subjects of the king of England.

That whatsoever was due to him, and of which the time of payment was expired, should be punctually paid.

That in the first article, where mention is made of Lewis's adherents, ecclesiasticks are excluded, except with respect to the lay-fees they held, before the war.

M. Paris. A certain author adds two other conditions, that are not to be found in the treaty: First, that Lewis should endeavour, to the utmost of his power, to oblige his father to restore all the foreign dominions, that were taken from John; and, secondly, that, if he could not prevail, he should himself make restitution, upon his accession to the throne. Tho' these two particulars are not inserted in the treaty itself, in all probability, they were stipulated in the secret articles, since they are owned, even by the French historians; and, besides, it is certain, that, when Lewis came to the crown, the court of England demanded the performance of his promise, and St. Lewis, his son, entertained several scruples, on that very account, as the sequel will inform us. Mezerai.

Lewis returns to France.

The treaty being signed, and confirmed by the legate's authority, the king and prince Lewis swore to observe it, with the customary formalities; after which, Lewis was absolved by the legate *, and then the prince embarqued for France, having first borrowed 5000 l. of the city of London, for the payment of his debts.

Henry makes his entry into London.

Immediately after the prince's departure, Henry made his entry into London, where he was received, in a pompous manner, and with demonstrations of an universal satisfaction; and, indeed, the people had reason for this extraordinary joy, as the young king, notwith-

* This naval engagement happened, about the 24th of August; and, as the English had only 40 and the French 80 large ships, the king's fleet, not daring to attack them, in the front, tacked about, and, getting to the windward, they bore down upon them, making a great slaughter of them, with their archers; but what, most of all, contributed to their victory was their having great quantities of quick-lime in powder, which, being cast into the air, was blown by the wind into the eyes of the French and blinded them; whose admiral was one Eustace, who from a monk turned pirate, and at last was advanced to this high office over the French fleet; tho', according to M. Paris, he was afterwards beheaded by Richard, one of the natural sons of king John.

† The Chronicle of Mailros affirms, that prince Lewis walked, barefoot and ungirt, from his own to the legate's pavilion, where he and his followers received absolution.

standing

1217. ſtanding his late ſucceſſes, took a ſolemn oath to preſerve their privileges. Thus, by means of the regent's prudent conduct, the vanquiſhed barons obtained more ſubſtantial advantages, than they could have expected from a victory; which would have ſubjected them, and, perhaps, beyond a poſſibility of any redreſs, to a foreign yoke.

The legate proſecutes the eccleſiaſticks of Lewis's party.

The eccleſiaſticks alone, of all Lewis's adherents, were ſufferers by the treaty; for they were left to the pope's mercy, whom they had, to the laſt degree, offended. He was greatly diſpleaſed with the contempt of his cenſures, by Lewis and the barons; but he was ſtill more incenſed at the diſobedience of the clergy. No ſooner was the legate at liberty to proceed againſt them, than he ordered a ſtrict enquiry to be made, in all parts of the kingdom, after thoſe who deſpiſed the interdict; and all, that were found guilty, were either ſuſpended, deprived of their benefices, or obliged to repair their fault, by large ſums of money *; which is a remarkable inſtance of the wide difference between the eccleſiaſtical and the civil power.

The king of Scotland, who was excommunicated, for doing homage to a foreign prince, accepted the offer of being included in the treaty; and, coming to Northampton, he was abſolved by the legate, after he had done homage to Henry, for the fees he held in England; upon which, he ſurrender'd Carliſle, that he had taken, during the war.

Pope Innocent III. dying, this year, Honorious III. ſucceeded to the papal chair.

1218. New troubles in England. M. Paris.

It was not unlikely, that England would enjoy ſome quiet, to which ſhe had been ſo long a ſtranger; but it was impoſſible that a perfect calm ſhould immediately ſucceed ſuch a violent ſtorm. The treaty with Lewis occaſioned new troubles, which involved the regent in great perplexities; for the barons, that had inviolably adhered to king John, and upon whom were beſtowed the confiſcated eſtates of the rebels, could not think of reſtoring them to the former proprietors, purſuant to the tenor of the treaty; and, on the other hand, the eccleſiaſticks alſo loudly complained, becauſe they were entirely abandoned to the legate's perſecutions. However, the regent, reſolving, at all adventures, to put the treaty in execution, marched with a conſiderable body of troops, to bring to reaſon thoſe that forcibly with-held ſeveral caſtles and lands, from the old owners; and Robert de Gaugy was the only one, that withſtood a ſiege of eight days, in the caſtle of Newark, belonging to the biſhop of Lincoln; but, at length, deſpairing of any aſſiſtance, he reſigned the caſtle to the biſhop, upon the payment of 100 l. ſterling; and the reſt, diſcouraged by this example, made the like compoſitions. It was ſo neceſſary to execute the treaty, in order to reſtore tranquillity to the kingdom, that the regent thought the intereſts of 1218. a few private perſons, how loyal ſoever they had been to the late king, ought not to be preferred to the good of the whole nation; which would reſult from the punctual performance of his engagements. In the mean while, to eſtabliſh the young king on the throne, it was farther requiſite to give ſome ſatisfaction to the pope, who was not, in the leaſt, inclined to pardon the eccleſiaſticks, that deſpiſed his authority; for, in the beginning of a reign, when the fidelity of the ſubjects was, as yet, uncertain, and the king a minor, it would have been extremely imprudent, in the earl, to exaſperate the court of Rome, by eſpouſing the intereſts of the clergy. On the contrary, it was highly probable, that young Henry would ſtand in need of the pope's protection; and, therefore, he readily publiſhed, at the inſtance of the legate, a proclamation, commanding all the excommunicated eccleſiaſticks, that were not abſolved, to depart the kingdom, on pain of impriſonment; upon which, they were very expeditious, in ſatisfying the legate, who only wanted their money.

The regent orders the charters to be obſerved. An. Wav.

All the troubles being happily appeaſed, the Engliſh impatiently expected the performance of the king's promiſes, with reſpect to their liberties; and, accordingly, the regent, that Henry might make good his ſolemn engagements, ſent expreſs orders † to all the ſheriffs of the kingdom, to take due care, that the two charters of king John ſhould be punctually obſerved, and to puniſh, without mercy, all that ſhould preſume to violate the ſame. How happy would it have been for the Engliſh nation, if the ſucceſſors of this great man, in his high poſt and credit with the king, had followed the ſame maxims, and inſtilled them, early, into the mind of this young monarch! but, by taking contrary meaſures, they were the cauſe of all the ſucceeding troubles of the preſent reign.

The prince of Wales enters into a treaty with the king.

Whilſt the French continued in England, Lewellyn, prince of Wales, who was in alliance with them, had taken ſeveral places, of which it would not have been eaſy to diſpoſſeſs him, without re-aſſembling the diſbanded troops; but the regent was unwilling to diſoblige the ſubjects, by levies of men and money, at a juncture, when it was ſo neceſſary to gain their affection, by allowing them to enjoy the fruits of tranquillity; and, therefore, he granted the prince of Wales an honourable and advantageous peace, procuring him alſo the legate's abſolution, in order to induce that turbulent prince to remain quiet ‡.

This affair being over, Gallo the legate, who was recalled, ſet out for Rome; and Pandulph, whoſe name I have ſo often mentioned, in king John's reign, was his ſucceſſor, in that office **.

The regent, finding that the orders, relating 1219.
to the two charters, were not duly executed,

* Hugh, biſhop of Lincoln, paid 1000 marks, for the pope's uſe, and 100 to his legate; and, many other eccleſiaſticks copying after his example, immenſe ſums of money were raiſed for the holy ſee. M. Paris.

† Theſe orders are not to be found in the hiſtories of England; tho' they remain upon record in the tower, on the clauſe-roll of this year. Vid. Dr. Brady's and Tyrrel's Appendix.

‡ The cuſtody of the caſtles of Caermarthen and Cardigan, with their lands and appurtenances, was delivered to him, during the king's minority. Rymer's Fœd.

** This year, it was ordained, in a common council or parliament, that no letters patent ſhould be ſealed with the king's great ſeal, till he arrived at years of maturity. Brady.

diſpatched

1219. dispatched itinerant justices into all the counties, to cause them to be more strictly observed; and, had his life been prolonged, he would infallibly have so firmly settled this affair, as that it should not easily have admitted of any alteration; but this truly great man, equally qualified for war and peace, died soon after, lamented by the whole kingdom, which he had, by his prudence and valour, delivered from slavery *. Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, succeeded him, as regent; and Hubert de Burgh, who defended Dover, was made chief justiciary of England †.

1220. Henry's second coronation. The coronation of the king having been performed at Gloucester, with so little solemnity, it was thought convenient to renew the ceremony, in the usual place; and cardinal Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, who returned into England, after the troubles were appeased, set the crown on the king's head, having first administered to him the customary oath, on such occasions.

1221. The earl of Albemarle opposes the king. Upon this, Henry, attended by the new regent, made a progress into several counties, intending to remove some, to whom the late king had committed the custody of castles, being such as the new regent judged it improper for him to confide in; and he met with no resistance, except from William, earl of Albemarle, governor of Rockingham-castle, who pretending to be a petty sovereign, or rather a tyrant, took little or no notice of the orders sent from court. The garrison seemed to be resolved upon their own defence; but, when they perceived, that the whole country was in arms, to assist the king, and free themselves from this oppression, instead of being constrained to surrender, they chose to procure some little advantages, by a capitulation.

M. Paris. M. West. This year, the new building of the abbey-church of Westminster was begun; and the king himself laid the first stone.

William de Forz, earl of Albemarle, in revenge of the loss of his castle, which he considered, as an injury, fortified himself in his castle of Biham, in Lincolnshire, by means of which he kept all the adjacent country in subjection; and he even forced merchants and tradesmen to take passes from him, for leave to go through the neighbourhood. Complaints of these oppressive proceedings being made to the parliament, then assembled at Westminster, he was summoned to make his appearance before them; and he set out, as it was believed, with a view of repairing to London; whilst, in the interim, he took the road to Northamptonshire; and, surprizing the castle of Fotheringay, he placed in it an able garrison, and then returned to Biham. Upon this news, the parliament came to a resolution, that an army should be immediately raised, to besiege Biham; and that the earl should be punished, for his insolence, according to the utmost severity of the law. Earl William, receiving intelligence, that the king's army was on their march, retreated into the north, leaving in his castle a governor, who did not surrender, till after a long defence; and it was thought, that the rebel would be pursued, or, at least, obliged to abandon the kingdom; but he found means to be reconciled to the king, by the mediation of the archbishop of York; who representing that, in reason, this offence ought to be balanced with the signal services he had done the late king, prevailed on the regent to interpose, in his favour; but this was a fatal precedent, and encouraged other barons to commit the same fault, with hopes of impunity! 1221.

Johanna's marriage to the king of Scotland. The court having made a progress, last year, to York, a marriage was concluded on between the king of Scotland and the princess Johanna, Henry's sister; but, being in the hands of the earl of Marche, to whose eldest son she was contracted, it was not an easy matter to remove her thence. However, after some negotiations, she was sent back to the king, her brother; and her nuptials to the king of Scotland were celebrated, this year; and, soon after, Hubert de Burgh, chief justiciary, married that prince's eldest sister; an honour, which, as it gained him the alliance of two monarchs, might hereafter raise some of his posterity to the throne of Scotland.

Pandulph is made bishop of Norwich. The term of Pandulph's legateship being expired, he resigned his office, and resided at the see of Norwich, which the pope procured for him, in reward of his services.

A quarrel between the Londoners and men of Westminster. M. Paris. M. West. Whatsoever care was taken by the late earl of Pembroke, and the present ministry, to preserve the peace of the kingdom, some persons were extremely sollicitous to interrupt it; and they took the opportunity of a quarrel between the citizens of London and Westminster. A great wrestling-match being made between the Londoners and the country people, a vast number of Westminster-men came to the place appointed; and, desiring to dispute the prize, their neighbours obtained the victory over them. This honour, tho' very inconsiderable, in itself, excited the resentment of the Westminster-men, who were exposed to the insulting railleries of the conquerors; and the steward of the abbot of Westminster, preposterously supposing, that his master's and his own honour were concerned, in this affair, undertook to revenge his fellow-citizens on their neigbours. With this view, he appointed another match at Westminster; to which the citizens of London flocked, in great numbers; but, as they went unarmed, they were rudely attacked by the Westminster-men, who wounded several, and put the rest to flight. This treachery occasioned a terrible commotion in London; and the mob, assembling together, resolved to retaliate the outrageous treatment they received at Westminster, the authority of the mayor not being able to restrain them. One Constantine, a citizen of London and an incendiary, who had been a zealous partizan for the French, did all that was possible to inflame their rage; representing to them, that it was, in vain, to expect justice from magistrates, who had no regard to the

* His body was interred, on the 16th of March, in the church of the knights templars, now the Temple church; where his effigy, in a coat of mail, is to be seen, at this day, in the middle of the round. M. Par. M. West.

† The justiciary was, as it were, the king's lieutenant-general. Rapin.

honour

1222. honour of the city; and that, therefore, they ought immediately to make their enemies feel the effects of their reſentment, to convince them, that the citizens of London were not to be aſſaulted, with impunity. He no ſooner perceived, that his ſpeech met with applauſe, than he cried, with a loud voice, "Monjoye St. Den-"nis," the watchword of the French; and, marching towards Weſtminſter at the head of the mob, he cauſed the ſteward's houſe to be pulled down to the ground, and then returned in triumph to London. The tumult being appeaſed, Hubert, the chief juſticiary, coming to the tower, commanded ſeveral of the citizens to appear before him; and Conſtantine, being there among the reſt, boldly aſſerted, in the juſticiary's preſence, "That the citizens of Lon-"don had done nothing, contrary to the law, "and were, therefore, determined to defend "their conduct." Hubert, incenſed at his inſolence, tho' he diſmiſs'd all the reſt, detained Conſtantine, and ordered him to be hanged, the very next morning, notwithſtanding his offer of 1000 marks, for his life; and, a few days after, he gave orders, that the principal rioters ſhould be ſeized in their houſes, ſome of whom had their hands, and others their noſes and ears cut off, and were ſent, thus, maimed into the city. After this, he turned out all the magiſtrates of London, obliging 30 of the moſt conſiderable citizens to be ſureties for the good behaviour of the city, to which the communities agreed by a charter, ſealed with their common ſeal *. This ſeverity might have been juſtifiable, if Hubert had not acted, in an arbitrary manner, and in direct contradiction to the great charter, purſuant to which, in conformity to the antient cuſtom of the kingdom, every man ought to be tried by his peers; and, therefore, this illegal proceeding render'd him odious to the Engliſh nation, eſpecially, the Londoners, who did not fail to be revenged on him, as ſoon as they met with an opportunity.

1223. The parliament petitions the king. On the account of theſe unwarrantable ſteps of the juſticiary, the parliament aſſembled, ſome time after, at London, in order to petition the king, that he would cauſe the charter of liberties, which he had ſworn to confirm, to be obſerved in all parts of the kingdom; but, ſince the earl of Pembroke's death, the court, with the new miniſtry, had taken up new maxims; inſomuch that, when they preſented their petition, William Brewer, one of his counſellors, replied, "It was unreaſonable to deſire the "execution of a charter extorted by violence." This raſh anſwer highly offending the archbiſhop of Canterbury, he took the freedom to aſſure the counſellor, "That, if he had, in "reality, the king's intereſt ſo much at heart, "as he pretended, he would not ſtudy to in-"volve the kingdom again in troubles, from "which it was happily freed." Henry, then only 16 years of age, approved of the archbiſhop's diſcourſe, and declared, that it was his intention to cauſe the charters of the king, his father, to be punctually obſerved; and, ſome days after, he ſent his orders to all the ſheriffs to ſee them put in execution †. If he had always continued in this diſpoſition of mind, a world of perplexities and misfortunes might have been prevented, which afterwards befel him; but, in the interim, the parliament, ſatisfied with the king's proceedings, granted him an aid of three marks for every earl, one mark for every baron, a ſhilling for every knight, and one penny for every houſe in the kingdom ‡. 1223.

Lewis ſucceeding Philip, his father, refuſes to perform his oath. Philip Auguſtus, king of France, dying about this time, had, for his ſucceſſor, Lewis VIII, his ſon; and Henry's council judged it expedient to ſend ambaſſadors to the new king, to demand the performance of his promiſe, as to the dominions that king John was deprived of by Philip. Lewis replied, that he did not think himſelf obliged to perform a treaty, which the king of England had firſt violated, in exacting large ranſoms from the priſoners, and in not reſtoring the antient laws, according to agreement; that, for his part, he held Normandy and the other provinces taken from the Engliſh, by right of conqueſt, and as their ſovereign lord; and that, if his right was diſputed, he would ſubmit to the judgment of his peers. Some affirm, that he likewiſe advanced the death of Conſtantine, which, he pretended, was in revenge, for his affection to France, as an argument, for his being releaſed from all his engagements; upon which, he diſmiſs'd the ambaſſadors, without any farther reply. M. Paris.

The juſticiary's great credit and power. In the mean time, the favour and credit of the chief juſticiary arrived to ſuch an height, that he openly aſſumed a power, which none in his office had ever claimed; tho' he was ſtill diſſatisfied, as he had a ſuperior, from whom he was obliged to receive orders, viz. the biſhop of Wincheſter, who, being appointed regent by the authority of parliament, could not eaſily be removed. As the regency was to continue ſome years longer, Hubert, to ſhorten it, obtained a bull from the pope, declaring the king of full age; by vertue of which, Henry was authorized to take the reins of government into his own hands. The bull alſo enjoined all, that had the cuſtody of the king's caſtles, immediately to ſurrender them to the king; but the barons refuſed to comply with this order, how expreſs ſoever, ſince it was directly contrary to the laws of the realm, purſuant to which the king could not be of age, till he was 21.

His artifice to deprive the barons of their caſtles. R. de Cogg. This artifice not anſwering Hubert's expectation, ſince the barons would not conſent to the pope's declaration, and it was impoſſible to force them to a compliance, whilſt they were

* Their recognizance is to be found upon record in the tower. Vid. Dr. Brady's Appendix.

† M. Paris ſays, he ſent his letters to all his ſheriffs, to make inquiry by the oath of 12 knights or legal men in every county, what were the liberties of England in the reign of king Henry, his grandfather; whereas it is evident from the writ itſelf, ſtill extant, that the inquiry was to be made about the cuſtoms and liberties granted by king John, "quas conſuetudines & quas libertates dominus Johannes rex pater noſter habuit, &c. Clauſ. 7. Hen. III. M. 14. Dorſo.

‡ According to Walter of Coventry and the Annals of Waverley, it was a poll-tax for the ſuccours of the Holy Land; and the laſt informs us, that, beſides the ſums taken notice of by Mr. Rapin, every freeholder paid one penny, as did alſo all that had chattles, to the value of half a mark; but this tax was, ſoon after, aboliſhed.

1223. poſſeſs'd of the caſtles, he invented a ſtratagem to wreſt them out of their hands; for he cauſed the king to demand of him the caſtles in his cuſtody, to which he ſubmitted, on condition that the reſt of the barons ſhould do the ſame. Accordingly, he delivered up to the king the tower of London and the caſtle of Dover, the two moſt important places in the kingdom; and ſome of the barons copied after his example, not, in the leaſt, ſuſpecting any fraud in this proceeding; but, no ſooner was the king in poſſeſſion of their caſtles, than he reſtored to Hubert all thoſe he had voluntarily reſigned, in ſo glaring a manner, deriding their credulity. This ſtep, ſo unworthy of a prince, created in the minds of the barons an ill opinion of the king; and they were chiefly incenſed againſt the favourite, whom they conſidered, as the principal contriver of the cheat. Moſt of thoſe, that had places at court, being unable to bear the proud and imperious carriage of this miniſter, reſigned them and retired into the country, reſolving to make uſe of the firſt opportunity to be revenged; and in the mean while, as all the lords did not fall into the ſnare, Hubert, to reduce them to obedience, threatened them with excommunication. Some were deterred into a compliance; but others determined to ſtand their ground, in ſpite of the king and his juſticiary.

1224. The king of France attacks Saintonge, and takes Rochelle. M. Paris.

During theſe domeſtick commotions, Lewis VIII, king of France, in direct contradiction to his oath, confiſcated all the dominions held by the Engliſh in France, and, marching into Saintonge, ſubdued ſeveral places; after which he beſieged Rochelle, of which Savary de Mallion was governor. It is reported, that this lord, having received intelligence of the king of France's deſign, demanded a ſupply of money from the court of England; but that, inſtead of the money, a coffer was ſent him full of old iron. Such a ſhameful neglect for the preſervation of a place, that deſerved the whole care of the miniſtry, ſo exaſperated the governor, that he ſurrendered the city, in a few days, and went over to the French *. Lewis's pretence for breaking the peace was, that Henry, as duke of Guienne, did not aſſiſt at his coronation; but, the truth is, he was willing to take the advantage of that prince's minority, to expel the Engliſh entirely out of his kingdom. This war, commenced on ſo ſlight an occaſion, of which Lewis never ſo much as made the leaſt complaint, convinced the court of England, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſend an army into France; and a parliament was called, to conſider of ways and means.

Faulk de Brent's rebellion.

Whilſt the king and parliament were intent on this affair, the outrages committed by Faulk de Brent interrupted their debates; for, being encouraged by William of Albemarle's impunity, he tyrannized over his vaſſals and neighbours, inſomuch that he was condemned, in a fine of 100 l. ſterling, by three judges ſent down on purpoſe †; but, his fierce and imperious temper leading him to regard this ſentence, as a great injury, he reſolved to be revenged. Accordingly, he diſpatched William, his brother, to Dunſtable, where the judges were holding the aſſizes, with orders to ſeize them by force, and bring them before him; and, tho' two of them, Martin de Pateſhulle and Thomas de Multon, eſcaped, the third, Henry de Braibrock, was taken and carried to Bedford-caſtle, where he ſuffered a thouſand indignities. The news of this being brought to the parliament, then ſitting at Northampton, it was unanimouſly reſolved, that this diſturber of the peace ſhould be puniſhed, in an exemplary manner; and that all other buſineſs ſhould be laid aſide, till that affair was ended. Purſuant to this reſolution, Faulk's brother, who commanded in Bedford, having refuſed to ſurrender the town to the king, on his ſummons, was attacked ſo furiouſly, that he was, at length, compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion; and, in ſpite of all the attempts of his friends to pacify the king, he was hanged, with 24 knights found in the garriſon; after which, the caſtle was razed to the ground ‡. In the interim, Faulk, who had retired into Wales, upon the aſſurances given him by ſeveral lords, to ſupport him, perceiving that they did not perform their promiſes, implored the king's mercy, by the mediation of the biſhop of Coventry; who made uſe of the ſame arguments that were advanced, in favour of William of Albemarle, and obtained the rebel's pardon, as to life and limbs; but he was, nevertheleſs, delivered to the cuſtody of the biſhop of London, till the following year, when the parliament confiſcated his eſtate, and baniſhed him the kingdom. Henry procured, for the charges of this expedition, an aid of two ſhillings, upon every hyde of arable land.

1225. A ſubſidy is granted to the king.

However, he had occaſion for greater ſums, to carry on the war with France; and, therefore, he called another parliament, of whom he demanded a 15th upon moveables. The parliament aſſured him, they would readily grant him this ſupply, provided king John's charters, which had, all along, been neglected, were, for the future, punctually obſerved; and the king, in his preſent circumſtances, complied with their requeſt, in a very handſome manner, and even ſent commiſſioners into every county, to ſee the charters put in execution. Indeed, the effects of theſe orders did not continue long; but yet, ſo greatly were the people pleaſed with the king's good intentions, that no tax was ever levied, with more exactneſs, and the biſhops threatened to excommunicate all, that ſhould be guilty of any fraud.

M. Paris. M. Weſt.

The king applied this money, in raiſing an army, which he ſent into Guienne, under the command of prince Richard, his brother, lately made earl of Cornwall; and Richard, having the earl of Salisbury for his lieutenant, made ſome progreſs in Guienne, and took St. Macaire. He afterwards beſieged the caſtle of La Reole, a ſtrong place; which, by means of its reſiſt-

* From a letter, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, it appears, that Rochelle was loſt by treachery, either in the governor, or ſome of the inhabitants. Rapin.

† He had 30 verdicts given againſt him, in each of which he was fined 100 l. M. Paris.

‡ So that, of all that ſtrong and ſtately ſtructure, nothing, except the mount, remains, at this day.

ance,

1225. ance, gave the earl of Marche, general of the French army, time to come to its relief. The Engliſh hiſtorians affirm, that Richard gained a conſiderable advantage over the earl; but the French pretend, that, finding himſelf in no condition to hazard a battle, he retired beyond the Dourdogne, and ſoon after into England; yet it is certain, that Richard did not leave Guienne, till 1227, as appears from the Collection of Publick Acts.

1226. The year 1226 began with a parliament, in which the king, juſt recovered from a dangerous illneſs, was declared of full age, tho' he was not yet ſo old, as the law required; but this was not the only buſineſs for which they were aſſembled. A legate, lately arrived from Rome, had an extraordinary propoſal from the pope to lay before them, which concerned the whole kingdom, and particularly the clergy; and the ſubſtance of it was, that, ſince the holy ſee had long been under the ſcandal of doing nothing, without money, it would be for the honour and intereſt of all chriſtians to wipe off this aſperſion, by removing the cauſe; that it was notorious, the extreme poverty of the church of Rome indiſpenſeably obliged her to demand ſome acknowledgment, for the favours ſhe diſpenſed to her ſons; that ſhe could heartily wiſh to be in a capacity to proceed with moderation; and that the moſt effectual means to this purpoſe would be, for the faithful to grant her ſupplies, in proportion to her neceſſities. Then the legate propoſed, that, to ſupply the preſſing occaſions of the holy ſee, there ſhould be ſet apart, out of every cathedral, two prebendaries; and, out of every monaſtery, two monks portions; and that this grant ſhould be confirmed by parliament. He ſupported his propoſal with the moſt plauſible reaſons he could deviſe; tho' he did not promiſe, that the pope would take nothing for his future favours, but only inſinuated, that he would uſe more moderation, as to this particular. The parliament eaſily perceived the pope's deſign; and, therefore, all the legate's eloquence could not prevail with them, who did not even vouchſafe to return him an anſwer. When he would have complained of this diſreſpectful treatment of the pope, they told him, that, by reaſon of the abſence of the king and ſome of the principal biſhops, they could not enter upon the conſideration of ſuch a propoſal; yet, far from being diſcouraged by this repulſe, he required, that the parliament ſhould continue to ſit, till the arrival of the king and the abſent prelates; but, notwithſtanding his ſollicitations, the parliament broke up, without coming to any reſolution; and the legate was forced to wait with patience, till the next ſeſſion. In the interim, he took a journey into the northern counties; where, under the pretence of the right of procurations *, he ſo heavily oppreſſed the churches, that they were conſtrained to complain to the pope, who recalled him, leſt he ſhould incenſe the Engliſh, at ſo critical a juncture. However, his holineſs enjoined the archbiſhop of Canterbury to cauſe the parliament to meet again, and demand a poſitive anſwer to the legate's propoſal; but the king, having conſulted with the biſhops, ſent him word, that, as this affair concerned all Chriſtendom, he was ready to fall in with the reſolutions that ſhould be taken, in other chriſtian countries. This was, in effect, a civil denial; for it was notorious, that a legate had made the ſame propoſal in France, but it was altogether ineffectual.

1226.

M. Paris.

An extraordinary propoſal from the pope.

In the mean while, Henry continued his preparations againſt France; but he was, at length, obliged to ſuſpend them; for Lewis, having engaged to command, in a Cruſade againſt the Albigenſes, had obtained the pope's expreſs orders to all chriſtian princes, not to give him the leaſt interruption, during that expedition. Henry, by the advice of his parliament, put off the war, till the return of the king of France, who was then employed in the ſiege of Avignon; but he died, ſoon after he had taken this place, not without ſuſpicion of being poiſoned by the earl of Champagne, who was deſperately enamoured with the queen; and Lewis IX, his ſon, ſucceeded him, under the guardianſhip of Blanche of Caſtile, his mother, who, tho' a foreigner, procured the regency of the kingdom.

A Cruſade againſt the Albigenſes.

During the ſuſpenſion of the Engliſh arms, purſuant to the pope's orders, Henry began his majority with an act of injuſtice, that was altogether inexcuſable; for, not daring to demand any money of the parliament, who had ſo lately granted him a very conſiderable ſupply, he made uſe of an expedient, formerly put in practice by Richard, his uncle, on the like occaſion, after his return from the Holy Land, viz. to oblige all that had charters to renew them, upon the payment of a certain ſum; and this order, the only view of which was to fill the king's coffers, fell heavieſt on the monaſteries. All unjuſt means, invented by princes to extort money from their ſubjects, are ſo many inexhauſtible ſprings of oppreſſion; as their ſucceſſors ſeldom fail to copy after ſuch evil precedents and examples.

Henry, to raiſe money, orders all the charters to be renewed.

In the beginning of the next year, the ſudden death of the earl of Salisbury, natural ſon of Henry II, at a banquet, to which he was invited by the chief juſticiary, gave occaſion for violent ſuſpicions of that miniſter †; but, as no inquiry was made, none durſt preſume to attack directly a favourite, who had an abſolute ſway over the king. As Henry advanced in years, it appeared that he had qualities inconſiſtent with the character of a great prince; an inſatiable avarice, an amazing giddineſs, ex-

1227.

The character of Henry III.

* The legates had a right to demand their expences to be defrayed, when they viſited the churches and monaſteries; which had been converted into ready money. Rapin.

† He was the ſon of Henry II, by Roſamond; and his body was interred at Old Sarum, and afterwards removed to the new city, being placed, in a monument on the north-ſide of the chapel of our Lady, in the cathedral church, in a wooden tomb richly painted, diaper'd, and gilt; on which his effigies lies, of grey marble, in his coat of mail, his ſword by his ſide, and upon his antique ſhield are ſix lions rampant emboſſed, as many being alſo painted on his ſurcoat, but, becauſe of its various foldings, they are not eaſily perceived. He married Ela, daughter and heireſs to William Fitz-Patrick, earl of Salisbury, by whom he had four ſons and four daughters; and he was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon, William Longſpee, the ſecond of that name, earl of Salisbury. Sandford's Genealog.

treme

1227. treme caprice and unſteadineſs in his conduct, an unuſual eaſineſs to be governed by thoſe about him; and, beſides, he was corrupted with principles of oppreſſion and tyranny, which afforded a dreadful proſpect, for the future. Tho' he was declared of age, the laſt year, he retained the biſhop of Wincheſter, near his perſon, for the ſake of his advice; but Hubert de Burgh repreſented to him, that he would always be conſidered, as a minor, whilſt that prelate was at court; and that it was conducive to his honour and intereſt to convince his ſubjects, that he was capable of governing by himſelf; and, this counſel being very agreeable to the king, who did not diſcern the motive, he diſmiſs'd the biſhop of Wincheſter, and ordered him to return to his ſee.

Hubert adviſes Henry to become abſolute.

Hubert was no ſooner without a rival in the miniſtry, than he attempted to ſet himſelf above the laws, by perſuading his maſter, that his whole deſign was to render himſelf abſolute; and, indeed, it was an eaſy matter to engage in this project a prince, that was already deſirous of an unlimited and arbitrary power. Beſides the foreſaid renewal of the charters, he had extorted 5000 marks from the Londoners; pretending they had lent the like ſum to prince Lewis, at his departure from England; and the town of Northampton was forced to pay him 1200 l. on the like frivolous pretences. The monaſteries met with no better treatment; and, tho' they appealed to the holy ſee, he had exacted from them large ſums, whilſt the affair was depending before the pope. Theſe unjuſtifiable proceedings leſſened the eſteem his ſubjects had for him; but what he farther did, by the advice of his juſticiary, entirely alienated their affection. When it was leaſt expected, he annulled the two charters of the king, his father, tho' he had ſolemnly ſworn inviolably to obſerve the ſame; alledging that he was not obliged to make good what he had promiſed, during his minority; and, as for Hubert, regardleſs of the murmurs of the people, who conſidered him, as the author of theſe pernicious counſels, he procured himſelf to be created earl of Kent, as a reward for the great ſervice he had lately done his maſter, in freeing him from the yoke of the charters.

A quarrel between the king and prince Richard. M. Paris.

The conduct of the king and his miniſter occaſioned a viſible diſcontent among the barons; and prince Richard, who returned from Guienne, ſoon after the revoking of the charters, improved their preſent diſpoſition, to brave the king, his brother, in a conteſt he had with him, on the following occaſion. King John, having given one Waleran, a German, a certain manor belonging to the earldom of Cornwall, Richard was no ſooner inveſted with that earldom, than he ordered Waleran to appear and produce his title, and, in the interim, cauſed the manor to be ſeized; but, whether Waleran had loſt his charter, or judged it to be defective, he refuſed to obey the ſummons; and, as if he had been uſed very unjuſtly, he carried his complaints to the king, who, without any examination of the affair, gave orders to the prince's officers to reſtore the manor. Richard, upon his arrival, repreſented to the king, that he had done Waleran no injuſtice, in requiring him to ſhew his original title; that he did not intend to deprive him of his lands, by force, but to have the matter determined by the laws, and, therefore, offered to refer it to the deciſion of the peers of the realm. Henry, incenſed at this propoſal, commanded his brother to reſtore the manor, by ſuch a time, or depart the kingdom; but Richard boldly replied, that he would do neither, without the judgment of his peers, and directly withdrew, without waiting for an anſwer. The juſticiary, who inceſſantly inſpired the king with violent maxims, adviſed him to take the prince into cuſtody; whilſt Richard, in the interim, retired from court, and poſted to the earl of Pembroke, to conſult him about this affair. Pembroke, approving of the prince's conduct, took this to be a favourable opportunity to cheque the arbitrary power, uſurped by the king; and, therefore, he aſſured him, that he was ready to aſſiſt him, with his life and fortune, and did not doubt, but moſt of the barons would do the ſame. Accordingly, ſoon after, by the diligence of the earl-marſhal, the earls of Glouceſter, Cheſter, Warren, Warwick, Ferrars, and Hereford, with many other barons, joining with Richard, took up arms, to compel the king to reſtore the charters; which greatly alarmed the juſticiary. To prevent any fatal conſequences, he choſe to procure a reconciliation between the two brothers; and, to ſatisfy prince Richard, the principal of the confederates, he prevailed on the king to ſettle upon him his mother's dowry, to which he laid claim, and alſo to augment his appenage with the lands held by the late earl of Boulogne. Richard, content with this liberality, no longer inſiſted on the reſtoration of the charters; and the confederacy was diſſolved. Thus, the great, under the pretence of the publick good, only promote their intereſts, or gratify their paſſions. 1227.

Pope Honorius III, dying this year, was ſucceeded by Gregory IX.

1228. Archbiſhop Langton's death. M. Paris.

Stephen Langton, cardinal and archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſurvived Honoroius, no more than a few months; and, immediately after his deceaſe, the monks of St. Auguſtin elected Walter de Homeſham, one of their fraternity; but the king, being offended at this election, as it was made, without his licenſe, refuſed to confirm their choice; alledging that the father of this monk was hanged, for theft. On the contrary, the ſuffragan biſhops of the province of Canterbury, diſpleaſed at his being choſen, without their conſent, refuſed to accept him; becauſe he had debauched a nun, by whom he had ſeveral children. Upon this, the king ſent agents to Rome *, in order to have this affair decided there; and, in the mean time the church of Canterbury remained vacant.

The war with the Welch.

The ſame year, the Welch making irruptions into England, Henry marched into their country, to chaſtiſe them; but he returned,

* Viz. the biſhops of Rocheſter and Cheſter, and John archdeacon of Bedford. M. Paris.

after

1228. after having harraſſed his troops, to no manner of purpoſe *.

This year alſo, the pope thundered out a bull of excommunication againſt the emperor, Frederick II, for not carrying his arms into the Holy Land, putſuant to his ſolemn vow; and that monarch was forced to ſubmit to the papal power, and perform his vow, the following year.

Commotions in France, which Henry neglects to improve. M. Paris. M. Weſt.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacted, the regency of Blanche, St. Lewis's mother, occaſioned commotions in France, that might have been improved to his advantage, had he been a prince of an enterprizing genius; but, if he ever formed any projects, it was always at improper junctures, whilſt he altogether neglected the moſt favourable. A fairer opportunity than the preſent had never offered, to recover the Engliſh provinces in France, had it been prudently managed; for the Normans, joining with the confederate barons againſt the queen-regent of France, acquainted Henry, that, if he would come, in perſon, he ſhould be received with open arms, and put in poſſeſſion of that wealthy province. The Poictevins likewiſe ſollicited him to come and ſeize ſuch of their towns, as were poſſeſſed by the French, and aſſured him of their aſſiſtance; and the Gaſcoigns ſent the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux to inform him, that, by making the beſt uſe of the troubles in France, he might expel the French out of the places they were maſters of, in Guienne. Such importunate invitations, at ſo proper a juncture, ſhould have excited Henry to make a vigorous puſh, for the recovery of what the king, his father, had loſt by his negligence; but, by an infatuation imputed to the counſels of the juſticiary, he anſwered, that he would wait for a more convenient opportunity; whereas it will appear from the ſequel, that he raſhly engaged in this undertaking, at a time when there was not the leaſt proſpect of ſucceſs. Thus, this prince blindly ſuffered himſelf to be miſ-led by his miniſters, who abuſed his credulity and weakneſs, to promote their own affairs, without any regard to the intereſts of their maſter.

The pope nominates another archbiſhop of Canterbury. M. Paris.

In the interim, the diſpute, about the election of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, was carried on, with great warmth, at Rome, tho' his holineſs had not, as yet, decided the point; but, at length, the king's envoys offer to the pope of a 10th of all the moveables in England and Ireland, ſo opened his eyes, that he voided the election made by the monks; and, under the pretence of preventing any future conteſt, he conferred the archiepiſcopal dignity on Richard le Grand, chancellor of the church of Lincoln; in which he went farther than even Innocent III, who, at leaſt, kept up ſome form in ordering Langton to be elected by the monks that were ſent to Rome. Tho' Gregory's incroachment was of more dangerous conſequence than that of Innocent; yet the king and the ſuffragan biſhops received the new archbiſhop, pleaſed with having obtained the monks election to be voided; and, ſoon after, Gregory, who was deſirous of ſeeing the effects of the promiſes lately made him, diſpatched one of his chaplains into England to collect the promiſed 10ths, which were to be expended in his war with the emperor. The king having aſſembled the parliament, on this occaſion, the chaplain laid before them the pope's letters, urgently preſſing the performance of what he was made to expect; and all eyes were intently fixed on Henry, in hopes that he would oppoſe this exaction and diſclaim his envoys; but they eaſily apprehended, from his ſilence, that the promiſe had been given, by his order, or, at leaſt, that he had not the reſolution to contradict the pope's will. However, the lords unanimouſly reſolved not to ſuffer their lay-fees to be, thus, liable to the exactions of the court of Rome; tho', to give the pope ſome ſatisfaction, they propoſed to raiſe him a certain ſum, without inquiring into the effects of each particular perſon. In all probability, this method would have been taken, had not Stephen de Segrave, one of the barons, voluntarily ſubmitted to the pope's demands, and others been prevailed on by his example; but the number of thoſe, that were ſo drawn in, was, at length, ſo numerous, that the moſt reſolute oppoſers were forced to comply, leſt they ſhould incur the indignation of the king and the pope; much leſs, durſt the clergy venture to make any reſiſtance, for fear of being expoſed to the excommunication, with which they were threatened. The nuncio, having gained his point, produced a full commiſſion from his maſter to collect the tax, that was to be paid out of all moveables whatſoever; and he ſo rigorouſly executed his orders, that he received the 10ths of all ſorts of fruit, even of ſuch as were growing. Moreover, for the greater diſpatch, in levying this tax, he obliged the biſhops to advance money for the inferior clergy, authorizing them to reimburſe themſelves, as they ſhould think convenient. The prelates and abbots, then, were under a neceſſity of finding ready money; but, as ſeveral were unable to raiſe it, with ſufficient expedition, he brought with him certain Italian uſurers, who lent them money, at an unreaſonable intereſt. Thus, did the pope abuſe the king's weakneſs, who might, with eaſe, have prevented this exaction, by a vigorous oppoſition; for the earl of Cheſter, his ſubject, hinder'd the tax from being levied on his lands, by ſtrenuouſly maintaining, in ſpite of the nuncio's clamours, that the pope had nothing to do with lay-fees; but Henry was not only terrified by the example of the king, his father, which was continually in his view,

1228.

The pope demands the promiſed tenths, by his nuncio,

who raiſes the tax with the utmoſt rigour.

* As there was a wood near Montgomery-caſtle, which uſed to be a receptacle for robbers, the garriſon undertook, with the aſſiſtance of the country-people, to widen the road leading through that wood, and clear it of the thickets on both ſides; but, whilſt they were at work, the Welch attacked them, and compelled them to retreat into the caſtle, which they beſieged. The king and Hubert, to whom that caſtle belonged, came and raiſed the ſiege; and then they carried on the work, as far as a Ciſtercian monaſtery, termed Cridie, which they ſet on fire. Hubert, finding the place to be impregnable, ordered a caſtle to be built upon it; but the Welch ſo diſtreſſed Henry's army, which inwardly were in the intereſt of Lewelin, that he was obliged to enter into a diſadvantageous treaty; one article of which was, that this caſtle ſhould be demoliſhed, and Lewelin ſhould give Henry 3000 marks, for his charges. M. Paris.

1228. but he had another powerful motive to his present condescension. As he aspired after an absolute power, and proposed to levy money upon his subjects, by the most arbitrary and illegal methods, he was very sensible, that he should stand in need of the pope's protection, and that nothing could more readily procure it, than to let him share in these exactions; accordingly, the sequel of this reign will inform us, that the pope and king mutually defended each other, in all their attempts to extort money from the people of England.

Henry designs to carry war into France. M. Paris.

The nation had scarce forgot the pope's late oppression, when they were obliged to supply the king with means to make war upon France; for, after the commotions in that kingdom were appeased, Henry resolved to recover, by force of arms, the provinces taken from the king, his father; whereas he should have considered, that the posture of affairs in France was now exceedingly changed, the lords, that opposed the queen-regent, being all humbled, and consequently no longer in a condition to assist him. To put his design in execution, he determined to make vast preparations; and, therefore, he summoned all the vassals of the crown to meet him, after Michaelmas, at Portsmouth; where he assembled one of the finest armies, that had ever been raised in England *. However, this extraordinary armament proved to be useless; because there was not a sufficient number of ships to transport such a numerous body of troops. This disappointment threw Henry into furious a passion with Hubert de Burgh, who had undertaken to get all things in readiness, that he called him, "old traytor," charging him with receiving a bribe from the court of France, to put a stop to this undertaking; and, in his rage, he drew his sword to kill him; which, perhaps, he would have effected, if the earl of Chester had not interposed, not so much to preserve the justiciary, as to prevent the king from imbruing his hands in the blood of one of his subjects. It does not appear, whether Hubert acted with design, or negligence; but, however that be, the embarquement, on this account, was retarded, the whole winter. Besides, Peter de Dreux, earl of Bretagne, perceiving, upon his arrival, that so much time had been lost, in waiting for transport-ships, and that the English army, the season being too far advanced, would be forced to take up their winter quarters in his dominions, where they were to land, advised the king to defer his expedition, till the spring; during which interval, the justiciary regained the king's favour, and was entrusted with the administration of affairs, as before.

The affairs of Palestine. M. Paris.

The same year, the emperor Frederick, carrying his arms into Palestine, compelled the sultan of Egypt to surrender Jerusalem †; and he would have extended his conquests farther, if the excommunication, denounced against him, the preceding year, by the pope, had not, with the templars and hospitallers of the Holy Land, outweighed the valour of that prince. Their prejudice against him was so great, that they conspired to deliver him up to the sultan, to whom they had even intimated their design; but this prince, tho' an Infidel, detesting their treachery, generously made a discovery of it to the emperor; which generous action redounded more to his advantage, than the having Frederick in his power. By this means, he sowed, among the christians of Palestine, a dissension that was extremely prejudicial to their affairs; and the emperor, perceiving that he could not depend upon any assistance from the christians of the Holy Land, and that the pope applied to other uses the Crusades intended against the Saracens, entered into a 10 years truce with the sultan, and returned to Europe. 1228.

Henry, tho' he waited impatiently for the spring, in order to transport his army into France, during his stay in England, obtained a considerable present from the clergy, exacted a large sum from the city of London, and forced the Jews, then very numerous in the kingdom, to pay him a third part of their substance; and no sooner was spring come, than he embarqued with his army at Portsmouth, and landed at St. Maloes; where he was received by the earl of Bretagne, who resigned to him all his fortified towns and castles. In the interim, the French, who had all the winter to make preparations, were posted near Angers, designing to obstruct his march into Poictou; and they enjoyed leisure to fortify themselves, whilst Henry remained at Nantz, in expectation of the rest of his troops, that were to come from Ireland. Tho', by the prudent management of the queen-regent of France, the male-contents had returned to their allegiance; yet, the king of England being in Bretagne and all Lewis's forces employed in those parts, they began to raise new commotions; upon which, the king and queen-regent of France left Anjou, in order to put a stop to the designs of the male-contents, which they apprehended to be of more dangerous consequence, than the progress the English might make, in their absence. This was the juncture that Henry should have improved, with all possible vigour and application; especially, as the Normans importuned him to march into their country, where they were in readiness to receive and assist him. However, instead of passing into Normandy, tho' he was inclined to it, at the instance of his favourite, who represented that attempt, as clogged with mighty difficulties, he went directly to Poictou and took the castle of Mirabel; and then, as if he intended to convince the French male-contents, that they could expect nothing from him, he came to Guienne, to receive the fealty of the Gascoigns. In a word, having spent much time, to no manner of purpose, he returned to Bretagne, where, by his conduct, he demonstrated his little inclination to war. This gave occasion to suspect his ministers, of holding intelligence with the enemy, who had sufficient time to appease the troubles of the kingdom; and, accordingly,

1228.

1229. M. Paris.

Henry makes a descent into Bretagne. An. Wav. T. Wikes.

* Henry had soldiers, even out of Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and Galway. M. Paris.

† The emperor sent Henry a particular account of his proceedings, in a letter under his own seal; which M. Paris has inserted in his History.

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1229. the queen-regent made the beſt uſe of this opportunity, to be reconciled with the confederate barons, who readily agreed to a peace, when they perceived that Henry did not make any advances, to ſupport them.

At the approach of the French, Henry retires into England.

The queen-regent, having appeaſed the barons, ordered the army to march towards Bretagne; where Henry was employed, in profuſely ſpending the remainder of his money, on entertainments and diverſions, as if the ſole view of his expedition was to take his pleaſure *. Upon the firſt news of the approach of the enemy, his treaſures being ſpent, and fearing to draw upon himſelf all the forces of France, he ſhamefully retired into England; and he was not eaſily prevailed on to leave part of his army in Bretagne, under the command of the earls of Cheſter and Pembroke, to ſupport the earl, whom he had unſeaſonably engaged in the war; but theſe lords, more valiant than their king, with ſo few troops, not only prevented the French from entering Bretagne, but made incurſions into Anjou and Normandy, from whence they carried off a great booty. Thus, Henry, inſtead of gaining any advantages by this undertaking, only rendered himſelf deſpicable to his ſubjects; who would never, after his infamous miſmanagement, on the preſent occaſion, liſten to an expedition againſt France. He laid the whole blame on the treachery of the earl of Marche and the Poictevins; but, in all probability, they would not have deſerted him, if his proceedings had given them any reaſon to expect a powerful protection.

1230. M. Paris. Whilſt Henry was in Bretagne, the king of Connaught in Ireland, taking the advantage of the weakneſs of the Engliſh, whoſe beſt troops were ſent to the king, invaded their territories with a great army, or rather multitudes of unwarlike people; but Geoffrey de Maris, juſticiary of Ireland, vigorouſly oppoſed him, and, having ſlain 20,000 of the Iriſh, took their king himſelf priſoner.

1231. An aid is granted to the king. Tho' the king had profuſely ſquander'd the ſums granted him for the French war, he even made uſe of that diſhonourable expedition, as a pretence to demand a new ſupply; and the parliament, very unwilling to comply, at length, on the account of his preſſing wants, allowed him a ſcutage of three marks upon every knight's fee, held of the crown.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury is diſguſted, and goes to Rome. Soon after, Richard, archbiſhop of Canterbury, complained to the king, that, upon the deceaſe of the earl of Glouceſter, Hubert de Burgh had ſeized the caſtle of Tunbridge, though it was a fief of the archbiſhoprick; but Henry replied, that, as he had the wardſhip of the young earl of Glouceſter, it was his prerogative to diſpoſe of it to his juſticiary, during the heir's minority; adding, he was ſurprized, that he ſhould diſpute his right. However, this anſwer not ſatisfying the archbiſhop, he excommunicated all, without diſtinction, that injuriouſly detained the church's lands; and then he ſet out to carry his complaints to the pope.

1231. Prince Richard's marriage. About the ſame time, prince Richard, the king's brother, married Iſabella, the counteſs-dowager of Glouceſter, ſiſter of the earl of Pembroke, who died, ſhortly after his ſiſter's marriage; and he left his eſtate, by will, to Richard, his brother, who was ſtill in Bretagne, where he did the ſtate ſignal ſervices. A three months truce giving him leiſure to return into England, he claimed his brother's inheritance, ſeized by the king; and Henry, wanting an excuſe, anſwered, that he heard his brother's widow was with child, and, therefore, could not diſpoſe of the inheritance, till ſhe was delivered; but, being ſenſible of the falſhood of this, he invented a more plauſible pretence. He accuſed Richard of holding a treacherous correſpondence with France, whilſt in Bretagne; and, without permitting him to vindicate himſelf, commanded him to depart the kingdom, within 15 days. This treatment was ſhocking to an Engliſh earl; and eſpecially to the ſon of that earl of Pembroke, who placed the king on the throne, and eſtabliſhed him on it, in ſpite of his enemies. Richard, quitting England, went over into Ireland, where he took poſſeſſion of the caſtles and lands belonging to his family; and then, having raiſed ſome troops, he made himſelf amends, out of the king's demeſnes, for the inheritance that was unjuſtly detained from him in England. Whether Henry dreaded the conſequences of this revolt, or was convinced that the injuſtice he had done the earl was too glaring to be maintained, he recalled him from exile, gave him his eſtate, and inveſted him with the office of earl-marſhal, enjoyed by his brother; but it was the temper of this prince to behave imperiouſly to ſuch as he believed to be incapable of reſiſting him, and, on a ſudden, to yield to thoſe that oppoſed him.

Lewellyn, prince of Wales, having lately made ſome incurſions into the borders of England, Henry ſuffered him to proceed, for ſome time; but, when he thought that prince no longer expected to be attacked, he went, in perſon, to chaſtiſe him; yet, upon the firſt oppoſition, his martial ardor abated, and, without effecting any thing, he returned.

Several marriage-propoſals miſcarry. Act. Pub. Tho' Henry was now in the 25th year of his age, he was ſtill unmarried; becauſe all his projects, on that head, had miſcarried. He firſt deſigned to eſpouſe Yolante, daughter to the duke of Bretagne, to whom he was engaged by oath; but, whether the pope refuſed a diſpenſation, or, for ſome other reaſon, the deſign was not put in execution. A match was alſo propoſed between him and the duke of Auſtria's daughter, but with the ſame ſucceſs; and, ſome time after, he acquainted the archbiſhop of Cologne with his intentions, of entering into a ſtrict alliance with the empire, by marrying the daughter of the king of Bohemia, tho' it does not appear, that this affair was carried any farther. He was likewiſe diſappointed, this very year, in his deſign of eſpouſing the ſecond daughter

* According to M. Paris, the earls and barons ſpent their whole time, in feaſting and carouſing; and the ſoldiers ſold their horſes and arms, for money to be ſo laviſhly expended.

of

1231. of the king of Scotland, and ſiſter to the juſticiary's wife; for the jealouſy of the Engliſh barons, who could not bear to ſee the king married to the younger ſiſter of the wife of one of his ſubjects, prevented this marriage. I ſhall only add here, to avoid the mention of it, in another place, that, four years after, he would have married the daughter of the earl of Ponthieu; yet, tho' he was contracted to her, and ambaſſadors were diſpatched, for the pope's diſpenſation, he altered his ſentiments, whilſt they were on the road, and ſent them orders not to take the leaſt notice of the affair.

The death of the archbiſhop of Canterbury.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury ſo ſucceſsfully pleaded his cauſe at Rome, that he procured an order from the pope, to take poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Tunbridge, during the minority of the earl of Glouceſter; but death ſeized him, as he was returning to England. Upon the firſt news of it, the monks of St. Auguſtin elected Hugh de Neville, biſhop of Chicheſter and chancellor of the kingdom; and the king, confirming their choice, inveſted him with the temporalities; but the archbiſhop elect could never obtain the pope's confirmation, to whom he was repreſented *, as too much a courtier. This ſingle conſideration prevailed on the pope to void the election; and he commanded the monks to chuſe a perſon more devoted to the holy ſee.

1232. *The king, demanding a ſubſidy, is refuſed.*

In the beginning of the year 1232, the king, calling a parliament, demanded an aid, in order to diſcharge the debts contracted by his late expedition into France; but the earl of Cheſter replied, in the name of all the barons, that, as they had aſſiſted them with their money and perſons, they were releaſed from any farther obligation, on that account; and the clergy, who were no better affected to the king, deſiring time to conſider of the affair, the parliament was prorogued, rill Eaſter.

A confederacy againſt the foreign eccleſiaſticks.

The clergy, nobility, and commons were not only diſguſted with the king, by reaſon of his abuſe of the aids granted him by the parliament; but alſo becauſe he publickly countenanced the uſurpations of the court of Rome, and ſuffered the pope to trample daily on the rights of the church and the kingdom. The popes, not ſatisfied with exacting, from time to time, under various pretences, immenſe ſums from the clergy, evidently deſigned to get into their hands the diſpoſal of all the vacant benefices, and conſequently to aboliſh the rights of the reſpective patrons; and, beſides, the collation of almoſt all the vacant benefices on Italians, or other foreigners, muſt, of courſe, highly exaſperate the Engliſh. This diſcontent roſe to ſuch a height, that above eighty perſons of quality entered into a confederacy to deprive the Italian eccleſiaſticks of all their poſſeſſions in England; and, having choſen one Twenge † for their leader, they forcibly entered ſeveral houſes of theſe foreigners, and, carrying away what things of value they met with, diſtributed them to the poor. This was done, with ſo little noiſe, that not a ſoul ſtirred, either to reſiſt or puniſh the authors; but the pope, ſoon receiving intelligence of it, ſent ſo ſharp a letter to the king, that, from the contents, one would have concluded the church had been mortally wounded; and, without conſidering that the laws and cuſtoms of England required a previous proceſs and examination of matters, he commanded the king to puniſh immediately the diſturbers of the church's peace, on pain of excommunication and interdict, if he deferred, a moment, the puniſhment of the guilty. Theſe menaces obliging Henry to iſſue out orders, to make a ſtrict inquiry after the authors of the late violence, he found that there were more perſons concerned in it than he imagined, and that the biſhops themſelves had engaged in the plot, or countenanced it by their ſilence; yet, for the pope's ſatisfaction, the chief leader of the confederates was apprehended, and ſent to Rome, purſuant to his order. Some ſheriffs and other officers were impriſoned, for neglecting to ſuppreſs the riot; and, in all appearance, the number and quality of the rioters prevented any farther proſecution of this affair ‡. 1233.

In the mean while, the monks of St. Auguſtin having elected another archbiſhop **, and, their choice being diſagreeable to the pope, as well as the former, he ordered them to proceed to a third election. M. Paris. M. Weſt.

Hubert's diſgrace.

How great a calm ſoever there ſeemed to be, for ſome time, in Henry's court, a ſtorm was ſecretly gathering againſt the juſticiary; which proved the more fatal, as it was ſudden and unexpected. Ever ſince Hubert's enemies perceived, that the king was capable of entertaining ſuſpicions of him, they inceſſantly did him ill offices; and their projects were ſo artfully managed, that Henry was prevailed on to recall the biſhop of Wincheſter to court, and make him one of his counſellors. This prelate was no ſooner reſtored to the king's favour and confidence, than he continually endeavoured to ruin the favourite; being ſenſible that his own ſafety depended on the ruin of his rival; and an opportunity quickly offered, which he took care to improve. The prince of Wales having made ſeveral irruptions into England, without the leaſt oppoſition, the biſhop of Wincheſter told the king, It was a great reproach, that ſo contemptible a people as the Welch ſhould thus plunder his ſubjects; and yet that no attempts ſhould be uſed to prevent it. Henry replied, "He was ſo far from being in a condition to "undertake a war, that his treaſurer had even "aſſured him, his revenues were ſcarce ſuffi-"cient for the neceſſary expences of his fami-"ly." Theſe words gave the biſhop what he wanted, viz. a pretence to blame the conduct of the prime miniſter. He repreſented to the king, "The want, he complained of, was the "effect of the miſmanagement of the treaſury;

* Viz. by Simon Langton, who farther ſaid, that he was unlearned and haſty; and that, if he was made archbiſhop of Canterbury, he would cauſe the kingdom to ſhake off the papal yoke. M. Paris. M. Weſt.

† Or, according to M. Paris, Robert de Thinge, a knight in the north of England.

‡ M. Paris affirms, that Hubert had granted them the king's letters patent, as well as his own.

** Viz. John, ſubprior of St. Auguſtin's monaſtery. M. Paris.

"that

1232. "that the perſons, through whoſe hands the "money paſſed, were not called to an account; "that the wardſhip of minors was always gi-"ven to private perſons, without any benefit "to his exchequer; that he received no pro-"fit from the vacant benefices, or the lands, "which, by death or confiſcation, fell to the "crown; tho' it was, by theſe means, his pre-"deceſſors filled their coffers, and, therefore, "not ſtanding in ſo much need of parliamen-"tary ſubſidies, lived in a ſtate of greater in-"dependence." Henry, improving theſe hints, called all his ſheriffs, and thoſe that had the management of his treaſury, to an account, and made Peter de Rivaux, the biſhop of Winchester's nephew, or rather ſon, treaſurer of his chamber; but this was only a trial of the prelate's credit, to pave the way for the execution of his main deſign. Theſe alterations were ſucceeded by ſome others, tending to remove from court the creatures of the juſticiary, whoſe intereſt viſibly declined, in proportion as that of his rival increaſed; and, in a word, the biſhop gained ſuch an influence over the king, that he procured Segrave, his principal confident, to be promoted to the office of juſticiary in the room of Hubert, who was degraded, tho' he had a patent for that dignity, during his life.

The fall of a favourite is generally heavy; for the prince's averſion is proportionable to his paſt affection. Princes, for the moſt part, on ſuch occaſions, act from a principle of pride, frequently imperceptible to themſelves; and, as their love cools, they labour to juſtify their inconſtancy, and often upbraid the favourite for that, which before was the cauſe of their affection; and of this the caſe of Hubert is a remarkable inſtance. This miniſter had formerly ſuch an aſcendant over his maſter, that his counſels, as they flatter'd all Henry's paſſions, were regarded, as ſo many oracles; but now he conſidered all his advices as ſo many treacheries. Indeed, it would be extremely difficult to vindicate the conduct of this favourite; but it may reaſonably be preſumed, that, among all the accuſations againſt him, there were ſeveral falſe and groundleſs imputations. However that be, a few days after his diſgrace, the king ſent for him, and demanded an account of all the money that had paſs'd through his hands *; and, as this was no eaſy task, Hubert endeavoured to be excuſed. Henry produced king John's charter, declaring he was ſo fully ſatisfied of his fidelity, that he diſcharged him from all accounts; but the biſhop of Wincheſter anſwered, that the charter might be valid, as to what was tranſacted in the late reign, but could not exempt him from giving an account of his adminiſtration, during the preſent; that he was charged with ſeveral other crimes, and particularly with giving the king pernicious counſels, to the great prejudice of his and the kingdom's affairs. Hubert, perceiving that his ruin was reſolved on, requeſted time to give in his anſwer; which was granted accordingly. The biſhop, who could not condemn him, without the aſſiſtance of the barons, was afraid of diſobliging them, by refuſing Hubert a privilege common to him and all the peers of the realm; and, poſſibly, they would have made it their own caſe, if the court had perſiſted in denying his requeſt.

The king commands Hubert to give in his accounts.

Whether Hubert was conſcious of his guilt, or deſpaired of vindicating his innocence, before judges, ſeveral of whom were his avowed enemies, inſtead of appearing, on the day appointed, he took ſanctuary in the priory of Merton; and, ſome time after, the parliament, being aſſembled at Lambeth, granted to the king an aid of the 40th part of the moveables of the whole kingdom; upon which, the lords petitioning that Hubert de Burgh's trial might proceed, he was ſummoned to appear, but refuſed to obey. The king, who was of an impetuous temper, gave orders to the mayor of London to force him from his ſanctuary, and bring him, either dead or alive; and the citizens, who mortally deteſted Hubert, ever ſince his ſeverity in the affair of Conſtantine, immediately flock'd together, to the number of 20,000, being reſolutely determined to execute the king's orders, in a mercileſs manner. In the interim, ſome of the principal Londoners, dreading the conſequences of ſuch a violent order, went and conſulted with the biſhop of Wincheſter, who aſſured them, that, at all adventures, the king muſt be obeyed; but the remonſtrances of the earl of Cheſter to the king himſelf were more effectual. He told him, that ſuch a tumultous aſſembly might raiſe a ſedition in the city, not eaſily to be appeaſed; and that ſo raſh an action would be blamed by all the world, and eſpecially by foreigners; who, not being prejudiced, like the Engliſh, againſt the party accuſed, would be aſtoniſhed at his treatment, ſince there were other means to puniſh him, if guilty. Finally, he reminded him of the pope's reſentment, who would never ſuffer the ſacredneſs of the ſanctuary to be violated, with impunity; and Henry, diſſuaded by theſe reaſons, countermanded the mayor of London, who found it extremely difficult to diſperſe the mob.

The king's raſh order againſt Hubert.

Of all Hubert's former friends, the archbiſhop of Dublin was the only one, that had the courage to interpoſe, in his behalf; who, by his ſollicitations, prevailed on the king to allow Hubert a longer time, to prepare his anſwer. In the mean while, Hubert came out of his ſanctuary, to viſit his wife at St. Edmundsbury; but the king, hearing of it, cauſed him to be purſued by ſome ſoldiers, who found him in a ſmall chapel, at Brentwood in Eſſex, with the croſs in one hand and the hoſt in the other; and, having wreſted both theſe from him, they chained his feet under his horſe's belly, and ſo conducted him to the tower of London. All churches, as well as what belonged to them, being, in thoſe days, ſo many ſanctuaries, the

He is forced out of a church.

* That is, of the monies paid into the exchequer; his demeſnes in England, Wales, Ireland, and Poictou; liberties in foreſts, warrens, &c. the 15ths, 16ths, and other aids paid into the exchequer; preſents for receding from his right in lands, or moveables; things loſt by his negligence; waſtes; the revenues of vacant ſees, &c. ſcutages, &c. and fines for the marriages of heirs, &c. M. Paris.

1232. king's proceeding alarmed the whole body of the clergy; and the biſhop of London, waiting on the king, declared, that he would excommunicate all, that, directly, or indirectly, were concerned in the violation of the church's privileges. Henry, terrified by theſe menaces, ordered Hubert to be ſent back to the chapel, from whence he was forced; but, at the ſame time, he commanded the ſheriffs of Hertfordſhire and Eſſex, on pain of being hanged, to watch the church ſo narrowly, that the priſoner might neither eſcape, nor be ſupplied with victuals. The archbiſhop of Dublin, upon this, interceded for him, once more, intreating the king, with tears in his eyes, to inform him, what he reſolved to do with the priſoner; and Henry replied, that he deſigned to have him condemned, as a traytor, unleſs he would acknowledge himſelf guilty, and abjure the kingdom for ever.

Hubert is confined in the tower. M. Paris.

Hubert, thinking this condition too rigid, voluntarily ſurrendered himſelf to the ſheriffs, who carried him to the tower, fettered and chained, amidſt the acclamations of the people, who took a pleaſure in inſulting over his misfortunes.

Henry relents.

However, whilſt he anxiouſly expected the rigorous ſentence, with which he was threatened, his affairs began to aſſume a new aſpect, by reaſon of the king's fickle diſpoſition of mind; and, beſides, two other circumſtances concurred to promote this change. Firſt, the death of the earl of Cheſter *, Hubert's profeſſed enemy, tho' he diſapproved of the king's illegal methods to deſtroy him; and, ſecondly, a large ſum of money lodged by the priſoner in the hands of the knights templars, and readily delivered by him to the king, upon demand. Thus, Henry's indignation againſt Hubert cooled, by degrees, in the moſt ſurprizing manner; and this ſudden alteration alarmed the biſhop of Wincheſter, who, dreading the revival of the king's affection for his former miniſter, made a freſh attempt, to compleat the ruin of his formidable rival. He accuſed him of fraud and rapine, on account of the money lodged with the templars; alledging that it was impoſſible to accumulate ſuch immenſe riches, by lawful means; which charge was ſupported by all Hubert's adverſaries, who, perceiving the king to relent, came, in a body, and petitioned his death; but Henry reſolutely replied, that he would never conſent to the death of a perſon, who had done ſuch ſignal ſervices to himſelf and the king, his father. He, therefore, put a ſtop to his proſecution; and, leaving him in poſſeſſion of his inheritance, and the lands he had purchaſed, with his own money, he only deprived him of the reſt. Some of the lords, who, till now, had not dared to ſpeak for Hubert, ſollicited the king, in his behalf, and ſo far prevailed, that he was ſent to the caſtle of the Devizes, till farther orders; and, thus, ended this affair, which had made ſo great a noiſe, to the mortification of the biſhop of Wincheſter, who expected, that Hubert would not have come off, without the loſs of his head.

1232.

A fourth election of an archbiſhop.

John Blund, profeſſor of Divinity at Oxford, being elected archbiſhop of Canterbury, directly went to Rome, with the king's licenſe, to obtain the pope's confirmation.

The biſhop of Wincheſter reſolves to govern abſolutely. M. Paris.

Hubert's diſgrace, one would have thought, ſhould have obliged the new miniſter to keep within the bounds of moderation; whereas, inſtead of taking different meaſures from thoſe of his predeceſſor, his only view was to govern with an abſolute power, and ſcreen himſelf from the plots of thoſe that ſhould oppoſe his deſigns. He repreſented to the king, "That "very few of the barons were, in reality, de- "voted to his ſervice; that their ſole intent "was to render themſelves independent; and "that, therefore, it was abſolutely neceſſary "to reſtrain their inſolence, tho' it would be "next to impoſſible to ſucceed, whilſt they were, "in a manner, maſters of the kingdom, as "they enjoyed all the places of truſt and pro- "fit; in a word, whilſt they remained in poſ- "ſeſſion of the moſt effectual means to increaſe "their audaciouſneſs; that their power was to "be undermined, by degrees, by removing "them from their poſts, offices, and govern- "ments, which might be conferred on fo- "reigners, who ſhould be invited into Eng- "land, that the king might rely on their aſſi- "ſtance, in caſes of neceſſity; and that, the "fortified places and moſt important poſts be- "ing poſſeſs'd by ſuch, as were, by gratitude "and intereſt, attached to the king, it would "be to no purpoſe for the Engliſh barons, to "attempt the re-eſtabliſhment of their pre- "tended rights." This advice, being agreeable to the king's inclinations, was immediately put in execution; and, ſoon after, above 2000 knights, Gaſcoigns and Poictevins, arrived, whom the biſhop of Wincheſter, their countryman, and Peter de Rivaulx, his nephew, had ſent for; who not only were promoted to the moſt conſiderable poſts and governments, but had likewiſe the wardſhips of the young nobility committed to them by the king, by which means, they procured for one another very advantageous matches, to the great prejudice of all the noble families. This proceeding highly incenſed the barons; but the biſhop of Wincheſter hindered their murmurs from reaching the ears of the king; or, if he could not avoid it, had the addreſs to prevent their making any impreſſion on his mind.

The earl of Pembroke makes a remonſtrance to the king. M. Paris.

Richard, earl of Pembroke, was the firſt, that had the reſolution openly to complain of theſe proceedings; who boldly told the king, that, in placing his whole affection on foreigners, he ſo alienated the hearts of his ſubjects, that, at laſt, their diſcontent muſt be attended with fatal conſequences; and he roundly repreſented to him, that, if he perſiſted in this practice, the barons would be forced to ſeek means, to rid the kingdom of theſe blood-ſuckers. The prime miniſter, being preſent, did not give the king time to reply; who told the earl, that his inſo-

* He died, October 28, at Wallingford-caſtle, without iſſue, and was ſucceeded, in the earldom of Cheſter, by his nephew John, ſon to earl David, brother of the king of Scotland; in that of Lincoln, by John de Lacy, who was alſo his nephew; and William de Albiney had, by his death, an eſtate of 500 l. a year. M. Paris.

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1233. lence deſerved correction, in preſuming to debar the king from the liberty of employing whom he pleaſed, for the ſecurity of his crown; adding, that, if the foreigners, already arrived, were inſufficient to reduce his rebellious ſubjects, more ſhould be ſent for, to that purpoſe. This imperious and imprudent anſwer occaſioned a general diſcontent among the barons; and, from this time, they began to withdraw from court and form a confederacy, to put a ſtop to the deſpotick power aſſumed by the king.

The barons refuſe to meet in parliament. M. Paris.

Some time after, the king ſummoning a parliament, the barons, purſuant to a reſolution they had taken among themſelves, refuſed to meet; and they were afterwards ſummoned again, but to no purpoſe. At laſt, hearing that a freſh troop of foreigners had landed in England, to ſtrengthen the court-party, they met, in a body, to conſult together, on that occaſion; and the reſult of their conſultation was to ſend deputies to the king, to acquaint him, that, if he did not remove, from his perſon and counſels, the biſhop of Wincheſter and the Poictevins, they were reſolved to place on the throne a prince, that ſhould better obſerve the laws of the realm. The prime miniſter, upon this formal declaration, did all that was poſſible to excite the king to make uſe of the moſt violent methods, to reduce them to their allegiance; and Henry, blindly giving himſelf up to the direction of the biſhop, compelled ſome of the lords to deliver their children, as pledges of their obedience *. After this, he made preparations to proſecute, by arms, thoſe that refuſed to ſubmit; and then he called a parliament, deſigning to cauſe the moſt obſtinate to be condemned. The barons obeyed the ſummons; but they came ſo well attended, that they were in no danger of violence. The precautions of the barons diſconcerting the king's meaſures, he prorogued the parliament, leſt what he had projected ſhould fall upon himſelf; and, his deſign of cauſing the parliament to proceed againſt the barons being defeated, he determined to act, with open force. Accordingly, he ſummoned all the vaſſals of the crown to meet him, with their troops, at Glouceſter; but the earl of Pembroke and ſome others did not think it proper to obey. This refuſal furniſhing him with a plauſible pretence to attack them, he ordered their eſtates to be plundered, their parks to be deſtroyed, their houſes to be rifled, and their ſpoils to be diſtributed among the Poictevins; yet, if the barons had inviolably adhered together, the king would never have ventured to proceed to ſuch outrages; but, a diſſenſion ariſing among them, ſome broke the confederacy †, and left the reſt expoſed to the king's reſentment. The earl of Pembroke, being deſerted by the greateſt part of his aſſociates, applied to Lewellyn, prince of Wales, who granted him his protection and aſſiſtance.

In the interim, Henry, having received a freſh ſupply of Poictevin troops, marched as far as Hereford, in order to ſeize the earl of Pembroke's caſtles in that county; but his ardor preſently abated, by the oppoſition he met with from the firſt caſtle he beſieged. As he loſt his time before the caſtle, he deviſed a project that proved ſucceſsful; for he pretended to be willing, to refer the deciſion of his quarrel with the barons to the parliament, that was to meet in October, and he even paſs'd his royal word, that he would take their complaints under his conſideration; and, as his paſt conduct had rendered his word doubtful, ſome of the biſhops became ſureties, for the performance of his engagements. Upon this, he required, that the caſtle ſhould be ſurrendered to him, promiſing to reſtore it to the earl of Pembroke, within 15 days; and it was, on this condition, delivered to the king; but, the 15 days being expired, he laughed at the earl's credulity, and refuſed to perform his promiſe. Such were the inſtructions he received from the biſhop of Wincheſter; viz. to overlook the violation of his faith, and to act ſo, as to lay his ſubjects under a neceſſity of demanding pledges, for the performance of his word.

1233. The king beſieges one of the earl of Pembroke's caſtles, to no purpoſe. M. Paris.

The remonſtrances of the parliament. M. Paris.

The parliament meeting on the 9th of October, purſuant to agreement, all the lords ſtrenuouſly intreated the king to replace his confidence in his ſubjects; and they repreſented to him, that the adminiſtration of publick affairs more naturally belonged to the peers of the realm than to foreigners; but, above all things, they intreated him not to introduce the pernicious cuſtom of treating, as rebels and traytors, thoſe that were not legally condemned. The biſhop of Wincheſter, who, on ſuch occaſions, always anſwered for his maſter, made ſuch a reply, as evidently ſhewed what maxims he inſtilled into the mind of the young king; for he aſſerted, that it was the heighth of arrogance, in the peers of England, to pretend to be on a level with thoſe of France; and that it was a notorious incroachment on the royal prerogative, to preſume to deprive their ſovereign of his right of employing what judges he pleaſed, to puniſh the diſobedient. Upon theſe words, the biſhops unanimouſly threatened the prelate with excommunication; but he deſpiſed their menaces, alledging, that, as he was conſecrated by the pope, he was not ſubject to their juriſdiction; and he even appealed, beforehand, to his holineſs, from their ſentence. Such appeals were ſo ſacred, in thoſe days, that the biſhops, not daring to excommunicate him by name, only darted their thunders, in general, on all thoſe who alienated the king's affection from his natural ſubjects.

The earl of Pembroke retakes his caſtle.

In the mean while, the earl of Pembroke, finding that all his inſtances for the reſtitution of his caſtle were ineffectual, beſieged and took it, in a few days; and the king, being enraged againſt the earl, on that account, commanded

* He began with Gilbert Baſſet, whom he deprived of the manor of Netheraven in Wiltſhire, conferred upon him by king John; and, upon Gilbert's coming to demand it again, he called him traytor, aſſuring him, that, if he did not immediately quit his court, he would order him to be hanged. He alſo commanded Richard Sward to be apprehended, for marrying Gilbert's ſiſter, or niece, without his leave. M. Paris. M. Weſt.

† The earl of Pembroke was deſerted by Richard earl of Cornwall; and the earls of Cheſter and Lincoln were bought off from him, with 1000 marks, by the biſhop of Wincheſter. M. Paris.

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1233. the biſhops to excommunicate him; but they told him, they could not apprehend any juſt cauſe to pronounce that ſentence againſt the earl, who had only recovered his own right, and what the king had promiſed to reſtore. Henry, not being able to prevail on the biſhops, reſolved to revenge this affront, by force of arms; and, accordingly, he ſummoned all the lords to meet him at Glouceſter, with horſe and arms, the day after All-Saints. Having muſtered his army together, he marched into Wales; but, arriving there, he was in extreme want of proviſions and forage, the earl of Pembroke having laid waſte all the places through which the royal army was to paſs; and, therefore, he entered Monmouthſhire, where he continued, ſome time, to give orders for their ſubſiſtence. In the interim, the earl of Pembroke, receiving intelligence that the king and moſt of the general officers were lodged in the caſtle of Groſmont, whilſt the army was quartered without in tents, attacked the camp by night, and, ſurprizing the army, put them to the rout; but this event ſo confounded the king, who loſt in the action about 600 horſes, with almoſt all his baggage, that, tho' his army was ſuperior to that of the earl, he retired to Glouceſter. Pembroke, upon Henry's retreat, determined to beſiege the caſtle of Monmouth, commanded by Baldwin de Guiſnes, a Flemiſh officer of great reputation; but this commander, being confident that the earl would approach, with a ſmall number of ſoldiers, to take a view of the caſtle, laid an ambuſh for him, which took him priſoner. This accident would have infallibly proved the ruin of the earl and his whole party, if, as he was conducted to the caſtle, Baldwin had not been deſperately wounded with an arrow; for, his men being obliged to halt, in order to aſſiſt him, the earl's army had not only time to reſcue their general, but alſo to kill or take priſoners all that came out of the town.

Hubert, making his eſcape, flies to a church.

During theſe tranſactions in Wales, Hubert de Burgh projected means to avoid a new impending danger; for he was given to underſtand, that the biſhop of Wincheſter, deſigning to diſpatch him, the more effectually to accompliſh his purpoſe, had importunately deſired of the king the cuſtody of the caſtle of the Devizes; but Hubert had the good fortune to gain ſome of his guards, who gave him an opportunity to eſcape, and take ſanctuary in a neighbouring church; yet no ſooner was his eſcape known, than the governor ordered him to be purſued by ſome of the garriſon, who, finding him before the altar, dragged him thence, in a very violent manner, and brought him back to the caſtle. Had he been apprehended in any other place than a church, few would have concerned themſelves about it; but the violation of the privilege of ſanctuary the clergy conſidered, as a thing of ſo dangerous conſequence, that the biſhop of Salisbury made it his own cauſe; ſince the outrage was committed in a church in his dioceſe. He directly repaired to the Devizes, and attempted to prevail on the governor to ſend the priſoner back to the place from whence he was taken; but, his ſollicitations proving unſucceſsful, he excommunicated the whole garriſon, and immediately carried his complaints to the king. He was aſſiſted by the biſhop of London and ſome other prelates, who were ſo urgent with the king, that he ordered the priſoner to be ſent to his ſanctuary; but, at the ſame time, he commanded the ſheriff of the county, to prevent his being ſupplied with victuals; yet, the next day, he was reſcued by a troop of armed men, who furniſhed him with means to make his eſcape into Wales, where he joined the earl of Pembroke.

1233.

The pope annuls Blund's election.

The election of John Blund to the ſee of Canterbury being declared void by the pope, leſt the monks ſhould make another miſtake, he empowered them to chuſe Edmund, canon of Salisbury; and, thus, by degrees, the popes became maſters of the elections of the archbiſhops of Canterbury, by annulling them, till thoſe they intended to promote were elected.

1234. The earl of Pembroke's progreſs.

After the king's retreat, the earl of Pembroke, continuing his progreſs, daily gained ſome advantage; and, in the beginning of the year 1234, he defeated a ſmall army commanded by John de Monmouth, who thought to ſurprize him, tho' he was ſurprized himſelf. Upon this, he ravaged the lands of the king's counſellors, lying in the Marches of Wales, and burnt the town of Shrewsbury, whilſt the king, who remained ſtill at Glouceſter, inſtead of oppoſing the earl, removing from Glouceſter, for the greater ſecurity of his perſon, ſhut himſelf up in Wincheſter, leaving the counties near the Severn to the mercy of the enemy. Several biſhops and others adviſed him to make peace with the earl; but, being entirely ſwayed by the biſhop of Wincheſter, he refuſed to conſent to any accommodation, unleſs the earl of Pembroke would come and throw himſelf at his feet *, and declare himſelf a traytor. It was no eaſy matter to prevail on the earl voluntarily to ſubmit to ſuch hard terms; and it was no leſs difficult to force him to a compliance, ſince the king had not the leaſt proſpect of any aids from the parliament, to carry on a war ſo diſagreeable to all. However, the biſhop of Wincheſter, as the council entirely conſiſted of his creatures, eaſily engaged them in a means made uſe of by him, to bring about his deſigns; and he cauſed an order to be directed to the king's officers in Ireland, ſigned by 12 privy counſellors, to plunder the eſtates of the earl of Pembroke, and to take him, dead or alive, if he ſhould come into that country. To this order was annexed a promiſe, in the king's name, of the earl's confiſcated eſtates in Ireland, if they punctually put it in execution; and the governors of Ireland promiſed, upon this, to exert themſelves in giving the king the ſatisfaction he deſired. However, they wiſhed to be ſecured by a charter, in form, of what was promiſed; and the biſhop, having proceeded already too far to recede, a charter being drawn, by his direction, he procured it to be ſigned by the king among other papers of no conſequence, and the great ſeal was affixed

* With a halter about his neck. M. Paris.

to

1234. to it by the chancellor, who, probably, was concerned in the plot *. The Iriſh governors, upon the receipt of this charter, under ſome pretence, levied an army, and, entering the lands of the earl of Pembroke, committed great ravages, in order to draw that lord into Ireland; and this artifice fully anſwered the biſhop of Wincheſter's expectations. Pembroke, incenſed at the injuries done him in Ireland, directly repaired thither, reſolving to be revenged on thoſe that ſo wantonly attacked him; but he was baſely betrayed by his pretended friends, who engaged him in a battle, where he loſt his life †, by a ſtab in the back with a dagger.

The biſhop of Wincheſter's diſgrace. M. Paris.

Whilſt the biſhop of Wincheſter uſed the king's authority, without his knowledge, to ſcreen himſelf from his enemies, the new archbiſhop of Canterbury ſecretly attempted to undermine him; for ſuch was his zeal for the publick good, and alſo that of the king, that he inceſſantly repreſented to Henry, that it was his intereſt to remove from his perſon a miniſter ſo deteſted by all his ſubjects; and that the foreigners, who alienated the affection of his people, would infallibly prove the cauſe of his ruin. The king's eyes were, at length, ſo far opened by theſe remonſtrances, that he ſeemed to be thoroughly diſpoſed to reform his conduct; and, accordingly, he iſſued out poſitive orders for the prime miniſter to depart from court and return to his dioceſe. Afterwards, Peter de Rivaulx, the treaſurer, Segrave, the juſticiary, Robert de Paſſelew, and all the reſt of the foreigners, promoted by the biſhop of Wincheſter to the principal poſts in the ſtate, were not only ſhamefully degraded, but ordered to give an account of their management, and of all the money that paſſed thro' their hands; and then the king ſent the archbiſhop of Canterbury, with the biſhops of Cheſter and Rocheſter, into Wales to negotiate a treaty with Lewellyn, which they concluded, to the advantage of the nation.

The king is informed of that prelate's treachery to the late earl of Pembroke.

This happy change reſtored tranquillity to the kingdom; and, in all probability, it would have recovered its former ſplendor, if the king had, all along, continued in the ſame diſpoſition. In the interim, the new miniſters made the beſt uſe of this peaceable interval, to convince the king of the injury he had done himſelf, in placing his whole confidence in ſtrangers; and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, being informed of the particulars of the plot againſt the earl of Pembroke, ſhewed him a copy of the order and charter ſent by the biſhop of Wincheſter into Ireland. Henry, aſtoniſhed at his preſumption, proteſted he was not, in the leaſt, concerned in that affair; and he even ſeemed to lament the death of the earl, and to be extremely exaſperated againſt his miniſters, who had ſo notoriouſly abuſed his confidence.

The day appointed for the late miniſters to give in their anſwers being come, the parties accuſed, who, doubtleſs, were conſcious of their guilt, choſe to take ſanctuary in the churches, pretending that they were juſtly apprehenſive of ſome violence from their enemies; but the new miniſters ſo ordered matters, that the king removed the pretence for their non-appearance, by granting them a ſafe-conduct. Peter de Rivaulx, who appeared firſt, expreſs'd himſelf in ſuch arrogant terms, and behaved in a manner ſo very unſuitable to his condition, that Henry, for his inſolence, impriſoned him in the tower; where he remained no more than three days, before, by the archbiſhop's advice, he was ſent back to his ſanctuary. Segrave requeſted a longer time to prepare his anſwer; which was granted him, upon the archbiſhop's interceſſion; but the biſhop of Wincheſter, not daring to truſt to his ſafe-conduct, continued in his cathedral; and it was thought improper to force him from thence. 1234. The old miniſters are proſecuted.

In the mean while, the truce with France being expired, Lewis vigorouſly attacked the duke of Bretagne; and, according to the maxims of policy, this ally ſhould have been powerfully aſſiſted; but Henry ſent him no more than 60 knights and 2000 foot; which ſupply being diſproportioned to his neceſſities, he found himſelf obliged to demand a three months truce. However, he could not obtain it, but on the condition, that, if the king of England did not come, in perſon, to his relief, he ſhould ſubmit to whatever ſhould be required of him; and, during this interval, he exerted himſelf to prevail with Henry to come into Bretagne; but, being diſappointed, he did full homage to Lewis for his territories, which made his ſubjects give him the name of Mauclerc, that is, Bad Scholar ‡. Thus, Henry, by his negligence, loſt an ally, that might have been extremely ſerviceable to him, in his war with France. 1235. Lewis invades Bretagne.

In the beginning of the next year, Segrave and Paſſelew, the king's old miniſters, having each of them made him a preſent of 1000 marks, were diſcharged from any farther proſecution. 1236.

Soon after, was ſolemnized the marriage of Iſabella, the king's ſiſter, with the emperor Frederick II. **; and, tho' it was unuſual to grant the king an aid, for the marriage of a younger ſiſter, the parliament was ſo highly pleaſed with his late proceedings, that they allowed him two marks on every plough-land. Iſabella's marriage.

The biſhop of Wincheſter, who, till now, kept within the bounds of his dioceſe, ſet out for Rome, being ſent for by the pope, to be near his perſon, under the pretence that he wanted his advice, in a quarrel between him and the citizens of Rome; tho', doubtleſs, his holineſs only made uſe of this expedient, to free him from the king's proſecutions; and, The pope ſends for the biſhop of Wincheſter.

* According to M. Paris, they ſtole the ſeal from Ralph, biſhop of Chicheſter, the chancellor, who had no concern in the fraud.

† He died April 16, and was interred at Kilkenny. M. Paris.

‡ Thus, he is ſtiled by the hiſtorians of Bretagne; for, tho' he had ſtudied at the univerſity of Paris, it ſeems, he made no great progreſs in politicks.

** The emperor ſent, by the biſhop of Exeter, who attended the princeſs into Germany, among ſeveral other preſents, three leopards, alluding to the royal ſhield, on which are depicted three leopards paſſant; which ſhew, that, in Henry IIId's time, the bearing of the kings of England was not three lions, as now, but three leopards. Vid. M. Paris and Selden's notes on Poly-Olbion.

1236. probably, the prelate purchaſed this favour, at a dear rate, as he was concerned with a pope that embraced every opportunity, to accumulate money. The truth of this appears, from a ſtep that he took, this very year; for, Frederick's 10 years truce with the Saracens being now almoſt expired, he cauſed a freſh Cruſade to be publiſhed, as if he deſigned to make a vigorous puſh, to reſtore the affairs of Paleſtine; but, when great numbers of chriſtians had taken the croſs, and were preparing for their departure, by another bull, he diſpenſed with their going, for a certain ſum of money.

Henry's marriage.

Henry, the kingdom, at preſent, enjoying a profound tranquillity, eſpouſed Eleanor, ſecond daughter of Raymund earl of Provence *; and the nuptials were celebrated with great rejoicings, and in a magnificent manner; which ſeemed to preſage the king more happineſs than attended this marriage; and, the ſolemnity of the wedding and coronation † of the new queen being over, the king called a parliament at Merton; where ſeveral ſtatutes were enacted, which were, for a long time, in force, but are now, for the moſt part, repealed ‡.

The end of the French war.

The war with France ended, without any treaty of peace between the two crowns; for as Henry, who was not of a martial temper, had done nothing, in order to continue it, the queen-regent of France was very glad, that the Engliſh did not come into France, during the minority of the king, her ſon.

The ſtate of England. M. Paris.

However, tho' England was not diſturbed by foreign wars, it was infeſted, at home, with the diſcontents of the nobility, upon the promotion of William of Provence, the queen's uncle, who was elected biſhop of Valence, tho' not yet confirmed by the pope; for this prelate, being lately arrived in England, had ſo gained the king's affection, that nothing was tranſacted, without his advice, and the adminiſtration of publick affairs was entirely left to his direction. This highly diſguſted the Engliſh barons, who were reduced to the ſame ſtate, from which they imagined they had freed themſelves, by the expulſion of the Poictevins; and, at a parliament, aſſembled this year, in April, they ſo boldly complained of theſe proceedings to the king, that he judged it expedient to retire to the tower, where he expected that the barons would have followed him; but, perceiving that none of them came to him, he returned, of his own accord, into the city, and endeavoured to ſatisfy them, upon ſome of their grievances, in order to induce them to overlook what they apprehended to be the principal. He removed ſeveral ſheriffs, that abuſed their authority; and, the prince, his brother, one Richard Sward having ſhewn him ſome diſreſpect, upon his complaint, obtained that Sward ſhould be baniſhed the realm, for his inſolence. In a word, Henry, by reaſon of ſome changes at court, to gratify the barons, imagined that he had given them entire ſatisfaction; but, being deſirous of removing the biſhop of Chicheſter from the chancellorſhip, who had diſcharged that office with integrity, that prelate refuſed to reſign it; alledging, "That he was "placed in that exalted poſt by the parlia- "ment, and could not, therefore, quit it, un- "leſs by the ſame authority. 1

The emperor demands the empreſs's portion.

Though the parliament granted the king a conſiderable aid, for the marriage of the empreſs, his ſiſter, ambaſſadors from Frederick came to court, to demand the portion promiſed their maſter; and, if the people's reflections, as to the miſapplication of the money, were diſadvantageous to the king, thoſe that they had, ſhortly after, occaſion to make, about his inconſtancy, were equally prejudicial to his reputation; for, when they leaſt expected it, on a ſudden, he recalled to court Segrave and Rivaulx, and placed an entire confidence in them again, tho' he had, juſt before, commenced a proſecution againſt them, on the account of their miſdemeanours. The pernicious effects of their councils ſoon viſibly appeared; for they were ſcarce reſtored to their poſts, when, in a parliament, held, June the 14th, at Wincheſter, Henry, by vertue of a bull from Rome, would have annulled all his grants, during his minority, becauſe they wanted the pope's confirmation. This trifling pretence evidently proved, that he was extremely ſollicitous to enſlave himſelf ſtill more effectually to the court of Rome; but this proceeding, ſo directly inconſiſtent with the rights and prerogatives of the crown, ſo highly incenſed the parliament, that they refuſed to conſent to the revocation of theſe grants, principally becauſe of the bull, on which the king's motion was founded.

Henry dreads a war.

As Henry's conduct rendered him contemptible to his own ſubjects, foreign princes no longer conſidered him, as a formidable neighbour; and, on the contrary, his own knowledge of the ſentiments of the Engliſh obliged him to make uſe of all poſſible precautions, to avoid a war with his neighbours; tho' he choſe rather to give way to them, of his own accord, than involve himſelf in troubles; from which he found he could not free himſelf, with honour. This was the reaſon of his deſerting the duke of Bretagne; and, therefore, it was, that he tamely yielded to the pretenſions of the king of Scotland, who, this very year, demanded the county of Northumberland, in ſuch a haughty manner, as would have met with a mortifying repulſe, had he been concerned with any other prince **. However, Henry meanly purchaſed a peace, with the annual penſion of eighty marks, which was ſettled on the king of Scotland; and he even went to York, on purpoſe to negotiate this diſhonourable treaty; under the pretence that he was afraid of the Scots entering into a league with the Welch, and that Gilbert Marſhall, earl of Pembroke,

* They were married at Canterbury, January 14; and, the 20th, the queen was crowned at Weſtminſter. M. Par.

† M. Paris, who gives a very particular account of the coronation, obſerves, that the earl of Cheſter, as lord high-conſtable, carried the ſword of St. Edward, called Curteine, before the king; as a token of his being earl of the palace, and that he was veſted with a power of reſtraining the king, if he ſhould act amiſs. M. Paris.

‡ Henry, after the coronation, went, the ſame day, to Merton, a monaſtery in Surrey; where, meeting his great men, he enacted the proviſions of Merton, the moſt antient body of laws, next to Magna Charta. M. Paris.

** He pretended, that king John had beſtowed it upon him, when he married his daughter Johanna.

who

1236. who ſucceeded his brother Richard, and married the king of Scotland's ſiſter, would improve this opportunity, to create commotions in the kingdom.

1237. Henry calls a parliament, and ſtrenuouſly ſollicits to obtain an aid. M. Paris. M. Weſt.

In the interim, as the king daily perceived, that the affection of the great men was alienated from him, and that it would, therefore, be difficult to raiſe money, to fill his empty coffers, he fixed upon an expedient, which, he believed, would infallibly prove ſucceſsful; and he called a parliament, to which all the lords of the kingdom were ſummoned, in order to conſult about ſome important affairs of ſtate. However, as ſoon as the lords were aſſembled, a certain prieſt *, famous for his eloquence, repreſented to the lords, "That he was commanded to "acquaint them with the occaſion of their "meeting"; and, after a ſhort pauſe, he added, "That the king, having ſeriouſly conſidered "the abuſes crept into the government, was "exceedingly ſorry for contributing to the "ſame, by his negligence and miſmanagement; that he owned, with concern, that "he had employed imprudent and ſelfiſh miniſters, who, by evil counſels, had led him "to act, contrary to the laws and cuſtoms of "the realm; that, to repair, as far as was "poſſible, the evils occaſioned by his own indiſcretion, and the unfaithfulneſs of his miniſters, he was reſolved to be directed no "longer by the advice of foreigners, but to "commit the adminiſtration of publick affairs "to his native ſubjects; that he was confident, "they would exert themſelves, to prevent the "oppreſſion of the people, cauſe juſtice and "the laws to flouriſh, and reſtore the crown to "its former luſtre". The orator, having laid down theſe preliminaries, farther added, "That "the king deſired his parliament to conſider, "that the miſmanagement of the treaſury, "and the debts he had contracted, were not "the leaſt of the miſdemeanours chargeable "upon his miniſters; and, therefore, he was "in hopes, that they would, firſt of all, apply "a remedy to this, upon his aſſurance, that he "would conſent to any expedients, for the redreſs of other abuſes; that, on this account, "he demanded an aid proportionable to his "preſent exigences; and, to convince them of "his ſincerity, he previouſly conſented, that "commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to take "care that the money ſhould be diſpoſed of, "for the neceſſary uſes of the kingdom". Had not the parliament ſufficiently known, to what a height Henry could carry his diſſimulation, this plauſible harangue might have had a ſudden influence over them; whereas, as the caſe ſtood, all theſe ſubmiſſive expreſſions were loſt upon them. They replied, "That they had "often granted aids to the king, without ever "receiving, in return, the leaſt mark of his af"fection; and that, ſince his acceſſion to the "throne, his dominions were conſiderably di"miniſhed, tho' he had frequently exacted "from his ſubjects very large ſums, which were "profuſely expended upon foreigners." To this it was anſwered, "That his own and his "ſiſter's marriage had entirely exhauſted his "treaſure; but, if they would grant him a "13th part of their moveables, he promiſed "them, upon his honour, that he would never "oppreſs any baron of the realm." This promiſe was of no weight with the lords, who could not rely upon the king's word; and, therefore, they replied, "That he had miſapplied "the aid they had already granted him, for "the empreſs's marriage; and ſince he had "married, without conſulting their advice, he "might take what ſteps he pleaſed, to defray "the expences of his wedding". This anſwer convincing him, that he wanted a more powerful engine, to gain his point, he promiſed to re-eſtabliſh his father's charters; and, to ſhew that he was in earneſt, he ordered the execration, formerly denounced by cardinal Langton upon thoſe that violated the charters, to be publiſhed in all the churches. In a word, he added to his council three lords †, who were very acceptable to the nobility; and ſo many advances from a ſovereign, and eſpecially the re-eſtabliſhment of the charters, at length, procured the deſired effect. However, tho' the parliament, deceived by theſe pretended demonſtrations, at length, complied with his demand; yet they clogged their grant with two conditions, that were not very grateful to the king. Firſt, that, for the time to come, he ſhould reject the counſels of the foreigners, and adhere to thoſe of his ſubjects; and, ſecondly, that four knights ſhould be elected, in every county, to collect and ſecure the money in ſome monaſtery, that it might be reſtored to every one again, if the king ſhould break his word; yet no ſooner was the money raiſed, than Henry ſeized it and ſquander'd it away in idle expences, even in preſents to his favourite foreigners, who continued in his council, as before.

1237.

Prince Richard's remonſtrance.

Henry's conduct occaſioned ſuch loud murmurs, that prince Richard, his brother, judged it to be neceſſary to repreſent to him, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the danger to which it would infallibly expoſe him; but Henry was too much attached to the counſels of the foreigners, as they were moſt agreeable to his inclinations. Hiſtorians particularly take notice, that Simon de Montfort, ſon of the famous earl of Montfort, general of the Cruſade againſt the Albigenſes, was one of thoſe that had the chief aſcendant over the king; for this young nobleman, who, for ſome diſguſt, quitted the court of France, to make his fortune in England, in all reſpects, conformed himſelf to his humour; but I ſhall, hereafter, have frequeut occaſion to mention him, under the title of the earl of Leiceſter.

Lewellyn does homage to Henry.

Tho' Henry did not, in the leaſt, think of extending his dominions over the neighbouring counties, a fortunate juncture procured him, before the end of this year, an advantage, which was, in vain, ſought for by the moſt illuſtrious of his predeceſſors; for Lewellyn, prince of

* William de Rale. M. Par. M. Weſt.

† The earl of Warren, William Ferrars, and John Geoffrey, who ſwore, that they would always give the king wholeſome advice, and act with honour and integrity. M. Paris

Wales,

1237. Wales, being old and infirm, and alſo perſecuted by his ſon Griffyn, for his own ſecurity, put himſelf under the king of England's protection, to whom he did homage for his dominions. This proceeding was the more remarkable, as he himſelf, as well as his anceſtors, had, all along, done all that was poſſible, to prevent this ſubjection; and if, at any time, force of arms obliged them to acknowledge this ſovereignty, they were always ready to diſown it, when they met with a proper opportunity.

A legate arrives. M. Paris.

In the mean while, the Engliſh had, unexpectedly, a freſh cauſe for uneaſineſs, by the arrival of Otho, the pope's legate, who was ſent to plunder them of what they had left, after the extortions of the king and his foreign miniſters; and the clergy, eſpecially, juſtly dreaded theſe extraordinary legateſhips, the ſole view of which was to extort their money.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury greatly blamed the king, for ſuffering the legate to come into the kingdom, without any apparent neceſſity, or the knowledge of the clergy and parliament; but his expoſtulations were ineffectual; for it was evident, that the king privately ſent for him, in order to ſcreen himſelf, under his protection, from the attempts of his ſubjects. The pope joyfully embraced this oportunity of ſending a legate into England, expecting that, by means of the king's authority, he might, with impunity, rifle the churches; and, thus, the king and the pope were united together, for the deſtruction of the Engliſh nation.

The legate propoſes to go into Scotland, but is repulſed by the king.

However, the legate's view was not confined to England; for he deſigned to drain Scotland alſo, which had, hitherto, been free from the exactions of the court of Rome; and he fancied he had met with a convenient opportunity, at an interview between the kings of England and Scotland, held on account of the latter's pretenſions. No ſooner was the conference ended, by which the king of Scotland obtained an augmentation of his penſion *, than the legate, who had found ſome excuſe to be preſent, repreſented to him, that he intended to go into Scotland, to regulate the affairs of the church. Alexander replied, that no legate had ever been ſent into Scotland, and there was ſtill leſs occaſion for any, in his reign; that he would not ſuffer ſuch an innovation, whilſt he wore the crown; and that if, notwithſtanding this declaration, he perſiſted in his reſolution, he warned him, before-hand, that he was not abſolute maſter of his own ſubjects, and, perhaps, ſhould be incapable of protecting him, if the people, fierce and untractable, ſhould fail in the reſpect due to his character. Theſe laſt words, probably, induced the legate to drop his deſign; and, therefore, he remained with the king of England, whom he found to be more pliant and obſequious.

The earldom of Cheſter is annexed to the crown.

John, late earl of Cheſter, dying, this year †, without iſſue, the king annexed that earldom, which enjoyed very great privileges, to the crown; and he paid, in money, to the earl's ſiſters what was due to them from thence, or allowed it to them out of other lands.

About this time, the emperor Frederick ſent Henry an account of the birth of a ſon, by Iſabella, his wife, named Henry; and that he deſigned the kingdom of Sicily for the new-born prince. 1237.

Matthew Paris concludes his relation of the occurences of this year, with a lively deſcription of the court of Rome, which is the more credible, as it is penn'd by a contemporary monk; tho' it is this very narrative, which has raiſed him ſo many enemies, who have called in queſtion his veracity.

1238. Simon de Montfort, perceiving that he had great intereſt at court, aſpired to nothing leſs than being married to Eleanor the counteſs of Pembroke, the king's ſiſter; but, forſeeing mighty obſtacles, he ſecured the affection of the princeſs, before-hand, and ſo contrived matters, that the king was obliged to cauſe them to be privately married in his own chapel. Prince Richard was highly incenſed at this marriage, and remonſtrated to the king, that he acted very imprudently, in marrying his ſiſter to a younger brother, whoſe fortune was not, in the leaſt, anſwerable to a royal family; but Henry excuſed his conduct, from the neceſſity of haſtening the marriage, adding, that there was now no remedy, as the nuptials were ſolemnized and the princeſs with child. However, Montfort, apprehenſive that prince Richard would attempt to annul his marriage, went to Rome, where he procured it to be confirmed by the pope; and then he returned to the king, who gave him a very gracious reception.

The barons enter into a league againſt the king. M. Paris.

Richard was alſo as much diſguſted, at the great influence the foreigners had over the king, as the reſt of the barons; and they all unanimouſly complained, that the king had violated his promiſes, and that all the money exacted from his ſubjects, under various pretences, was ſolely employed in inriching the queen's relations. As prince Richard ſeemed to be very zealous for the good of the publick, they imagined, that, under ſuch a leader, they ſhould, probably, obtain from the king the ſatisfaction they deſired, eſpecially with reſpect to the foreigners; and, therefore, chuſing him for their head, they entered into a league, and ſent the king word, that they intreated him to remember his engagements. This confederacy conſtrained Henry to put on a ſeeming moderation, which was his uſual practice, on ſuch preſſing occaſions; and he even appointed a day to give them a favourable anſwer; but they would not ſuffer themſelves again to be deceived by this outward mildneſs; and being ſenſible, that Henry's ſole view was to amuſe them, they came to London, on the day appointed, guarded with horſe and arms, in a readineſs to force the king to a compliance. Henry, as the caſe ſtood, did not make any reſiſtance, but aſſured them, that he really intended to redreſs all their grievances; and, for their farther ſatisfaction, he propoſed to ſubmit to the arbitration of a certain number of lords, the half of which to be named by himſelf. Upon this, commiſ-

* Viz. 200l. per annum out of Cumberland and Northumberland. Rot. Pat. 21. H. 7. M. 8. Vid. Dr. Brady.

† He was, according to M. Paris, poiſoned by his wife, prince Lewellyn's daughter.

ſioners

1238. sioners where chosen, on both sides, who drew up certain articles, which the king was to observe, henceforward, in the government of the kingdom; and they were signed by the king and the barons, and confirmed by the legate, who, in all publick affairs, always was sollicitous to interpose his master's authority.

The legate insulted by some Oxford scholars.

The legate did not meet with the same respect at Oxford, that was paid him at court; for, going there upon some business, tho' the university, in a body, received him with the deference due to his character, the insolence of his domesticks highly incensed some of the scholars, who, offering to enter his lodgings *, were uncivilly repulsed by the porter; and, whilst they were yet in the house, some of them found, in the kitchen, a poor Irish scholar begging for relief of the cook, who, instead of an alms, threw a ladle-ful of boiling water in his face; which so provoked a Welch student, who was a spectator of it, that, having a bow in his hand, he shot the cook dead on the spot, with an arrow. The legate, being informed of this tumult, was so terrified, that he retired into the tower of the church, where he remained till night, dreading that the insolence of the scholars would even extend to his own person; but, as soon as he could with safety, he set out for London, and complained to the king of this outrage, charging it upon the whole university, which he had now laid under an interdict. The king seemed to be extremely enraged, on the account of this insult; and he, forthwith, dispatched the earl of Warren to Oxford, with orders to seize the offenders †; but this affair, which, at first, made a great noise, was, at length, hushed, by the mediation of the bishops, who prevailed on the university to make all the submissions the legate required ‡.

A quarrel between the king and the pope.

Had this accident fell out, a little later, it would have been more prejudicial to England; for, soon after, the pope was so highly disgusted, because Henry supplied the emperor with a body of troops, that, for some time, the English ecclesiasticks were denied admittance at the court of Rome; which led the emperor to hope, that he should gain the king, his brother-in-law, over to his interest against the pope; and, accordingly, he directly sent ambassadors to him, who did all that was possible, to prevail on him to espouse his cause, but to no purpose. The king and the pope too much wanted each other's assistance, to continue long at variance; and, tho' his holiness considered himself, as lord paramount of England, he was not insensible, how averse the barons were to his pretensions, which the king's authority alone, was, in some measure, capable of supporting; and it was only thro' his countenance and connivance, that he could rifle the English clergy, with impunity. On the contrary, Henry saw, that none but the pope could support him against the barons; and that he could not fill the principal church-preferments with his creatures, as he intended, without the papal authority; and, therefore, it is no wonder, the king and pope were soon reconciled, for their mutual advantage. 1238.

The bishop of Winchester's death.

The bishop of Winchester's death, at this juncture, gave the king an opportunity of making the first overtures towards a reconciliation with the pope; for he ardently desired to procure that wealthy see for the bishop of Valence, his uncle, whom he pressingly recommended to the monks, the electors; tho', in spite of his sollicitations, they elected the bishop of Chichester, high chancellor of England. However, tho' Henry was disappointed, as to the monks, he promised himself success, another way, being confident that the pope was desirous of nothing more than his advances towards a reconciliation; and, in this belief, he dispatched ambassadors to Rome, who, after making some submissions, in their master's name, procured the election of the bishop of Winchester to be annulled by the papal authority **.

The late bishop of Winchester was justly esteemed to be one of the principal authors of the troubles of this reign; for it was he that advised the king to annul his father's charters, and invite foreigners into the kingdom, in order to entrust them with the administration of publick affairs; which articles perpetually occasioned discontents among the nobility, and, at length, were attended with fatal consequences. The death of this prelate was preceded by that of Johanna, queen of Scotland, Henry's sister.

A conspiracy against the king.

The manner, in which England was governed, gave such uneasiness to all, that it is no wonder, some of the people attempted to dispatch the king; and, this year, a villain ††, feigning madness, found means to get into his chamber, by night, with a design to kill him; but, being disappointed, by reason of Henry's passing that night in the queen's apartment, he was taken and punished, according to his desert. Before his death, he declared, that William de Maris was the author of the conspiracy, in which several others were engaged; tho', either thro' negligence, or some other reason, there was no enquiry made into this affair.

1239. Instances of Henry's inconstancy.

I shall introduce my account of the events of the year 1239, with the relation of some effects of Henry's capriciousness and inconstancy; for an insight into the genius and character of this prince is absolutely necessary, to form a just idea of the springs and causes of the transactions in this reign. As his love and hatred were entirely directed by the dictates of those who had the ascendant over him, it is not so surprizing, that he so often altered his inclina-

* In the abbey of Osney near Oxford. M. Paris.

† According to M. Paris, 31 were imprisoned in Wallingford-castle. On this account there was a cessation of the studies at Oxford, all the summer. M. West.

‡ The legate obliged all the scholars to meet at St. Paul's church, and from thence walk on foot, above a mile and a half from his lodgings, to the bishop of Carlisle's house; and then, putting off their caps, gowns, and shoes, to proceed to the legate's house, and humbly beg pardon and absolution. M. Par. M. West.

** He likewise deprived that prelate of the great seal, which was put in commission, and delivered to Geoffrey, a templar, and John de Lexintun; but the prelate still enjoyed the revenues of the chancery. M. Paris.

†† According to M. Paris, a learned knight.

1239. tions and maxims. I have already obſerved, that, after he had perſecuted the earl of Pembroke, he reſtored the office of earl-marſhal to Gilbert, his brother; but Gilbert was extremely aſtoniſhed to find, that, when he, one day, came to wait upon the king, he was, contrary to cuſtom, denied admittance. He made a complaint to the king himſelf, by the means of one of his friends, who deſired him to ſhew the reaſon, why ſuch an affront was offered to a lord of ſo great diſtinction; and Henry anſwered, It was becauſe Richard, the earl's brother, was a traytor, and perſiſted in his treaſon, to the day of his death; adding that he repented of giving him the office of earl-marſhal, which, however, he could recall, whenever he pleaſed. This reply obliged the earl to retire from court into the north of England, for his ſecurity from the plots of his enemies, who had prejudiced the king againſt him.

Henry, likewiſe, was ſo far from reſenting Simon de Montfort's affront to the royal family, that he continued him in his favour, and, at laſt, made him earl of Leiceſter; and yet, a few days after he had conferred this honour upon him, he publickly charged him with debauching his ſiſter, and bribing the pope, to confirm his marriage; whereas the proper ſeaſon, to proſecute him for this action, was elapſed, and he had cauſed the nuptials to be celebrated, in his preſence, and in his own chapel. However, the earl, departed, that very day, with his lady for France, where he remained, till the king's indignation was appeaſed.

I ſhall only preſent the reader with another inſtance of the capricious conduct of this monarch, of which there are evident proofs, in almoſt all the actions of his life. The preceding year, he diſobliged the pope, by ſending ſuccours to the emperor againſt him; but, when Frederick, a few months after, was ſolemnly excommunicated, he ordered the bull of excommunication to be publiſhed in all the churches of his kingdom; was which the more ſurprizing, becauſe, as brother-in-law to the emperor, he might have plauſibly excuſed himſelf, or, at leaſt; have ſhewn, by his tardineſs, that it was done with reluctance.

The birth of prince Edward.

The ſame year, the queen was delivered of a prince, named Edward; who, in proceſs of time, ſucceeding his father, proved one of the moſt illuſtrious monarchs that ever ſate on the Engliſh throne.

The legate's exactions. M. Paris.

The daily exactions of Otho, the legate, conſtrained the biſhops, at length, to complain to the pope, who had twice recalled him, by his letters; tho' he was ſtill, notwithſtanding, detained by the king. At laſt, the prelates, tired with the perpetual and unreaſonable demands of the cardinal upon the clergy, reſolved to have a meeting, to conſult about a remedy for this evil; and they had ſcarce begun to treat of their affairs, when the legate, coming into the aſſembly, demanded an aid for the preſſing occaſions of the holy ſee; which ſo highly incenſed them, that, to prevent any farther ſollicitations, they broke up immediately, tho' this peremptory denial only cauſed him to apply to the religious houſes, who were forced to ſupply what was refuſed by the biſhops.

1239. The legate's new attempt upon Scotland. M. Paris.

The legate, having, with impunity, extorted large ſums from England, in ſpite of the repulſe he had already received, determined to act the ſame part in Scotland; and, with this view, he departed, attended by ſome Engliſh barons, without ſo much as asking, beforehand, the king of Scotland's conſent. Upon his arrival on the borders, he was met by the king, not out of reſpect, but to hinder his progreſs; but, tho' this oppoſition was no more than what he might reaſonably have expected, he was ſo offended at it, that, in his paſſion, he threatened Alexander, who, by his anſwer, convinced him, that he deſpiſed his menaces; but the Engliſh lords, at length, tho' with extreme difficulty, prevailed with the king of Scotland, to grant the legate his licenſe, for this one time, to enter into his kingdom; but, after all, Alexander would not give his conſent, unleſs the legate acknowledged, under his hand and ſeal, that this was done out of a particular condeſcenſion to his perſon; and that it ſhould not, hereafter, be advanced, as a precedent. Thus, all obſtacles being removed, the legate proceeded to Edinburgh; where he exacted money from the clergy, which was the ſole deſign of his journey.

Henry proſecutes afreſh Hubert de Burgh.

If the Engliſh clergy laboured under the oppreſſions of an avaricious cardinal, the reſt of the king's ſubjects were in no better circumſtances; for Henry embraced every opportunity of extorting money from private perſons, and by all poſſible means. Hubert de Burgh, whom he had left unmoleſted, for ſome years, was proſecuted afreſh, for the very crimes of which he had formerly been accuſed, and which were thought to be forgotten; and, being ſolemnly tried, before an aſſembly of the barons, it is ſaid, that he vindicated his innocence, by inconteſtable proofs. However, as the king was very active, in ſolliciting a ſentence againſt him, he judged it moſt expedient to compound this affair; and, accordingly, he reſigned four of his beſt eſtates to the king, which prevailed on him to deſiſt from his intentions.

1240. The great exactions of the king and pope. M. Paris.

I find myſelf under a neceſſity of frequently returning to the ſame ſubject, viz. the exactions of the king and court of Rome, becauſe they are the principal occurrences of this reign, at leaſt, as to the time we are now ſpeaking of; and tho' theſe things ſeem to be of no conſequence, in themſelves, they are of uſe to diſcover the true ſtate of the kingdom, which was inceſſantly pillaged, either by the king, or the pope. It is extremely ſurprizing, that the Engliſh ſhould ſo patiently bear ſuch immoderate extortions, under ſo weak a prince as Henry, who was deſtitute of all aſſiſtance, except that of the court of Rome; but the calamities of the late reign, on this very account, led them to dread the leaſt apprehenſions of involving the kingdom in the like confuſion. However, it appears, that the biſhops came to a reſolution of taking ſome meaſures, to ſcreen themſelves from theſe oppreſſions, in a ſynod convened at London, for that purpoſe; and they openly complained, that the king reſerved,

for

1240. for his own uſe, all the vacant benefices, and obſtructed all elections, till ſuch were choſen as were agreeable to his inclination. They even excommunicated the authors of theſe pernicious counſels; tho' Henry deſpiſed their complaints, being aſſured of the pope's protection; to whom, in return, he ſhewed ſuch a ſervile deference, as ſurpaſſes all imagination. When the emperor ſent ambaſſadors, to remonſtrate about his cauſing the ſentence of excommunication to be publiſhed againſt him, he moſt ſhamefully replied, that, being the pope's vaſſal, he could not diſpenſe with ſubmiſſion to his authority; and, in the mean time, the legate continued his exactions. Having extorted immenſe ſums from the churches and monaſteries, under a thouſand various pretences, he demonſtrated, by a new ſort of oppreſſion, how little moderation the court of Rome obſerved, with reſpect to the Engliſh; for he ordered it to be publiſhed, in all parts of the kingdom, that he was authorized to abſolve, from their vow, all that had taken the croſs, and even to oblige them to compound for their abſolution, by money, under pain of excommunication.

The pope's unreaſonable demands from the clergy.

But this was nothing, in compariſon of what the legate, ſoon after, demanded of the clergy; for, under colour of maintaining the peace of the church, againſt the pretended aſſaults of the emperor, the pope required, of all the Engliſh eccleſiaſticks, a fifth part of their goods; and the king did all that was poſſible, to promote this exaction. The biſhops, at firſt, not only refuſed to comply with the legate's demands, but even to contribute any thing, on the preſent occaſion; but, at length, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, dreading the effects of the pope's imperious temper, conſented to give, in lieu of a fifth of his goods, a fifth part of his rents, and the reſt copied after his example. However, the legate, for a conſiderable while, rejected an offer ſo diſproportionate to his demands, as if the buſineſs had been to give the clergy his maſter's own goods; tho' this was the laſt money the pope ever received from the archbiſhop of Canterbury; who, apprehending it impoſſible to redreſs the grievances daily introduced, into the church as well as the ſtate, retired into France, to the monaſtery of Pontigniac, where he died, the ſame year; and he was canonized by the council of Lyons, ſeveral years after his deceaſe.

The pope nominates 300 Italians to the vacant benefices.

The court of Rome, upon the archbiſhop's retreat, had no farther regard for the Engliſh clergy; for this impoſition was ſcarce levied, when one Peter Roſſi *, the pope's nuncio, arrived with orders to all the biſhops and patrons of livings, to preſer to thoſe, that were vacant, 300 Italians, nominated by the pope, with an expreſs prohibition to confer any benefice, till theſe were provided for; but the principal end of his coming was to extort money from the monaſteries, under the pretence that his holineſs wanted an extraordinary ſupply, to protect the church againſt her enemies. The pope had, hitherto, acted with authority; but, at preſent, he judged it more expedient to make uſe of art and policy; and, accordingly, the nuncio, viſiting all the religious houſes, attempted, both by promiſes and threatenings, to prevail on every abbot, in particular, to aſſiſt the pope in his preſſing neceſſities. He repreſented to them, that ſuch an abbot had promiſed ſuch a ſum; and that, therefore, it would be diſhonourable, and, perhaps, of dangerous conſequence, not to imitate ſo good an example. Having procured promiſſory notes, under ſome of their hands, he made uſe of them, to induce the reſt to the ſame compliance, enjoining them all to ſecrecy, on pain of excommunication; but the abbot of St. Edmundsbury and Battle complained of theſe unuſual and arbitrary proceedings to the king, even in the legate's preſence; tho' Henry gave them a very diſagreeable reception, and offered the legate one of his caſtles to impriſon them. This ſtratagem being detected, the nuncio durſt not proceed any farther, in the execution of his deſign; but the legate, once more, convened the clergy, in order to obtain a freſh ſupply, even under the pretence of the war with the emperor. To this new demand the clergy replied, that as the emperor was only excommunicated by the pope, and not by the church, they would not engage in the quarrel; that they were not in a condition to anſwer all the pope's exactions; and that, if they were able, they would no longer ſuffer the church of England to be, thus, tributary to the ſee of Rome. The legate, during his long reſidence in England, had ſufficiently diſcovered, that it was imprudent to exaſperate the Engliſh too much, in their preſent diſpoſition, with regard to the pope; yet, at laſt, by dividing the clergy, in which the king effectually promoted his deſign, by promiſing ſome of them penſions and preferments, and deterring others by menaces, he was ſo ſucceſsful, that each of them complied, ſingly, to what they had refuſed, in a body; and the moſt obſtinate were forced to fall in with the majority.

Henry ſends juſtices all over England to extort money.

Whilſt the clergy were, thus, expoſed to the oppreſſions of the court of Rome, the king ſent itinerant juſtices, into all the counties of the kingdom, under the pretence of redreſſing the grievances of the people; but it ſoon appeared, that this was only a means contrived, on purpoſe, to diſtreſs ſeveral private perſons, by fines and confiſcations, which brought in very conſiderable ſums to his treaſury †.

He recalls the earls of Leiceſter and Pembroke.

Such was the natural fickleneſs of Henry's temper, that he recalled, this year, the earl of Leiceſter, who, ſoon after, went to the Holy Land, tho' he did not continue there long; and Gilbert, earl of Pembroke, was alſo reſtored to his favour, through the powerful mediation of prince Richard; which prince, having, the preceding year, taken the croſs, departed for Jeruſalem, being accompanied by the earl of Salisbury and ſeveral other lords.

* Petrus Rubeus. M. Paris.

† This year, Henry removed Simon the Norman and Geoffrey the Templar, who were joint commiſſioners of the great-ſeal, for refuſing to affix it to a grant, made by the king to Thomas earl of Flanders, of a toll of four-pence upon every bag of wooll, brought from England into his dominions; and the ſeal was given to Richard, abbot of Eveſham. M. Paris.

Towards

1240. Towards the end of this year, the earl of Flanders, coming to London, did the king homage, for an annual penſion of 500 marks; tho' ſome queſtion, whether it was uſual, in thoſe days, to grant penſions, in fee, to be held by military ſervice and homage; but the truth of this is evident from the agreements between the kings of England and ſeveral foreign princes, the tenor of which may be ſeen, in the Collection of Publick Acts *.

1241. The legate is recalled. In the beginning of the year 1241, England was, at length, delivered from Otho, the legate, who was recalled, by an expreſs order from Rome; and, tho' he had, hitherto, been continued, thro' Henry's interceſſion, he did not think it adviſeable to deſire him to interpoſe in his behalf, on the preſent occaſion. He knew, that the pope was ſeized by a diſtemper, which, in all probability, would prove mortal; and, therefore, he did not judge it expedient to remain in England, until the arrival of the news of his death; for he had reaſon to fear, that, during the vacancy of the holy ſee, the vaſt ſums, he had amaſs'd together, might be ſeized on by the king, as they were levied in his dominions. It is ſaid, that he carried off more money than he left to the churches and monaſteries; and, Gregory IX. dying, preſently after, the emperor immediately ſent Henry an account of it, that he might ſtop what was collected, in his kingdom for the deceaſed pope; but Otho, however, had the misfortune, in his return to Italy, of falling into the hands of ſome of the emperor's people, who ſtripp'd him of all his riches; and, thus, the money, that this cardinal exacted from the Engliſh, under the pretence of employing it againſt the emperor, turned, at the long-run, to the emperor's advantage.

Schiſm after Gregory's death. The death of Gregory IX. cauſed a ſchiſm, which laſted till the enſuing year; and, during this time, Roſſi and Supine, whom the legate left in England, as nuncio's, continued their extortions, without moderation or juſtice. Supine, being gone to Ireland, with the king's leave, exacted from the clergy there 1500 marks, a very large ſum, at that time, for a country where money was extremely ſcarce; inſomuch that the death of Gregory IX. brought but little relief to the Engliſh, though they thought they had reaſon to rejoice, as at a ſignal deliverance, ſince no pope had ever carried his exactions to that heighth. The following inſtance clearly proves what he was capable of performing; for, ſome time before his death, he cauſed to be propoſed to the abbot of Peterborough, that, if he would give him, under a fictitious name, one of the monaſtery's livings, of 200 pounds a year, he would farm it out to him, at an 100, and ſo they ſhould ſhare the benefice between them; but the abbot was too honeſt, to agree to ſuch a bargain. He even acquainted the king with it, who, being made ſenſible of the ill conſequences, prevented, by his authority, the abbot from being forced to a compliance. Had the pope ſucceeded, in this deſign, all the benefices in England would ſoon have been in the hands of the pope, biſhops, and abbots; at leaſt, it is to be preſumed, Gregory would not have been contented with that, but deſigned it only, as an eſſay of a more general project. 1241.

The king extorts money from the Jews. The clergy were not the only ſufferers in England; for the people were no leſs expoſed to the king's oppreſſions, than the clergy to the pope's. The Jews, in particular, were, every now and then, ſeverely treated; and it was from them, that the king uſually raiſed money, to defray his extraordinary expences. Thomas earl of Savoy, the queen's uncle, arriving, this year, in England, the king received him with ſuch magnificence, that, in order to provide money for this extraordinary charge, he forced the Jews to preſent him with 20,000 marks, on pain of being expelled the kingdom.

Henry procures the queen's brother to be archbiſhop. M. Paris. The king was ſo deſirous of enriching the queen's relations, that he was never weary of ſhewing them marks of his affection; and, the archbiſhop of Canterbury dying, the laſt year, as was obſerved, Henry uſed ſo many inſtances, and other leſs lawful means, that he procured Boniface, the queen's brother, to be elected to the archiepiſcopal ſee. Thus, was ſeen, at the head of the church of England, a young foreigner, ignorant of the laws, cuſtoms and language of the kingdom, and conſequently incapable of duly diſcharging the functions of that dignity.

The earl of Pembroke's death. Gilbert, earl of Pembroke, dying this year, Walter, his brother, demanded of the king the inveſtiture of the office of earl-marſhal, hereditary in their family. Henry, at firſt, in a great paſſion, denied him, alledging, that his two brother's were traitors and rebels; and that he himſelf was preſent at a tournament, contrary to his commands; yet this lord, making the queen his friend, obtained, at length, what he demanded.

The affairs of Wales. The affairs of the Welch employed the king, a conſiderable part of this year. Lewellyn, prince of Wales, departing this life, in a very advanced age, left two ſons, David and Griffin, who were to ſhare his inheritance; but David not only ſeized the whole, but detained his brother in priſon. Though, ever ſince the homage voluntarily paid by Lewellyn, Henry might juſtly conſider Wales, as a fief of the crown, he would not, perhaps, have concerned himſelf in this affair, had he not been induced by Griffin's wife; for this princeſs, imploring his protection, promiſed him, in her husband's name, a preſent of 600 marks, and an annual tribute of 300, if he would free that prince out of priſon, and put him in poſſeſſion of his right. Henry, accepting this propoſal, required David to releaſe the priſoner, and reſtore him his part of the inheritance; threatening him, in caſe of refuſal, with a fierce war, till he ſhould be reduced to obedience. David, not being able to reſiſt, at a time when many of his ſubjects were in his brother's intereſt, took, as he thought, a ſurer courſe than

* The agreement, dated May 17, 1101, between Henry I. and Robert earl of Flanders, by which the king obliged himſelf, to pay the earl 400 marks per annum, in fee, on condition of his ſupplying the king with 500 horſe, when he wanted them, in the opinion of Rymer, was a more antient proof, than the French themſelves can advance, that the earls of Flanders were vaſſals to their kings.

that

1241. that of arms; for he made more advantageous propoſals than his ſiſter, which were accepted. As Henry had only a view to his own advantage, in granting his protection to Griffin, he readily, from being Griffin's protector, turned his enemy; and, leſt that prince ſhould eſcape, he undertook to ſee him ſafely confined in the tower of London. Thus it was, that this prince made no conſcience of ſelling his protection to the two oppoſite parties, without regarding the juſtice of either ſide, or his prior engagements.

Death of the empreſs and Eleanor of Bretagne. M. Weſt.

The ſame year, the empreſs Iſabella, the king's ſiſter, died in child-bed; and her death was ſoon followed by that of Eleanor of Bretagne, who had been a priſoner, in Briſtol-caſtle, 40 years; tho' ſhe could never be brought to recede, in the leaſt, from her pretenſions, in order to obtain ſome favour, which ſhe could not expect, upon any other terms *.

Occaſion of a freſh war. M. Paris.

Henry, ſhortly after, was engaged in a vexatious affair; of which he got clear, as uſual, with diſhonour, and forfeited entirely the little eſteem his ſubjects had ſtill left for him. Before prince Richard's departure to the Holy Land, he inveſted him with the earldom of Poictou; though France was poſſeſſed of a conſiderable part of it, ſince the conqueſts of Philip Auguſtus. This province being, thus, divided between the two crowns, Lewis thought he had alſo a right to put his brother, Alphonſo, in poſſeſſion of it; which proved the occaſion of a war between the two monarchs.

1242. The earl of Marche engages Henry to carry the war into Poictou. M. Paris.

Henry, being extremely incenſed at Lewis's inveſting the prince, his brother, with Poictou, determined to be revenged; and the more, as the queen, his mother, was concerned. This princeſs, who, after the death of king John, eſpouſed the earl of Marche, her firſt lover, behaved with the ſame haughtineſs, ſhe had aſſumed, whilſt queen of England. As the territories of the earl, her ſpouſe, were in that part of Poictou, poſſeſſed by France, he had, all along, done homage to Lewis; but, when Alphonſo became earl of Poictou, ſhe could not bear to ſee her husband kneel to a brother of the king of France; tho' this was certainly a miſtaken pride, ſince there was a wide difference between the ſovereign and the vaſſal. However, ſhe ſollicited her husband, with ſo much importunity, that, at length, ſhe prevailed on him to refuſe homage to prince Alphonſo, though he had now poſitively promiſed to perform it; and this refuſal was even accompanied with ſome offenſive words; which, enraging the king of France, led him to reſolve to chaſtiſe the earl's inſolence. In the interim, the earl, maintaining what he had done, implored the protection of the king of England; and he repreſented to him, it would be very eaſy to expel the French out of all Poictou; and, in caſe he would bear the expence of the war, that province would ſupply him with troops ſufficient for a numerous army. Henry, pleaſed with theſe hopes, ſummoned a parliament, and demanded a ſubſidy anſwerable to the intended expedition; but, inſtead of obtaining it, he was ſharply upbraided, for laviſhing away his ſettled revenues, and the ſums daily exacted from his ſubjects by diſhonourable means. They likewiſe told him, that, the truce with France not being yet expired, the parliament was unwilling to incur the guilt of the violation of his oath; and, in a word, complaints were made of the breach of his promiſe, with reſpect to the two charters, which he had ſo often ſworn to obſerve. 1242.

Henry raiſes money for the war. M. Paris.

Theſe reproaches were the more mortifying, as the king had nothing to reply, in his own vindication; yet he, perſiſting in his deſign, extorted what he could from private perſons, by way of gift or loan, or other means; in which employment, he ſpent the whole winter. After this, he ſummoned all the military tenants of the crown, to meet him at Portſmouth, on a day appointed; but, inſtead of horſe and arms, he ordered them to bring each a ſum of money, depending upon the earl of Marche's words, that he ſhould find men enough in Poictou. As ſoon as the ſeaſon was fair, he embarqued at Portſmouth, attended by the queen, his mother, and prince Richard, his brother, newly arrived from the Holy Land; and, upon his departure, he committed the regency to the archbiſhop of York. He landed in Saintonge; where he was joined by ſome Poictevin noblemen. The earl of Marche met him alſo, but ſo thinly attended, that it was viſible, he was not in a condition to perform his promiſe; and, when an army came to be raiſed in thoſe parts, the officers and ſoldiers liſted ſo ſlowly, under the Engliſh banners, that it was eaſy to foreſee the enterprize would not prove ſucceſsful. In the mean while, the king of France, advancing with a powerful army, beſieged Fontenay, one of the ſtrongeſt places in Poictou; and, during this ſiege, Henry ſent ambaſſadors to him, to demand all that Philip Auguſtus had taken from the Engliſh, and Lewis VIII. had promiſed to reſtore; and, in caſe of refuſal, to declare war againſt him. Lewis, who was ſainted after his deceaſe, being of a tender conſcience, could hardly ſatisfy his ſcruples, on account of his father's oath to reſtore theſe provinces. In this diſpoſition, he gave the Engliſh ambaſſadors an honourable reception, and anſwered them, with great moderation, that he was aſtoniſhed, that the king, their maſter, could break a truce, confirmed by a ſolemn oath; and, to demonſtrate his ſincere deſire to preſerve a good underſtanding between them, he offered to renew the truce, for three years. In fine, he conſented to deliver up part of Poictou and Normandy, provided Henry would withdraw his protection from his rebellious vaſſals; who unreaſonably refuſed to pay him the obedience they owed. Theſe propoſals were as advantageous, as Henry could have wiſhed them to be; and, by accepting them, he might have procured, for the earl of Marche, an honourable accommodation, which Lewis, in his preſent temper of mind, doubtleſs, would not have refuſed; but, being guided by the violent counſels of the queen, his mother, and the earl of Marche, he ſcornfully re-

* She died a virgin, and lies interred in the church of the nunnery of Ambresbury; to which monaſtery ſhe gave the manor of Melkeſham. Sandf. Geneal.

1242. jected these offers. Some days after, he rashly sent two knights hospitallers to defy Lewis, though he was in no condition to support his haughtiness; but, in spite of this bravado, Lewis, who could hardly conquer his scruples, made overtures for a peace. However, at length, means were found to remove his uneasiness, by representing to him, that his father's oath was no farther obliging, than whilst the king of England should perform, on his part, what he had promised; that the said prince had sworn not to exact any ransom from the prisoners, nor to treat ill such of the English as adhered to France; that he had violated both these articles, and thus had rendered void the engagements of the other party. In all probability, Lewis, notwithstanding his piety, sought not to ease his conscience entirely, but only to appease it, for the present, since he was prevailed upon by so weak a pretence. However that be, he continued the siege, and took the city, by storm; and, natural son of the earl of Marche being taken prisoner with 400 knights, Lewis was advised to put them all to death; but he replied, the son could not help obeying his father, and the rest their sovereign; and, therefore, it was unreasonable that the innocent should be punished for the guilty. This first success gained Lewis the possession of several places, in that part of Poictou belonging to the English, Henry being unable to stop his progress; who went and encamped near Taillebourg, on the banks of the Charente, the river being between him and the enemy. Lewis, receiving intelligence of it, posted himself, on the other side of the river; and, with his engines and cross-bow-men, he forced the English to remove 2000 paces farther; which retreat gave him an opportunity of easily becoming master of Taillebourg-bridge, the only way for him to come at the English. As the day was too far spent, to pass his whole army, he was contented with guarding the bridge, resolving to attack the enemy, by break of day. Henry, who was not in a condition to stand a battle, took the advantage of the night to retire; whilst prince Richard, his brother, attempted to amuse the French with proposals of a truce; tho' he could obtain no longer, than the rest of that night. As soon as it was expired, Lewis pursued the English; and, overtaking their rear, made them suffer some loss. This, at least, is the idea the English historians give of this action, which the French represent, as much more considerable; but, on such occasions, it is extremely difficult to discover the truth exactly, by reason of the partiality of the historians. However, it is highly probable, that this affair was otherwise than it is related by the English, since the French give a particular account of this battle, at which, they say, both the kings were present; that Lewis was in great danger; and that 4000 English were made prisoners of war. Besides, it is certain, the king of England fled, as far as Xaintes, where he was followed by Lewis; and that the earl of Marche, making a sally, was the occasion of the two kings coming to a second engagement, no less fatal to the English than the former; but Henry, apprehensive of being blocked up in Xaintes, fled to Blaye, and afterwards retired to Bourdeaux. 1242.

Lewis takes Fontenay.

The king of France's extraordinary successes, in this war, struck a terror into the earl of Marche; and, perceiving that the king of England was not able to protect him, he resolved, though a little too late, to provide for his security; and, accordingly, he sent his eldest son to the king of France, to try to obtain some tolerable terms. The favourable reception, Lewis gave the young lord, induced the father to go to his camp, with his wife and children, and throw himself entirely upon his mercy; and Lewis, who was extremely generous, very readily pardoned him, though he was sufficiently convinced, that the countess-queen had suborned people to poison him; and he was satisfied with having three of their castles, to secure their fidelity. In all probability, he would have enlarged his conquests upon the king of England, if the plague, which arose in his army, and a distemper which himself was seized with, had not prevented him from carrying his arms, as far as Bourdeaux; and, perhaps, some remains of his former scruples led him to consent to a five years truce.

The earl of Marche enters into a treaty with Lewis.

Tho' Henry had, now, no business in France, he pass'd the winter, at Bourdeaux; where he lavished away the remains of his treasure in entertainments and diversions, as if he had been victorious, in the late campaign. In the mean time, his troops were destitute of all things, the Gascoigns being unwilling to maintain an English army, in time of peace, and without any necessity; insomuch that the king was obliged to send, for cloaths and provisions for the soldiers, to the archbishop of York, his regent in England; ordering him, at the same time, to confiscate the estates of some English barons, who had retired, without license. The first of these orders was put in execution; but the regent prudently declined meddling with the last, lest it should occasion commotions in the kingdom, during Henry's absence. This first supply was scarce received, before the king sent fresh orders to the regent, to demand of the Cistercians one year's profit of their wooll; but the abbots, by the excuses they made, evidently shewed, they would not consent to it, without force, which the archbishop did not care to use. In fine, the archbishop, continually pressed to send money to Bourdeaux, obtained of the parliament a scutage of 20 shillings upon every knight's fee; which might have supplied the king's present necessities, had it been managed with discretion. 1243.

Henry, passing the winter at Bourdeaux, sends for money from England. M. West.

In the interim, Henry, continuing still at Bourdeaux with his army, when his coffers were empty, demanded fresh supplies of the regent, who was at a loss to answer all his extravagant demands; and the only means left was to borrow money, in the king's name, of such private persons, as were reputed to be rich; which caused great murmurings among the people, the constant effect of such arbitrary proceedings. The regent, however, exposed himself to these complaints, expecting, by that means, to draw the king from Bourdeaux; and he

Loans, for the king, cause great murmurings. M. Paris.

1243. he even ſent him word, that there was no poſſibility of raiſing any more money, and, therefore, it was high time for him to think of returning to England. This declaration obliged the king, in good earneſt, to prepare for his departure; and, as ſoon as he came to a reſolution, he ſent orders to all the barons of England to be ready to receive him at Portſmouth, who obeyed; but he made them wait ſo long, that they were highly diſguſted, on the account of the expence they were at, during their ſtay. Before he left Bourdeaux, Henry ratified the five years truce with France; by which, beſides Lewis's conqueſts, Henry was obliged to pay him, annually, 5000 l. ſterling. This was the reſult of this ill-concerted, and ſtill worſe managed expedition; yet, tho' he ought rather to have been aſhamed of the ill ſucceſs of his late expedition, he would be received at London, with extraordinary pomp, as if it was poſſible, by this outward ſplendor, to make his ſubjects believe, that he was returned victorious. All the money that was ſent him being ſpent, he was no ſooner at London, than he quarrelled with the Jews; who, to appeaſe him, were conſtrained to give him a very conſiderable ſum; of which, Aaron, a Jew of York, paid no leſs than four marks of gold, and 4000 of ſilver.

The marriage of prince Richard.

Henry was not long in England, before he expended what he had exacted from the Jews; and the arrival of the counteſs of Provence, his mother-in-law, who came to celebrate the nuptials of her daughter, Cincia, with prince Richard, furniſhed him with an opportunity to conſume a larger ſum; for the wedding-dinner, alone, conſiſted, as it is ſaid, of 30,000 diſhes.

Innocent IV, pope.

The holy ſee, having been vacant, 18 months, was filled, this year, by cardinal Senebaldo of Genoa, who aſſumed the name of Innocent IV. and he was no ſooner conſecrated, than he confirmed the excommunication denounced upon the emperor *.

* 1244. The parliament refuſe the king an aid.

Since Henry's entering upon the adminiſtration of the government, every year, he demanded money of the parliament; and, tho', at firſt, he generally met with a denial, at length, the parliament was gained by the king's aſſurances, that he would cauſe his father's charters to be punctually obſerved. He was deſirous of uſing the ſame artifice, now; but the nobility and clergy were ſo ſtrictly united, that he deſpaired of ſucceſs; and he even perceived, that it was dangerous to ſuffer them to be aſſembled too long, being ſenſible, that they were taking meaſures to deprive him of the adminiſtration of affairs, which they deſigned to commit to four of their own body, who were to tranſact every thing, in his name. Such a project, of courſe, alarming him, he promiſed, in general, to reform what was amiſs; and, after ſome fruitleſs endeavours to divide them, he prorogued the parliament.

The pope vexes the clergy.

In the interim, the new pope, ſent into England one Martin, as his nuncio, to exact money from the clergy, who was empowered to puniſh ſuch as diſputed his authority; who executed his orders, with ſo much rigour, 1244. that, for the leaſt trifle, he ſuſpended prieſts, abbots, and even the biſhops; which render'd him extremely odious both to the clergy and laity, eſpecially, when he produced the pope's letter to demand an extraordinary aid, to diſcharge the debts contracted by Gregory IX, in his wars with the emperor; alledging that, this war being undertaken, in defence of the catholick faith, and St. Peter's patrimony, all eccleſiaſticks, and particularly the Engliſh, were obliged to contribute to the expence. Before the clergy came to any reſolution, the king reaſſembled the parliament, and renewed his demand of an aid; but, as he knew he ſhould obtain nothing, unleſs he gave the barons ſatisfaction, with reſpect to their grievances, he promiſed, with an oath, to ſee the two charters ſtrictly put in execution; and he even conſented, that the biſhops ſhould excommunicate him, if he violated his oath. Upon theſe aſſurances, the parliament granted him 20 ſhillings, for every knight's fee; but, as no preſſing neceſſity could be pretended for this extraordinary ſubſidy, it was ſaid, the money ſhould be expended in the marriage of his eldeſt daughter, tho' it was notorious, that it was deſigned for other uſes.

The nuncio, to no purpoſe, ſollicits the clergy.

When the nuncio found, that the parliament had complied with the king, he preſſed the biſhops and abbots to ſhew the ſame condeſcenſion to their ſpiritual, as the parliament had done to their temporal father; who deſpiſed this frivolous reaſon, and advanced much ſtronger arguments, to juſtify their refuſal. The ſteadineſs of the prelates obliged the nuncio, at length, to deſiſt; yet he ſtill continued, by vertue of the commiſſion he received from the pope, to diſpoſe of the vacant benefices, in a moſt ſcandalous manner †.

Affairs of the Welch.

In the interim, an accident happened, which broke the ſtrict underſtanding between the king and the prince of Wales, ever ſince their agreement; for Griffin, who was confined in the tower of London, attempting to eſcape out of the priſon-window, fell into the ditch and broke his neck. Whilſt he was alive, his brother David durſt not diſpleaſe the king, leſt he ſhould ſupport him in his pretenſions; but, upon his deceaſe, he made an irruption into the borders of England, under colour of being revenged, for certain breaches of the late treaty. As the king took no care to repel this inſult, the Engliſh, that inhabited thoſe parts, armed themſelves, in defence of their country; but, being too weak, and ill-conducted, they were continually defeated.

The king of Scotland refuſes to do homage to Henry.

At the ſame time, Alexander II, king of Scotland, having lately married a French lady, acquainted Henry, that he would do him homage no longer, for the lands he held of the crown of England. How little inclined ſoever Henry was to war, he could not help, on this occaſion, exerting himſelf, ſo greatly were the Engliſh exaſperated at this bravado; and, therefore, he ſummoned all the vaſſals of the

* This year, May 12, died, the famous Hubert de Burgh, at Banſtude; and he was interred at London, in the monaſtery of the Friars-Preachers. M. Paris.

† He gave the treaſurer's place, in the cathedral of Salisbury, to a little boy, who was the pope's nephew, in direct oppoſition to the will of the biſhop and the whole chapter. M. Paris.

crown

1244. crown to meet him at Newcaſtle, the rendezvouz of the army deſigned againſt Scotland. When Alexander reſolved to refuſe the homage due to Henry, he did not imagine, that it would have involved him in a war; for, being no ſtranger to Henry's weakneſs and irreſolution, he expected, that the difference would be decided, as formerly, by a negotiation, which might turn to his advantage; but, when he perceived, that the Engliſh army were ready to enter his territories, he became more ſubmiſſive, and ſent ambaſſadors to Newcaſtle, to ſue for peace. Henry, notwithſtanding his ſeeming reſolution to puſh the war, with vigour, readily conſented to a treaty, which furniſhed him with an excuſe to lay down his arms; and Alexander ſubmitted to the homage, uſually paid by himſelf and his anceſtors; and, an union between the two monarchs being perfectly reſtored, before they parted, a marriage was agreed upon between Alexander's eldeſt ſon, of the ſame name with himſelf, and Margaret, Henry's eldeſt daughter.

The prince of Wales offers to become the pope's vaſſal. M. Weſt.

The army, raiſed for the war with Scotland, not having occaſion to act, the king was adviſed to employ it, to reduce the prince of Wales to obedience; but, inſtead of improving ſo favourable a juncture, he diſmiſſed the troops, being impatient to call a parliament, in order to demand an aid of money; tho' he could not obtain it. The prince of Wales ſo little queſtioned Henry's uſing the means he had in his power, to chaſtiſe him, that, to free himſelf from the imagined danger, he applied to the pope, repreſenting to him, that he was compelled to declare himſelf a vaſſal and tributary to the king of England; and, therefore, he intreated the pope to annul the treaty, offering to become a vaſſal to the holy ſee, and to pay him the annual tribute of 500 marks. Innocent IV, being no leſs avaricious than his predeceſſors, was pleaſed with this propoſal; yet, to ſhew, that he did not pretend to decide the matter, without a hearing of the cauſe, he empowered two Welch abbots to take informations, concerning the pretended conſtraint alledged by their prince; and he alſo commiſſioned them to annul the treaty, and abſolve the prince of Wales from his oath, if it ſhould appear, that he had been really compelled. It was eaſy to foreſee the ſentence of the judges; for the two abbots, proud of their power, inſolently ſummoned the king of England to appear before them, as if he had been a private perſon and ſubject to their juriſdiction. This proceeding extremely incenſed the king and his council, as well as the whole nation; and, now, they were ſorry, that the army was diſbanded, but, as there was no remedy, it was reſolved, another ſhould inſtantly be raiſed to chaſtiſe the prince of Wales, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit; for it was then the middle of winter; and, at the ſame time, the great men conſulted about means, to put a ſtop to the attempts of the court of Rome.

Lewis expels the Engliſh.

Whilſt theſe two affairs were in agitation, the court received intelligence, that the king of France had ſent away all the Engliſh in his dominions; and, tho' the truce was far from being yet expired, Lewis thought it adviſable to take this ſtep, to prevent the king of England's ſubjects, in France, from being too well informed of the affairs of the kingdom. With this view, he aſſembled, at Paris, all who had eſtates in France, and, declaring to them, that it was impoſſible to ſerve faithfully two maſters, at once, he gave them their choice to prefer which they pleaſed; and thoſe, that declared for England, were ordered to depart out of France, within ſuch a time, with aſſurance of retaining their lands. Henry did not act, with the ſame juſtice; for he was no ſooner informed of Lewis's proceedings, than he ſeized all the lands held by the French, in England, without any regard to the remonſtrances of the king of France; however, Lewis did not judge it expedient to break the truce, for the ſake of ſome private perſons. 1244.

Shortly after, the emperor Frederick ſent ambaſſadors to Henry, complaining of the frequent aids of money given the pope; and he ordered them to tell him, that, for the future, he would treat all the Engliſh, that ſhould fall into his hands, as his enemies; but his complaints had no other effect, than that the clergy took occaſion, from thence, to oppoſe the exactions of the court of Rome, whoſe continual pretence was the war with the emperor.

1245. In the beginning of the year 1245, the queen was delivered of another ſon, named Edmund; and I ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak of this prince, before the end of this reign. Prince Edmund's birth.

The war with the Welch. The war with the Welch, which was deferred, till the ſpring, was begun, at that time; but the Engliſh proceeded, with ſo little vigour, that, inſtead of attacking their enemies, they were ſcarce able to defend themſelves.

The vigorous reſolutions of the barons againſt the pope. M. Paris. This was not ſo much owing to their weakneſs, as to their being employed in other affairs, which, to them, ſeemed of greater importance than the war with Wales; for they, at length, reſolved to free themſelves from the tyranny of the court of Rome. Martin, the nuncio, uſed his authority, with ſo little diſcretion, that it was not poſſible to bear it any longer; for the barons, who ſaw, with concern, all the money of the kingdom remitted to Rome, being very ſenſible, that the clergy always gave way, when the pope came to be oppoſed, were, at laſt, determined to exert themſelves, to prevent ſuch common exactions. After frequent conferences, they reſolved to act, by their own authority; and, without waiting any longer for the king's protection, they iſſued out orders to the wardens of the ports, to ſtop all perſons that ſhould bring any bulls, or mandates, from the court of Rome. Purſuant to theſe orders, which were every-where obeyed, without regarding, whether they were approved by the king, a meſſenger from Rome was ſeized with ſeveral bulls about him, empowering the nuncio to exact money from the clergy, on various pretences. The nuncio complained to the king, who commanded every thing that was ſeized to be reſtored to him; but the barons ſtrongly remonſtrated to him, how much he injured his ſubjects, in perpetually countenancing the rapines of the court of Rome. For his conviction,

they

1245. they laid before him the true value of the income enjoyed by the Italian eccleſiaſticks in England, amounting to 60,000 marks, per annum, a ſum exceeding, at that time, the whole revenue of the crown. Henry, who had never made ſuch an exact calculation, could not help ſhewing his ſurprize; but, as he durſt not venture, of himſelf, to redreſs this grievance, for fear of the pope's reſentment, he was ſatisfied with permitting the barons to write to the general-council, then aſſembled at Lyons, to repreſent the intolerable oppreſſions, which England ſuffered from the court of Rome. Accordingly, the barons wrote to the council, in the name of the whole nation, inſerting in their letter, ſent by ambaſſadors, on purpoſe, all their grievances; but, as they knew that, on ſuch occaſions, the court of Rome always uſed delays and evaſions, they reſolved to take a more ſpeedy and effectual courſe; and, therefore, they agreed to meet, under the pretence of a tournament, to concert the neceſſary meaſures for executing their deſign. The king, dreading the conſequences of this aſſembly, prohibited them to be preſent at the tournament, tho they did not think proper to obey; and, meeting at the place appointed, after ſome conference, they immediately ſent a knight to the nuncio, who commanded him, in their name, to depart the kingdome. The knight diſcharged his commiſſion, in a very rough manner; for, upon the nuncio's demanding, who gave him this authority? he replied, the whole nation; and that, if he remained, three days, in England, he ſhould infallibly be cut in pieces. Martin carried his complaints to the king; but Henry aſſuring him that he was not in a condition to protect him, he demanded a paſs-port, and departed directly, to the great ſatisfaction of all the people. The pope, who had never met with ſuch a repulſe, in England, was ſo provoked, that he was heard to ſay: "I evidently perceive, that "I muſt make peace with the emperor, that I "may humble theſe petty princes; for, the "great dragon being once appeaſed, I ſhall "more eaſily be able to cruſh the ſmaller ſer-"pents.

The ambaſſadors lay open the grievances of the nation. M. Weſt.

In the interim, the Engliſh ambaſſadors, being arrived at Lyons, preſented their letter to the council, where the pope preſided, in perſon; and, the letter being publickly read, Innocent was ſo ſurprized, that he ſaid not a word, in his own vindication. When the ambaſſadors had waited, ſome time, to ſee if he had any thing to alledge againſt the contents of the letter, one of them gave a particular account of the grievances of their nation, and chiefly inſiſted on two articles; the firſt of which related to the tribute of the 1000 marks, which king John promiſed to pay, every year, to the holy ſee. He maintained, that king John could not render his kingdom tributary, as his engagement was never confirmed by the barons; and the other article concerned the clauſe of Non-obſtante, inſerted by the pope, in all his bulls, a clauſe entirely deſtructive of the rights of biſhops, abbots, moniſteries, and patrons of benefices. For example, when the pope was inclined to diſpoſe of a benefice, he inſerted this clauſe in his bull, "Non-obſtante i. e. "Notwithſtanding "the right of patronage, or other privilege to "the contrary; which, in effect, annihilated all the rights and liberties of the church of England; and, to theſe two grievances, the ambaſſador added many others, concerning the perpetual extortions of the nuncio's and legates, and, in general, all the oppreſſions to which the Engliſh nation had long been expoſed, 1245.

They proteſt againſt the tribute, and retire.

The ambaſſadors, to no purpoſe, expected an anſwer from the council; for the pope continually hindered the affair from being taken under conſideration; but finding that, at length, they were only amuſed, preſenting to the council a proteſtation againſt the tribute granted by king John, they withdrew. Whilſt they were at Lyons, the pope never made the leaſt advances, to give them ſatisfaction; but, upon their departure, he endeavoured to caſt a miſt before the eyes of the council, by aſſuring them, that he intended to redreſs the grievances complained of. Accordingly, two bulls were drawn up, the firſt of which permitted the Engliſh patrons to preſent, whom they pleaſed, to the livings in their gift; and, by the ſecond, it was ordered, that, when a beneficed Italian died, or reſigned his perferment, another ſhould not ſucceed. He made a great flouriſh, on the account of theſe bulls, as if he had granted ſome very ſignal favours to England; but he ſtaid, till the departure of the ambaſſadors, leſt they ſhould remonſtrate, how diſproportionate this ſlight ſatisfaction was to their grievances. As to the tribute, againſt which they proteſted, Innocent did not deſign to give the Engliſh nation any ſatisfaction; but, on the contrary, when the council broke up, the pope wrote thundering letters to the Engliſh prelates, expreſly enjoining them to ratify and ſet their ſeals to the charter of tribute granted by king John to the holy ſee. The biſhops durſt not diſobey, for fear of the threatened excommunication; and, tho' the king ſeemed, at firſt, diſpleaſed at the pope's haughty proceedings, he ſoon reſumed his uſual complaiſance for whatever iſſued from the court of Rome.

The war with Wales was the reaſon, why this affair lay dormant, for ſome time; for Henry, who had long ſuffered the Welch to infeſt his borders, with impunity, at laſt, appearing at the head of his army, threatened utter deſtruction to their country; but he no ſooner entered Wales, than, miſſing the enemy, who were retired to their mountains, he grew weary of the war, and, having built the caſtle of Ganoc, on an advantageous ſituation, returned to London. The war with the Welch. M. Paris.

Walter earl of Pembroke dying, this year, without iſſue male, Anſelm his brohter, then dean of Salisbury, was his heir, and alſo ſucceeded him in his office of earl-marſhal; but he did not long enjoy it, being ſeized by death, a few months after. Thus, the noble family of Pembroke and Striguil became extinct; of which the five laſt earls, who were brothers, were inveſted with the dignity of earl-marſhal, hereditary in their family.

David, prince of Wales, died, in the beginning of the year 1246; and, as he left no chil-

1246. dren, the lords of that country choſe, for his ſucceſſor, Lewellyn his nephew, ſon of the unfortunate Griffin, who was killed, in attempting to eſcape out of the tower of London.

The quarrel with the court of Rome was, in ſome meaſure, ſuppreſſed, when the pope renewed it, by an impoſition upon the eccleſiaſticks, greater and more inſupportable than all the former, for the clergy were ſo awed by the Roman pontiffs, that they durſt not take any ſteps, to free themſelves from their yoke; but it was otherwiſe with the lay-barons, who concerted meaſures, to oppoſe theſe oppreſſions. In a parliament aſſembled, during lent, it was reſolved that the grievances of the nation ſhould be committed to writing, and ſatisfaction demanded of the pope in a letter, ſigned by the king, biſhops, and temporal lords; the principal of which were as follows:

Grievances of the nation.

I. That the pope, not ſatisfied with the annual payment of Peter-pence, exacted from the clergy large contributions, without the king's licenſe, againſt the cuſtoms, liberties, and rights of the church and realm of England.

II. That the patrons of churches could not preſent qualified perſons to the vacant livings, the pope conferring them, generally, on Italians, who were ſtrangers to the Engliſh language, and carried out of the kingdom the money ariſing from the income of their benefices.

III. That the pope oppreſſed the churches, by inſiſting on penſions from them.

IV. That, upon the deceaſe of an Italian eccleſiaſtick, his benefice was immediately beſtowed on one of the ſame nation, as if the Italians had a right to ſuch a number of benefices in the kingdom; and that, whilſt the Italians were inveſted, without trouble or expence, the Engliſh were obliged to proſecute their right, at Rome, contrary to the indulgences granted to England by former popes.

V. That, in the churches filled by the Italians, there were neither alms, nor hoſpitality; neither was there any preaching, but the care of ſouls was entirely neglected.

VI. That the clauſe of Non-obſtante, uſually inſerted in all bulls, abſolutely deſtroyed the laws, cuſtoms, ſtatutes, and privileges of the church and kingdom.

It is evident, from theſe articles, that the bulls granted by Innocent, at the council of Lyons, were not put in execution; ſince the very grievances, they ſeemed to redreſs, ſtill occaſioned ſuch complaints from the great council of the nation.

The pope continues his oppreſſions. M. Paris.

The letter of the king and barons proved altogether ineffectual; for the pope, alledging that the clergy extorted it by their importunities, inſtead of redreſſing their greivances, oppreſſed them, with new and unheard of taxes. He not only forced the biſhops to ſign the emperor's excommunication; but alſo commanded each of them to ſupply him with a certain number of men, well provided with horſes and arms, to ſerve againſt that prince, pretending that all churches were equally concerned in the war; and, upon this, he introduced a new grievance, by claiming the adminiſtration of the goods of ſuch eccleſiaſticks, as died inteſtate. At firſt, 1246. the king oppoſed the execution of all theſe articles; but the dread of a threatened interdict and excommunication obliged him, as formerly, to ſubmit to the pope's pleaſure. This compliance rendered his holineſs ſo imperious, that he impoſed a freſh tallage, of a third part of their moveables, upon clergymen that reſided on their livings, and of one half upon non-reſidents; and it is no wonder, that the popes were ſo unwilling to make peace with the emperor, ſince the war furniſhed them with a pretence to levy ſuch frequent taxes upon the clergy. The biſhop of London was appointed to execute this new order, being empowered to excommunicate and ſuſpend the diſobedient; but, whilſt this prelate and ſome others were aſſembled, on this occaſion, the king ſent them word, by no means, to conſent to this impoſition, upon which they broke up their meeting; and, if Henry had as vigorouſly oppoſed all the other attempts of the court of Rome, he would have been equally ſucceſsful; for the pope dropp'd this affair, as ſoon as he found a reſolute oppoſition.

Biſhop of Lincoln's attempt. M. Paris.

The abſolute power, the pope claimed over chriſtians, cauſed pernicious effects among ſome Engliſh biſhops, who imagined the church's authority to be unlimited; and, therefore, they pretended to extend it over civil affairs. The biſhop of Lincoln, full of this notion, this year, made ſtrict and ſevere inquiſitions, as to the life and manners of each particular perſon, in his dioceſe; and, poſſibly, it was done with a good deſign; yet the danger was, that this incroachment would be imitated by others, and, at length, degenerate into a real tyranny. Accordingly, it was deemed a downright uſurpation, to which the king put a ſtop, by his own authority.

Iſabella, counteſs of Marche and queen-dowager of England, the king's mother, died, this year, who lived in no great reputation, if we may give credit to certain hiſtorians.

1247. The pope's exactions. M. Paris. M. Weſt.

The year 1247, as well as the preceding, was ſpent, almoſt wholly, in conteſts between the pope and the clergy; for the firſt increaſed his oppreſſions, in proportion as the others vainly attempted to prevent them. In the beginning of this year, the biſhops and abbots were compelled to make a preſent of a 1000 marks to a new legate, ſent by the pope into England, with no other view than to exact money from the clergy; and, at the ſame time, and on the ſame account, there was a nuncio in Ireland, who procured 500 marks. As the king was ever ready to countenance the exactions of the court of Rome, the pope was willing, in his turn, to demonſtrate his gratitude; and, accordingly, he ſent him a bull, ordaining, that, for the future, no Italian, not even the nephew of a cardinal, or the pope himſelf, ſhould be admitted to any benefice in England, without the king's conſent; an ample recompence for the prodigeous ſums extorted every year, by the pope, out of the kingdom! a privilege, alſo, that was very inſignificant, ſeeing the pope was very ſure of obtaining the king's conſent, when ever he ſhould vouchſafe to requeſt it.

To

1427. To compleat the misfortunes of the Engliſh, the king's three half-brothers, viz, Guy de Luſignan, William de Valence, and Athelmar, ſons of the earl of Marche, came into England; for the earl, their father, ſent them to the king, expecting that he would make a ſuitable proviſion for them. At their arrival, they were entirely deſtitute; inſomuch that Henry was obliged not only to maintain them, but alſo to gratify their avarice and ambition, with preſents, places, and benefices, to the prejudice of the Engliſh.

The king's three half brothers arrive in England. M. Paris. M. Weſt.

The ſame year, William earl of Holland, a young prince of 20 years of age, was elected king of the Romans, by the intrigues of the pope, who had depoſed Frederick, in the council of Lyons; but his holineſs found it more difficult to put him in poſſeſſion of the empire, than to procure him the votes of part of the electors.

The earl of Holland is elected king of the Romans. M. Paris. M. Weſt.

1248. Notwithſtanding the fair promiſes the king made the parliament, upon their granting him the laſt aid, he performed nothing; and, therefore, when he demanded a freſh ſupply of the parliament, aſſembled in the beginning of the year 1248, he received a very mortifying anſwer. He was asked, how he could, without bluſhing, renew his demands, after ſo frequent violations of his word; and he was upbraided, for his exceſſive liberalities to the foreigners; for his contempt of his native ſubjects; for neglecting to encourage trade, and protect merchants, of whom he even exacted impoſitions which were not due; and very lively complaints were made of his keeping in his own hands the vacant benefices, and conferring the prime offices of the ſtate, on perſons not qualified, without ever vouchſafing to conſult his parliament. Henry, perceiving by the boldneſs of theſe reproaches, that it would be an impracticable undertaking to bring the barons to any temper, prorogued the parliament, to gain time to conſider, what ſteps were moſt proper, in the preſent ſituation of his affairs.

1248. Henry receives a mortifying anſwer from the parliament M. Paris.

He is entirely guided by foreigners.

During the prorogation, his miniſters prejudiced him more and more againſt his ſubjects, and induced him to be entirely governed by the foreigners; of which there, preſently after, appeared an evident proof, in the extraordinary courage they inſpired him with, of which he was naturally incapable. When the parliament met, he reproached the barons, for attempting to impoſe upon him laws, to which they themſelves would think it a hardſhip to be ſubject; that every one of them was a maſter, in his own family; made uſe of what counſellors he pleaſed; put in, and turned out his domeſticks, at pleaſure; but that he alone was treated, like a ſlave by his own ſubjects. In a word, he declared, that he deſigned to be maſter, in his own kingdom; and that it was their duty to obey. As for the other grievances, he only gave general anſwers; and then he told them he expected a ſpeedy ſupply of money, to enable him to recover the French provinces. This unſeaſonable haughtineſs, more than ever, exaſperated the barons; who bouldly replied, that, ſince he would not reform what was amiſs, they were not ſo ſtupid as to continue to diſtreſs themſelves, for the ſake of foreigners, under the pretence of an imaginary war. This reply entirely defeating Henry's expectations, he choſe to diſſolve the parliament, leſt they ſhould proceed to more vigorous reſolutions; and, in the interim, his treaſure being quite exhauſted, he was forced to ſell his plate and jewels, which were ſoon bought up by the citizens of London. He was extremely incenſed, to ſee the Londoners ſo readily find money to purchaſe his jewels, and yet always plead poverty, when he wanted an aid; and, therefore, he eſtabliſhed a new fair at Weſtminſter, during which, all commerce was prohibited in London. He was ſo far from hearkening to the complaints of the merchants, on this occaſion, that he gave them freſh proofs of his diſpleaſure, in keeping his chriſtmas in the city, and compelling them to preſent him with large new-years-gifts; and, ſoon after, he likewiſe demanded a ſupply of money, and, in ſpite of their endeavours to the contrary, they were conſtrained to give him 2000 l. ſterling.

1248.

1249. However, this trifling ſum not being anſwerable to his wants, he reſolved to borrow money of the barons, biſhops, abbots, merchants, and the richer ſort of citizens in the kingdom; but, as he was in no condition to make uſe of compulſive methods, he applied to them, in ſo cringing a manner, that one would have imagined he was begging an alms. He was, after all his condeſcenſions, refuſed by the majority, who pleaded poverty, though he pretended to be under an indiſpenſable neceſſity of making war upon France; for it was notorious, that he was ſtrictly prohibited by the pope, to diſturb the territories of the French king, during his abſence, who went, this year, to the Holy Land. The real cauſe of his anxiety after money was his being greatly involved in debt and, at the ſame time, unable to diſcharge it; and, beſides, his brothers, to whom he could not refuſe any thing, never conſidered his neceſſities, but continually preſſed him with their unreaſonable demands; and ſuch was his fondneſs for them, that he embraced all opportunities of accumulating favours on them, tho' he could not be inſenſible, that each of theſe favours gave freſh occaſion of diſcontent to the Engliſh barons.

He makes uſe, in vain, of other means to raiſe money. M. Paris.

He tries, to no purpoſe, to make his brother biſhop of Durham. M. Paris.

Shortly after, the biſhoprick of Durham becoming vacant, Henry powerfully recommended Athelmar, the youngeſt of his brothers, though he was far from being of a ſufficient age and capacity to govern ſo large a dioceſe; and, accordingly, that objection was made to him by the monks of Durham. They alſo remonſtrated to him, that he had often promiſed to leave to the churches the freedom of elections, and humbly beſought him to make good his engagements; but Henry, offended at theſe remonſtrances, replied, that, ſince they thought his brother too young, he would keep the biſhoprick in his own hands, till he ſhould be of a proper age.

Alexander II, king of Scotland, died, this year, leaving Alexander III, his ſon, eight years of age, to be his ſucceſſor.

Earl of Leiceſter is ſent into Guienne.

About this time, the king being informed, that ſome Gaſcoign lords were revolted, diſpatched into Guienne Simon de Montfort, earl of

1249. of Leiceſter, who reduced the rebels to their duty, and acquired a great reputation.

1250. In the beginning of the enſuing year, prince Richard, the king's brother, ſet out with a pompous retinue, to confer with the pope, who remained ſtill at Lyons; but this journey, and the extraordinary honours conferred upon him by the pope, furniſhed matter for divers ſpeculations, which employed the wits of the politicians; tho' the real motive of it was unknown, till ſome years after.

Prince Richard confers with the pope.

Henry takes the croſs.

The king, notwithſtanding his preſſing neceſſities, taking the croſs from the hands of the legate, vowed to go and war againſt the Saracens of Paleſtine; and his example was followed by above 500 knights, and an incredible number of eſquires and people of an inferior condition. After all the denials Henry had met with from the parliament, he muſt have foreſeen, how difficult it would be, to obtain an aid ſuitable to ſuch an undertaking; and, therefore, his deſign was not to go the voyage, but to draw from the parliament a large ſubſidy, under that pretence, believing that they durſt not deny him. At leaſt, he was perſuaded, that the methods he ſhould make uſe of, to exact money from his ſubjects, would be authorized by ſo plauſible a reaſon; and, beſides, he was very ſenſible, that, with part of the money, he could eaſily procure a diſpenſation of his vow; and his conduct, afterwards, confirmed this conjecture.

However that be, thoſe, that had taken the croſs with the king, prepared themſelves, with all expedition; and, finding that he made no preparations, they offered to depart, without him; but Henry was greatly diſpleaſed at their haſte, as it too manifeſtly diſcovered his backwardneſs in a cauſe, in which all the world were ambitious of giving proofs of their zeal. To remedy this inconvenience, he deſired the pope to prohibit his ſubjects from going, before he was in readineſs to head them; which favour was readily granted, and the intereſts of the king of France, who might have been a gainer by this reinforcement, were ſacrificed to the pope's deſire of contenting the king of England. Innocent forbade the Engliſh, under pain of excommunication, to ſet out, before the king; and, thus, all the charges they had been at, for their voyage, became uſeleſs. If this prohibition occaſioned many murmurs, in England, it was not more favourably conſidered, in France; for every one openly ſaid, it was evident that the pope was not much concerned, whether Lewis ſucceeded in his expedition, ſince he deprived him of the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh Croiſes.

Inquiſitions concerning the foreſts.

In the mean while, Henry, not daring to demand money of the parliament, tried all ſorts of methods to raiſe it elſewhere; and one of his moſt effectual means was, to commiſſion a judge entirely attached to him, to make inquiſition in all the counties, concerning treſpaſſes upon the royal foreſts. This commiſſion was, in itſelf, very deteſtable, as it included all the caſes, excepted in king John's charter; but the manner, in which it was executed by the inquiſitor, rendered it ſtill more intolerable. He puniſhed the leaſt fault, by exceſſive fines, or confiſcation of eſtate; and, by theſe arbitrary proceedings, he procured the king a large ſum of money, tho', at the ſame time, he drew on him the hatred and curſes of the people. 1250.

During theſe tranſactions, Henry was not unmindful of his relations; for the biſhoprick of Wincheſter, the richeſt in the kingdom, being vacant, the king powerfully recommended his brother, Athelmar, whom the chapter of Durham had refuſed, the preceding year. He not only ſent recommendatory letters, but went, in perſon, to Wincheſter, to ſupport his intereſt, by his preſence; and, on the day of his election, coming into the chapter-houſe, he made a ſhort ſermon upon this text, "Righte-"ouſneſs and peace have kiſſed each other," which he applied, in the beſt manner he was able, to the buſineſs in agitation. Tho' he, at firſt, met with great oppoſition, on the account of the youth and inſufficiency of the perſon recommended; yet, by his promiſes and menaces, he, at laſt, obtained his deſire; for the pope, to gratify the king, did not fail to confirm the election, deſigning to ask him another favour, in his turn.

Henry procures his half-brother to be elected biſhop of Wincheſter.

The king of France is taken priſoner by the Saracens.

The ſad news of the king of France's misfortune, in falling into the hands of the Saracens, who detained him in priſon, by this time, was ſpread, all over Europe; and France openly charged the pope with being the cauſe of their monarch's diſgrace, by abſolving, for money, thoſe that had taken the croſs, from performing their vow. In the interim, Innocent paſſed his time very heavily at Lyons, dreading an attempt upon his perſon; for Charles and Alphonſo, St. Lewis's brothers, came, on purpoſe, to upbraid him, in an outrageous manner, and proceeded ſo far as to threaten him. To extricate himſelf from this perplexity, and from the complaints which perpetually ſounded in his ears, he deſired leave of the king of England to reſide at Bourdeaux; and Henry would have granted his requeſt, had he not been prevented, by the remonſtrances of the clergy and barons. They were apprehenſive, that the pope would paſs from Bourdeaux into England; and, at their inſtances, the king delayed ſending an anſwer, which the pope interpreted to be, what, in reality, it was, a civil denial.

The affairs of Sicily.

As I ſhall have occaſion, preſently, to conſider an affair, which entirely employed Henry, ſeveral years, it will be convenient to ſhew, by way of digreſſion, its riſe and progreſs; I mean, the pope's donation of the kingdom of Sicily to prince Edmund, Henry's ſon; but, to give ſuch an idea of this matter, as may give light to the ſequel, it will be neceſſary, not only to take notice of what was tranſacted in Italy, at the time of this donation, but alſo to examine the thing, from its firſt original. This digreſſion will not ſeem impertinent, when it ſhall appear, hereafter, to be a fertile ſource of oppreſſions upon the Engliſh, as well from their king as the Roman pontiffs; and it will alſo diſcover three things equally remarkable, in the hiſtory of this reign; firſt, Henry's character, and his indiſcretion to engage in the moſt difficult

cult undertakings, without foreſeeing the obſtacles attending them. Secondly, the authority aſſumed by the popes in England, as well as their manifeſt abuſe of it. Laſtly, we ſhall find, that this was the principal occaſion of the troubles, in the end of this reign. Though the events, I am about to relate, formerly made a great noiſe in the world; yet, as they do not belong properly to the Hiſtory of England, I ſhall abridge them, as much as poſſible, and ſay no more than is abſolutely neceſſary, for the ſequel of this reign.

All that are, in the leaſt, acquainted with the hiſtory of Europe, know, that, that towards the end of the XIth century, ſome Norman lords, ſons of Tancred de Hauteville, conquered the iſland of Sicily from the Saracens, and Apulia, Calabria, and ſeveral other ſouthern provinces of Italy, from the emperors of Conſtantinople; and theſe firſt conquerors, from a religious principle, or ſome other motive, did homage to the pope, for their conqueſts; making themſelves vaſſals and feudatories to the church of Rome, though ſhe gave them nothing, in return, nor had even promoted their undertakings; but, whatever their policy might be, in ſubmitting ſo voluntarily to the holy ſee, the fact itſelf is not to be diſputed. The conqueſts of the Normans were, at firſt, divided into ſeveral parts; of which Sicily beyond the Faro, or the iſland of Sicily, made a kingdom of itſelf; and the reſt was divided into dukedoms, or principalities, under the name of Sicily on this ſide the Faro, of which Calabria and Apulia were the chief; which was afterwards ſtiled the kingdom of Naples. All theſe ſeveral parts, viz. the two Sicily's, were, at length, reduced into one kingdom, under Roger I, Tancred's youngeſt ſon, who aſſumed the title of king of Sicily; who had, for his ſucceſſor, William I, his ſon, ſirnamed the Bad, to whom ſucceeded William II, his ſon, called the Good, to diſtinguiſh him from his father. William the Good dying, without iſſue, the Sicilians placed on the throne Tancred, baſe ſon of Roger I, who added, to the title of his predeceſſor, that of king of Naples, or Sicily on this ſide the Faro; and it is neceſſary to obſerve, that, by Sicily, is meant ſometimes the iſland of Sicily alone, ſometimes both the Sicily's together, as conſtituting only one kingdom.

Clement III, who ſat in the papal chair, in the time of Tancred, conſidered the proceedings of the Sicilians, as an incroachment upon his rights; pretending that, by the death of William the Good, without heirs, the two Sicily's were devolved to the holy ſee, and that, as lord paramount, he could diſpoſe of them, at his pleaſure. In the mean time, as ſpiritual weapons were incapable of dethroning a prince in actual poſſeſſion, Clement ſent, into Apulia and Calabria, an army, which, at firſt, made ſome progreſs; but he was, ſoon after, prevented by death, from puſhing his enterprize any farther. Celeſtine III, his ſucceſſor, determined to proſecute what was begun by his predeceſſor; but, perceiving that he could not compaſs his ends, with his own forces, he judged it neceſſary to engage, in this quarrel, ſome prince, who was in a condition to ſupport him. With this view, he inveſted the emperor, Henry VI, with the two Sicily's, on condition of the homage to the Roman church, to which the firſt Norman kings had obliged themſelves. However, it was to be feared, that ſuch an arbitrary act, eſpecially, in favour of a foreigner, would exaſperate the Sicilians, and attach them more firmly to Tancred's intereſt; and, therefore, to prevent this inconvenience, and give, at the ſame time, ſome colour of juſtice to what he had done, he cauſed Conſtantia, daughter of Roger I, then 50 years old, to be taken out of the monaſtery of St. Saviour's at Palermo, of which ſhe was abbeſs*; and, abſolving her from all her vows, the pope gave her in marriage to Henry, to add a more plauſible right to the grant he had made to that monarch. Beſides, by means of this marriage, he expected to ſow, among the Sicilians, ſeeds of diſſenſion, of which himſelf and the emperor might make an advantage; and Henry, ſupported by this additional right, immediately heading his army, marched into Apulia, tho' he made no great progreſs there, by reaſon of the peſtilence that raged among his troops, and of ſome other affairs which obliged him to return to Germany; ſo that Tancred enjoyed the crown of Sicily, till his death, in 1145, being ſucceeded by his ſon, William III.

Henry no ſooner received intelligence of Tancred's death, than he marched back into Italy, and beſieged the city of Naples, which made a vigorous defence; and, the reſiſtance of the Neapolitans cauſing the emperor to deſpair of accompliſhing his enterprize, by force, he reſolved to make uſe of artifice; and, accordingly, he propoſed to the king of Sicily, to decide their quarrel, by a treaty. William readily conſented to be diſpoſſeſſed of a part, in order to purchaſe peace, of a competitor much more powerful than himſelf; and by, the treaty, it was agreed, that the emperor ſhould have the iſland of Sicily, and William the kingdom of Naples. Purſuant to this agreement, Henry came to Palermo, and was crowned; but, while William was preparing to retire to his kingdom, Henry, ſeizing his perſon, ordered him to be conducted to Germany, where this unfortunate prince was deprived of his ſight, and caſtrated; and, Henry being, thus, without a rival, took poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Naples, in ſpite of certain lords of the Norman race, to the contrary.

The emperor's affairs being ſo ſucceſsful, he ſent for his empreſs, who was big with child, tho' 52 years of age; and, her time of delivery being come, whilſt ſhe was on the road, ſhe ſtaid at Geſſi, a little town on the frontiers of Ancona, where ſhe ordered all the women of the town, that had the curioſity, to be eye-witneſſes of her delivery. With this view, ſhe cauſed a pavilion to be erected in the middle of the market-place, were ſhe was delivered of a prince, named Frederick; and, from that time, Henry

* Mezerai affirms, that Conſtantia never was a nun; but Gio. Summonte, an hiſtorian of Naples, aſſures us, that ſhe was abbeſs of St. Saviour's. Fazellus, an hiſtorian of Sicily, ſays, that pope Celeſtine abſolved her from her vows; and that this is evident, even from the decrees of that pope, now in the archives at Rome. Rapin.

kept poſſeſſion of the two Sicily's, till his death, which did not happen, before the year 1199.

This monarch left his ſon Frederick, aged 11 years, under the guardianſhip of his mother, Conſtantia; who immediately procured him to be acknowledged king of both Sicily's, and to be crowned, two years after, at Palermo. After that, he was inveſted by Innocent III, then pope; and Conſtantia, his mother, dying, three years after, left the guardianſhip of her ſon to Innocent, who governed the Sicily's by a cardinal, during Frederick's minority. This young prince, being arrived at 14 years of age, married Conſtantia, daughter of Alphonſo IV, king of Caſtile; and, two years after, he was elected emperor, by the oppoſite party to Otho of Saxony, who was excommunicated by the pope. He could not, however, prevail with Innocent to ſet the imperial crown on his head; the pope dreading it might be dangerous to the holy ſee, to raiſe to the empire a prince of the houſe of Suabia, who had been ſo troubleſome to his predeceſſors. In the year 1220, and after Otho's death, Frederick was crowned by Honorius III. and Conſtantia, his wife, dying, two years after, left him a ſon, named Henry, who, in 1223, was elected king of the Romans. Afterwards, he married Yolante, daughter of John de Brienne, titular king of Jeruſalem, who departed this life, in 1228, leaving him a ſon, called Conrade. In fine, in 1235, Frederick took, for his third wife, Iſabella of England, who died in 1241, having brought him two princes, Jordan and Henry, the firſt of which died a child.

Having given an account of the emperor Frederick's ſeveral marriages, I ſhall proceed to treat of his conteſts with the popes. Ever ſince Richard, King of England, quitted Paleſtine, the affairs of the chriſtians, in thoſe parts, were in a very ill ſituation; for the Saracens, taking advantage of the coldneſs of the Europeans, with reſpect to the Cruſades, made a great progreſs againſt them. Honorius III, who ſat in the papal chair, in the beginning of the reign of Frederick II, deſirous of retrieving the loſſes of the chriſtians in the Holy-Land, publiſhed, in the year 1224, a Cruſade, in which infinite numbers of people, of all conditions, engaged; and an hiſtorian aſſures us, that above 60,000 Engliſh took the croſs, for this expedition; of which Frederick was to be head, both as emperor, and as ſon-in-law to John de Brienne, titular king of Jeruſalem.

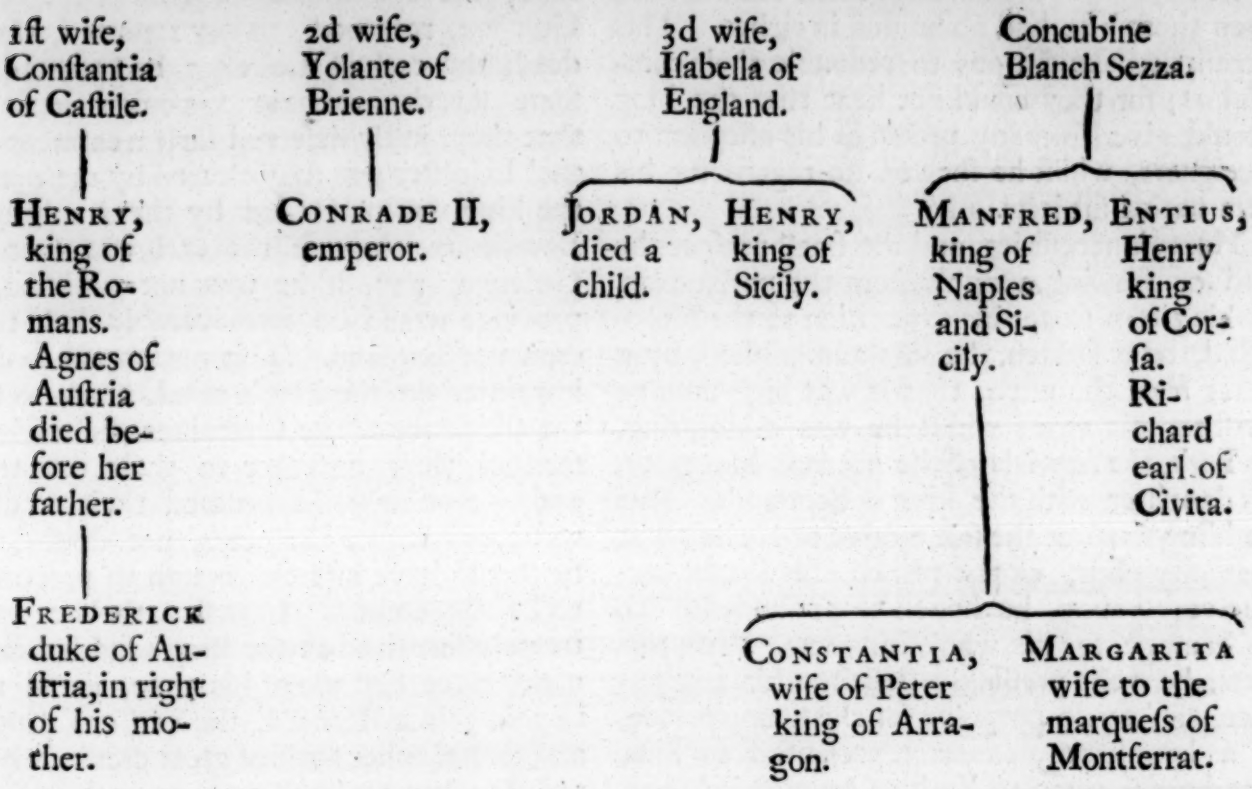
Whilſt all Europe was preparing for this undertaking, ſome diſputes, unexpectedly ariſing between the emperor and certain cities of Italy, retarded that prince's preparations; upon which Gregory IX, ſucceſſor to Honorius, wrote him a letter, exhorting him to perſevere in his pious reſolution; in which he repreſented to him, that the ſucceſs of the Cruſade depended on him, as the management of it was committed to his care. In the interim, the Croiſes of the ſeveral ſtates of Europe repaired, in multitudes, to the Holy-Land, expecting to be ſoon followed by their general; but Frederick choſe rather to employ his forces againſt the revolted cities of Italy, than againſt the Saracens. Nevertheleſs, as he was earneſtly ſollicited by the pope, he pretended to prepare, indeed, and even went and embarqued at Brindiſi; but, having been three days at ſea, he ſailed back to land, feigning a ſudden illneſs, as it is affirmed by moſt of the hiſtorians. The news reaching Paleſtine, above 40,000 of the Croiſes, returned, in the ſame ſhips that brought them thither; and the pope, incenſed to ſee ſo fair an opportunity loſt, by the emperor's negligence, publickly excommunicated him, and ſent the bull of excommunication to all the princes of Chriſtendom, to be publiſhed in their reſpective dominions; tho it is not univerſally believed, that the pope's ſeverity to Frederick was, purely, the effect of his zeal for religion; for ſome aſſert, that it was no other than a pretence, to diſconcert the emperor's meaſures in Italy, in favour of the revolted cities, which were privately countenanced by the court of Rome. However that be, it occaſioned a quarrel, which introduced innumerable calamities into Europe, and particularly Italy; for Frederick, reſenting the pope's proceedings, not only took care to juſtify his conduct to all the potentates of Europe, by letters, in which his holineſs was ſeverely treated; but, by means of a powerful party in Rome, he expelled Gregory, forcing him to take refuge at Perugia. However, to demonſtrate, that his indiſpoſition was the ſole cauſe of his delay, and conſequently the excommunication denounced upon him was unjuſt, he ſet out, the next year, for Paleſtine; and ſo rapid was the progreſs of his arms, that he ſoon compelled the ſultan of Egypt to ſurrender up Jeruſalem, and he would have puſhed his conqueſts farther, if the knights hoſpitallers, who were gained by the pope, had not continually laid obſtacles in his way, by their plots againſt him. Gregory, on the contrary, offended, that the emperor, regardleſs of his cenſures, ſhould preſume to undertake this expedition, before he was reconciled to the church, and without making, as he charged him, preparations ſuitable to ſuch an important undertaking, renewed his excommunication, for two contrary faults, viz. for deferring his departure, and departing too ſoon; and the pope, not only attacking him with ſpiritual, but temporal arms, ſent John de Brienne, father-in-law to Frederick, at the head of an army, into the kingdom of Naples, with the title of vicar of the holy ſee, to deprive his ſon-in-law of that part of his dominions.

The quarrel between the emperor and the pope daily increaſing, all the cities of Italy declared either for the one or the other; and then were formed the two factions of the Guelfs and Gibelines, which, for ſo long a time, haraſſed that country, the former for the pope, and the latter for the emperor. It is entirely needleſs to give the reader a particular account of all the bloody wars that enſued; which led many to be of opinion, that zeal for religion was not the principal motive of the Roman pontiffs. It is ſufficient to obſerve, in brief, that Gregory's ſucceſſors vigorouſly purſued his project of wreſting from Frederick not only the Sicily's but all Italy, and even the empire it ſelf; and, in a word, Innocent IV, having publickly depoſed

poſed him in the council of Lyons, cauſed William earl of Holland to be elected emperor in his room; yet, notwithſtanding this pretended depoſition, Frederick kept poſſeſſion of the throne, till his death, about the end of the year 1250.

To conveigh a diſtinct idea of the affairs of Sicily, in which England was, ſoon after this, greatly concerned, it may not be improper to add a part of the genealogy of the family of Frederick II. extracted from the hiſtory of Naples, by Giovanne Summonte.

FREDERICK II. Emperor.



Frederick, making a will, on the very day of of his death, left Auſtria to Frederick, his grandſon, of which he was already in poſſeſſion, in right of his mother; to Conrade, his ſecond ſon, he gave the kingdom of Naples, or Sicily on this ſide the Faro, upon this condition, that, if he died, without iſſue, his brother Henry, ſon of Iſabella of England, ſhould be his ſucceſſor; and that, if Henry died, without an heir, Manfred, his natural ſon ſhould inherit the ſame. The ſaid Henry, was to be king of the Iſland of Sicily; and Manfred was to have the principality of Tarentum, with the regency of the two kingdoms, viz. of the firſt, in the abſence of Conrade, and of the ſecond, during Henry's minority.

Frederick was no ſooner in his grave, than Manfred would have taken poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Naples, in the name of Conrade; but the pope's party were grown ſo powerful, upon the emperor's deceaſe, that the chief cities, as Naples and Capua, ſhut their gates againſt him. This oppoſition obliged him to call his brother, Conrade, into Italy, who, upon Frederick's death, aſſumed the imperial title, tho' William, earl of Holland, was acknowledged by the pope and his party; but Conrade, arriving, made the Neapolitans often repent of eſpouſing the pope's quarrel. In the interim, Innocent uſed all poſſible means to retard his progreſs; for he not only thundered his cenſures againſt Conrade, but, by aſſiſting the Guelfs, his adherents, he kept up the war in Italy, in expectation of a more favourable juncture. Here I ſhall end this tedious digreſſion; which I hope will not be thought impertinent, when it is conſidered, how far England was concerned in this quarrel. But to return to the Hiſtory of England.

In the beginning of the year 1251, the clauſe of Non-obſtante was firſt inſerted in the king's orders, in imitation of the pope, who uſed it, long ſince, in his bulls; and the biſhop of Carliſle having a law-ſuit depending with a certain lord of his dioceſe, being obliged to go to France, obtained an order from the king, that the ſuit ſhould be delayed, till his return; but, during his abſence, his adverſary found means to procure a contrary order with this clauſe, Non-obſtante, or Notwithſtanding the former order, the baron's cauſe ſhould not be deferred *. 1251.

Beſides the principles of arbitrary power inſtilled by Hubert de Burgh and the biſhop of Wincheſter into Henry, during his minority, and which he uſually made the rule of his conduct, he had alſo another reaſon to induce him to diſregard his ſubjects; I mean the advantages gained by the earl of Leiceſter over the rebels of Guienne. Ever ſince the earl was governor of that province, he had ſerved his maſter, with ſo much fidelity, that, in all probability, he would have nothing to fear, for ſome time, from the inconſtancy of the Gaſcoigns; and, as Henry was ſoon diſpirited, ſo a very trivial matter was ſufficient to animate his courage. The chaſtiſement of the Gaſcoigns leading him to imagine, that their example would keep the Engliſh in awe, he fancied, that, for the

* M. Paris affirms, theſe orders, with that deteſtable clauſe, became afterwards ſo frequent, that Roger de Thurkeby, one of the king's juſtices, ſaid with a deep ſigh, "Alas! Into what times are we fallen! Behold, the civil court "is corrupted, in imitation of the eccleſiaſtical; and the river is poiſoned from that fountain." This is the original and riſe of Non-obſtante's, in the king's writ and charters; and Tyrrel obſerves, that this is omitted by Dr. Brady.

future,

1251. future, he might uſe them, at his pleaſure. Accordingly, deſpiſing the continual murmurs of the barons, on account of the preference given to foreigners, he affected to receive, with exceſſive civilities, Guy de Luſignan, his half-brother, who accompanied the earl of Leiceſter, when he came to acquaint him with what was tranſacted in Guienne; whom he loaded with preſents, that would have appeared extravagant, even though he had abounded in riches. This occaſioned the barons to redouble their complaints; for they could not bear that the king ſhould give ſo many proofs of his affection to foreigners, whilſt he ſhewed no regard for his own native ſubjects.

An interview between the kings of England and Scotland. M. Paris.

Henry's neceſſities, and the ſmall proſpect he had of drawing a ſupply from the parliament, making him forget his expedition to the Holy-Land, on a ſudden, he was admoniſhed, by a letter from the pope, that it was high time to perform his vow; whilſt he was celebrating, at York, the nuptials of the princeſs Margaret, his daughter, with the king of Scotland. This wedding was not the ſole motive of his being at that city; but, as the prince, his ſon-in-law, was very young, he hoped to perſuade him to do homage, for his whole kingdom. With this view, he very preſſingly ſollicited his compliance, tho' to no purpoſe; for the young prince, in a handſome manner, repreſented to him, that he was come to York to be married, and not to debate an affair that was attended with ſo many difficulties, and upon which he could determine nothing, without conſulting the ſtates of his kingdom. However, he did the cuſtomary homage, for the lands held of the crown of England; but, whether Henry thought his pretenſions were groundleſs, or was unwilling to diſturb the nuptial-feaſt, by inſiſting on his demand, the affair was dropp'd; tho' we ſhall find, in the next reign, that theſe very pretenſions were the occaſion of a bloody war between England and Scotland.

1252. The king extorts money from the Jews. M. Paris.

This interview being over, to the ſatisfaction of both monarchs, Henry ſeemed willing to prepare, in good earneſt, for his voyage to the Holy-Land; and, under the pretence of this voyage, he extorted great ſums from the Jews, and alſo from his chriſtian ſubjects; tho, after all, he did not raiſe what was ſufficient for an expedition to the Eaſt, worthy a ſucceſſor of Richard, whoſe memory was ſtill freſh among the Saracens.

The Gaſcoigns complain of the earl of Leiceſter. M. Paris.

Whilſt the king was employed, in preparing for his pretended voyage, deputies arrived from the Gaſcoigns, complaining of being unjuſtly oppreſſed by the earl of Leiceſter; but the earl, waiting on the king to juſtify himſelf, denied whatever was laid to his charge; adding that he was aſtoniſhed, the king ſhould liſten to the frivolous complaints of the rebellious Gaſcoigns, againſt one that had ſerved him ſo faithfully, and ſpent all his eſtate, in a poſt, in which others uſually inriched themſelves. Henry replied, he gave no credit to theſe accuſations; and that, to render his innocence the more conſpicuous, he was reſolved to ſend commiſſioners into Guienne, to take informations concerning the behaviour of the Gaſcoigns; and, in the interim, to convince him, that theſe accuſations had made no ill impreſſions on his mind, he ſupplied him with money, and other ſuitable accommodations, for his return to Guienne. 1252.

The archbiſhop of Bourdeaux renews the charge againſt Leiceſter. M. Paris.

Before the earl was in readineſs to depart, the Gaſcoigns, having intelligence of the king's deſign, deputed the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, to renew their complaints; and, in the mean, time, the commiſſioners, that were ſent to Guienne, returned. They reported, that, indeed, the earl of Leiceſter had treated, with ſome ſeverity, certain Gaſcoign lords; yet that they juſtly deſerved ſuch treatment; but, tho' Leiceſter was fully cleared by theſe reports, the king was perſuaded by the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, that, if the earl was ſent back Guienne, nay, if he was not puniſhed, that province would be irrecoverably loſt to the crown of England. This notion was ſo deeply imprinted on the king's mind, that, to ſecure the allegiance of the Gaſcoigns, he reſolved to ſacrifice their governor to their reſentment; and, accordingly, he ordered their accuſation to be laid before the peers, not doubting but he ſhould have intereſt enough to procure him to be condemned. Leiceſter, tho' he was extremely ſurprized at the king's ſudden change, making the beſt uſe of his time, found means to gain prince Richard, the earl of Glouceſter, and ſeveral other lords of great credit, who promiſed to ſupport him; and, upon this aſſurance he appeared in court, and vindicated himſelf, with ſuch convincing evidence, that the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux was at a loſs how to maintain his accuſation; beſides, whenever he offered to ſpeak, in defence of what he advanced, the principal lords were always prepared to improve the arguments of their friend. The king, perceiving this, could not help ſhewing his uneaſineſs, and even dropping ſome expreſſions highly injurious to the party accuſed; but the earl of Leiceſter, not content with juſtifying his actions, boaſted of his ſervices, and boldly called upon the king to reward him, according to his promiſe. Henry replied, "He did not think "himſelf obliged to keep his word with a tray-"tor;" but this anſwer ſo exaſperated the earl, who was in a paſſion before, that he, in ſo many words, told him, "He lied; and that, were "he not a king, he would compel him to eat "his words." He, after ſome inſolent expreſſions, farther added, "That it was ſcarce cre-"dible, that ſuch a prince was a chriſtian, or "had ever been at confeſſion. Yes, replied, "the king, I am a chriſtian, and have often "been at confeſſion. What ſignifies confeſſion, "ſaid the earl, without repentance? I never "repented any thing ſo much, replied the king, "as the beſtowing my favours on one that is "ſo rude and ungrateful." After this, Henry would have had him apprehended; but, as the earl's friends were ready to oppoſe it, he durſt not put his deſign in execution; nay, he permitted them to ſpeak in the earl's behalf, and, inſtead of revenging the inſult he had received, he was contented with a ſlight ſatisfaction, and ſeemed to be reconciled to him. However, the earl's inſolence made ſuch an impreſſion upon his mind, that he could never reflect upon it, without

1252. without horror; which is the leſs ſurpriſing, becauſe this, doubtleſs, is the only inſtance of a ſubject's giving his ſovereign the lye, to his face; and, therefore, one ſhould hardly believe ſuch an extraordinary fact, were it not unanimouſly atteſted by all the hiſtorians.

The earl is ſent to Guienne. M. Paris.

Notwithſtanding the king's mortal averſion to the earl of Leiceſter, he ſent him governor again to Guienne*, in order to remove him from England, where his credit was too great; and he was alſo apprehenſive, that the earl would obſtruct his deſign of conferring Guienne on prince Edward, his eldeſt ſon, which was immediately done, after his departure. The Gaſcoigns were overjoyed, on this occaſion, as they had no longer the ſame reaſon to fear Leiceſter, who was going to be recalled; and they laid ſo many ſnares for him, that he had like to have been ſurpriſed; but, for his part, he made them frequently feel the effects of his reſentment, before he quitted the province.

Prince Edward is inveſted with Guienne.

Henry demands a ſubſidy of the clergy. M. Paris.

The affront, lately received from the earl of Leiceſter, was not the only thing that gave the king uneaſineſs; for he was ſtill more ſenſibly mortified with the clergy's denial of a ſubſidy. As he was convinced, that a bare demand would be ineffectual, he took care to have it ſupported, by an expreſs order from the court of Rome; and Innocent, alledging that the king could not poſſibly proceed, without an extraordinary aid towards his voyage to the Holy-Land, ordered all eccleſiaſticks to pay him the tenths of their revenues, for three years. The clergy being aſſembled, for this purpoſe, three or four biſhops gained by the king, and particullary the biſhop of Winchеſter, his half-brother, voted in his favour; but the biſhop of Lincoln ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, and prevailed on the majority to agree to petition the king, for his ſoul's health, to deſiſt from his demand. The petition of the biſhops ſerved only to exaſperate the king; who ſent them word to take care what they did, ſince they not only oppoſed their temporal and ſpiritual ſovereign, but alſo the univerſal church, and Jeſus Chriſt himſelf; but, without regarding theſe menaces, the clergy returned a very offenſive anſwer, upbraiding him, in very harſh terms, for his extortions, tyranny, and violation of promiſes and oaths, and then broke up, without waiting his anſwer, under the pretence that, both the archbiſhops being abſent, they could do nothing, without the conſent of their primates. Henry, finding that he could obtain nothing from this aſſembly, attempted to gain the principal members, by careſſes; and, with this view, he ſent for the biſhop of Ely; and, cauſing him to be brought into his cloſet, received him very graciouſly, deſigning to extort ſome promiſe from him; but this prelate, who was no courtier, far from having the leaſt complaiſance for the king, expreſly told him, that it was imprudent to engage in an expedition to the Holy-Land, and that he ought to take warning by the unfortunate example of the king of France, who now lay languiſhing in the hands of the Infidels; and Henry, perceiving, contrary to his expectation, that the biſhop aſſumed the air of a counſellor, not having patience to hear him any longer, commanded him to depart out of his preſence †. 1252.

The mutual animoſity between the king and his ſubjects.

As the Engliſh perſiſted, in refuſing money, the king, being offended, placed ſtill greater confidence in the Poictevins; whilſt the continual favours, he heaped on the foreigners, entirely alienated the hearts of the barons. It was, therefore, next to impoſſible but theſe mutual diſcontents ſhould produce, at laſt, very fatal effects, as it afterwards happened; and it is even a wonder, that the rupture, between the king and the barons, did not ſooner break out; for, to ſuch a height, was this animoſity arrived, that, as he had no regard for his ſubjects, they, on the other hand, uſed as little ceremony, in their complaints againſt his male-adminiſtration. The Londoners, eſpecially, were greatly incenſed, on the account of the frequent exactions impoſed on them; but they had ſoon freſh cauſe to complain of a tax of 20 marks of gold, laid on the city by the king. This impoſition was inconſiderable, in itſelf, and only concerned the city of London; yet the whole kingdom murmured at it, as it flowed from an arbitrary power, of which they dreaded the conſequences. However, a few days after, the king, entirely regardleſs of the Londoners, commanded them to ſhut up their ſhops, during Weſtminſter-fair, which laſted, 15 days. This innovation, being eſteemed a direct breach of the privileges of the city, occaſioned loud murmurs, among the inhabitants, and a reſentment, the effects of which became viſible, upon the firſt opportunity.

He attacks Leiceſter again, tho' in vain.

Whereas princes uſually make uſe of ſeemingly favourable junctures, Henry had a very particular talent to form all his projects, at the moſt improper ſeaſons. He was not in-

* Matthew Paris relates, that the king told him, at his departure, That, if he was ſuch a lover of war, he might there find ſufficient employment, and alſo a reward anſwerable to his merits, as his father had done before him. To which the earl boldly replied, That he would go over, and never return, till he had entirely ſubdued the enemies, and reduced the rebellious ſubjects of an ungrateful prince. M. Paris.

† The king ordered his officers to turn him out of doors, as an ill-bred fellow; nor was the king better uſed by the widow counteſs of Arundel, who waited on him, about her right to a certain wardſhip, which the king challenged, becauſe of a ſmall parcel of land held in Capite. When the counteſs perceived, that ſhe could not prevail on him, ſhe boldly accoſted him, in the following terms: "My lord the king, why do you turn your face from juſtice? for no body can obtain "any right in your court: You are placed between God and us, but you govern neither yourſelf nor us, as you ought: "Are you not aſhamed, both to oppreſs the church and diſquiet the nobles of your kingdom?" The king, bending his brows, replied, "What do you mean, lady counteſs! have the great men of England commiſſioned you to be their advocate?" but ſhe (though young) ſmartly made anſwer, "Not, ſo Sir, the nobles have not made me any ſuch charter, "though you have violated that which you and your father have granted, and ſworn inviolably to obſerve, for which "you have ſo often extorted money from your ſubjects: Where are the liberties of England ſo often reduced into writing? ſo often granted, and yet ſo often redeemed? Therefore, I though a woman, with all your natural ſubjects, do appeal, from you, to the tribunal of God, the great and terrible judge; and let him revenge us." At which reply, the king, being confounded, was ſpeechleſs, becauſe his own conſcience told him, ſhe ſpoke no more than the truth. He only ſaid, at length, "Did not you ask a favour, by reaſon of your being my couſin?" To whom ſhe replied, "Since you have "denied me right, how can I expect any favour?" The king, thus reproved, ſaid no more; and the counteſs went away, without taking leave, or any other ſatisfaction than that of having freely ſpoken her mind. M. Paris.

1252. senſible, that the nobles were diſſatisfied, and in a ſort of combination to protect the earl of Leiceſter; he had, juſt before, given the clergy a freſh cauſe of diſguſt, by procuring a bull to abſolve him from his oath, and entirely alienated the affections of the Londoners, by the violation of their privileges; yet, at this very juncture, he undertook, once more, to have the earl of Leiceſter tried by his peers, whom he convened, for that purpoſe. Accordingly, the event of this affair was far from being anſwerable to his expectations; for, inſtead of condemning the earl, the barons openly declared, that the king had done him very great injuſtice, in giving Guienne to prince Edward, before the term of his government was expired, and without making him any ſatisfaction; but this declaration, which, probably, would have been followed by ſome reſolution diſagreeable to the king, made him diſſolve an aſſembly, which ſeemed ſo little inclinable to favour his deſigns.

1253. The king is entirely governed by foreigners.

Thus, this weak prince, by an unſteady and capricious conduct, increaſed the enmity of his barons, which, above all things, he ought to have dreaded, had he been wiſe enough to take warning by his father's unhappy example; and, being continually beſet with indiſcreet and avaricious foreigners, he was prevailed on by his miniſters to believe, that, as long as he was ſupported by the court of Rome, he might deſpiſe the vain and feeble efforts of his ſubjects. Theſe counſels induced him perpetually to countenance the extortions of the pope, and the avarice of his relations and miniſters, to whom he continually made preſents, with incredible profuſeneſs. Thus, he exhauſted the clear revenues of the crown; and, by a management ſo very inconſiſtent with his own intereſt, he kept himſelf always poor, whilſt his relations, his counſellors, and the pope's creatures, daily enriched themſelves, at the expence of his ſubjects. The biſhop of Lincoln, deſiring to open his eyes, cauſed an exact eſtimate to be taken, this year, of the annual income enjoyed by the foreigners in England; and it was found to amount to above 70,000 marks, when the revenue of the crown, at the ſame time, ſcarce exceeded a third part of that ſum. To this we may add another particular, to ſhew the eaſineſs of this prince, and the rapaciouſneſs of his miniſters; that of Manſel, one of his favourites, a clergyman, who enjoyed no leſs than 700 eccleſiaſtical preferments, at once, which brought him in, yearly, 4000 marks.

The affairs of Sicily.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacted in England, the emperor Conrade and pope Innocent IV. continued their wars in Sicily; but to the great diſadvantage of the laſt, whoſe ſpiritual arms were altogether ineffectual, againſt a prince that deſpiſed them. The pope finding, that he was not in a condition to compaſs his ends, imagined, that, by offering the crown of Sicily to ſome opulent prince, he ſhould eaſily perſuade him to ſupply whatever was neceſſary for the conqueſt; and, of all the European princes, he thought none better qualified to embarque in this undertaking than Richard earl of Cornwall, brother to the king of England. This prince was not only maſter of a large eſtate, which he knew how to manage better than the king, his brother; but it was very probable, that he would be dazzled with the luſtre of a crown, that of England ſeeming to be too remote from him, as the king had two ſons; and, upon this reſolution, Innocent diſpatched one Albert, as his nuncio, to offer him the crown of Sicily, on condition that he would wreſt it from the ſons of Frederick. Richard did not reject the propoſal; yet he inſiſted on certain preliminary articles, which were diſagreeable to the pope. I. That the conqueſt of Sicily ſhould be carried on, at his and the pope's joint charges. II. That Innocent ſhould deliver him up certain places in the kingdom of Naples, as well for his ſecurity, as for magazines. III. That he ſhould give him hoſtages, for the performance of his word. Innocent flattered himſelf, that Richard, conſidering the bare grant of Sicily, as a ſingular favour, would engage to ſupply what money was neceſſary for the conqueſt, and rely on the word of him that made him ſuch a noble preſent; but, perceiving that he would not be his dupe, he dropped the project, and recalled his nuncio; and, this negotiation being rendered abortive, he was obliged to continue the war, at his own expence, till he could engage in the undertaking a prince, that was more pliant and obſequious. 1253.

The ſecret practices of the Gaſcoigns. M. Paris.

Henry fancied, that he had prevented the revolt of the Gaſcoigns, by removing the earl of Leiceſter from the government of Guienne; but it, ſoon after, appeared, that the earl's vigilance, which they conſidered, as an inſuperable obſtacle to their pernicious deſigns, was the real motive of their complaints. Leiceſter had no ſooner reſigned his patent, than a plot was diſcovered in Guienne, to ſurrender that province to the king of Caſtile; for tho' that prince had, hitherto, concealed his pretenſions to Guienne, when he found his party ſtrengthened by the earl of Leiceſter's retreat, he began openly to declare himſelf; pretending a grant of that country from Henry II, confirmed both by Richard and John. It is true, indeed, theſe charters were never produced; but he had artfully perſuaded ſome diſcontented lords, that they were in his hands. Upon this foundation, he formed in Guienne a powerful party, headed by Gaſton de Moncade, viſcount of Barne; and it is very likely, that Henry's want of courage inſpired the king of Caſtile with the thoughts of becoming maſter of Guienne, upon this frivolous title; at leaſt, he believed, that, either by force of arms, or by way of treaty, he ſhould obtain ſome part of that province. However that be, theſe pretenſions, tho' apparently groundleſs, raiſed commotions in Guienne; which made Henry often repent of removing the earl of Leiceſter. In a word, the male-contents, aſſiſted by the king of Caſtile, made ſuch a progreſs, that Henry was conſtrained to go, in perſon, to ſave the country; but there was occaſion for money, and it was in vain to alledge the war in Guienne, to procure any from his ſubjects, who were too much diſſatisfied with all his martial expeditions. He judged it, therefore, moſt expedient to make uſe of his old

pretence,

1253. pretence, namely, his voyage to the Holy-Land; and, having convened a parliament, on that account, he demanded a large ſum, to enable him to perform his vow; repreſenting, that, as it was impoſſible for him, hitherto, to undertake the voyage, the chriſtians of Paleſtine muſt have ſuffered exceedingly by theſe delays.

An aid is granted, on condition the charters are kept. M. Paris.

Tho' the barons were fully convinced, that the king did not deſign to go to the Holy-Land, they were afraid, however, of giving him ſome advantage, by refuſing an aid, demanded on ſo plauſible a pretence; and, therefore, they reſolved to grant it, but clogged with conditions, from which they expected ſome benefit, whether the king executed his project, or, as was ſuſpected, applied the money to other uſes. This reſolution being taken, they ſent deputies to him with their anſwer, the ſubſtance of which was, that, provided he would leave to the churches the freedom of elections, and punctually obſerve the king his father's charters, they would do all that was poſſible, to give him ſatisfaction; but Henry, who expected this meſſage, in his reply, owned, that, on certain occaſions, he had carried the prerogative royal ſomewhat too far; tho' he firmly reſolved never to be guilty of the like fault, for the time to come; adding, that they might be aſſured, the charters of king John ſhould be inviolably maintained. Upon this, addreſſing himſelf to ſuch of the deputies as were of the clergy, he intreated them to conſider, that moſt of the prelates, who then governed the church of England, were promoted to their dignities, by means of that prerogative royal, of which they complained; and he enquired, whether they themſelves, at the time of their elections, would have wiſhed for that freedom they, now, ſo ſtrenuouſly demanded? He farther obſerved, that, ſince they expected, that he ſhould correct what was amiſs in the government, they themſelves ought to ſhew him a good example, by reſigning their biſhopricks and abbies, acquired by illegal ways; and he promiſed them, that their places ſhould be filled with perſons of unexceptionable learning and probity. The biſhops, being confounded at this ſharp reprimand, had nothing to anſwer, only "that the "buſineſs, at preſent, was not to undo what "was paſt, but to prevent the like evils, for "the future." As the king's ſole view was to draw money from the parliament, contented with having a little mortified the clergy, he declared, that he was willing to join with the parliament, in all neceſſary meaſures to redreſs the grievances; upon which, the clergy granted him the tenths of their revenues, for three years, and the barons, three marks of every knight's fee held immediately of the crown.

A curſe is denounced againſt all that ſhould violate the charters. M. Paris.

The king having ſo expreſly promiſed to obſerve the charters, without any ſollicitation, convened, in the great hall of the palace of Weſtminſter, an aſſembly, at which were preſent all the lords ſpiritual and temporal, with lighted tapers in their hands; but the king would not hold one, alledging, he would lay his hand upon his heart, during the whole ceremony, to demonſtrate, that he ſincerely conſented to what was about to be pronounced. Then the archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſtanding up before all the people, denounced a terrible anathema againſt all, that, henceforward, ſhould oppoſe, directly or indirectly, the obſervance of the two charters; and alſo againſt thoſe that ſhould, in the leaſt, violate, diminiſh, or alter the laws and conſtitutions of the kingdom. This curſe being denounced, the two charters were read aloud, and confirmed by the king, who ſtill kept his hand on his breaſt *; and then every one threw down his taper upon the ground, wiſhing that thoſe, who violated the charters, might thus ſmoke in hell.

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Henry endeavours to break through his engagement.

One would have imagined, that the king's aſſent to a curſe, ſo ſolemnly denounced, was an undoubted proof of his intent religiouſly to perform his promiſe; and, perhaps, he really intended it, when he laid his hand upon his heart; yet the parliament was no ſooner diſſolved, than he contrived all poſſible means, to evade it. Henry was naturally inconſtant, and not over-ſcrupulous; and, beſides, it is aſſerted, that he was perſuaded by ſome of his favourites, that, whilſt theſe charters remained in force, he ſhould be no more than the ſhadow of a king; but, perceiving that he was reſtrained by the conſideration of his oath, they adviſed him to apply to the pope, intimating that, for two or three hundred marks, he might eaſily procure it to be annulled. This pernicious advice was agreeable to his inclinations; and, therefore, he immediately embraced it, trampling on the dictates of honour and religion, and entirely diſregarding its fatal conſequences; but, if it be ſtrange, that this weak prince ſhould ſo little regard his word and oath, there is no leſs reaſon to be ſurprized that ſuch principles ſhould be authorized by the common practice of him, who ſtiles himſelf the vicar of Chriſt.

He ſets out for Guienne.

In the interim, Henry expended, in preparations for the war in Guienne, the money granted by the parliament, for the voyage to the Holy-Land; and, when all things were in readineſs, he came to Portſmouth, where his troops were ordered to meet him; and then, leaving the regency to the queen and prince Richard, he embarqued, attended by a great number of lords, who, being his military tenants, were obliged to that ſervice. Upon his arrival at Bourdeaux, he headed his army, and beſieged Reole-Caſtle then in the power of the rebels, who, depending upon the king's uſual indolence, neglected to fortify the places they had ſeized; by which means, he eaſily became maſter, not only of this, but of all the other caſtles that were in their hands. In the mean time, as the king of Caſtile did not ſupport his adherents, Henry imagined that he waited for his departure, to raiſe freſh commotions in the province, and was apprehenſive, that would be always

* M. Paris ſeems to intimate, that only the biſhops held tapers in their hands, when he ſays, "that the king "would not hold one, becauſe he was not a prieſt;" and the ſame author farther obſerves, that, the whole ceremony being over, Henry expreſs'd himſelf, thus: "So help me God, I will inviolably obſerve all theſe things, as I am a "chriſtian, a knight, and a crowned and anointed king."

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1253. the caſe; which gave him the greateſt uneaſineſs, becauſe, to prevent his enemy's deſigns, he found himſelf obliged to keep a ſtanding army in Guienne, tho' he was not in a condition to maintain it. In this perplexity, he diſpatched an ambaſſador to Spain, with orders to propoſe a marriage between Edward, his eldeſt ſon, and Eleanora, ſiſter to Alphonſo, king of Caſtile. Alphonſo, perceiving that there was no proſpect of his becoming maſter of Guienne, ſince the arrival of the Engliſh ſuccours, and alſo conſidering that the match propoſed was very advantageous for the princeſs, his daughter, readily conſented to it, and, thereupon, reſigned to prince Edward all his pretenſions to Guienne; but this affair was tranſacted, with the greateſt ſecrecy, Henry deſigning to uſe the pretence of the war, to obtain a freſh ſupply from the parliament. In the interim, the earl of Leiceſter, who retired into France, finding Henry engaged in a war with the Gaſcoigns, levied ſome troops, at his own charge, and came and offered his ſervice; and the arrival of the earl, with the report of a private treaty, between Alphonſo and the king, deterring the rebels, cauſed them to return to their allegiance.

Henry tries in vain to procure money from the parliament.

In the mean while, Henry, pretending that he was afraid of the attacks of the Caſtilians, ſent orders to the queen, to ſummon a parliament and demand an aid; but the parliament, having received ſome intelligence of the treaty, negotiating in Spain, replied, that all the barons would be ready to ſerve the king, with their lives and fortunes, upon the firſt notice of his being invaded by the Caſtilians. This was not ſuch an anſwer, as the king expected; but, believing that the treaty of Burgos was yet a ſecret, he wrote to the queen and prince Richard, that he was extremely embarraſſed, having received certain advice, that the king of Caſtile was preparing to invade Guienne, with a formidable army of Moors; and, therefore, he commanded them to preſs the parliament to grant an aid anſwerable to his neceſſities. However, the news of the treaty with Alphonſo being confirmed by the earl of Leiceſter, who was returned into England, the queen durſt not ſollicit the parliament, upon ſo frivolous a pretence; and Henry, being diſappointed, was forced to ſend orders to the prince, his brother, to extort money from the Jews, by all poſſible means. Richard diſcharged his commiſſion, with ſo much rigour, that the miſerable Jews deſired leave to depart the kingdom; but, even that being refuſed them, they were conſtrained to pay the king a greater ſum than ever.

The marriage of prince Edward.

As ſoon as the queen was informed, that her ſon's marriage was concluded, ſhe haſtened to Bourdeaux, with Edward and Edmund, her ſons, and the archbiſhop of Canterbury; and, immediately after her arrival, prince Edward was ſent, in great ſtate, to Burgos, where he married the infanta Eleonora; and, in a few days, he departed with his bride, for Bourdeaux, where the king and queen waited for them. During their ſtay in that city, the king confirmed, by a new patent, the grant of Guienne to the prince, his ſon, to which he annexed Ireland, with the ſovereignty of Wales; and, having diſpatched his buſineſs in Gaſcoigne, he prepared for his departure; but, to avoid the fatigues of the ſea, he deſired leave of the king of France, who had happily purchaſed his liberty of the Infidels, with a vaſt ranſom, to paſs through his dominions, and embarque at Bouſogne; who not only very courteouſly granted his requeſt, but, meeting him at Chartres, conducted him to Paris, where he entertained him, eight days, in a handſome manner. 1253.

Henry exacts money from London. M. Paris.

Henry made his entry into London, with extraordinary pomp, and received from the city a preſent of 100 l. ſterling, which the Londoners uſually gave, on the like occaſions; but, as he did not ſeem to be ſatisfied, they preſented him alſo a rich piece of plate, of exquiſite workmanſhip, with which he was contented; tho', a few days after, he extorted from the city a more conſiderable ſum. A certain prieſt, accuſed of murder, having eſcaped out of Newgate, where he was confined by the biſhop, he amerced the city in no leſs than 3000 marks, as a puniſhment for its neglect; which ſentence was eſteemed to be the more unjuſt, as it was proved, by ſubſtantial evidence, that the biſhop's officers favoured the priſoner's eſcape.

The affairs of Sicily.

To return to the affairs of Sicily, Conrade and pope Innocent being very hotly engaged in war, the pope, at length, departed from Lyons, to repair to Genoa; from whence he deſigned to go and relieve the city of Naples, which Conrade cloſely beſieged; but, this reſolution being taken, too late, the emperor had time to take the capital, and afterwards all the reſt of the kingdom. This fortunate ſucceſs inſpired him with the deſign of ſeizing alſo the iſland of Sicily; which, if we may give credit to certain authors, he accompliſhed by a notorious treachery. It is ſaid, that, enticing, to Melphi, young Henry, his brother, to whom Frederick II. bequeathed Sicily, he procured him to be murdered; which prince, according to an hiſtorian of Naples, of all Frederick's ſons, was the worthieſt and moſt hopeful.

Henry refuſes the offer of the two Sicily's. M. Paris.

Before the death of the young prince, the pope, his affairs being in great confuſion, by Conrade's progreſs, diſpatched to England the ſame Albert formerly mentioned, to offer Henry the crown of both Sicily's; but he rejected this offer, becauſe of his nephew, whom he was unwilling to depoſe. Innocent, not ſucceeding in this project, took occaſion, from the death of the king of Sicily, to renew Conrade's excommunication, whom he charged with the murder of his brother; but the emperor, whether he was innocent, or thought it would be difficult to convict him of this crime, not only boldly denied it, but wrote to the king of England, to acquaint him with the death of the young prince, and to expreſs his extreme grief, on that account. This is not a proper place to examine, whether his ſorrow was ſincere; for it is ſufficient, to obſerve, that, if he was guilty of the murder, he did not long enjoy the fruits of his treachery. He died, five months after, poiſoned, as

1253. as was reported, by a phyſician bribed by Manfred, his baſtard brother; but, not, in the leaſt, ſuſpecting the hand, which was the occaſion of his death, he left the guardianſhip of his ſon, Conradin, to the ſame Manfred.

Innocent becomes maſter of the kingdom of Naples.

The death of Conrade, in 1253, entirely altered the poſture of affairs in the two Sicily's; for Manfred, under the pretence of acting for his pupil, who was in Germany, formed the project of becoming maſter of the two kingdoms; but he foreſaw ſo many difficulties, that he was obliged to conceal his deſign, till a more favourable opportunity. In the interim, Innocent, who then reſided at Perouſe, headed an army, and marched into the kingdom of Naples, where the people declared in his favour; and Manfred himſelf, perceiving that it was not poſſible for him to oppoſe the torrent, waited on him at Naples; when he ſo artfully diſſembled, that the pope, believing him to be really in his intereſt, admitted him to all his councils, and confirmed to him the emperor his father's grant of the principality of Tarentum. Manfred, finding himſelf ſo much in the pope's favour, began to contrive how to render it ſubſervient to his deſigns; and, with that view, he adviſed him to diſperſe his troops all over the kingdom, ſeconding his advice with two reaſons, by which Innocent ſuffered himſelf to be enſnared. The firſt was, the neceſſity of eaſing the inhabitants of Naples, to prevent their revolting; and the other reaſon was grounded upon its being equally important to keep in awe the Germans, left by Conrade in the country, under the command of two Bavarian princes. This ſtratagem anſwering his expectation, he applied to the two German princes, who, probably, were as eaſily to be deceived as the pope; and, by means of ſome ſecret emiſſaries, he repreſented to them, that he was in the intereſt of Conradin, and only feigned, out of policy, to adhere to the pope. Then he magnified the pope's forces in the kingdom, and adviſed them to go to Germany, for recruits; and what farther induced theſe two princes, to follow his advice, was the aſſurance he gave them, that, during their abſence, he would take care of their troops. He promiſed, that he would undertake to engage the pope to ſupply them with neceſſaries, in hopes of ſending them back to Germany, and, in the mean while, prolong the negotiation, till their return. Thus, by this double advice, Manfred weakened the pope's forces, by cauſing him to diſperſe them, and freed himſelf from the troubleſome preſence of the two German princes, keeping their troops to be employed, as occaſion offered.

Innocent offers Sicily for prince Edmund.

The army, brought by Innocent into the kingdom of Naples, could not be maintained, without a greater expence than he was able to bear; and being apprehenſive that his troops would quickly diſband themſelves, if he did not find money to pay them, he made a freſh attempt upon the king of England, and with better ſucceſs than before. Under the pretence of acquainting Henry with the circumſtances of the death of his nephew, late king of Sicily, he ſent a nuncio, to offer him, in his name, the crown of the two Sicily's, for prince Edmund, his ſecond ſon; intimating to him, 1254. that his ſcruples were no longer ſeaſonable, ſince the death of the young king, his nephew; that, beſides, he ought to look upon this offer as a very particular mark of his eſteem and affection, which any prince in Europe would conſider, as a great honour; and that a crown was a preſent to be accepted, without much deliberation. Henry, without conſulting his brother or the parliament, from whom alone he could expect the neceſſary aids for this undertaking, accepted this imaginary preſent, with the utmoſt gratitude; and, from that moment, he cauſed prince Edmund to aſſume the title of king of Sicily; but this imprudent prince, being raſhly engaged in this affair, never had the power, or policy, to avoid the ſnares laid for him by the pope, under that pretence. Innocent aſſured him, that, with an inconſiderable ſum of money, he might have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing, in a little time, his ſecond ſon on the throne; and that a crown, like that of Sicily, well deſerved ſome pains, to obtain it. Upon this, Henry readily ſent the pope all his own money, all that the prince, his brother, would lend him, and all that he could extort from the Jews, or his other ſubjects, by means of itinerant juſtices ſent into every county; but, his holineſs being ſtill diſſatisfied, he was ſo very imprudent, as to oblige himſelf, under pain of being excommunicated and deprived of the royal dignity, to pay all ſuch ſums as the pope ſhould borrow, in order to accompliſh their enterprize. Innocent, having this unlimited power, by borrowings, real or pretended, involved Henry ſo deeply, that his ordinary revenue could not poſſibly anſwer the expence; and, therefore, he was frequently under a neceſſity of making ſuch demands upon the parliament, as rendered him daily more deteſtable to his ſubjects; but he was ſo fond of this affair, that he deſpiſed the complaints and murmurs of the people, to find the neceſſary money, to put it in execution.

The pope uſes ſeveral means, to get the king money. Act. Pub.

Innocent was very ſenſible, that it was not in the king's power to perform his engagements; but he hoped, by making uſe of the plenitude of his apoſtolical authority, to furniſh him with means ſufficient, to procure money from his ſubjects. He, firſt of all, ſent a bull, directed to the archbiſhop of Canterbury and biſhop of Cheſter, impowering them to borrow money of perſons of all conditions, in the name of the church of Rome, with orders to pay the ſums, thus raiſed, to the king; and it is obvious, that the pope uſed the name of the church of Rome, becauſe he knew that no one would lend the king money, and that the church could compel people, eſpecially eccleſiaſticks, to lend their money.

The voyage to the Holy-Land gave the pope a pretence, to grant the king two tenths upon the clergy; but, at the ſame time, he commanded the money to be depoſited in a ſafe place, from whence it could not be taken, without his orders, under the colour of preventing the king from applying it to any other uſe, than the expedition to Paleſtine; tho', in reality, theſe ſums were intended for the conqueſt of Sicily. By a third bull, he granted the king a 20th part

1254. of the church's revenue in Scotland, provided the money could be raiſed, without giving offence; and, in the interim, as he had himſelf engaged to contribute to the charges of this projected conqueſt, he promiſed to be anſwerable to prince Edmund, for 100,000 French livres, half of which was to be paid, upon his arrival at Lyons. A vaſt contribution towards an enterprize of this nature! yet the obligation was clogged with the following clauſe, "unleſs the pope ſhould have occaſion for the "money himſelf, for the defence of the holy "ſee."

Notwithſtanding the pope's care to procure the king money, he was afraid it would not be ſufficient, or that the king would ſquander away the treaſure he ſhould raiſe; and, therefore, he admoniſhed him, by a letter, to retrench all ſuperfluous expences, even thoſe deſigned for pious uſes, becauſe the conqueſt of Sicily was above all other works of charity. Tho' Edmund, as yet, had only an empty title, the king, his father, blinded with the hopes inſtilled by the pope, conſidered this young prince, as the real monarch of both Sicily's; and, in this belief, he cauſed him to give, by an authentick patent, to Thomas earl of Savoy, the queen's uncle, the principality of Capua, which, like the reſt of the kingdom, was ſtill in diſpute between the pope and Conradin. However, tho' the pope ſeemed to diveſt himſelf of this kingdom, in favour of Edmund, he did not ſuffer him to diſpoſe of any thing, without his conſent; and there are, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, ſeveral grants made by the pope, in this very kingdom, to the marqueſs of Hoemburch, his general, and others.

Manfred aims at being king of Sicily.

Whilſt the pope continued his negotiations in England, with all poſſible ſecrecy, leſt he ſhould alarm the Sicilians, Manfred, the Baſtard, took meaſures, at Naples, to procure the crown of the two Sicily's; for he tamper'd with the German troops brought thither by the emperor Conrade, and ſecured the aſſiſtance of the Saracens, who were very numerous in both kingdoms. As ſoon as matters were ripe, he only waited for an opportunity to declare himſelf openly; and it was not long before he met with a proper juncture. Having killed a man that affronted him, at the pope's court, and being obliged to abſcond, he was ſummoned to appear and take his trial; and, upon his refuſal, Innocent orders his troops to march to the little town of Nocera, inhabited by Saracens, where the murderer fled for refuge. This furniſhed Manfred with a pretence to aſſemble his friends, who were already prepared; and, with the ſuccours that came to him, from ſeveral parts, he met the troops that marched againſt him, and, attacking them, with advantage, between Troya and Foggia, killed a part, and put the reſt to flight. Innocent was extremely ſurprized, at the defeat of his army, and to find him to be a freſh enemy, whom he deſigned, as his inſtrument, to rid the kingdom of the Germans; but, this incident convincing him that Manfred had deceived him, he perceived, ſince the Germans eſpouſed the cauſe of the Baſtard, it would be difficult to maintain himſelf in the kingdom, without other forces; and, in this belief, he repeated his inſtances to the king of England, for men and money, with an Engliſh general, threatening, in caſe of refuſal, to give the crown of Sicily to another prince; but, this ſupply being, as yet, very remote, he was ſo mortified to ſee his affairs, in ſo ill a ſituation, that he fell into a fit of ſickneſs, which laid him in his grave. Tho' moſt hiſtorians reckon above a year, between the death of Innocent IV. and the election of Alexander IV, his ſucceſſor, it evidently appears, from the Collection of the Publick Acts of England, that Alexander IV. was elected, a few months after Innocent's deceaſe; and, indeed, we find there bulls of both theſe popes, dated the end of the year 1254. 1254

Innocent dies, and is ſucceeded by Alexander IV.

1255. Alexander, copying after his predeceſſor, reſolved to proſecute the war againſt Manfred, who, ſtill concealing his deſigns, declared for Conradin, leſt he ſhould diſguſt the German troops which he really wanted; and, as he had no leſs occaſion for the ſuccours from England, inſtead of menacing Henry, as Innocent did, he ſent the biſhop of Bononia, with a ring, to inveſt, by that mark, prince Edmund with the kingdom of Sicily; but, whilſt the legate was on the road, Alexander's affairs were intirely ruined. The pope, borrowing money from all hands, on the king of England's account, drew together an army of 60,000 men, and gave the command to cardinal Octavian Ulbaldini Florentinus, with orders to beſiege Manfred in Nocera; and the cardinal had, for his lieutenant-general, the marqueſs of Hoemburch a German, who had long ſerv'd Innocent IV, tho' he was now corrupted by Manfred. Upon the approach of his army to Nocera, the marqueſs, who watched an opportunity, to engage Octavian in ſome falſe ſtep, repreſented to him, that it was not only needleſs, but would leſſen his honour, to employ ſo great an army againſt a paultry town; that the country adjacent afforded no forage; and, beſides, that it was plain Manfred could make no great efforts, ſince he kept himſelf ſo cloſely immured. The eccleſiaſtical general, who was not verſed in the art of war, conſidering the marqueſs, as an able and faithful ſoldier, was eaſily perſuaded to divide his army, on the groundleſs notion of his enemy's being afraid; but he had no ſooner committed this error than Manfred ſallied out of Nocera, and, ſuddenly attacking the army, which was coming to beſiege him, entirely put them to the rout. The pope's loſs, in this action, was ſo great, that he was obliged to abandon the country; and, thus, Manfred eaſily became maſter of the two Sicily's, and was crowned at Palermo, after ſpreading a report that young Conradin was deceaſed in Germany.

1255. Alexander levies a great army againſt Manfred. Act. Pub.

The legate inveſts Edmund with the Sicily's M. Paris.

Though Alexander had no refuge in Italy, he did not deſpair of reſtoring his affairs, by means of the king of England, who was very little accquainted with the late revolution, in a country were he was ſo greatly concerned; for the biſhop of Bononia came to London, and, without mentioning what was tranſacted in the kingdom of Naples, or Manfred's coronation,

1255. ronation, inveſted prince Edmund with the two Sicily's; and with a ſolemnity, that increaſed Henry's ſatisfaction. This weak prince was as highly pleaſed with the ceremony, as if Edmund had been actually put in poſſeſſion of a crown; but, if ſome of his creatures congratulated him, upon this augmentation of glory, it gave great uneaſineſs to the wiſe and judicious, to find that their ſovereign become more and more the pope's dupe; and, indeed, it was eaſy to perceive, that he was engaged in an undertaking, which all the ready-money in the kingdom would not be ſufficient to accompliſh.

The king demands an aid of the parliament. M. Paris.

Henry had no reaſon to expect any great aids from his ſubjects, whom he had extremely diſguſted; much leſs could he hope to gain the barons approbation of a project, ſo raſhly undertaken, without conſulting thoſe, who alone could furniſh him with means to come off, with honour; yet he demanded of a parliament, ſummoned, this year, a ſubſidy, with the ſame aſſurance, as if he was labouring, purely, for the good of the publick. Though the parliament was unconcerned about the ſucceſs of the affairs of Sicily, they expected, however, to reap ſome advantage from the king's neceſſities, by improving this opportunity to procure, in a laſting manner, the obſervance of the two charters; and, with this view, they repreſented to the king, that they would grant him an aid, on the following conditions: That the charters ſhould be obſerved; and that the juſticiary, treaſurer, and chancellor, nominated by the parliament, ſhould be render'd incapable of being turned out, unleſs by the ſame authority; but the king, judging it improper to conſent to theſe terms, prorogued the parliament, till Michaelmas.

In the interim, Henry took a journey to Scotland, on account of the queen, his daughter, who complained of her ill uſage from thoſe that governed the kingdom, during the king her husband's minority; and the preſence of the king of England was very ſerviceable, in ſettling the affairs of that kingdom; tho' he made but a ſhort ſtay in Scotland, being impatient to return into England, on account of the affairs of Sicily.

Ruſtand, the pope's nuncio, comes into England with ſeveral bulls. M. Paris.

The ſums, pretended to be borrowed by this and the former pope, for the affairs of Sicily, were ſo exceſſive, that the king ſaw it impoſſible to ſatisfy the creditors, real or fictitious; but Alexander, imagining that the Engliſh, and particulary the clergy, were reſponſible for their ſovereign, uſed all poſſible means, to extort money from England, which was already ſo much exhauſted. His firſt attempts were made by Ruſtand, a nuncio, whom he furniſhed with ſeveral bulls, in order to exact money from the clergy; and the firſt, produced by the nuncio, was an order to collect a tenth in England, Ireland, and even Scotland, as well for the pope's as the king's uſe. The pope laid this impoſition on them, "Notwithſtanding any former letters, "indulgences, privileges, exemptions, or other "grants, under any form, and for any cauſe "whatſoever, and notwithſtanding all objections "which could be deviſed." And a ſecond bull impowered the nuncio to change the king's vow to go to the Holy-Land, into that of undertaking the conqueſt of Sicily; a conqueſt, according to the pope, much more important than that of Jeruſalem; and Henry engaged in this new vow, by a ſolemn oath on the reliques of St. Edward, as he had done, with regard to the firſt. The nuncio likewiſe ordered a Cruſade to be preached againſt Manfred, as an enemy to the chriſtian name, promiſing the pardon of their ſins to all that ſhould aſſiſt the holy ſee againſt that excommunicated prince; but the publication of this Cruſade was of little conſequence in England, tho' its effects were felt in Paleſtine, as it obliged the chriſtians in that country, when they found the ſuccours, intended for them, diverted to other uſes, to conclude with the Saracens a truce for ten years. 1255.

The parliament meets.

The parliament, that was prorogued, being aſſembled, the king ſollicited, in vain, for a ſupply; tho' he had ſummoned none of the lords, that ſhewed moſt ſteadineſs, in the laſt ſeſſion; but, for this very reaſon, the parliament took occaſion to refuſe his demand; alledging that, purſuant to the tenor of the great charter, they were not obliged to debate any buſineſs, unleſs all, that had a right to ſit in parliament, were ſummoned. Henry, as there was no proſpect of procuring any money from this aſſembly, diſſolved them, and made uſe of other means, to attain his ends; and he would fain have borrowed, once more, of the prince, his brother; but Richard, inſtead of complying with his requeſt, was diſpleaſed, that the king ſhould raſhly engage in this affair, without vouchſafing to conſult either him, or the barons of the realm.

1256. Several bulls, to procure money from England. An. Burt.

However, what Henry could not accompliſh, by his own authority, he attempted to effect, by the pope's concurrence, who was the more ready to aſſiſt him, as his own intereſt was nearly concerned; and it may be ſafely affirmed, that, in this unhappy century, the court of Rome had loſt all ſenſe of ſhame. Of this what I am about to relate is an inconteſtable evidence, not founded upon the teſtimony of a ſingle hiſtorian, whoſe fidelity ſome have diſputed, but upon the very bulls of Alexander IV, extant in the records of England, as printed in the Collection of the Publick Acts; tho', by the way, nothing more effectually confutes all that has been alledged, to weaken the authority of Matthew Paris, than the harmony between the bulls and his Hiſtory. What is ſtill more ſurprizing, in the conduct of Alexander, is, that he did not even employ, in the war againſt Manfred, the vaſt ſums continually drawn from England, under that pretence; for, by comparing together the Hiſtories of England and Sicily, we ſhall find, that, whilſt the pope was draining England of money, for the projected conqueſt, he ſuffered Manfred quietly to enjoy his crown, without uſing any effectual endeavours to dethrone him. Thus, the conqueſt of Sicily was only the pope's decoy, to procure large ſums from Henry, upon the vain expectation of placing his ſon Edmund on the throne; for, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, under the year 1255, there are ſeveral bulls, which clearly ſhew, with what rapaciouſneſs the Roman pontiff exhauſted wretched England.

In

1255. In one of these bulls, he orders Henry to pay 4000l. to the bishop of Bononia, for the charges of his legateship.

In another, dated the same month, he confirms the change of the king's vow to go to the Holy-Land, into that of an expedition into Sicily, in order that the money, intended for the war against the Saracens, might be applied to discharge the debts contracted for the conquest of that kingdom.

By one of the same sort, directed to the archbishop of Canterbury, he makes the same change, with respect to the vow of the king of Norway and his subjects; and then he commands them to send into England, for the pretended expedition to Sicily, the money raised for the voyage to the Holy-Land.

A third enjoins all the English, who received any money, for their journey to Palestine, to pay it to certain commissioners, to be employed in the Sicilian expedition.

Though he had, before, confirmed the change of Henry's vow, he granted him, however, by a bull, the 20th part of the clergy's revenue in Scotland, to be employed in the expedition to the Holy-Land; but this bull, being of a later date than that, by which the king's vow was changed, must be considered, as a real cheat, to persuade the Scots, that their money should be expended in the war against the Infidels.

After this, by another bull, he absolves the Scots from their vow of going to the Holy-Land, on condition that they would send into England a certain sum, to be employed in the conquest of Sicily.

He granted the same favour to the English, by a bull, dated in August, the same year.

Lastly, by another in October, he commanded his nuncio to compel the English bishops, to pay the tenths granted to the king, in order to discharge the debts contracted, since his engagements with Innocent IV.

If the originals of all these bulls were not to be found, among the records of England, it would be scarce credible, that Christ's vicar had so little of the christian, as to prefer his own private quarrel before the cause of God, the name, then, given to the Crusades against Infidels; nor is it less surprizing, that Alexander should oblige the Scots and Norwegians, who lived, in the utmost bounds of the north, to contribute to the charges of his quarrel with the house of Swabia, about a kingdom situated, in the most southern parts of Europe; but, if what M. Paris adds be true, which, by the way, is, to the last degree, probable, it will be easy to perceive, that, to raise money, there was no means, however unjust, but what was approved by the present pope.

The sums borrowed, in the king's name, amounted, according to the pope's account, to 135,540 marks, principal money, besides interest; tho' he was sensible, that the king's revenue was hardly sufficient for his necessary expences; and, therefore, he caused Henry to allow that all the extraordinary levies of money, in his kingdom, should be applied to that use, for which, he undertook to find means himself, to raise what sums were requisite, on this occasion. 1255. It was not so much the purses of the people, or barons, as of the clergy, that were to be drained; for as the clergy had most ready money, so they more tamely submitted to the pope, than the people would to the king.

A strange means used by the pope, to extort money from the clergy. M. Paris. An. Burt.

Accordingly, Alexander made use of a very extraordinary means, suggested to him by the bishop of Hereford, by causing a great number of promissary notes to be drawn, whereby each bishop, abbot, or prior in England, acknowledged to have received of such a merchant of Sienna, Florence, or some other place in Italy, the sum of-----, for the occasions of his church, and obliged himself to repay it, at a limited time; and, upon this, endeavours were used to constrain each of them to sign one of these notes, as if he had really borrowed the money; but this was such an oppression, that it would be difficult to find a parallel instance, among the most infamous tyrants.

Rustand, having assembled all the prelates of the kingdom, acquainted them with the pope's pleasure, that each of them should sign one of these notes and bind himself speedily to pay the sum mentioned therein, under pain of excommunication; but this proposal so greatly surprized them, that the bishop of London could not forbear saying aloud, "That he would "sacrifice his life, rather than submit to so ty-"rannical an oppression. The bishop of Wor-"cester declared as much; and, in a word, the "prelates replied, that the clergy of England "would not be slaves to the pope." The nuncio complained to the king of this obstinate answer, intimating that the bishop of London was the author of the disobedience of the clergy; upon which, Henry, falling into a violent passion with that prelate, assured him, that, since he was afraid neither of his, nor the pope's indignation, he should presently feel the effects; but, this menace being incapable of daunting the prelate, he replied, "He very "well knew, that the king and the pope were "more potent than he; but that, if he was "deprived of his mitre, he would clap a hel-"met, in its place." However, notwithstanding this resolution, the nuncio pursued his project; and, by the help of the bishop of Hereford, he sowed dissension among the chief of the clergy, by caressing some, deterring others, and procuring accusations to be brought against some, from whence he took occasion to excommunicate them; and these censures were the more terrible, because, if, within 40 days, they did not sue for absolution, which could only be obtained, by submitting to the pope's pleasure, at once, all their revenues were confiscated. 1256. M. Paris.

However, what the king and pope extorted from private persons, by these compulsive methods, could not amount to a sum sufficient to answer their occasions; and there was a necessity of prevailing with all the clergy to sign the notes. Rustand, therefore, once more, summoned the prelates, about this affair; but the absence of the archbishop of Canterbury, who was out of the kingdom, and the vacancy of the see of York, furnished the bishops with a pretence to desire a delay, which could not be refused

1256. refuſed. They were in hopes, that time would produce ſome favourable turn, to exempt them from paying the money demanded; but the nuncio, falling into a rage, declared, that, he was extremely aſtoniſhed, that his maſter's will ſhould meet with the leaſt oppoſition. Leonard, a deputy or prolocutor for the clergy, inveighing againſt the injuſtice of the pope's demand, Ruſtand commanded him to ſay, whether he ſpoke for himſelf, or in the name of the prelates; and then he wrote down the deputy's words, ſaying, he would inform the pope of his inſolent expreſſions. Another clergyman, willing likewiſe to ſpeak, ſomewhat freely, of this matter, the nuncio told him, in a furious tone, that, if he had not a regard for the biſhops, he would not leave him a hair on his head.

The reſpite granted the clergy being expired, all the prelates, with the archdeacons, the repreſentatives of the inferior clergy, aſſembled at London; and, as this affair was the occaſion of their meeting, Ruſtand renewed his inſtances, the very firſt day. The clergy replied, by Leonard, their prolocutor, that their poverty prevented them from complying with the pope's demand, eſpecially as it was neither juſt nor reaſonable; but the nuncio made anſwer, "That, as all "churches belonged to the pope, he might, "in juſtice, diſpoſe of their incomes, at his pleaſure. "Leonard replied, in the following terms: "Indeed, all churches might be ſaid, "in ſome ſenſe, to belong to the pope, as he "is their protector and defender; but he had "no right to appropriate them to his private "uſe. In like manner, as we ſay in England, "all things are the king's, tho' no man ever "imagined, that he was the proprietor of all "the eſtates of his ſubjects; ſo, with reſpect "to the lands of the church, it can never be "proved, that it was the intention of the foun-"ders to give them to the pope." This reply only, ſo much the more, incenſed the nuncio; who not judging it expedient to argue and diſpute any longer, contented himſelf, with ſaying, in a menacing tone, "Let every one ſpeak for himſelf, "that the pope may know his friends from his "enemies." However, his violent proceedings did not anſwer his expectation; for the prelates, exaſperated at this treatment, unanimouſly replied, that they neither could, nor would ſubmit to ſuch an unreaſonable exaction; that this was their final reſolution; and that they were ready to ſuffer death, in a cauſe much more juſt than that, for which the bleſſed St. Thomas Becket endured martyrdom. The nuncio, upon this, grew more calm, and ſaid, that he would go himſelf and confer with the pope, about the difficulties which occurred, in the execution of his orders; and the clergy ſent alſo the dean of St. Paul's, as their repreſentative, to acquaint his holineſs with the reaſons of their refuſal. To finiſh, at once, this affair, I ſhall mention, here, the preſſing terms the clergy obtained from the court of Rome, after frequent and preſſing ſollicitations. As the pope pretended, that the ſums, in diſpute, were really borrowed, for the ſervice of the king and church, he ordered that each prelate ſhould contribute his quota, in proportion to his revenue; but that the money, ſo paid, ſhould be deducted out of the tenths, which ſhould, hereafter, be granted to the king; and, after this deciſion, the clergy were forced to pay money they had not borrowed, and to the payment of which they were obliged, without their knowledge. 1256.

The nuncio attacks the Ciſtercian abbots

Some time after, the ſame nuncio, having convened all the abbots of the Ciſtercian order, demanded one year's revenue of their wooll, to ſupply the occaſions of the pope and the king; but they replied, that they could not grant ſuch a demand, unleſs it was firſt debated, in a general chapter of their order. This reply diſpleaſing the Italian prelate, he fell into a paſſion, and ſwore, that, if he could not prevail with them, in a body, he would treat them in ſuch a manner, ſingly, that they ſhould be conſtrained to comply; and, accordingly, for trivial or pretended faults, he attacked them, one after another, cauſing them to be grievouſly fined; but this order had ſuch powerful protectors, about the pope, that the nuncio was commanded to drop his deſign. Act. Pub.

The bull of Alexander IV. M. Paris.

The tyranny, exerciſed by the court of Rome, upon the Engliſh clergy, was of ſo ſtrange a nature, that the hiſtorian, who relates all theſe facts, leſt he ſhould be ſuſpected of inventing them, inſerts, at large, in his hiſtory, one of Alexander's bulls, which ſhews, that nothing was done, in the affair of the notes, without his expreſs orders. This bull, directed to Ruſtand, concludes thus: "You "ſhall take care to inform the king, that all "this is our will and pleaſure. Wherefore, "I ſet down, in theſe preſents, what each "abbot and prior ſhall be obliged to pay. "The prior and monaſtery of Durham, 500 "marks; of Bath 400; of Thorney 400, &c. "------ Dated, at Anagnia, the 10th of the "Calends of July, in the ſecond year of our "pontificate.

The parliament refuſes the king money. Ann. Burt.

Let us now return to the king, who was equally ſollicitous, for the aids demanded of the barons, to place the prince, his ſon, on the throne of Sicily; and the archbiſhop of Meſſina was lately arrived from Rome, on purpoſe to ſecond the king's demand, with the pope's letters to the lords, exhorting them to give the king ſatisfaction; but neither the pope's eagerneſs, nor the archbiſhop of Meſſina's preſſing inſtances, proved ſucceſsful. The parliament evidently perceived, that the money was to be put into the pope's hands, from his zeal and aſſiduity, on this occaſion; and, beſides, they could not reſolve to ſuffer troops to be ſent into Italy, as the pope and the king deſired, being perſuaded that it would expoſe them to certain ruin. Theſe conſiderations induced them, to deny the king the aid he demanded; and, to juſtify their refuſal, they preſented an addreſs, containing their reaſons. I. The difficulty of the undertaking. II. The poverty of the nation. III. The dread of an invaſion, from the neighbouring ſtates, if the forces of the kingdom were ſent to ſo remote a country. IV. That this project was formed, without the conſent of parliament. V. And laſtly, That the condition, annexed to the grant of Sicily, left the pope at his liberty to re-

1256. voke it, whenever he pleaſed, which was reciprocal.

Henry will have the clergy bound for him.

As the king demanded of his parliament an extraordinary aid; ſo he would, moreover, have the clergy ſtand obliged for the ſums, the pope pretended were ſtill due to him, and conſent that the tenths, granted for three, ſhould be continued for five years. Theſe demands were ſo exorbitant, that the clergy could not reſolve upon a compliance with them; but the pope no ſooner ſpoke, in an imperious tone, by the mouth of his nuncio, than the clergy tamely ſubmitted, and granted the king the greateſt part of his demands.

The war with the Welch.

Notwithſtanding the immenſe ſums, lately drawn out of England, Henry ſtill continued his exactions, as well upon the citizens of London, as the reſt of the kingdom; and he made even the Welch, whom he conſidered, as his ſubjects, ſince they were become his vaſſals, feel the effects of his avarice. The oppreſſions they endured, under various pretences, wearing out their patience, having recourſe to arms, they invaded the frontiers of England, from whence they carried off a great booty; and prince Edward would have chaſtiſed them, were it not impoſſible for him to raiſe a ſufficient number of troops, to ſtop their progreſs. The king's treaſury was ſo exhauſted, as well by the pope as his own favourites, that, not being able to furniſh money for this war, he was obliged to ſuffer the Welch to plunder his borders, with impunity; and ſuch was his fondneſs for his half-brothers, and the queen's relations, that he not only loaded them with immenſe preſents, which render'd him incapable of defending his kingdom, but permitted them to oppreſs his own ſubjects, by forbidding the chancellor to iſſue out any writs, to their prejudice.

The pope preſſes the king for money.

In the interim, the pope, who was not contented with the vaſt ſums drawn from England, continually preſs'd the king to remit him money, threatening to revoke the grant of Sicily, if he did not ſpeedily perform his promiſes; but Henry repreſented, that he could not, as yet, ſend troops into Italy, with an Engliſh general, becauſe, inſtead of being in a condition to defray this freſh expence, he could not accompliſh the payment of the ſums demanded by the pope. However, to ſatisfy him, in ſome meaſure, he remitted him 5000 marks, and ordered prince Edward, his ſon, who was to ſucceed him, to ratify the agreements relating to Sicily; and, in another letter, he acquainted him, that the barons of England refuſed to ſubſcribe to the terms that were required of him, apprehending them to be ſomewhat unreaſonable, eſpecially as the affairs of Sicily were altered, by the treachery of the marqueſs of Hoemburch. The pope, finding that the great men began to murmur, thought it high time, to procure all he could expect from England, plainly foreſeeing, that the game, he was playing, would ſoon be at an end; and, therefore, he diſpatched John de Die, as his nuncio, into England with ſeveral bulls, all of them tending to draw money from the king, in order to diſcharge his pretended debts. By the firſt, he enjoined the biſhops punctually to pay the tenths granted to the king, notwithſtanding all former letters, indulgences, or privileges; and, in all probability, the deduction they were, before, allowed to make, was rendered ineffectual, by this clauſe. Another bull granted the king, for his voyage to the Holy-Land, from which he had already been exempted, all the revenues of the vacant benefices; and, by a third, he gave him the incomes of non-reſidents. A fourth granted him the tenths of all the eccleſiaſtical revenues of the kingdom, according to their extended value; whereas they were uſually rated, according to the antient taxations. A fifth commanded Ruſtand to adjudge, to the king, the chattels of clergymen, who died inteſtate; and, by a ſixth, he ordered the ſame nuncio, to tax all the eccleſiaſticks of the kingdom, for the aid they were to give the king, notwithſtanding all former privileges, exemptions, or objections, to the contrary. A ſeventh excommunicated all the prelates, who ſhould not pay their tenths, within a limited time; and there were ſeveral others, which it is needleſs to mention, ſince they all tended to the ſame end. The importunity of the creditors of Sienna and Florence always furniſhed a pretence for theſe oppreſſions; and tho' theſe debts ſhould have been overpaid, by all the levies of money made in England, on that account, yet, like the Hydra, their heads continually revived. 1256.

In this unhappy reign, a concourſe of malignant influences ſeemed to meet in England, to impoveriſh the nation; every circumſtance contributed to their miſery, and events, in all appearance the moſt remote, at length, promoted the ſame end. William, earl of Holland and king of the Romans, being killed in a ſkirmiſh with the Friſons, the electors of the empire were divided, about the choice of a ſucceſſor; but the majority gave their votes for Richard, brother to the king of England, whilſt the reſt elected Alphonſo, king of Caſtile. Richard, more diligent than his competitor, ſet out, immediately, to be crowned at Aix la Chapelle, and ſupported his pretenſions, by his preſence in Germany, whilſt Alphonſo acted only, by ambaſſadors. However, Richard had no other advantage over his rival, than that of being crowned; an honour which he gained, at ſuch a vaſt expence, that Alphonſo would have been extremely ſorry to purchaſe it, at ſo dear a rate. It is ſaid, that Richard carried into Germany 700,000 l. in ready ſpecie, an immenſe ſum, in thoſe days; which, added to what the pope had drawn out of the kingdom, occaſioned an exceeding ſcarcity of money. The meaner ſort of people were great ſufferers by it, becauſe the harveſt, not being very plentiful, they were unable to buy proviſions, which were grown extremely dear; tho' all theſe calamities made no impreſſion on the king; but, infatuated with his Sicilian project, he preſſed the clergy for a new ſubſidy, that 1257.

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1257. of the laſt year not being ſufficient, as he aſſured them, even to pay his debts. As he expected great oppoſition from the prelates, he brought into the aſſembly prince Edmund, his ſon, dreſſed in a Sicilian habit, fancying, that, charmed, like him, with the ſight, they would readily comply with his demand; but this artifice would have proved abortive, had not the prelates been again over aw'd by the nuncio, who compelled them, by his menaces, to grant the king 42,000 l. ſterling.

The continuation of the Welch war.

To all the other calamities of this year, in England, muſt be added the war with Wales; which was vigorouſly carried on by the Welch, tho' very faintly by the Engliſh. Prince Edward, who undertook to chaſtiſe theſe turbulent people, was compelled to retreat before them, with ſome loſs; and their daily progreſs obliged the king to march againſt them. Upon his approach, they retired to their mountains, having themſelves laid waſte their borders, and ſo prevented Henry from proceeding; but, when he imagined the Welch at a diſtance, and ſeized with terror, they ſo effectually took advantage of his negligence, as to ſurpriſe him, and cut in pieces a conſiderable part of his army; upon which he retired.

The king demands of France the reſtitution of Normandy.

It muſt, of courſe, aſtoniſh the reader, that, at this juncture, Henry ſhould think of affrighting the king of France; yet, even in his preſent circumſtances, he ſent ambaſſadors to him, to demand the reſtitution of Normandy, and the other provinces in France, taken from the Engliſh. It is not known, with what view, or from what motive, he renewed this pretenſion, in ſo proud and imperious a manner, that one would have thought, that he was able to ſupport this bravado; but Lewis, who was better acquainted with his affairs than himſelf, forbearing, however, to inſult him, contented himſelf, with roughly denying this unſeaſonable demand.

The king petitions the pope.

In the mean while, Ruſtand, the nuncio, went to Rome, for new inſtructions; and he ſoon returned into England, with power to excommunicate the king, if, purſuant to his engagements, he did not ſpeedily undertake the projected conqueſt. Henry, ſurpriſed at theſe menaces, and not knowing how to ſatisfy the pope, cauſed his ſon, Edmund, humbly to intreat him, to render the terms more eaſy, on which he had accepted the grant of Sicily; but, this petition proving ineffectual, Henry was, at length, forced to ſend ambaſſadors to Rome, to renounce, in the name of the prince, his ſon, the grant of this imaginary crown, which had already been ſo expenſive to him. The pope, far from accepting this renunciation, diſpatched a new nuncio, one Arlot, impowering him to make ſome alteration, in the agreement about this affair; but, at the ſame time, he ordered him to do all that was poſſible, to engage the king more deeply, by procuring him ſome freſh grants, which coſt him nothing, ſince they were made, at the expence of the clergy. With this view, he commanded his nuncio to publiſh a new bull, enjoining the biſhops to pay the tenths granted to the king, under pain of excommunication; "notwithſtanding all objections, appeals, and letters obtained, or to be obtained, to the contrary." What is yet more ſurpriſing, and hardly conceivable, is, that the vaſt ſums, remitted to the pope, inſtead of promoting the conqueſt of Sicily, had never been applied to that uſe; ſince, after the defeat of Nocera, the pope had no army on foot; and tho', beſides the tenths, and other aids, frequently paid by the clergy to the king, on this account, the parliament had furniſhed conſiderable ſupplies, there appeared no bottom to this gulf, which ſwallowed up all the riches of the kingdom. The clergy were extremely uneaſy, under theſe oppreſſions; and the laity likewiſe murmured, when they conſidered, that the money already raiſed, in England, which, it is ſaid, amounted to 950,000 marks, was inſufficient to ſatisfy the avarice of the pope. 1257.

1258. The barons begin to take meaſures againſt the king.

The barons were ſtill more aggrieved than the people, as the moſt important poſts, to which they thought themſelves, alone, entitled, were enjoyed by foreigners; and this uſually excites the zeal of the great men, and inſpires them with a mighty concern for the good of the publick; whereas, if their own private intereſt be out of the queſtion, it is in vain to expect, that the nobles will expoſe their lives and fortunes, in defence of the liberties of an injured people. This is a remark, at which no nation, in particular, ought to be diſguſted; ſince it agrees with all times, as well as with all places. The great men, who then lived in England, were of the ſame character; for the credit and riches of the foreigners were the principal grievance of the barons, and the real motive of their complaints; and, if they urged ſome other abuſes, it was becauſe they themſelves had no advantage from thence, or to gain the people to their party. They, hitherto, thought to oblige the king to alter his conduct, by ſolemn oaths; but they, at length, perceived, that this Proteus, as an hiſtorian M. Paris; ſtiles him, was not to be ſecured, without more violent methods; and, therefore, they began to hold ſecret conferences together, to concert proper meaſures to reform the government, and eſpecially to exclude the foreigners. The king, ſoon after, having called a parliament, demanded, according to cuſtom, a powerful ſupply for the affair of Sicily; for, as to the voyage to the Holy-Land, it was no longer mentioned; but the parliament, purſuant to the reſolution already taken by the principal barons, inſtead of granting his demand, vehemently complained of the violation of his promiſes, and of all the grievances, in general, ſpoken of, in the courſe of this reign. Henry, finding that a haughty carriage would not anſwer his purpoſe, had recourſe to his old artifice of appeaſing the lords, by acknowledging his guilt, and promiſing to rectify what was amiſs; but, for once, they were not ſo credulous. They told him expreſsly, that, without leaving it to him, they intended to reform the government themſelves, ſo as to fear no more his breach of faith; and, therefore, under pretence of the difficulties in this affair, the parliament was prorogued, and the city of Oxford appointed for the place of

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1258. the next ſeſſion; but, as he was apprehenſive, that, in the interim, the barons would make preparations, which it was not in his power to prevent, he gave them a poſitive promiſe, that, at their next meeting, he would join with them, in the deſired reformation. He ſigned alſo a charter, by which he conſented, that the articles to be reformed ſhould be drawn up by 24 lords, of whom he would chuſe 12, and promiſed to obſerve whatſoever ſhould be determined by theſe commiſſioners; and, to give the greater authority to this charter, he cauſed prince Edward, his ſon, to ſign it with him, to convince them of his ſincerity. They had been ſo often deceived by the like promiſes, that they could not believe this to be more ſincere than the former; wherefore, without relying on the king's proteſtations, the barons ſummoned all their military tenants, and, on the day appointed, came to Oxford, well attended, and fully reſolved to compel the king to perform his word. The firſt thing was the election of the 24 commiſſioners, who were to draw the articles of the intended reformation; of whom the king choſe 12, and the other 12 were elected by the barons, who conſtituted Simon de Montfort, earl of Leiceſter, preſident of this council; and, the election being over, the 24 drew up ſome articles, the parliament reſerving to themſelves a power of adding to them, from time to time, ſuch others as ſhould be judged neceſſary, for the good of the ſtate. They were, in ſubſtance, as follows:

I. That the king ſhould confirm the great charter, which he had ſo often, tho' to no purpoſe, ſworn to obſerve.

II. That the office of chief juſticiary ſhould be given to a perſon of capacity and integrity, that ſhould adminiſter juſtice, as well to the poor as the rich, with the utmoſt impartiality.

III. That the chancellor, treaſurer, juſtices, and other officers and publick miniſters ſhould be elected by the 24.

IV. That the cuſtody of the king's caſtles ſhould be committed to the care of the 24, who ſhould entruſt them with ſuch as were well affected to the ſtate.

V. That it ſhould be death for any perſon, of what rank or degree ſoever, to oppoſe, directly or indirectly, what ſhould be ordained by the 24.

VI. That the parliament ſhould meet, at leaſt, once every year, to enact ſuch ſtatutes as ſhould be judged neceſſary for the welfare of the kingdom.

1258. It is certain that 12 deputies, or repreſentatives of the commons, ſat in this parliament; but whether it was by permiſſion, or right, that is, whether it was a new regulation, or the commons had their repreſentatives in the former parliaments, is what I will not preſume to determine, ſince the Engliſh themſelves are not agreed, in this point; but as, in a diſpute of this nature, it is difficult to avoid inclining to one ſide of the queſtion, I freely own myſelf of their opinion, who think this to be the firſt time, that the repreſentatives of the commons were admitted to ſit in parliament. Indeed, if the commons had a right to ſit there, at the time we are ſpeaking of, it is very ſtrange, that they ſhould nominate only 12 repreſentatives, for the whole kingdom; and, beſides, we have the conſent of all the hiſtorians, that theſe 12 were not commoners, as now reputed, but all barons, being ſtiled immediate tenants of the crown. Moreover, it is extremely ſurpriſing, if the commons enjoyed this privilege before, that hiſtorians ſhould never diſtinguiſh them from the nobility; and yet, among ſo many writers, who, from the conqueſt to the end of the reign of Henry III, have ſpoken of parliaments, not ſo much as one has mentioned the commons, as conſtituting a diſtinct body, or ſeparate houſe from the barons. In a word, it may be added, as a precedent, not, in the leaſt, favourable to the antiquity of the right of the commons, that, in France, it was not till the reign of Philip the Fair, according to Paſquier, that the third eſtate was admitted into the general aſſembly of the ſtates; but, however that be, as it is from this and another aſſembly, which I ſhall take notice of preſently, that ſome date the original of the privilege of the commons, it was neceſſary to give ſome account of it to the reader. 1258.

The parliament having approved the articles drawn up by the 24, the king was obliged to give his aſſent to them, and iſſue out all the neceſſary orders, for putting them in execution; and prince Edward alſo ſolemnly ſwore to obſerve, and cauſe them to be obſerved, to the utmoſt of his power. Thus, Henry, for his too great neglect of his ſubjects, was reduced, at laſt, to the neceſſity of ſharing with them the government of his kingdom, or rather of reſigning the whole into their hands; but his obſequiouſneſs to the court of Rome was the principal cauſe of his diſgeace. Indeed, in thoſe days, it was extremely difficult to keep a juſt medium, in this particular; and, as king John loſt himſelf, by too vigorous an oppoſition of the pope; ſo Henry paved the way for his ruin, by making himſelf too much his ſlave.

Oppoſition is made to theſe articles.

The foreſaid articles, then ſtiled the ſtatutes or proviſions of Oxford, were, at firſt, oppoſed by ſome; for the earl of Warren refuſed to ſign them; and prince Edward, who ſwore to them, againſt his will, wanted to recede from his oath. Henry, ſon to the king of the Romans, openly proteſted, that they were entirely invalid, till the king, his father, then in Germany, conſented to them; but the earl of Leiceſter, without regarding his quality, roundly told the earl, "That, if the king, his father, "refuſed to join with the barons, he ſhould "not enjoy one foot of land, in England." The greateſt oppoſition was made by the foreigners, and particulalry the king's half-brothers, and the queen's relations; eſpecially, William, biſhop elect of Valence, becauſe the whole royal authority, now reſtrained within narrow bounds, by theſe ſtatutes, was properly in his hands. Accordingly, he publickly declared, that he would not ſurrender the caſtles, of which he had the cuſtody; but the earl of Leiceſter

1258. Leiceſter, being naturally impetuous, immediately replied, He ſhould part with the caſtles, or his head. This menace being ſupported by the reſt of the barons, the Poictevins reſolved to ſhut themſelves up in Wincheſter, evidently perceiving, that they were not in a condition to withſtand the torrent; but their flight was no ſooner known, than the barons purſued them, tho' it was not poſſible to overtake them; yet, as, at ſuch a juncture, it was difficult for foreigners, ſo univerſally deteſted, to procure a ſufficient protection, they conſented to depart the kingdom, provided they might have a ſafe-conduct. This condition being, at once, complied with, they were brought to London, till they could be embarqued; and it is affirmed, that, during their ſtay in the city, they invited to an entertainment ſeveral lords, ſome of whom died, preſently after; which gave occaſion to ſuſpect, that they were poiſoned. Poſſibly, the averſion of the Engliſh, to theſe foreigners, was the chief cauſe of this ſuſpicion; but, however that be, a few days after, they embarqued at Dover, and returned into their own country.

The barons, being thus rid of the foreigners, agreed, before their ſeparation, upon an oath of aſſociation, to maintain the proviſions of Oxford, with their lives and fortunes; yet, if we may give credit to an hiſtorian, who has related the particulars of this affair, the 24 ſoon abuſed their power, in filling all the places and offices with their relations and friends; and he likewiſe charges them with holding frequent parliaments, without the conſent of the king, whom they regarded only, as the ſhadow of a ſovereign.

London enters into the aſſociation.

In a parliament aſſembled at Wincheſter, the barons reſolved to ſend commiſſioners to the city of London, to invite them to join in their aſſociation; and the Londoners readily accepted the invitation, having ſtill more reaſon to complain of the king, than all the reſt of the kingdom. This affair being over, the parliament, judging it neceſſary to proceed, in a legal way, againſt the foreigners, who were expelled the kingdom, paſſed an act, for their perpetual baniſhment; but, as Athelmar, biſhop of Wincheſter, was one of the exiles, it was neceſſary to make ſome excuſe to the pope, ſince the biſhops had been long exempted from the civil juriſdiction; and there was occaſion alſo to juſtify to the pope the conduct of the parliament, both with reſpect to the affair of Sicily, and the late alterations in the government of the kingdom. It was reſolved, therefore, that the barons ſhould write to the pope, to inform him of what had been tranſacted; and their letter was to this effect: "That they had been "prevented from yielding to his admonitions, "relating to the conqueſt of Sicily. Firſt, be-"cauſe the king had engaged in that affair, "without their advice, and without conſider-"ing the ſtate of the kingdom, which was in "no condition to bear the expence of ſuch an "expedition. Secondly, becauſe the condi-"tions, on which the king had accepted the "grant of Sicily, for the prince, his ſon, were "too hard and impracticable; yet they de-"clared, that if the pope would ſo ſten them, "they were ready to proſecute that affair, to "the utmoſt of their power. Then, they vin-"dicated the Oxford-proviſions, alledging the "king's incapacity and eaſineſs to give himſelf "up to the direction of ſuch, as had no con-"cern for the good of the kingdom; proving, "at large, by weighty arguments, that it was, "by no means, proper the kingdom ſhould "be governed by foreigners. They obſerved, "that the biſhop of Wincheſter, in particular, "was the principal author of the preſent cala-"mities of England; alledging, that he was "guilty of ſeveral enormous crimes, which in-"duced him to deſire leave to depart the king-"dom, being conſcious that it was impoſſible "for him to render a good account of his ac-"tions. Above all, they accuſed him of ad-"viſing the king to violate his word and oath, "which muſt, of neceſſity, be interpreted, as a "ſettled deſign to diſturb the peace of the "kingdom; and, therefore, they would never "ſuffer him to return into England; though, if "they ſhould, the people were reſolved to op-"poſe it." To give the more weight to their apology, they ſent their letter to the pope, by ſome of their own body, who received orders, to diſplay more fully the outrages of the biſhop of Wincheſter, and the reſt of the royal relations.

The barons letter to the pope. Act. Pub.

The pope continues to preſs the king, on the affair of Sicily.

As for the pope, he was ſtill deſirous of drawing money from the king, under the old pretence of the buſineſs of Sicily; and the late proceedings of the barons laid an inſuperable obſtacle, in the way of his deſigns. However, that he might not incenſe them, he was dilatory in ſending an anſwer; and he contented himſelf, with privately aſſuring the king of his protection; but, at the ſame time, as if Henry had been able to ſupply him with money, he preſſed him to pay the arrears due to the Italian merchants, of which, he pretended, the intereſt alone amounted to a prodigious ſum. However, he was pleaſed to allow him ſome ſhort time; but this was no ſooner expired, than the biſhop of London received a poſitive order, to excommunicate all the debtors of the Italian merchants, of what quality ſoever; but his orders, being no longer countenanced by the government, were not put in execution; and, for the ſame reaſon, the conqueſt of Sicily was, now, eſteemed a chimerical project, that tended to the ruin of England.

In the interim, the unfortunate Henry was forced to aſſent to whatever the government were pleaſed to preſcribe him, and to ſign all the orders preſented to him, for the obſervance of ſtatutes, which deprived him of all his royal prerogatives; and tho' the earl of Leiceſter was his brother-in-law, yet, of all the barons, he conſidered him, as his moſt avowed enemy, and the principal author of his diſgrace. One day, as he was going to the tower, by water, a ſudden ſtorm of thunder and lightning obliging him to land, at the firſt ſtairs, it happened to be at Durham-houſe, where the earl of Leiceſter then lay; where he was received, at his landing, by the earl himſelf, who, to hearten him after his fright, told him, "He need not be afraid, be-"cauſe the ſtorm was over." The king repli-

1258. ed, with a ſevere aſpect, "I am, beyond mea-
" ſure, afraid of thunder and lightning; but,
" by God's head, I dread thee more than all
" the thunder in the world."

1260. The king of the Romans declares againſt the Oxford-proviſions. M. Paris.

It was not, without reaſon, that the king ſtood in fear of the earl of Leiceſter; for this lord was the head of the confederates, and took, with the reſt, all poſſible meaſures, to prevent him from freeing himſelf from the ſlavery, to which he was reduced, by his imprudence. Their reſolution, not to part with their authority, evidently appeared, in their anſwer to the king of the Romans; who, having acquainted them, by letter, with his deſign of returning to England, to aſſiſt them in appeaſing the troubles of the kingdom, received this mortifying anſwer: That they would not ſuffer him to enter the kingdom, unleſs he ſwore to obſerve the Oxford-proviſions. Richard repreſented to the deputies, that were ſent on this occaſion, that it was ſtrange, the barons ſhould preſume to alter the government, in his abſence, and without his knowledge; and he proteſted, that he would not take the oath required of him, tho' he was reſolved to return to England. This anſwer being brought to the governors, they ſpeedily fitted out a fleet, and raiſed an army, to hinder his paſſage and landing; but, as this prince was unable to ſurmount ſo many obſtacles, and yet thought his preſence neceſſary in England, he promiſed to ſubmit to the preſent eſtabliſhment. Upon this condition, he was permitted to come over; and, upon his arrival at Dover, he took the oath, in the preſence of the king, and a great number of barons, who came to meet him.

The barons make a diſadvantageous treaty with France. M. Paris.

Since the late revolution in England, thoſe, who were concerned in the adminiſtration of affairs, made it a rule, to keep peace with the neighbouring princes; and they were apprehenſive, above all, that the king of France would take advantage of the preſent poſture of affairs, to puſh his conqueſts in Guienne. They, therefore, reſolved to conclude a firm and laſting peace with France, by ſacrificing all the king's pretenſions to Normandy and Anjou; beſides, they hoped, by this means, to ſecure Lewis's aſſiſtance, ſince it would be his intereſt to ſupport the form of government lately eſtabliſhed; and, indeed, the execution of the intended treaty with him depended, in ſome meaſure, on the continuance of the preſent eſtabliſhment. Purſuant to this reſolution, the earl of Leiceſter undertook to propoſe it, at Paris; and the French, perceiving conſiderable advantages, in the propoſal made by the Engliſh, and, therefore, readily regarding the earl of Leiceſter, as ſufficiently authorized, though they were not ignorant of the ſituation of affairs in England, concluded a treaty with him, which Henry was obliged to ſign; and he was even perſuaded to meet Lewis, at Abbeville, where the ſtates of France were aſſembled, and to renounce, in their preſence, all his pretenſions to Normandy and Anjou. Lewis, in return, gave up le Limoſin, and le Perigord, with all that France poſſeſſed, beyond the Garonne, on condition that he would do him homage, and take his ſeat among the peers of the realm, as duke of Guienne; and, thus, France acquired a right to theſe two provinces, by a treaty, which, before, proceeded only from the ſword; but the kings of England, ſucceſſors to Henry III, did not think themſelves bound by a treaty made, at ſuch a juncture. 1260.

The 24 forbid ſending to foreigners the incomes of their benefices. M. Paris.

Whilſt the king was in France, the 24 governors thought it high time to reform a very great grievance, introduced by the king's exceſſive complaiſance for the court of Rome; namely, the prodigious number of Italian eccleſiaſticks, who poſſeſſed all the richeſt benefices of the kingdom. Theſe men, who never reſided on their benefices, farmed them out to private perſons, or religious houſes, who remitted them the revenues into Italy; and, by this means, the ſcarcity of money, long ſince complained of, daily increaſed. As a remedy for this evil, the governors iſſued out a proclamation, enjoining all farmers of the foreign benefices, to pay the revenues into the hands of certain perſons appointed to receive them, on pain of having their houſes raz'd to the ground; and, by this precaution, England was freed, for a while, from theſe Italian leaches, who ſuck'd the beſt blood of the Engliſh.

The earl of Glouceſter is jealous of the earl of Leiceſter. M. Weſt.

Though the barons, hitherto, ſeemed to be ſtrictly united, a ſecret diſguſt was forming in the minds of ſome, on account of the too great authority aſſumed by the earl of Leiceſter. Whether the earl thought himſelf more capable, and more zealous, than his collegues; or, as his enemies charged him, was puſh'd on, by his ambition, to aſpire to the ſupreme power, it is certain he uſurped all the authority committed to the 24. He could not continue to act, thus, without raiſing the jealouſy of his companions, and particularly the earl of Glouceſter, who attempted, by degrees, to form a party againſt him. He began, firſt, with privately blaming his conduct, and ſpreading a report, that he was in league with prince Edward, to place him on the throne, in his father's life-time; and the king, who was then at St. Omer's, hearing of this pretended project, was ſo terrified, that he could not think of returning to England. He was told, that the prince, his ſon, deſigned to take the government into his hands, and obſtruct his return; or, if he failed in this, to impriſon him, for life; but Edward ſo fully and reſpectfully vindicated himſelf, that he entirely effaced his father's ſuſpicions. He even offer'd to ſubmit to the judgment of the king of the Romans, his uncle, refuſing to acknowledge the juriſdiction of the barons of the realm, who were not his peers; but there was no occaſion to give farther proofs of his innocence, Henry, at his return, being perfectly ſatisfied. The earl of Glouceſter, finding theſe indirect ways did him more hurt than good, directly attacked the earl of Leiceſter, accuſing him of many miſdemeanours committed, as well in Guienne as in England; and he demanded a day to be prefixed, for hearing his accuſation againſt him. However, on the day appointed, as the earl of Leiceſter boldly appeared, to make his defence, he was afraid either of wanting evidence, or, at leaſt, of his adverſary's party proving too ſtrong; and, therefore, pretending that ſome of his witneſſes

1260. neſſes were abſent, he deſired the affair might be farther adjourned. This quarrel might have been attended with fatal conſequences, had not the king of the Romans exerted himſelf, to compoſe it, and appeaſe the prince, his nephew, who was exceedingly incenſed with the earl of Glouceſter. He ſucceeded, at length, to the great ſatisfaction of the Engliſh, who were apprehenſive, that a civil war was going to diſturb the calm they began to enjoy. As ſoon as this affair was over, Richard embarqued for Germany, where he had ſome expectations of being acknowledged for emperor by all the electoral princes; but, quickly perceiving that he could not diſpel the faction that divided the Germans, he dropp'd this project, and returned to England, where he found the king and queen of Scotland, who were come to viſit the king. A few days after, arrived alſo John de Dreux, duke of Bretagne, to eſpouſe Beatrix, the king's ſecond daughter, ſo that the court was very numerous; and, tho' the governors had very little reſpect for the king's perſon, they did honour to his royalty, by a magnificent reception of theſe illuſtrious gueſts; but, as Henry had not the management of his revenues, he had no reaſon to value himſelf, upon the ſplendid reception his ſon-in-law met with, at his own court.

Henry recalls the biſhop of Wincheſter, who dies on the road. T. Wikes.

The king, tho' he was far from having a great ſoul, was not inſenſible of the mortifications he daily received; and he even made ſome attempts, to free himſelf from the yoke he laboured under; but he was in need of prudent advice. In this perplexity, he privately invited Athelmar, his brother, biſhop of Wincheſter, then at Rome, to return to England; hoping that his character, and the pope's protection, would ſcreen him from the perſecutions of the barons. The biſhop, immediately, ſet out for England, where, doubtleſs, he would have cauſed great diſturbances, had he not been prevented by death, at Paris; and the barons were tranſported at the joyful news; for they could not have denied him entrance into the kingdom, as they had reſolved, without breaking entirely with the court of Rome.

The pope abſolves the king from his oath concerning the Oxford-proviſions. M. Weſt. Act. Pub.

However, Henry ſtill perſiſted in his deſign, of ſhaking off the barons yoke; and the unexpected breach, between the earls of Leiceſter and Glouceſter, who were only outwardly reconciled, inſpiring him with hopes of ſucceſs, he deſired the pope to abſolve him from his oath, concerning the Oxford-proviſions. His holineſs, at once, granted him this favour, as it was for his own, as well as the king's advantage, to alter a government ſo prejudicial to him; but, Alexander dying, before the diſpenſation could be ſealed, he was obliged to wait, till the holy ſee was filled by a ſucceſſor. Urban IV, who was promoted to the papal throne, confirming the grant of his predeceſſor, Henry ſoon pulled off the maſque; and, the parliament being aſ-
1261. ſembled at London, he ſuddenly repaired thither, without acquainting any one with his intentions, and plainly told them, "That, before "he ſigned the Oxford-proviſions, they had "promiſed to pay his debts, and increaſe his "revenue; and, ſince neither of theſe arti-"cles had been performed, he did not think "himſelf obliged to keep his word." He added, "That he no longer deſigned to make "uſe of the counſellors impoſed upon him, who "treated him rather like a ſlave than a mo-"narch." After this brief declaration, he retired to the tower, having gained the governor, and ſeized upon all the treaſure lodged there; upon which, he turned out, by proclamation, all the officers and magiſtrates choſen by the 24, nominating others, in their room; and, in a word, he ſhewed, by his whole conduct, that he was reſolved to reign, with the ſame liberty, as before the parliament of Oxford. 1261.

Edward returns from Paris.

Prince Edward, then at Paris, returned, with all expedition, to endeavour to avert the impending evils; for he too well knew the temper of the king, his father, not to be afraid, that he had taken improper meaſures; which was ſome foundation for his fears. The barons impatiently waited his arrival, in expectation that, being more knowing than the king, he would vigorouſly exert himſelf, to prevent the miſchiefs, with which the kingdom was threatened; and, to prepare the way for him, they preſented an addreſs to the king, beſeeching him to obſerve his oath, and offering, on their part, to amend ſuch articles as ſhould be found too ſevere upon him, in the Oxford-proviſions. Henry, pretending that nothing could be done, till his ſon's arrival, returned no anſwer to this propoſal; and, he was no leſs impatient, than the barons, to ſee the prince, hoping that he would ſtrengthen his party; but he was extremely ſurpriſed, when the prince, at his return, openly blamed him, for breaking his word. However, this was followed by an event that increaſed his uneaſineſs; for the earls of Leiceſter and Glouceſter, upon whoſe diſſenſion he relied, being ſincerely reconciled, to prevent their common ruin, ſwore, once more, to the Oxford-proviſions. The barons, being conſiderably ſtrengthened, by this union, gave the king to underſtand, that, if he would not voluntarily remove, from about his perſon, all evil counſellors, they would find means to compel him; and this weak prince, having raſhly engaged in a project, which he could not execute, with honour, choſe to return them no anſwer, and, in the interim, continued in the tower, for fear of being delivered into their hands.

An accommodation is ſet on foot. M. Weſt.

Henry, now, ſaw no other remedy, but to treat with the barons; and matters even ſeemed to be in a promiſing way, by the conceſſions of both parties; but the king, by urging the pope's authority, gave occaſion to widen the breach, by unadviſedly ſhewing the bull, which abſolved him from his oath. The diſcovery of this ſecret, which ſhould have been induſtriouſly concealed, at ſuch a juncture, did him an irreparable damage; for the barons, who, till then, entertained hopes of bringing him to reaſon, reſolved to lay aſide all ceremony; evidently perceiving, that no ſtreſs could be laid on an accommodation, to which the moſt ſolemn oath could give no manner of force. Purſuant to this reſolution, they formed a deſign to ſurpriſe the king, in Wincheſter, where he went, in expectation that the preſent negotiation would prove ſucceſsful; but Henry, receiving early intelligence, returned

1261. turned to the tower. He no ſooner found himſelf ſafe, than he diſpatched orders, into all the counties, to turn out the ſheriffs appointed by the 24, which cauſed a general confuſion in the kingdom; for ſome were inclined to obey the ſheriffs nominated by the king, whilſt others diſowned their authority.

The Cinque-ports declare againſt the king. M. Weſt.

In the mean while, the barons prevailed with the governors of the Cinque-ports, to fit out a fleet to guard the coaſt, leſt ſuccours ſhould arrive from ſome foreign prince; for they were obliged, by their charter, to equip 50 men of war, whenever the king's ſervice required ſuch an aid; and the barons of the Cinque-ports, interpreting the king's ſervice by that of the kingdom, pretended to ſerve the king, by employing their forces againſt him. This maxim will not ſeem very ſtrange, when it is conſidered, that, in England, the king and the ſtate have always been accounted but one and the ſame body; and, therefore, it is affirmed, that, when the king ſeparates his intereſts from thoſe of the publick, he loſes his prerogatives, which rather belong to the crown, than to the perſon of the ſovereign.

The king promiſes to confirm the Oxford-proviſions. M. Weſt.

All things, now, manifeſtly conſpired to promote a civil war; and nothing, but the dread each perſon of both parties was under of the conſequences, ſuſpended the effects of their mutual enmity. Whilſt the king and barons were equally deſirous, to avoid the blame of beginning the war, the king of the Romans improved this diſpoſition, to try to procure a ſolid peace; and, his mediation being accepted, he prevailed with the king, his brother, to promiſe, that he would confirm the Oxford-proviſions, and with the barons, to depart from ſuch articles as were moſt diſpleaſing to the king. In all probability, the 24 were then deprived of their authority; which, from the beginning of the troubles, was not generally acknowledged. The earl of Leiceſter, refuſing to conſent to this agreement, retired into France; for he declared, that he durſt not rely on the word of a prince, who would not ſcruple to violate his oath, when he found it for his advantage. Among the barons, who ſigned this agreement, there were ſeveral equally diſſatisfied with it; but, as the majority conſented, they choſe rather to accept it, than be conſidered, as the ſole cauſe of the troubles. By this treaty, England ſeemed to be reſtored to its former tranquillity; tho' the fire, concealed under the cinders, ſoon rekindled, and broke out into new flames.

Henry paſſes into Guienne.

During this calm, the affairs of Guienne obliged Henry to go over to Bourdeaux; where, being ſeized with a quartan ague, he remained, longer than he deſigned. Richard, earl of Glouceſter dying, in the interim, his ſon, Gilbert, immediately repaired to Guienne, to be inveſted with his father's inheritance; but Henry, having an averſion to that lord, was ſollicited, ſome time, before he would do him that juſtice; and he did not, at laſt, comply, without a conſiderable preſent.

The barons unite. M. Weſt.

In the king's abſence, Leiceſter's friends had an opportunity to renew their cabals, and unite the party divided, by the late treaty; and they more eaſily compaſſed their ends, becauſe the king delayed to confirm the Oxford-proviſions. 1262. The earl of Leiceſter, being informed, that his party began to revive, ſpeedily returned into England; where his preſence entirely reſtored the courage of thoſe, who, through fear or weakneſs, had ſigned the late agreement. Upon this, the king came over, in great haſte, tho' it was now too late; for the barons had reſolved to put themſelves in a condition not to fear his inconſtancy. He was no ſooner arrived, than 1263. they preſented an addreſs to him, intreating him to confirm the ſtatutes of Oxford, purſuant to his agreement, and threatening, in caſe of refuſal, to make uſe of more violent methods; for they were in hopes, that fear would oblige him to grant their demand; and they were greatly ſurpriſed, when he called them rebels, and declared that he would puniſh them, with the utmoſt ſeverity. It will, doubtleſs, ſeem aſtoniſhing, that the king, in his preſent circumſtances, ſhould behave ſo haughtily; but he had a ſecret reaſon, unknown to the barons. During his voyage to Guienne, he had gained the king of the Romans and prince Edward; and the latter had raiſed ſome foreign troops, under the pretence of employing them againſt the Welch, tho', in reality, to oppoſe the barons. The war, however, did not, as yet, break out; and there were ſtill ſome negotiations, tho' they ſerved only to widen the breach, and give the barons time, to make preparations. During this interval, Edward carried the war into Wales; where he did nothing conſiderable, for want of money to pay his troops. The prince, not being able to reſolve to disband his army, nor in a condition to maintain them, thought he might uſe ſome extraordinary method, to raiſe the money he wanted; and, therefore, on a ſudden, coming to London, and without communicating his deſign, he led a company of armed men to the new temple, and ſeized 10,000 l. ſterling, that was depoſited, by the citizens, in the treaſury of the templars. This violence occaſioned loud murmurs, among the parties concerned; but their complaints were to no purpoſe; for the prince cauſed the money to be conveighed to Windſor-caſtle, from whence it would be very difficult to take it, by force.

Urban threatens Henry to give Sicily to another.

In the mean while, Urban IV. altered his meaſures, with reſpect to Sicily, without giving any notice to Henry; and, the revolution in England leading him to conſider that kingdom, as an exhauſted fund, he entered into a negotiation with Charles, earl of Anjou, to place that prince on the throne of Sicily. To prepare Henry for this change, he ſent him a long letter, in which, after ſome reproaches for what the holy ſee had done for him, he complained of the non-performance of his promiſes; and, in a word, he repreſented to him, that he was forced to apply to another prince, for ſpeedier and more effectual ſupplies.

The beginning of the barons wars. T. Wikes.

The negotiation, between the king and the barons, was ſtill continued; but it proceeded very ſlowly, both parties having no other intention, than to lay upon each other the blame of the rupture. At length, the earl of Leiceſter, fearing that all theſe delays would only tend to corrupt

1263. corrupt his adherents, convened an aſſembly of the barons, in which it was unanimouſly reſolved to maintain the Oxford-proviſions, by arms; upon which, having choſen the earl of Leiceſter, for their general, each of them drew together the troops, which were already prepared. The foreigners, diſperſed over the kingdom, were the firſt, that felt the fatal effects of this rupture; for the people were ſo exaſperated againſt them, that they perſecuted all alike, whether innocent or guilty, that could not ſpeak good Engliſh, that mark alone being ſufficient to render them odious. On the other hand, the earl of Leiceſter plundered, in a mercileſs manner, the eſtates of the king's favourites and counſellors, and publickly declared, that he would hearken to no propoſals of peace, till they were all entirely deſtroyed; and, as the king had no army, to withſtand the barons, he ſtill remained in the tower of London, whilſt they ſubdued Glouceſter, Hereford, Bridgnorth, Worceſter and other places, near the Severn. Theſe conqueſts were atended with the declaration of the city of London, in their favour; for the Londoners, eagerly embracing this opportunity of being revenged on the king, acquainted him, that they were reſolved to adhere to the Oxford-proviſions, and to ſhut their gates againſt the foreigners, if he ſhould think of bringing any into the city.

The barons preſent an addreſs to the king. T. Wikes.

Though theſe auſpicious beginnings greatly encouraged the barons, they believed, that, to gain the people ſtill more to their intereſt, it was neceſſary to ſhew, that they had taken up arms, with reluctance, and were ready to lay them down, with joy; and, therefore, they preſented to the king a petition drawn up, in very reſpectful language, in which they offered to conſent, that a free parliament ſhould review the Oxford-proviſions, and annul ſuch articles as were found to bear too hard on the royal authority; but, at the ſame time, they deſired, that the king ſhould confirm the reſt, and the kingdom be governed by the natives, according to the practice of all other countries. This petition was altogether ineffectual; for the king, tho' blocked up, as it were, in the tower, expected, every moment, the arrival of the prince, his ſon, to relieve him. The barons, to prevent the deſigns of prince Edward, poſted themſelves, at Thiſtleworth, through which place he muſt neceſſarily paſs, to deliver the king; which precaution obliged the king to alter his reſolution, for deſpairing of relief, he ſent the barons word, that he would confirm the proviſions of Oxford. This was all the barons wanted; ſo that a treaty, containing four principal articles, was eaſily concluded, viz. I. That the king's caſtles ſhould be delivered up to the barons. II. That the Oxford-proviſions ſhould be inviolably obſerved. III. That all foreigners, except thoſe that ſhould be allowed of, by the unanimous conſent of the barons, ſhould be baniſhed the realm. IV. That the adminiſtration of affairs ſhould be entruſted with the king's natural ſubjects, approved of by the barons.

This agreement would have reſtored peace to the kingdom, had the king ſincerely conſented to it; but, as his ſole view was, to free himſelf from his perplexity, it was not long, before he broke it; and the inſolence of ſome Londoners greatly contributed to his taking this reſolution. One day, as the queen went, by water, to Windſor, the mob, juſt as ſhe was going to ſhoot the bridge, hollowed at her, in a manner very mortifying to a queen; for they not only attacked her, by foul reproaches, but ſome were ſo brutiſh as to throw at her both dirt and ſtones. The king was extremely incenſed at this inſult; and, upon it, he reſolved to make a vigorous effort for the recovery of his authority. He began, therefore, to ſtore, with arms and proviſions, the caſtles that were ſtill in his power; which was a ſufficient hint to the barons, to ſtand upon their guard.

1263.

The queen is inſulted by the mob. M. Weſt.

In the preſent poſture of affairs, it was difficult to determine, whether the kingdom was in peace, or war; for, tho' hoſtilities were not yet commenced, ſuch was the diſtruſt, on both ſides, that the oppoſite parties conſidered each other, as real enemies, and greedily catched at all advantages, that fell in their way. During this ſtate of uncertainty, prince Edward judged it neceſſary to ſtore with proviſions Briſtol-caſtle, of which the king, his father, had entruſted him with the cuſtody; and, with this view, coming to Briſtol, he would have obliged the citizens to ſupply him with proviſions; but, as people were then diſpoſed, this demand, made, perhaps, ſomewhat too haughtily, raiſed a ſedition among the inhabitants, which forced the prince to retire haſtily into the caſtle. He was no ſooner there, than the inhabitants reſolved to beſiege him, or, at leaſt, to keep him ſo cloſely blocked up, that he ſhould not eſcape, being very ſenſible, that, for want of neceſſaries, he could not make a long reſiſtance; yet Edward extricated himſelf out of this difficulty, by a device, tho' it ſoon plunged him into another, of more dangerous conſequence. He ſent for the biſhop of Worceſter, and intimated to him, that he deſigned to adhere to the barons; but he deſired, firſt, to confer with the king, his father, to perſuade him to give them entire ſatisfaction; and, not being able to execute this deſign, on the account of his being blocked up, he intreated him to be ſecurity for him, and accompany him to London, to be a witneſs of his conduct. The biſhop, convinced of the prince's, ſincerity, aſſured the citizens of Briſtol, that it would be ſerviceable to the common cauſe, if Edward was ſet at liberty; to which they conſented, and the blockade was raiſed. Accordingly, the prince ſet out, together with the biſhop, who did not doubt but this journey would prove ſucceſsful; but, when they approached near Windſor, Edward, clapping ſpurs to his horſe, rode away from the biſhop, without taking leave, and ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle. The biſhop, provoked at this deceit, carried his complaints to the barons, who, immediately, reſolved to lay ſiege to Windſor; and this caſtle was ſo meanly provided with neceſſaries, for a brisk defence, that Edward thought it not in his power to ſtand a ſiege, tho' he could not reſolve to ſurrender the place. As he depended very much upon his addreſs, he imagined, that it would not be

Prince Edward is blocked up in Briſtol-caſtle by the citizens. M. Weſt.

1263. impoſſible to amuſe the barons, by a negotiation, which would leave him in poſſeſſion of the caſtle, upon certain conditions, which he might be able to perform; and, therefore, he went himſelf to the earl of Leiceſter, who was advancing towards Windſor. He met the general, at Kingſton upon Thames, where he held a conference with him; but, juſt as he was preparing to return, without coming to any agreement, he was ſeized, and thereby forced to accept of the terms, that were impoſed on him; namely, to deliver up the caſtle of Windſor to the barons, and to order the garriſon, conſiſting wholly of foreigners, to depart the kingdom.

A truce between the king and barons. T. Wikes. M. Weſt.

The war was, in all appearance, going to rekindle, with greater fury than ever; yet, as the king was unprepared, and it was the intereſt of the barons, that he ſhould begin the hoſtilities, in order to gain the people to their party, ſome peaceable perſons attempted to mediate a truce, which was followed by a peace, on the ſame terms with the former; but, as the king was compelled to enter into this treaty, he ſoon broke it, by endeavouring to ſurpriſe Dover-caſtle, then in the poſſeſſion of the barons. This attempt obliging both parties to take up arms again, every one tried to ſtrengthen his party, by ſeizing ſeveral places; and the Londoners, tho' inclined to the barons, kept a ſort of neutrality, having experienced, how liable they were to be annoyed by the garriſon of the tower, which was ever in the king's hands; and, beſides, Henry had ſtill, in the city, a conſiderable number of adherents, who were a cheque upon the oppoſite party. In the interim, the earl of Leiceſter, conſidering of what importance it would be, to have the metropolis on his ſide, marched towards it, thro' the county of Surry, ſituated ſouth of the Thames; expecting that his friends would be able to open to him the gates of the bridge; but the king, being informed of this deſign, left the tower, and encamped with his troops about Southwark, intending to oppoſe the paſſage of the enemy. The earl of Leiceſter, depending more on the aſſiſtance of the citizens, than on his own forces, vigorouſly attacked the king's troops, in hopes that the Londoners would favour his entrance; but, during the fight, ſome citizens of the king's party, perceiving that the city was in motion to aſſiſt the earl, locked up the gates of the bridge, and threw the keys into the river. On this account, the earl of Leiceſter was, for ſome time, in great diſorder, having brought with him but a handful of ſoldiers, leſt his deſign ſhould be diſcovered; yet, at length, the gates being broke open, and the citizens ſallying out, in ſwarms, to his relief, the king was conſtrained to retire, and the earl entered the city.

1264. The king and barons refer their differences to the king of France. T. Wikes. M. Weſt. Hemingf.

The advantage, gained by the barons, was attended with the uſual effect, viz. The king made them propoſals of an agreement; but, as all the former treaties were ineffectual, becauſe the king complained of being forced to accept of too rigorous terms, it was agreed, by both parties, to refer all their differences to the arbitration of the king of France. Lewis accepting the mediation, Henry, attended by prince Edward, met him at Amiens, where the ſtates-general were aſſembled; and the ſentence, pronounced by Lewis, was favourable to the king of England. He declared the Oxford-proviſions to be null and void; reſtored Henry to his antient power; adjudged that he might nominate all the great officers of the crown; and that foreigners were as capable of offices and dignities, as the Engliſh themſelves. However, he added one clauſe, which deſtroyed the whole, by declaring, "That it was not his intent to "abrogate the privileges granted to the Eng-"liſh, by their kings, before the parliament of "Oxford." The barons interpreted this clauſe, as a palpable contradiction, becauſe they pretended, that the proviſions of Oxford were enacted, purely, to corroborate their privileges; and this gave them a pretence to reject the award, and renew the war. 1264.

The war is renewed. T. Wikes. M. Weſt.

The account given of the two parties, till the famous battle of Lewes, is clogged with ſo many confuſed circumſtances, that it would, of courſe, prove tedious, to ſuch as are ignorant of the ſituation of the places, where the war was waged; and, therefore, it is better to haſten to that remarkable event, which put an end to the quarrel, in favour of the barons. I ſhall only obſerve, that, during the interval, between the renewal of the war and that battle, Henry gained ſeveral advantages over the barons; and, by means of the prince, his ſon, and the king of the Romans, brought ſeveral of them over, who conſiderably ſtrengthened his party; moreover, he became maſter of Oxford, from whence he expelled the ſcholars, for ſhewing too much partiality to the barons. The town of Northampton was taken, by ſtorm, by the king's troops, where 15 barons, and 60 knights, were made priſoners; and the king would have hanged them all, were it not for the advice of his generals, and the fear of repriſals. The taking of Northampton was followed by that of Nottingham; and then the king marched into Kent, where he forced the barons to raiſe the ſiege of Rocheſter, and retire to London.

He approaches London. T. Wikes.

The king, who was equally ſuſceptible of preſumption and fear, according to the poſture of his affairs, being fluſh'd with the ſucceſs of his arms, reſolved to march directly to London; not doubting but the city, diſcouraged by his late advantages, would declare, in his favour. Perhaps, his hopes would not have been groundleſs, if, ſince his acceſſion to the throne, he had treated the citizens, in a more obliging manner; but the remembrance of their uncivil uſage prevented them, from expoſing themſelves, now, to the like danger. The earl of Leiceſter, taking occaſion, from the king's approach, to exaſperate them againſt him, managed, with ſo much dexterity, that he perſuaded them to come out of the city, and offer him battle; but Henry, being ſurpriſed at this, and unwilling to hazard a battle with them, at their own gates, retir'd at a greater diſtance, and encamped at Lewes, in the county of Suſſex.

In the interim, the earl of Leiceſter, with the confederate barons, having received a powerful reinforcement from the Londoners, marched out of

1264. of the city, in purſuit of the king, deſigning to decide the quarrel, by a battle; and, with this view, advancing towards Lewes, they encamped, about ſix miles from the king's army. Before they approached any nearer, they ſent the king word, that they had taken up arms, not with an intent to withdraw their allegiance, but only to reform what was amiſs, in the government; that they humbly beſought him to join with them, in that work, proteſting, that he ſhould find them as faithful as thoſe, who, under the pretence of ſerving him, ſought only his ruin, by endeavouring to prejudice him againſt his moſt dutiful ſubjects, by their infamous calumnies. This letter, how reſpectful ſoever, touched thoſe about the king too ſenſibly, to be received with moderation; the king of the Romans and prince Edward were ſo offended at it, that they anſwered it with the lye, defiance, and menaces, and prevailed with the king to return the like anſwer. If it be true, as it is highly probable, that the barons took this ſtep, only to clear themſelves from the blame of what ſhould follow, upon the king's refuſal, they were glad of ſuch a plauſible occaſion, to puſh things to extremity; and, accordingly, without any farther ceremony, they aſſured the king, that they renounced the fealty they owed him, and would conſider him, henceforward, as an enemy to the ſtate.

The battle of Lewes. M. Weſt. T. Wikes. Hemingf. G. Riſh.

All hopes of an accommodation being over, the earl of Leiceſter, advancing with his army, drew it up, in order of battle, near that of the king, who was preparing to receive him; and the royal army was divided into three bodies, that, on the right, being commanded by prince Edward, that, on the left, by the king of the Romans, whilſt Henry himſelf appeared at the head of the main body. The barons army was divided into four bodies, the firſt being led by Henry de Montfort, ſon to the general; the earl of Glouceſter commanded the ſecond; the third was headed by the earl of Leiceſter; and the fourth, entirely conſiſting of Londoners, was, on the left, commanded by Nicholas Segrave. Prince Edward began the fight, with attacking the Londoners, who, not being able to ſuſtain ſuch a vigorous charge, immediately, made the beſt of their way; but, as the prince was deſirous of revenging the inſult offered to the queen, his mother, by the London-mob, he purſued them above four miles, without giving them any quarter; yet, whilſt he purſued his victory, with more eagerneſs than diſcretion, the earls of Leiceſter and Glouceſter gained the ſame advantage over Henry and the king of the Romans. The barons, plainly foreſeeing what their lot would be, if they were vanquiſhed, attacked, with a fury mix'd with deſpair, the royal troops, who had not the ſame reaſon to fight, in ſuch a deſperate manner, and, accordingly, took to flight, after a faint reſiſtance, leaving the two kings in the hands of their enemies. Henry ſurrendered himſelf to the earl of Leiceſter, and Richard to the earl of Glouceſter; and they were both, preſently, conducted to the priory of Lewes, ſituated at the foot of the caſtle, which was kept by ſome of the king's troops. The ſoldiers of the royal army fled to this place, in order to retire into the caſtle; but, when they ſaw the town in the power of the barons, the two kings made priſoners, and, in all likelihood, themſelves going to be ſurrounded, on all ſides, they threw down their arms, and ſurrendered, at diſcretion. 1264.

Edward, returning from the purſuit, ſuffers himſelf to de amuſed by Leiceſter. M. Weſt. Hemingf.

In the mean while, prince Edward, returning, in triumph, from the purſuit of the Londoners, was extremely ſurpriſed to ſee the royal army diſperſed, and to hear, that the two kings were made priſoners; and he, at firſt, reſolved to exert himſelf, to ſet them at liberty. If this reſolution could have been immediately, executed, it would have infallibly altered the poſture of affairs; for the conquerors, taken up, in guarding their priſoners, or ſcattered about the field, in purſuit of the flying enemies, would have found it extremely difficult, to withſtand a vigorous attack; but the prince's ſoldiers, diſmayed at the defeat of the reſt of the army, and the captivity of the two kings, were not, in the leaſt, inclined to renew a fight, which, to them, ſeemed to be very unequal. Thus, Edward loſt a fair opportunity, wherein, in all probability, he would have acquired a ſhining reputation; whilſt the earl of Leiceſter drew his army together again, with all poſſible expedition. At firſt, he thought only of defending himſelf, juſtly dreading to be attacked, in his preſent diſorder; but, when he found that he had time to rally his troops, his ſole concern was, to hinder the prince from eſcaping; and, therefore, he ſent him propoſals, to amuſe him, whilſt, by ſeveral detachments, he took care to prevent his retreat.

He can neither fight nor retreat.

Edward's uncertainty, at firſt, what ſteps he ſhould take, the oppoſition of his own troops, the time ſpent in trying to animate them, and the ſeveral meſſages from the earl of Leiceſter, to amuſe him, occaſioned the loſs of many precious hours, which ſhould have been employed, either in fighting, or retreating, in good order; but, having done neither, he was, on a ſudden, ſurrounded, on all ſides, and under a neceſſity of accepting terms, which appeared tolerable, in his preſent condition. This negotiation, which laſted but a few moments, was ended by the following articles: That the ſtatutes of Oxford ſhould be inviolably obſerved; yet ſo, that they might be amended by four biſhops, or barons, choſen by the parliament: And, if theſe four commiſſioners ſhould not agree, they were to ſtand to the arbitration of the earl of Anjou, brother to the king of France, aſſiſted by four of the French nobility. The laſt article was the worſt, for the prince, namely, That himſelf and Henry his couſin, ſon to the king of the Romans, ſhould remain, as hoſtages, in the cuſtody of the barons, till all things were ſettled by the authority of parliament; but Edward was forced to give his conſent. Theſe articles, termed the Miſe, that is, the agreement of Lewes, were ſigned by Edward, and confirmed by the king, who was not in a condition to reject them.

The earl of Leiceſter, having the king and almoſt all the royal family in his power, embraced all the advantages, that his policy could diſcover to his view; he, who, a little before, refuſed to obey the king's orders, becauſe he

was

1264. was directed by evil counſellors, now, on all occaſions, made uſe of that monarch's name; obliging him to iſſue out orders to the governors of his caſtles, to ſurrender them to the barons. He cauſed Henry to ſign commiſſions to the ſheriffs of the ſeveral counties, impowering them to take up arms againſt all that ſhould preſume to diſturb the ſtate, that is, againſt the king's own friends; and, in a word, he, who had given the king ſo much trouble, on purpoſe to reſtrain the exorbitant power he would have aſſumed, when guided wholly by his counſels, was greatly diſpleaſed, that the ſame king was not implicitely obeyed. Thus it is, that men change their principles and maxims, according to their intereſts, and the variation of their circumſtances; but theſe are reflections, that would too frequently occur, ſhould we ſtop to make them, as often as there is occaſion, in the courſe of this hiſtory.

The barons form a new plan of government.

As the barons had no other view, in the agreement of Lewes, than to ſecure the perſon of prince Edward, they were not very forward to perform it; but, on the contrary, they drew up a new plan of government, reſolving to have it confirmed by the parliament, which was to meet, on the 22d of June. The poſture of the affairs of the kingdom rendered the calling of this parliament liable to many difficulties; for, tho' it was done, in the king's name, who could not oppoſe it, the victorious barons were unwilling, that thoſe of the oppoſite party ſhould be ſummoned, under the pretence, that they were ſtill in arms againſt their country; whilſt, on the contrary, a parliament, conſiſting only of a part of thoſe, who had a right to ſit in that aſſembly, ſeemed to want a lawful authority. It might be objected, that it was only an aſſembly of private perſons; and, therefore, the barons were extremely ſollicitous to render it more general, and give it a greater air of authority. With this view, they made the king ſign commiſſions, appointing in each county certain officers or magiſtrates, named conſervators, under the pretence that they were created, with no other deſign than to preſerve the privileges of the people; and theſe officers, entirely depending on the barons, were inveſted with a very extenſive authority; for they were impowered to do whatever they ſhould judge adviſable, to ſecure the rights and liberties of the ſubjects. This ſtep being taken, the king was obliged to ſign new orders to the conſervators, to ſend up four knights of each ſhire, to ſit in the enſuing parliament, as repreſentatives of their reſpective counties; from whence, many affirm, the right of the commons to ſit in parliament dates its original. They alledge, this is the firſt time, that the ſeveral counties undeniably appear to ſend repreſentatives to the parliament; and that all the reaſons advanced to prove, that the commons enjoyed this privilege, before the year 1264, are ſubject to ſo many difficulties, that they cannot be ſaid to amount to a clear proof. It is probable, indeed, that no ſubſtantial reaſon can be produced, why the hiſtorians ſhould unanimouſly take notice, that, on this occaſion, there were, in the parliament, repreſentatives of each county, if the ſame had been cuſtomary, from the beginning of the monarchy, or, at leaſt, from the Norman conqueſt. Why did they omit the ſame remark on ſo many former parliaments, mentioned by them? It is certain, that they, who pretend to prove, from the antient hiſtorians, that the people ſent repreſentatives to parliament, are forced to deduce conſequences, which do not always appear to be juſt and natural. 1264.

The parliament approves of the barons plan.

This new parliament, being entirely at the devotion of the confederate barons, of courſe, approved of the projected form of government, namely, "That the parliament ſhould appoint three wiſe and prudent commiſſioners, "who ſhould have power to chuſe a council of "nine lords, to whom the adminiſtration of "publick affairs ſhould be committed; that "the king, by the advice of the commiſſioners, might change, at his pleaſure, ſome, or "all of the nine counſellors; that, if the three "commiſſioners ſhould diſagree, as to the removal, or choice of, the counſellors, the majority ſhould decide it; that the reſolutions, taken by the nine counſellors, ſhould "be in force, provided they were approved "by any ſix of that number; but, if ſix of "them ſhould not agree, the buſineſs in diſpute, ſhould be referred to the three commiſſioners, who ſhould determine it, as they "thought fit; that the king might change, or "turn out, the three commiſſioners, with the "conſent of the community of the barons; "and, laſtly, that the nomination of all the "publick officers ſhould belong to the nine "counſellors." This ordinance was to take place, till the parliament ſhould unanimouſly agree to annul or alter it; and it is pretended, that the king and prince Edward were compelled to conſent to it, the former, by being threatened with deprivation, and the latter with perpetual impriſonment; whilſt, in the mean while, the barons continued to govern the kingdom, according to this model, imagining their affairs to be ſettled on a ſolid foundation.

The barons refuſe to receive a legate.

The laſt year, Urban IV. appointed, for his legate in England, cardinal Guido, biſhop of St. Sabine; who, upon his arrival in France, received a letter from the earl of Leiceſter, informing him, that it was an improper time for this legateſhip, and that neither the nobles nor the people were diſpoſed to admit him. Though the legate was extremely provoked at this refuſal, he durſt not, however, proceed on his journey; and, indeed, there was no likelihood of his entering the kingdom, againſt the conſent of the governors. Nevertheleſs, he went as far as Boulogne, where he ſummoned all the Engliſh biſhops, to give an account of their conduct; but, the biſhops not thinking it expedient to obey the ſummons, he denounced againſt them the ſentence of excommunication, from which they appealed to the pope. However, at length, the barons judged it neceſſary to give the legate ſome ſatisfaction; and, accordingly, they ſent four prelates, to acquaint him with their reaſons, for

1264. for denying him entrance into the kingdom. These envoys found the legate extremely exasperated against the barons; and, for an answer, they had orders to return into England, publish the sentence of excommunication against the earl of Leicester, and lay the city of London, with all the earl of Gloucester's lands, under an interdict. The bishops, having transmitted an account to England of the orders they had received from the legate, were met, at sea, by people, who, pretending to be pyrates, seized on all their papers, and threw them over-board; but, this proceeding convincing the legate, that it would be difficult to cause his master's authority to be regarded, at such a juncture, he returned to Rome, where, soon after, he was promoted to the papal throne, under the name of Clement IV.

Some English lords revolt against the government of the barons.

In the interim, the earl of Leicester had some cause for uneasiness; for the queen was making great preparations in France, to deliver the king, her husband; whilst, on the other hand, there was an insurrection of some lords, bordering upon Wales. He was apprehensive, that the Welch would interpose in the quarrel, and assist the king's party; and it was dangerous to leave the coasts open to the invasion of the foreigners, who, being then in Flanders, waited only for a fair wind to embarque for England; and it was equally inconvenient to suffer the insurrection, in the Marches of Wales, to grow to a head. To prevent these dangers, he resolved to go, in person, against the rebels; whilst he ordered the militia of the kingdom to assemble in Kent, to oppose the queen's landing. Having brought over to his interest Lewellyn, prince of Wales, who might have given him some trouble, he vanquished the rebels, and compelled them to throw down their arms; but he was no less unfortunate, with respect to the dreaded invasion; for the contrary winds held so long, that the foreign troops were obliged to return home, upon the approach of winter, without the queen's reaping the least advantage, from her vast expences, the king still remaining in the custody of the earl of Leicester, who disposed of him, at his pleasure.

Leicester is suspected of aspiring to the crown.

The barons, who had taken up arms against the king, merely, on account of the exorbitant power he would have assumed, could not avoid being jealous of that of the earl of Leicester, which was absolute; and the earl of Gloucester, above all the rest, was highly displeased, who considered that lord, as a person that aspired to the crown, under the specious pretence of the publick good. He was, therefore, afraid, in promoting his advancement, of furnishing him with arms to his own, as well as to the destruction of others, who were equally jealous of his greatness. The disgrace of Robert de Ferrars, earl of Derby, naturally led him to make these reflections; for this lord was sent to the tower, not so much for a punishment of the crime, of which he was accused, as for an example to such, as should dare to censure, too openly, the conduct of the principal governor. On the other hand, the earl of Gloucester, imagined, he perceived, in the cold and reserved behaviour of Leicester towards him, a secret purpose to destroy him, the first opportunity that offered; for he was not only no longer summoned to the private councils, but had no farther share in the management of affairs, than what could not be denied to one of the greatest peers of the realm. These reasons, and, above all, his envy at Leicester's greatness, induced him to countenance the male-contents, in the Marches of Wales, in order to employ them in opposing the ambitious designs of him, whom he now regarded, as an enemy; and the cabals, he openly made, convincing Leicester, that he ought to do all that was possible, to defeat his designs, he caused an order to be sent to all, that had lately taken up arms, against the establishment, to retire into Ireland; but they, refusing obedience, withdrew upon the lands of the earl of Gloucester, where they met with protection. 1265.

Leicester seems willing to set Edward at liberty.

In the interim, Leicester's enemies published in all places, that his rigorous treatment of the king, and likewise of the king of the Romans and prince Edward, was an undeniable proof of his pernicious designs; upon which, the earl thought it necessary, to efface the impressions, made by these reports, to convince the people, that he was very far from forming the ambitious projects, ascrib'd to him by his enemies. With this view, he called a parliament, declaring, it was to consider of means to restore prince Edward to liberty; designing to shew, that, since he was willing to release the heir to the crown, it was very unlikely, that he should have those pernicious intentions, charged upon him. The calling of this parliament was remarkable; for each county was ordered to send, as their representatives, two knights, and each city and borough, as many citizens and burgesses. The assertors of the antiquity of the house of commons infer, from hence, that, since the historians do not observe, that it was a new institution, it was, therefore, a customary thing; whilst others, on the contrary, alledge, that, if it had been usual, it would have been needless to take notice of this circumstance, after the mention of so many parliaments, without the like remark; but I leave it to the reader's discretion, to chuse, of both these consequences, that which seems to be the most natural, in his judgment.

Edward is delivered to the king.

The parliament being assembled, the earl of Leicester, who disposed, in a great measure, of the votes, caused an order to be pass'd, for the release of prince Edward; but it was clogg'd with a condition, that render'd the favour useless, viz. that he should remain with the king, his father, and obey him in all things. This restriction evidently proved, that it was only intended to dazzle the eyes of the publick; and, indeed, to ordain that Edward should be set at liberty, and yet continue with his father, who was himself a prisoner, was, in fact, no more than changing, or, at most, enlarging his prison. Pursuant to this order, the prince was taken out of Dover-castle, where he had been confin'd, ever since the battle of Lewes, and delivered to the king; whilst, in the

1265. mean time, Henry continued in the cuſtody of Leiceſter, who carried him about with him, and took all imaginable care, to prevent the eſcape of his priſoners.

Glouceſter declares openly againſt Leiceſter.

The late ſcene increaſed the earl of Glouceſter's ſuſpicions, or rather fully convinced him, that Leiceſter was paving his way to the throne; tho' he would not, as yet, have deſerted that lord, if an opportunity had not offered, where it would have been dangerous to diſſemble. The two eldeſt ſons of the earl of Leiceſter proclaiming a tournament, for all the young nobles, the earl of Glouceſter choſe to be abſent; believing that this was only a device, to enſnare him; but, whether his ſuſpicions had any foundation, or his prejudice led him to conſider them, as evident proofs, he openly confederated with the lords of the Marches of Wales, Leiceſter's enemies, and fortified his caſtles, as preparing for war. This proceeding giving his enemies a plauſible pretence to attack him, a proclamation was iſſued out, forthwith, declaring the earl and his adherents traytors and enemies to the ſtate; and Leiceſter, appearing at the head of an army, in order to puniſh theſe pretended enemies of the king, marched towards the Severn, and afterwards proceeded to Hereford, carrying along with him his two royal priſoners.

Prince Edward eſcapes out of Leiceſter's hands. W. Hem. M. Weſt.

Notwithſtanding Leiceſter's care, to ſecure the king and the prince, his ſon, the earl of Glouceſter formed a project for Edward's eſcape; for he perceived, that, as long as his enemy had Henry in his power, he would make great uſe of that advantage; and, therefore, he thought it expedient to get the prince out of his hands, to oppoſe the authority of the lawful heir to the crown, to that of the captive king. Probably, he judged it more difficult to free the king than the prince, or, perhaps, depended more upon the aſſiſtance of the latter than the former; but, however that be, he communicated his deſign to Roger Mortimer, one of the lords Marchers, who ſupplied him with means to put it in execution. Mortimer, having many friends at Hereford, made Edward a preſent, by a third hand, of a very ſwift horſe, and, at the ſame time, acquainted him with the deſign laid, for the recovery of his liberty; and, to ſecond this project, the prince, pretending that he was indiſpoſed, and wanted exerciſe, deſired leave to ride ſome horſes. The earl of Leiceſter granted his requeſt, tho' with great precaution; for, beſides his uſual guard, he ordered ſome gentlemen to have a watchful eye over him, and to keep him continually in their view. Edward, coming into the fields, immediately, breathed two or three horſes; and then he called for that lately preſented him, and walked him gently, at ſome diſtance from his guard, being accompanied by the gentlemen, who kept always near him; but, when he came to a certain place, which he had before carefully remarked, as proper for his deſign, laying the reins on his horſe's neck, and clapping ſpurs to his ſides, he ſo ſurpriſed thoſe that attended him, that he was at a conſiderable diſtance, before they were recovered from their aſtoniſhment; yet they rode after him, till they ſaw a troop of horſe, ſent by the earl of Glouceſter, to favour his eſcape. Edward, being thus freed, join'd the earl of Glouceſter, who received him, with great joy and reſpect; tho' his view, in procuring the prince his liberty, was not to re-eſtabliſh the arbitrary power uſurped by the king. Accordingly, he plainly told the prince, that he could not promiſe his aſſiſtance, unleſs he would oblige himſelf, by oath, to exert his utmoſt endeavours to reſtore the antient laws, and to baniſh all foreigners from about the king's perſon; but Edward promiſed and ſwore it, in the preſence of ſeveral barons, and then took the command of the troops raiſed by the earl of Glouceſter. 1265.

Leiceſter hides his concern.

Tho' the earl of Leiceſter was very ſenſible, how prejudicial the prince's eſcape might be to him, he ſeemed to be unconcerned at it, and continued, as before, to govern in the king's name; for he iſſued out, under the great ſeal, all ſuch orders as he judged expedient, for the good of the ſtate and his own intereſt, theſe two things being generally confounded by thoſe, who ſit at the helm of publick affairs.

He does all he can, to ſupport himſelf. Rot. Pat.

It would be needleſs to relate, here, all Leiceſter's precautions, to ſupport himſelf in his authority, inrich his friends, and advance his creatures; ſince it is ſufficient to ſay, in a word, that he omitted nothing that might turn to his advantage, or defeat the deſigns of his enemies. All this was, for his own ſake; but he did one thing very beneficial to the kingdom, in taking, at length, from the popes, the pretence, ſo long and ſo ſucceſsfully made uſe of by them, to inrich themſelves, at the expence of the Engliſh. As he perceived, that the people had not the ſame eſteem and deference for the pope, as formerly, he ordered a commiſſion to be drawn up, impowering him to renounce, in the king and prince Edmund's name, all pretenſions to the crown of Sicily; by vertue of which, he made an authentick renunciation, taking care to give the pope notice of it, in a letter from the king.

Edward's forces increaſe.

In the interim, the earl cauſed very ſevere orders to be publiſhed, obliging all the king's ſubjects to oppoſe, to the utmoſt of their power, prince Edward, the earl of Glouceſter, and their adherents, who were all ſtiled traytors to the king and the ſtate; but, notwithſtanding this, many barons, officers, and ſoldiers came and offered their ſervice to the prince, who, in a ſhort time, found himſelf at the head of an army, ſuperior to that of the confederates. The earl of Leiceſter, who, a little before, had all the forces of the kingdom at his diſpoſal, could not prevent Edward, from becoming maſter of Glouceſter and ſeveral other places; and he was even compelled to give way to that young prince, who purſued him, from place to place, and to exert all his policy and experience, to avoid an engagement; yet, as he was a very good general, he took timely care to poſt himſelf ſo, as to be able to retreat, whenever he ſhould be preſſed. In the interim, he ſent repeated orders to his ſon, Simon, to quit the ſiege of Pevenſey, which detained him in Kent, to come and reinforce him; and Simon, obeying, marched, with his little army, in order

1265. order to join him; but, as he approached Eveſham, where his father was encamped, Edward, receiving intelligence of his coming, ſuddenly attacked him, with all his forces, and cut in pieces this little body, which was unable to reſiſt him.

Edward marches againſt the earl of Leiceſter. An. Wav.

This victory animating the young prince, with freſh ardor, he directly returned, to attack the father, before he had received the news of his ſon's defeat; and he ſo deceived the watchfulneſs of the old general, that he was very near the enemy, when the earl imagined, that it was his ſon coming to his aſſiſtance. Such was Leiceſter's ſurpriſe, that he could not conceal it; tho' he put every thing in a poſture of defence, perceiving that a retreat would be ſtill more dangerous than a battle. The fight began, about two in the afternoon, and laſted, till night, notwithſtanding the precipitant flight of the Welch, who deſerted the earl, at the very firſt onſet; and he ſuſtained, by his courage and conduct, the efforts of Edward, who fought with an amazing valour, being very ſenſible, that the good or ill fortune of his life depended on the ſucceſs of that day. At length, after a long reſiſtance, on the ſide of the barons, the earl of Leiceſter and his ſon, Henry, being ſlain, on the ſpot, their troops were diſpirited, and the prince obtained a compleat victory; and it was no ſmall addition to his joy, on this occaſion, that, during the heat of the battle, he had the ſatisfaction to deliver the king, his father, from his captivity, ever ſince the battle of Lewes. The earl of Leiceſter, who durſt not truſt his priſoner, out of his ſight, had been ſo cruel, as to expoſe his perſon, in the battle, in which he was wounded, in the ſhoulder; nay, it is ſaid he was in danger of being killed by a ſoldier, who did not know him, if an officer had not run to his aſſiſtance, upon his crying out to the ſoldier, "Don't kill me; I am "Henry of Wincheſter, thy ſovereign." Edward, who was near the place, being informed of his father's peril, poſted thither, immediately; but, leaving him to a ſtrong guard, having juſt asked his bleſſing, he returned to the battle, that he might not loſe ſuch a precious opportunity.

T. Wikes. An. Wav.

This battle was fought, near Eveſham, on the 4th of Auguſt, 1265, 14 months after the battle of Lewes; and, the body of the earl of Leiceſter being found, among the dead, Roger Mortimer mangled it, in a barbarous manner; and, at laſt, cutting off the head, he ſent it to his wife, as a certain token of his being revenged on his enemy. Such was the fate of Leiceſter, who, tho' a foreigner, became the moſt conſiderable peer in the kingdom, and was even ſuſpected of aſpiring to the crown; but there is no certain proof of the laſt, the reports, that were ſpread concerning it, having no other foundation than bare ſuſpicions, and, perhaps, groundleſs calumnies. However, it cannot be denied, that he abuſed his power, and the confidence of his friends and collegues; at leaſt, he diſcovered, by his conduct, that he was not ſuch an enemy to arbitrary power, as he pretended, when placed at the head of the confederates; yet this, after all, does not prove, that he aſpired to the throne. Doubtleſs, this earl was endowed with noble qualities; and, if he reſembled his father, in his valour and bravery, he was far from being like him, in his cruelty. He always expreſſed ſo great a veneration for the monks, that they would have ſainted him, at any rate, after his death, pretending that many miracles were wrought at his tomb. A modern hiſtorian aſſures us, that he ſaw, in an antient manuſcript, ſeveral prayers directed to him, as a martyr; and this opinion prevailed ſo much, among the people, that the pope was forced to exert all his authority, to put a ſtop to that ſuperſtition; but, however this be, as we are uncertain of the motive of the earl's actions, we are equally ſo, whether he was more worthy of blame than of pity. If, in taking up arms againſt Henry, his ſovereign and benefactor, he was entirly ſwayed by ambition, we cannot ſufficiently deteſt his ingratitude to a prince, his brother-in-law, who had loaded him with favours; but, if he appeared at the head of a party, ſolely with a view to the good of the publick, and to free the kingdom from the manifeſt oppreſſion it groaned under, queſtionleſs, ſome people would not want plauſible reaſons, to juſtify his conduct. In the mean time, without examining this motive too cloſely, modern writers, for the moſt part, inveigh bitterly againſt him; and the Engliſh Catiline is one of the beſt names they afford him; but nothing leſs could be expected from the bulk of hiſtorians, who generally dedicate their works to kings, queens, prime-miniſters, and favourites.

The confederate barons are perſecuted, and their eſtates confiſcated.

After the defeat of the confederates, they, who, a little before, were perſecuted, became perſecutors, in their turn; plaguing their enemies, 1000 ways, and expoſing them to many hardſhips. The king, being naturally revengeful and avaricious, was extremely impatient to be revenged on thoſe who had offended him, and to ſeize their ſpoils; and, with this view, he called a parliament, which, as it entirely conſiſted of his creatures, granted him the confiſcation of the eſtates of the rebels. The city of London, the parliament haveing decreed that ſhe deſerved to forfeit all her priviſeges, was left to the king's mercy, who took away her gates, chains, and magiſtrates, and exacted a large ſum of money from the citizens, to reſtore what he had taken from them. The confederate barons, finding themſelves expoſed to a revenge, in all appearance, inſatiable, were in the greater conſternation, as they could perceive no remedy, in this their extremity; and Simon de Montfort, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Leiceſter, not doubting but he ſhould be one of the firſt, that ſhould fall a ſacrifice to the king's reſentment, took care, betimes, to ſecure an intereſt in the friendſhip of Richard, king of the Romans, whom he had in cuſtody, in Kenelworth-caſtle, by releaſing him, without a ranſom; and this example turned to the advantage of ſeveral priſoners of the battle of Lewes, who were alſo ſet at liberty, with the ſame view, by their keepers.

In

1265. In the interim, the king revenged himſelf on thoſe, that had taken up arms againſt him, by ſeizing their eſtates, which he either kept, for his own uſe, or liberally beſtowed on his favourites; for, regardleſs of the conſequences, he entirely gave way to his paſſion, not, in the leaſt, conſidering, that people, reduced to beggary, are on the very brink of deſpair. He would have acted more diſcreetly, had he copied after the earl of Pembroke, his firſt governor, who reſtored to the vanquiſh'd barons their eſtates, leſt he ſhould expoſe the kingdom to freſh troubles. Henry was of a quite different character, who endangered the loſs of the fruits of the prince his ſon's victory over the barons, by refuſing them the leaſt favour. Simon de Montfort, apprehending his caſe to be deſperate, left the caſtle of Kenelworth, with a ſtrong garriſon; and, aſſembling ſome of the remains of his father's army, he threw himſelf into the iſle of Axholme in Lincolnſhire. He ſoon put that place in a condition, to ſerve for a refuge to himſelf and friends; and great numbers daily reſorted to him, who, at length, began to give ſome uneaſineſs to their enemies.

1266. The queen arrives, and is followed by a legate. Whilſt the court was preparing to prevent the conſequences of this new revolt, the queen arrived from France, where ſhe had retired with prince Edmund, her ſon, after the battle of Lewes; and ſhe was quickly followed by a legate, who, a few days after his coming, having convened a ſynod, ſolemnly excommunicated the late earl of Leiceſter and all his adherents, whether dead or alive. Clement IV. finding that the Engliſh were tired with ſupplying money, for the conqueſt of Sicily, judged it expedient to ſave the honour of the holy ſee, which had ſomewhat ſuffered, by prince Edmund's renunciation; and, therefore, he ſent the king notice, by his legate, of a bull of Urban, his predeceſſor, revoking the grant to the prince, his ſon. He had, hitherto, kept this bull private, being deſirous of ſeeing the iſſue of a negotiation with Charles, earl of Anjou, to whom he actually gave, this very year, the inveſtiture of the two Sicily's; yet Henry, who had only quitted his pretenſions, as he was compelled to it by the earl of Leiceſter, during his captivity, could not, without regret, find himſelf obliged to renounce his hopes; but there was, now, no remedy.

Remarks on the affair of Sicily. This was, at laſt, the reſult of the affair of Sicily, which had been, to the popes, a fertile ſource of oppreſſions, upon the people and clergy of England; and, if it had been vaſtly expenſive to the Engliſh, they reaped, at leaſt, this benefit by it, that it viſibly leſſened their former good opinion of every thing that flowed from the court of Rome, and taught them to be more upon their guard, for the future, againſt her uſurpations. The truth of this obſervation will, more particularly, appear, in the ſucceeding reigns; in which we ſhall ſee the Engliſh much leſs tractable, with reſpect to the popes; and it may be farther remarked, that this affair was the principal cauſe of the misfortunes, to which Henry was expoſed, for ſo many years, and, at the ſame time, of the ſolid eſtabliſhment of the great charter, which, henceforward, met with very feeble attacks. Had not Henry been obliged to ſatisfy the avarice of the popes, he would have leſs oppreſſed his ſubjects; and the barons would have wanted the moſt plauſible pretence for their confederacy. It is extremely ſurpriſing, that the pope's grant to prince Edmund ſhould be unknown to the hiſtorians of Naples and Sicily, who do not ſo much as mention it, though the countries, of which they have written, were ſo greatly concerned; for there is only one that juſt ſpeaks of it, and even he is miſtaken, in the name of the Engliſh prince, to whom, he ſays, the pope would have given Sicily. Villani, a noted author, recites the pope's ſpeech to the cardinals, to perſuade them to approve of his deſign to inveſt Charles of Anjou with both Sicily's; and, in this harangue, the pontiff repreſents all the injuries ſuſtained by the church from Manfred, the neceſſity of deſtroying the houſe of Swabia, and the advantages which the church would obtain, if theſe kingdoms were given to a prince, who was able to undertake her defence. This, in all appearance, was a very natural occaſion, to take notice of the endeavours of his predeceſſors, to dethrone the uſurper, by the aſſiſtance of the king of England, in giving the crown of theſe kingdoms to one of his ſons; but he does not ſay a word, about it. What then, can be inferred from the ſilence of the pope, as well as the Neapolitan and Sicilian hiſtorians, but that the court of Rome never really intended to procure this crown, for prince Edmund; and that her ſole view was to drain England of money, under ſuch a frivolous pretence?

1266. Simon de Montfort is forced to ſurrender. As Montfort's retreat to the iſle of Axholme might prove to be of dangerous conſequence, prince Edward was ſent into thoſe parts, with an army; tho' it was difficult to diſlodge the male-contents, from a place ſo ſtrongly fortified, both by art and nature. However, after an obſtinate defence, the beſieged were conſtrained to ſurrender, on condition that their lives and limbs were ſpared; and, as to their eſtates, it was agreed, that they ſhould ſubmit to the judgment of the king of the Romans and prince Edward. This capitulation being ſigned, Montfort was preſented to the king, and found a powerful mediator, in the king of the Romans; for this prince affirmed, that, after the battle of Eveſham, the garriſon of Kenelworth would have murdered him, if Montfort had not hazarded his own life, to prevent it; and then he intreated the king to pardon him, in conſideration of his having generouſly releaſed him, without a ranſom. It is ſaid, Henry, moved with Montfort's good offices to the king, his brother, was inclined to reſtore him entirely to favour, if the earl of Glouceſter had not openly oppoſed it; but, as it was neceſſary to keep fair with Glouceſter, as well as with the king of the Romans, it was reſolved in council, that Montfort ſhould have liberty to depart the kingdom, and that the king ſhould grant him an annual penſion of 500 marks, provided he delivered up Kenelworth-

1266. nelworth-caſtle; but the garriſon refuſed to obey him. All the other rebels, in Axholme, were pardoned, upon their ſwearing, never for the time to come, to carry arms againſt the king, an oath which was, afterwards, very little obſerved; and, this affair being over, the kingdom, immediately, enjoyed ſome tranquillity. Montfort ſeemed pretty well contented with his lot; but, ſoon after, whether out of inconſtancy, or becauſe he wanted a ſubſiſtance, he joined certain pyrates of the Cinque-ports, who gave him the command of their ſhips, with which he plundered, without diſtinction, all the merchant-men that came in his way. As it was manifeſt, that the inhabitants of the Cinque-ports countenanced theſe pyracies, the king ſent prince Edward, to chaſtiſe them; but the prince reduced them to their allegiance, without uſing force, namely, by promiſing them a general pardon, and the confirmation of their privileges, for which they renewed their fealty to the king.

Several inſurrections. T. Wikes.

After all, it could not be ſaid, that peace was fully reſtored to the kingdom, ſince Kenelworth-caſtle was ſtill in the hands of the male-contents; and there was alſo, in the north, a troop of armed men, who obliged the king to ſend, againſt them, Henry, eldeſt ſon of the king of the Romans. This young prince marched, with ſuch expedition, that he ſurpriſed the rebels; and, killing the greateſt part, he diſperſed the reſt. However, the ring-leaders made their eſcape; who, joining with other male-contents, and particularly thoſe of Axholme, became maſters of the iſle of Ely, in Cambridgeſhire; from whence, making continual inroads into the neighbouring counties, they committed great ravages.

A brave and generous action of Edward.

At the ſame time, Adam de Gurdun taking up arms in Hampſhire, Edward had occaſion to give ſenſible proofs of his courage and generoſity; for, in a battle with the rebels, Adam who was ſtrong and valiant, attacking the prince, hand to hand, obliged him to exert his utmoſt dexterity and valour. This ſingle combate was not interrupted, till Adam, being down on the ground, was compelled to yield himſelf priſoner to the prince; but this act of bravery, in Edward, was, immediately, followed by another of generoſity, which redounded as much to his honour. The prince generouſly gave him life and liberty; and Adam deeply affected, as he ought, with this favour, ſerved him, ever after, with the greateſt fidelity.

The king beſieges Kenelworth. An. Wav.

The garriſon of Kenelworth was become ſo formidable, and likewiſe ſo odious, on the account of their outrages, that the king's council reſolved, this caſtle ſhould be, forthwith, inveſted, and the ſiege of Ely deferred to another opportunity. The king was extremely incenſed againſt the governor of Kenelworth, for inſolently cutting off the hand of his herald, ſent to ſummon him to ſurrender; inſomuch that he determined to go, in perſon, to this ſiege, fancying that his preſence would ſtrike the greater terror into the beſieged; but they made ſuch a brave and reſolute defence, that, after a ſix months ſiege, there was not the leaſt proſpect of forcing them to capitulate; and, therefore, the ſiege was turned into a blockade. In the interim, the king continued in the town, of which he was maſter, in expectation that hunger would compel the garriſon to ſurrender. 1266.

1267. A parliament at Kenelworth. An. Wav.

During the blockade, Henry called a parliament, at Kenelworth, to conſider means to reduce the rebels of Ely, either by offering them an eaſy compoſition, or by force, if they rejected the favour propoſed; and, with this view, the parliament drew up certain articles, containing the terms, on which the king was to grant a general pardon. Theſe terms were very favourable, conſidering the preſent circumſtances; for, to have their eſtates reſtored, ſome were to pay five years value, ſome three, and others only one; but, whether the male-contents could not depend upon the king's word, or thought theſe conditions too hard, they refuſed to accept them. They even took occaſion, from thence, to increaſe their outrages; and, having the boldneſs to make an excurſion, as far as Norwich, they carried, from that place, above 20,000 l. ſterling.

The garriſon of Kenelworth. T. Wikes.

The garriſon of Kenelworth, though cloſely blocked up, and forced to eat their horſes, relying on the aſſiſtance promiſed by Simon de Montfort, held out ſo long a ſiege, with an invincible reſolution; but, at length, when they could ſcarce withſtand any longer the hunger, that preſſed them, deſpairing of any ſuccours, they capitulated to ſurrender the caſtle, provided they were not relieved, within 40 days. During that ſpace, they were to be ſupplied with proviſions; but, upon the expiration of it, they came out of the caſtle, ſo pale and meagre, that it could not be conceived, that a garriſon, in ſo wretched a condition, ſhould have the aſſurance to demand ſuch a capitulation.

The earl of Glouceſter takes meaſures againſt the king.

The taking of Kenelworth, and his hopes of ſpeedily reducing the rebels of Ely, led the king to forget his paſt misfortunes, as well as the prince his ſon's engagement for him, with the earl of Glouceſter; and Edward himſelf, notwithſtanding his oath, was more ſollicitous to reduce the male-contents of Ely to the king's obedience, than to perform his promiſes. The earl of Glouceſter obſerved, with extreme regret, that, as the king's affairs proſpered, the father and ſon acted, with leſs moderation, and were more ready to ſtretch the prerogative royal, beyond the limits preſcribed by the laws. What he had done, for the king and prince, was not ſo much to enlarge the regal power, as to prevent the earl of Leiceſter from paving his way to the throne; which very evidently appeared, from the oath he required of prince Edward; but, the conduct of Henry, who was returning to his former courſes, convincing him, that, after the reduction of the male-contents, it would be extremely difficult to confine the authority of the ſovereign, within proper bounds, he judged it neceſſary to oppoſe his progreſs, in time. Thus, reſolved, he retired to his own eſtate, on the borders of

1267. Wales, where he entered into a league with Lewellyn, and ſome neighbouring barons; after which, he ſent word to the male-contents of Ely, that he would endeavour to relieve them.

Tho' his abſence and preparations muſt, of courſe, have given ſome umbrage to the court; yet, as he concealed his deſigns, under the pretence of a quarrel with Mortimer, he left ſome room to doubt of the motives of his armament. In the interim, whilſt, according to the dictates of policy and good ſenſe, the king ſhould have made it his ſtudy, to give ſome ſatisfaction to ſuch a powerful lord, all his thoughts were engroſſed, about means to reduce the rebels of Ely; not ſo much to reſtore the publick tranquillity, as to render himſelf as much, or more, abſolute than ever. He plainly foreſaw, that he could not attain his ends, whilſt a body of armed rebels were in the midſt of his dominions; and, therefore, he convened a parliament, to conſult about effectual meaſures, to reduce them to their allegiance. The earl of Glouceſter refuſing to give his attendance, the king, being uneaſy at it, ſent ſome lords, to admoniſh him to come and take his ſeat, in that aſſembly, who found the earl very intent upon raiſing an army; but, when they expreſſed their ſurpriſe at it, he told them, for their ſatisfaction, that the troops were deſigned againſt Mortimer, his enemy; and he even gave them a writing, under his own ſeal, by which he engaged, that he would never take up arms againſt the king. Thus, he removed all ſuſpicions, that were entertained concerning him; and the king and parliament thought of nothing more than how to beſiege Ely, the only thing that, now, gave them any diſturbance; and the reſolution that was taken, of vigorouſly carrying on this ſiege, furniſhing the king with a plauſible pretence, to demand an aid, the parliament granted him a very conſiderable ſupply. The legate, alſo, tho' he had not the ſame reaſons, preſſed the clergy to grant the ſame aid to the pope; but the prelates not only refuſed to comply, but, being highly exaſperated, committed to writing the reaſons of their denial, which were not much for the honour of the court of Rome.

The king marches to Cambridge W. Riſh. M. Weſt.

No ſooner had the parliament broke up, than the king took the field, at the head of his army; and, having advanced, as far as Cambridge, he halted, to ſend and ſummon the rebels of Ely, to return to their duty; but their anſwer plainly ſhewed, that it was no eaſy matter to frighten them; which, and the ſituation of the iſle of Ely, that had formerly very much embaraſſed William the Conqueror, ſomewhat abating his martial ardor, cauſed him to wait the arrival of the prince, his ſon, who was then at York.

The earl of Glouceſter becomes maſter of London, and of the tower. M. Weſt. An. Wav. T. Wikes.

Whilſt the king was at Cambridge, the earl of Glouceſter headed the army, raiſed on his own lands, and in Wales; who directly marched towards London, and with ſo much expedition, that he entered the city, before they had time to prevent him, and even before they knew, whether he acted for, or againſt the king. Nevertheleſs, it is probable, that the magiſtrates and principal citizens were no ſtrangers to his deſigns; but, however that be, the earl, approached the tower, the cuſtody of which the king had committed to the legate; and he ſummoned him to reſign it, immediately, alledging, that it was not a poſt to be truſted in the hands of a foreigner, much leſs of an eccleſiaſtick. The legate, ſurpriſed at this unexpected ſummons, made a ſhow of defending himſelf; but, as he wanted proviſions, and the earl had ſtrictly prohibited the ſending in any, he was quickly conſtrained to ſurrender. The earl, being now maſter of the tower, was not ſo careful to conceal his deſigns; and, as ſeveral of the male-contents daily joined him, it was viſible, that he did not intend to act, for the king's intereſt. At length, pulling off the maſque, he publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring, that he had taken up arms, to obtain reaſonable terms for the male-contents; and that it was his intention to oblige the king and prince to the more punctual performance of their promiſes. Henry, aſtoniſhed at this freſh revolt, ſent preſſing orders to the prince, his ſon, to come and join him, as ſoon as poſſible, being in continual dread of an attack, though he was not in a condition to come off, with honour, if compelled to a battle. Theſe orders meeting the prince, in his return from the north, where he had finiſh'd his affairs, obliged him to march, with the utmoſt expedition, to the king's relief; and they were no ſooner joined, than they advanced together towards London, and encamped at Stratford, within three miles of the city. The univerſal eſteem the nobility and commons had for Edward, rather than their affection for the king, cauſed, in a very ſhort ſpace, the army to be conſiderably augmented; inſomuch that the earl of Glouceſter durſt not ſtir out of London, for fear of engaging, at a great diſadvantage. He had entertained hopes, that the whole kingdom would eſpouſe his cauſe, and that the king's own troops would deſert him; but now, perceiving that, on the contrary, his friends began to abandon him, he, timely, applied to the king of the Romans, by whoſe interceſſion, he obtained much better terms than he could reaſonably have expected; for he was not only forgiven, upon laying down his arms, but procured the city of London to be included in his pardon, which otherwiſe would, doubtleſs, have been puniſhed in an exemplary manner. He would fain have obtained the ſame favour, for the rebels of Ely; but the king and prince were inexorable, in that particular.

1267.

The Ely-rebels ſurrender. M. Weſt. T. Wikes.

This affair being over, Edward approached the iſle of Ely; and the male-contents, having no proſpect of relief, choſe to ſurrender, before they were reduced to extremity. The only condition, allowed them, was the ſaving their lives and limbs; and, by this, were extinguiſhed the troubles, that had, for five years, tormented the kingdom.

A treaty of peace with Wales. M. Weſt. W. Riſh. An. Wav.

Henry, having an army in readineſs, reſolved to correct the inſolence of the prince of Wales, who, during the late troubles, had, all along, aſſiſted the rebels; and he advanced, as far as Montgomery, where Lewellyn ſent ambaſſadors,

1267. dors, to ſue for peace. His offer to pay the king 32,000 marks, and to do him homage, for his principality, was an inducement to hearken to his propoſals; but he was, moreover, obliged to deliver up certain caſtles, convenient for the king.

1268. Edward takes the croſs to go to the Holy-land. W. Riſh.

The peace of the kingdom being, thus, reſtored, the king called a parliament; where Ottobon, the pope's legate, being preſent, informed the aſſembly, that the pope was reſolved to publiſh a Cruſade, in all the chriſtian ſtates; and he exhorted the Engliſh, to contribute their money and perſons towards this expedition, which was ſolely intended, to promote the glory of God and the good of the church. The preſent tranquillity of England cauſed great numbers to engage, in this undertaking; eſpecially, when they ſaw prince Edward and Henry, ſon of the king of the Romans, receive the croſs, at the hands of the legate. The earls of Warwick and Pembroke, and above 120 knights, followed the example of theſe two princes, beſides a vaſt multitude of perſons of inferior quality; and the legate, having no farther buſineſs in England, returned to Rome, whilſt the king of the Romans took his third journey to Germany.

The ſtatutes of Marlborough. W. Riſh.

Whilſt the Croiſes were preparing for their voyage, the king convened a parliament, at Marlborough, where a body of ſtatutes were enacted; which make a conſiderable figure, among the laws of England.

The death of Clement IV. M. Weſt.

Before we proceed to the events of the following year, it will be neceſſary to mention the death of pope Clement IV, upon which, the papal chair was vacant, for three years together; and this year is alſo memorable for the famous battle, near the lake of Celano, that was fought, between Charles of Anjou, the new king of Sicily, and Conradin, ſon of the emperor Conrade; but, Conradin having the misfortune to be vanquiſhed and taken priſoner, Charles was ſo cruel as to order him to be beheaded.

The battle of Celano. M. Weſt. W. Riſh.

Edward engages to accompany the king of France to the Holy-Land Act. Pub. W. Riſh. M. Weſt. T. Wikes.

The Cruſade was not only publiſhed in England, but likewiſe in all the chriſtian ſtates, eſpecially in France; and St. Lewis was to be head of it; the ill ſucceſs of his expedition into Egypt not being able to cool his zeal, he had, inceſſantly, ſince his return, projected means, how to carry war, once more, into the country of the Infidels. Prince Edward's late taking the croſs inſpired Lewis with better hopes of ſucceſs, if he could perſuade that prince to join him; and, therefore, he invited him to come to Paris, where he imparted to him his deſign. Edward was deſirous of nothing more than to join forces, with ſuch a potent prince, and to command under him; but he intimated to him, that he could not be ready, with ſufficient diſpatch, for want of money to ſupport the expence of the voyage. Lewis, glad to find that he made no other objection, lent him 30,000 marks, for which Edward mortgaged to him the revenues of Bourdeaux, for ſeven years; and, upon this agreement, Edward returned into England, where the king, his father, had now aſſembled a parliament, which granted him a 20th part of the moveables of the kingdom, part whereof was to be employed, towards the charges of the prince's expedition.

1268.

Before Edward was prepared for his departure, the king of the Romans arrived with a new wife, he had married in Germany, not ſo much for her fortune as her beauty.

The ſecond marriage of the king of the Romans. T. Wikes.

A little before the departure of the Croiſes, Henry cauſed the reliques of Edward the confeſſor, for which he had a peculiar veneration to be removed; and this ceremony, to which all the great men of the kingdom were invited, was performed, in a very pompous manner. The ſhrine of the ſaint, adorned with precious ſtones, was carried on the ſhoulders of the king himſelf, and his brother, the king of the Romans, with the princes, and principal lords, and placed in the new church of Weſtminſter, which was juſt finiſhed, and rendered the moſt ſtately of any, at that time, in Europe.

1269. The body of St. Edward removed to the new church. M. Weſt. W. Riſh. T. Wikes. An. Wav.

1270. The king of the Romans reconciles Edward to the earl of Glouceſter T. Wikes.

The calm England enjoyed, for a conſiderable while, was in danger of being diſturbed by the ſuſpicions, the earl of Glouceſter entertained of prince Edward; for that lord, not believing that the prince was thoroughly reconciled to him, kept away from court, and always found ſome excuſe, to be abſent from the parliaments; inſomuch that the king was apprehenſive, that the earl had ſtill a deſign to interrupt the peace of the kingdom; but the king of the Romans freed him from his fears, by procuring a perfect reconciliation between theſe two enemies.

St. Lewis lands in Africa, to beſiege Tunis. T. Wikes. Vignier.

In the mean time, Lewis, inſtead of going directly to the Holy-Land, as he, at firſt, intended, embarqued for Africa, at the inſtance of Charles king of Sicily, his brother, who was at variance with the king of Tunis; for he expected that the African prince ſhould pay him the ſame tribute, his predeceſſors paid to the emperor, with all the arrears. To ſupport theſe pretenſions, Lewis landed his army in Africa, and made preparations to beſiege Tunis; but the Mooriſh king choſe rather to promiſe the payment of what was demanded, than hazard the loſs of his dominions.

Edward goes to join the king of France, and leaves him in Africa. M. Weſt.

Lewis had ſet out for Africa, when Edward departed from Portſmouth, to take up the Princeſs, his ſpouſe, at Bourdeaux; from whence they went together to Aigues Mortes, where their fleet waited for them; and, having embarqued there, they joined the king of France, before Tunis, where he ſtaid, for the performance of the treaty made with the Moors. How preſſingly ſoever Edward ſollicited this monarch, to continue his voyage to Paleſtine, he could not prevail on him to ſtir, before he had received entire ſatisfaction from the king of Tunis; but, as Edward had no concern, in that affair, he reſolved to paſs the winter in Sicily, deſigning to proceed for the Holy-Land, in the ſpring. He had ſcarce left the coaſts of Africa, when the peſtilence breaking out, in the camp of the French, raged ſo furiouſly, that it not only ſwept away the private ſoldiers, but alſo the principal officers; and the king himſelf being, at laſt,

ſeized

1270. seized with it, resigned his breath, in the arms of his eldest son, Philip, who, soon after this, returned to France.

Henry, son to the king of the Romans, is murdered by Guido de Montfort.

Though Lewis's death deprived Edward of all hopes of making any remarkable progress, in Palestine, he continued his voyage, and arrived there, pursuant to his vow; yet, Philip's return to France giving him some cause to fear, with respect to Guienne, he resolved to send thither his cousin Henry, son of the king of the Romans, to watch the motions of the French. This young prince, posting to Bourdeaux, passed through Viterbo, a city in the pope's dominions, where he was inclined to make some stay, which occasioned the loss of his life; for Guido de Montfort, son to the late earl of Leicester, then at that place, seeing the prince enter into a church, followed him, and murdered him, before the high-altar, in revenge of his father's death, who was slain in the battle of Evesham; but nothing could be more unjust than the murderer's pretence, to vindicate this infamous action, since neither this prince, nor his father, the king of the Romans, were present at that battle, being then both under confinement.

1271. Edward comes to Palestine.

Edward's progress, in the Holy-Land, was not very considerable; yet, with his few troops, he convinced the Saracens what they might expect from him, if he should be reinforced; for his valour, fame, and the reputation of king Richard, his great-uncle, who had performed such wondrous exploits, in the east, so terrified the Infidels, that they sent an assassin, to dispatch him. The villain pretending to settle a correspondence, between Edward and the governor of Joppa, who feigned a desire to turn christian, was often admitted into the prince's presence, and to discourse with him; but, at last, as he was, one day, alone in his chamber, he would have stabbed him, with a dagger, in the belly, if Edward had not warded off the blow, with his arm, where he received a dangerous wound. The assassin, enraged at this disappointment, made an attempt to redouble his blow, with greater violence; but Edward gave him such a kick, on the breast, that he beat him down backward, and, leaping upon him, wrested the dagger out of his hand, and killed him, immediately. The prince's wound was much more dangerous than it seemed to be, because the dagger was poisoned; and, as it began to gangrene, his cure was despaired of; but it fortunately happened, that there was, then, in the army, a skilful chirurgeon, who delivered him from this danger. Some affirm, he was indebted, for his life, to the tender affection of Eleonora, his spouse, who sucked the venom out of the wound; but this circumstance is not mentioned by any author, of that time. This princess was brought to bed, at Acres, of a daughter, named Joan de Acres, from the place of her nativity, according to the custom of those days.

Greg. X. Act. Pub.

Whilst Edward was in Palestine, Theobald, archdeacon of Liege, who attended him thither, receiving the news of his election to the papal throne, set out, immediately, for Rome; where he assumed the name of Gregory X.

1271.

Edward's army daily diminished, either by sickness, or several battles with the Saracens, whilst he had not any prospect of supplies, from France, or elsewhere; wherefore, tho' with great reluctance, he proposed to the sultan a truce, which, after a short negotiation, was concluded, for 10 years, 10 months, and 10 days, both parties being allowed to keep what they possessed; and, having no farther business in Palestine, the prince, with his troops, embarqued for England.

1272. Edward makes a ten years truce with the sultan.

During his absence, the king, his father, enjoyed a perfect tranquillity; which was not, in the least, interrupted, except by the death of the king of the Romans, his brother. It is said, that this prince's grief, for the tragical fate of his son, threw him into a fit of sickness, which laid him in his grave; and Edmund, his other son, succeeded him, as earl of Cornwall, being invested with this title by the king, his uncle.

The death of the king of the Romans.

Presently after, there was a sedition at Norwich, occasioned by a quarrel, between the citizens and monks, in which the cathedral and monastery adjoining were reduced to ashes, by the former; but Henry, resolving not to let this riot pass, with impunity, went, in person, to Norwich, where he caused the offenders to be severely punished. The king, in his return to London, was seized, at St. Edmundsbury, with a languishing distemper, which, not seeming to have dangerous symptoms, did not prevent him from proceeding on his journey; but, his sickness increasing, after his arrival at London, he died, in a few days, aged 66 years, of which he had reigned 56, and 20 days. He gave orders, that his body should be interred, near the shrine of Edward the Confessor, in the abbey-church of Westminster; where his tomb, with his statue in brass, may be seen, at this day.

A sedition at Norwich.

His character.

This prince's character is so visible, in all the circumstances of his life, that it will be entirely needless to draw it, more fully; for his narrow genius, his easiness to be governed by proud and selfish counsellors, his fickle and capricious temper, and the notions of arbitrary power instilled into him, from his youth, were the real causes of all the troubles, in his reign. He was too weak, when there was occasion for steadiness, and too haughty, when it was necessary to give way to the times; so that he never seemed to consult his own advantage. Nothing can be said of his courage, since it does not appear, that he ever gave any evident proofs of it; but he may be justly commended, for his continence, and his utter aversion to cruelty, being always satisfied with punishing the rebels, in their purses, when he might have spilt their blood, on the scaffold. He was extremely avaricious, tho' he squandered away his money so idly, that he continued poor, notwithstanding the immense sums he exacted from his subjects; and, however pressing his necessities were, he could not restrain his boundless liberality to his favourites, without considering

1272. fidering the great difficulties he met with, in procuring aids from his parliament; but this profuſeneſs, and the vaſt ſums, to no purpoſe, employed in the affair of Sicily, were the principal cauſes of all his mortifications and diſgraces, during the whole courſe of his life.

Four things to be remarked, in the reign of Henry III.

Four things, eſpecially, render this reign remarkable. I. The readineſs with which the barons, in league againſt king John, returned to the obedience of their young ſovereign, the very moment they believed their privileges were out of danger. II. The patience of the barons, for above 40 years, notwithſtanding the little regard Henry had for them, and the continual breaches of his oaths. III. The Engliſh are indebted to the troubles, which diſtracted this reign, for the preſervation of the liberties and privileges they enjoy, at this day. If the barons of thoſe times had been more paſſive, it may be very fairly preſumed, that the two charters of king John would have been buried in eternal oblivion; and, if their revolt proved, in the end, fatal to themſelves, it was, at leaſt, beneficial to their poſterity, ſince Henry's ſucceſſors, dreading to expoſe themſelves to the like dangers, never ventured to revoke theſe charters, which are the baſis and foundation of the liberty of the Engliſh. Accordingly, they had time to be ſo ſtrongly eſtabliſhed, by degrees, that there was no annulling them; and let the earl of Leiceſter be exclaimed againſt, in the moſt oppfobrious language, let him be ſtiled impious, for daring to take up arms againſt his ſovereign, after all, it cannot be denied, that his ambition has produced happy effects, for the whole Engliſh nation. IV. The tyranny of the Roman pontiffs, who abuſing their power, treated the clergy of England, with inconceivable rigour. I ſhould add, here, an article of no leſs importance, viz. the origin of the houſe of commons, if it were not liable to ſo many diſputes. 1272.

His iſſue.

Henry III, had nine children by Eleonora of Provence, his wife; but only two ſons and two daughters ſurvived him, the reſt dying in their infancy. Edward, his eldeſt ſon, was his ſucceſſor; and Edmund, his ſecond ſon, after a vain expectation of the crown of the two Sicily's, which the pope had amuſed him with, was earl of Lancaſter, Leiceſter, and Derby, Lord of Monmouth, and high-ſteward of England. Margaret, his eldeſt daughter, was married, at nine years of age, to Alexander III, king of Scotland, to whom ſhe left but one daughter, of her own name, wife of Eric, king of Norway; from which marriage deſcended a princeſs of the ſame name, whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of, in the following reign; and Beatrix, Henry's ſecond daughter, was eſpouſed to John de Dreux, duke of Bretagne.

The State of the Church, during the reigns of HENRY II, RICHARD I, JOHN LACKLAND, and HENRY III.

The State of the Church.

DURING the four laſt reigns, the affairs of the church were ſo interwoven with thoſe of the ſtate, that there was a neceſſity of relating them together; and, indeed, the conteſts between Henry II. and Thomas Becket, and between John and Innocent III, and the tyranny exerciſed by the popes, in England, under Henry III, furniſh the chief materials for the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of theſe three reigns, that of Richard I. being the only one, wherein the church had no influence; unleſs we conſider the Cruſade, in which that prince was engaged, as an affair, purely, eccleſiaſtical. Some regard theſe four reigns, as a time of triumph, for the church, becauſe, in their notion of the church, they mean no more than the pope and the clergy; but others are of opinion, that this was a time of oppreſſion and ſlavery, becauſe chriſtians were oppreſſed by the popes, who ſhamefully abuſed their authority.

The bare peruſal of the hiſtory of theſe four reigns is ſufficient to ſhew, that it was not, without reaſon, that I, ſo copiouſly, inſiſted on the prodigious increaſe of the papal power; and, as we have, already, ſeen the pernicious effects of the power aſſumed by the popes, it, now, remains to point out the principles, on which they eſtabliſhed their authority, and the conſequences they drew from thence, to enlarge it; and this is the more worthy of notice, as it is the ſource of all the remarkable events, that fell out in the church of England, for ſeveral centuries.

Principles on which the eccleſiaſtical power was eſtabliſh'd.

The firſt principle was, That Jeſus Chriſt committed the inſtruction of the faithful to the care of the miniſters of his church; from whence it was inferred, Firſt, That the faithful ought to ſubmit to the deciſions of theſe miniſters, in matters of faith; and, Secondly, That laymen had not any right to decide, or even to examine, the difficulties which might ariſe, about theſe matters, but ought implicitly to follow the determinations of the clergy. This plainly ſuppoſes infallibility in the miniſters of the church; but as that ſuppoſition was founded upon the promiſes of Chriſt to his church, in general, and as the conſequence, drawn from thence, for the infallibility of the miniſters, in particular, was not ſufficiently evident, an expedient was invented, to blind the eyes of the world, by confounding the general notion of the church with that of the clergy, in particular; ſo that, by degrees, the eccleſiaſticks alone were called the church, and to them only were applied the promiſes of Chriſt, made to all chriſtians, in general. Accordingly, in ſaying with Chriſt, the gates of hell ſhould not prevail againſt the church, they expreſly meant, that the clergy or councils, entirely conſiſting

of the ſeveral members of the clergy, ſhould be infallible, in their deciſions. Thus, the miſinterpretation of the term, Church, was one of the principal cauſes of the blindneſs of chriſtians; but I ſhall not enlarge, on this head; for I deſign only juſt to mention the ſeveral ſteps, by which the eccleſiaſtical power arrived to ſo prodigious a height.

The ſecond principle was, That Jeſus Chriſt not only appointed miniſters in his church, for the inſtruction of the faithful, but alſo to inſpect their life and converſation; from whence it was inferred, that it belonged to the paſtors to declare to their flocks, what was juſt and agreeable to the laws of God, and what not; and, alſo, that they had not only a right to exhort the faithful, and cenſure them, upon the neglect of their duty, but alſo to puniſh them, when in a ſtate of impenitence.

For a third principle it was laid down, That the church of Jeſus Chriſt ought to be pure and holy, without ſpot or wrinkle, and that, therefore, it was neceſſary to uſe all poſſible endeavours, to prevent her being polluted either with ſins, or errors; ſo that, as, by the preceding principles, the clergy had the ſole right of inſtruction and inſpection, it followed, that to them belonged the care of preſerving the purity of the church.

This led to a fourth principle, That, in order to preſerve the purity of the church, it was neceſſary to cut off the rotten branches, from whence it was drawn, as an inference, that, when a chriſtian ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted either by ſin, or error, he was to be excommunicated, that is, cut off from the body of the church; but it is very obvious, that, according to the preceding principles, it was the clergy's buſineſs to pronounce this ſentence; by which means, they acquired a great authority, and a profound reſpect from all chriſtians.

If the governors of the church had all been holy and infallible, theſe ſeveral principles, with their conſequences, would have produced only wholſome effects; and a diſcipline, very profitable to ſalvation, would have been preſerv'd in the church; but, as they were too frequently ſwayed by intereſt, caprice, or the impulſe of a miſguided zeal, it could not but be thought very unlikely, that God ſhould ſubject his church to the paſſions and prejudices of his miniſters. Hence it was natural to conclude, either that theſe principles were falſe, or, at leaſt, the conſequences ſtretched too far; which belief could ſcarce fail to breed a contempt, for unjuſt and raſh excommunications, which had even ſome influence on the moſt regular, ſince every one is very naturally inclined to fancy himſelf unjuſtly condemned; and, from this contempt, proceeded an unconcern, in the perſons excommunicated, to be reconciled to the church, and to give her the ſatisfaction ſhe required.

If, in excommunications, the clergy had ſolely intended to preſerve the church's purity, they would have been contented with cutting off the rotten members, and grieving at the obſtinacy of thoſe, who neglected to be abſolv'd; but it is manifeſt, that ſatisfaction was their chief concern, becauſe moſt of the excommunications were denounced againſt ſuch, as incroached on the lands or immunities of the clergy, to whom alone the word, Church, was, all along, appropriated. It was neceſſary, therefore, for the intereſt of the clergy, to oblige thoſe, who were cut off from the body of the church, to be reconciled to her, and give her ſatisfaction; and, for this reaſon, another principle was eſtabliſhed: "That, ſpiritual penal-"ties being inſufficient to conquer the obſti-"nacy of obdurate ſinners, it was neceſſary, "for the glory of God, to make uſe of tem-"poral puniſhments, to compel them to obe-"dience." Upon this foundation the clergy, who already regulated all matters, relating to religion, decreed, in their councils, "That "excommunicated perſons were not only to "be ſeparated from the aſſemblies of the "church, but alſo from all intercourſe with the "faithful;" and, if this rigorous law had been ſtrictly put in execution, the excommunicated would quickly have expired, for want of the relief, which men naturally give one another, unleſs they had choſen to live among Infidels; but as it was ſcarce poſſible to hinder their relations and friends, from affording them ſome aſſiſtance, tho' the contrary often happened, another expedient was deviſed, to put the perſons, cut off from the church, under a neceſſity of ſubmitting to her orders, that is, to thoſe of the clergy. It was ordained in the councils, "That if, within 40 days after excommunica-"tion, the party excommunicated did not ſue "to be reconciled to the church, the magi-"ſtrate, upon the biſhop's complaint, ſhould "be obliged to impriſon him, and confiſcate "his eſtate;" ſo that a chriſtian, being excommunicated, might expect the loſs of his liberty and property, unleſs he made the church ſuch ſatisfaction, as ſhe herſelf, that is, the clergy, ſhould judge expedient. This decree of the councils would, perhaps, never have been enacted into a law, if ſovereigns had not found their advantage in it, by means of the confiſcations; but they did not imagine, that this ſevere treatment would ever reach them; yet, when once they admitted the principle of the unlimited authority, aſſumed by the church, they ſoon found, that, as chriſtians, they were put on a level with their ſubjects. The popes, whoſe power daily increaſed, extended it, at length, over crown'd heads; for they did not ſcruple to excommunicate princes themſelves, who were often deſerted by their own ſubjects and domeſticks, and to depoſe them and give their kingdoms to others.

The ſame principle, then eſtabliſhed for private perſons, extended to kings and emperors; and there was, at firſt, but one particular, which diſtinguiſhed an excommunicated prince from a private perſon; namely, that his ſubjects were bound to him by an oath, which many could not think of violating, under the pretence that their ſovereign was excommunicated; but the popes found means to remove this ſcruple, by abſolving them from their oath of allegiance, by the plenitude of their apoſtolical power; and this was no more than a conſequence of the maxim, before eſtabliſhed, "That

"That an excommunicated perſon was to be "deprived of his poſſeſſions."

However, all this was inſufficient to compel excommunicated princes, to give the church the ſatisfaction ſhe demanded; for many of their ſubjects were not convinced, that the pope had power to excommunicate ſovereigns; and others believed, that, as long as a king was on the throne, his ſubjects ought not to refuſe him obedience. Some, tho' perſuaded of the pope's authority, thought it unlawful to take up arms againſt the king actually reigning; whilſt others, again, durſt not engage in ſuch an hazardous undertaking, which might prove deſtructive to themſelves and their families. To ſurmount theſe difficulties, the popes took care, in the firſt place, to depoſe excommunicated and obſtinate kings, in a council, or only in a conſiſtory, in order to remove all ſcruples from their ſubjects; and, ſecondly, to commiſſion ſome powerful prince, to execute their ſentence, that, joining with thoſe ſubjects who were only reſtrained by fear, the depoſed prince might be forced to ſubmit to the church; but, of this, without proceeding any farther, we have ſeen a terrible inſtance, in the quarrel between Innocent III. and king John.

Thus, from principles which might be originally good, conſidered abſtractly, ſuch conſequences were deduced, as tended to erect the ſpiritual juriſdiction of the church, into a temporal and abſolute monarchy. Indeed, how was it poſſible for a chriſtian not to regard, as his real maſters, men, who diſpoſed of his eſtate, honour, life, and ſalvation? but it is more ſurpriſing, that chriſtians ſhould be ſo blind, as to admit all theſe principles, with their unlimited conſequences, and ſuffer ſuch a ſyſtem to be founded thereon, as was purely calculated to enſlave them. It was thought, at laſt, tho' too late, neceſſary to reſtrain the abſolute power, aſſumed by the pope and clergy, and extended, by degrees, over all ſorts of things; but there was a vigorous oppoſition, and ſo much the greater, as time had been given them, to eſtabliſh their uſurpations.

This is the chief ſubject of the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of England, for ſeveral centuries, and eſpecially, during the four reigns, under our conſideration; which, except a few events, contain nothing elſe but affairs reſulting from the exorbitant power, engroſſed by the pope and the clergy. The ſole view of the councils was to maintain the privileges and immunities of the church, that is, of the clergy; and all the papal projects tended only to extend their authority, as well over the laity, and even the ſovereigns, as over the clergy. If they have not been able to keep the exceſſive power, to which they were arrived, it is entirely owing to their abuſe of it; which cauſed them to loſe, by degrees, the regard paid to every thing flowing from the holy ſee. The bare facts that I have related, concerning the affair of Thomas Becket, the depoſing of king John, and the oppreſſions England endured from Rome, during the long reign of Henry III, are ſufficient to convince all reaſonable and unprejudic'd perſons, that the popes exerted, with the utmoſt rigour, the authority they had been ſuffered to aſſume; and it would be ſtill much more convincing, ſhould we add, to theſe inſtances, what paſſed, on the ſame ſubject, in all the other chriſtian kingdoms; but, to confine myſelf wholly to England, I ſhall only remark, that Becket's affair carried the pope's power in that kingdom, higher than ever, after a prince, ſo haughty as Henry II, was compelled to ſubmit to a ſhameful diſcipline. The homage, king John was obliged to do the pope, raiſed this power to its utmoſt height; and, from that period, the popes conſider'd England, as a conquered country, which they might oppoſe, at their pleaſure; which evidently appears from the whole reign of Henry III.

It muſt be farther obſerved, that, if the rigorous treatment the Engliſh received from the popes, for ſome time, kept the kingdom in ſubjection, it proved, at laſt, the principal cauſe of the decay of their power; for, as they puſh'd it too far, they rendered the Engliſh, naturally jealous of their liberty, deſirous of ſhaking off ſuch an intolerable yoke; and, accordingly, when a favourable juncture offered, they took care to improve it, and the rather, as they found themſelves ſupported by the clergy, who felt, no leſs than the people, the effects of the papal tyranny. This we ſhall ſee, in ſome of the following reigns; but, in the mean while, we are to conſider the days of John and Henry III, as thoſe in which the papal power was at its height, in England, and, if I miſtake not, in moſt other kingdoms of Europe. I might confirm my aſſertion with numberleſs inſtances, if what has been ſaid did not ſeem to be ſufficient. They, who are willing to have a more particular account, of the unjuſt and tyrannical proceedings of the court of Rome, with reſpect to England, during the reigns of John and Henry III, may, for their ſatisfaction, conſult the hiſtory of Matthew Paris, who treats of them, at large; and, tho' endeavours have been uſed to blaſt the credit of this author, the judicious reader will not regard, as an evidence of unfaithfulneſs, bare and groundleſs allegations.

The frequent conteſts, about the elections, of biſhops and abbots, are, alſo, a material article of the affairs of the church; but, as I have often had occaſion to ſpeak of them, I ſhall, at preſent, only point out, in general, the foundation of theſe diſputes. As to the ſee of Canterbury, the monks of St. Auguſtin's alledged, that it was their province to elect the archbiſhops, excluſive of all others; but the ſuffragran biſhops of that ſee claimed an equal right with the monks. On the contrary, the court would not willingly ſuffer any to be promoted to the archiepiſcopal dignity, without their approbation; ſo that, directly or indirectly, they had, all along, a great ſhare in the elections. By reaſon of theſe interfering intereſts, it was ſcarce poſſible, that an archbiſhop ſhould be choſen, without ſome conteſt; ſometimes, becauſe the monks were elected, without conſulting the ſuffragan biſhops, and, at other times, becauſe the biſhops made a different choice from that of the monks; one while, the monks themſelves made a double election;

election; and, at another, the prelate, being disagreeable to the king, could not obtain his confirmation. The court of Rome reaped great advantages from these controversies, since to her was referred the decision of them; and, on such occasions, the popes made it a rule, to declare in favour of him, who was most attached to the holy see. They frequently, by the plenitude of their apostolical power, annulled the elections made, with unanimous consent, and caused whom they pleased to be elected; of which several instances occur, in the History of England.

These dissentions reigned almost as much, in the elections of the other bishops and abbots; for the court had always, among those that had a right to vote, a party which generally carried it from the others; or, at least, it was strong enough to hinder the election of such, as were not agreeable to the king. Whatever happened, they raised disputes, which were referred to the court of Rome; and then it was that the king made use of such means with the pope, as were, for the most part, successful.

The immunities very often granted, by the court of Rome, to churches and monasteries, in prejudice of the bishops, were, likewise, a fertile source of disputes. These immunities regarded either the visitations of the religious houses, the elections of the abbots, or the dispensations to some bishops to be absent from the councils; and all these articles produced an infinite number of suits, of which the whole profit accrued to the pope, who, under this pretence commanded the parties to repair to Rome, to defend their respective rights; but, when once they were there, they never saw the end of their suits, unless, by presents, they procured dispatch; and he, that was most liberal, generally carried the point. Of this it would be easy to give several instances; but there is no occasion to prove a fact so notorious and well attested; and it is, now, high time to proceed to the councils, during the four reigns, under our consideration.

COUNCILS, in the reign of HENRY II.

A mixt council.

IN the year 1155, the first of Henry II, a mixt council was held in London, consisting of bishops and barons, in which several affairs were debated, relating to the church and state; which I mention, on purpose to shew that the use of these mixt councils was not, as yet, entirely abolished.

A council against Becket.

In 1166, a synod was convened, which appealed to the pope, from the excommunication denounced by Thomas Becket, against those that observed the constitutions of Clarendon.

The same year, in the opinion of Dr. Hody, but six years sooner, in that of Spelman, and, according to others, four only, Henry II. called a council at Oxford, to examine the tenets of certain hereticks, stiled Publicans; who, in all probability, were disciples of the Waldenses, who began then to appear. When they were asked, in the council, who they were, they answered they were christians, and followers of the doctrine of the apostles; and, being afterwards questioned, upon the articles of the creed, their replies were very orthodox, as to the trinity and incarnation; but, if, we may give credit to William of Newburgh, they rejected baptism, the eucharist, marriage, and the communion of saints. They discover'd a great deal of modesty and meekness, in their whole behaviour; and, when they were threatened with death, in order to deter them to renounce their tenets, they only said, "Blessed are they that suffer for righ-"teousness sake." The council, finding that they were not to be prevailed on, delivered them over to the secular power; and, unfortunately for them, the king, being then at variance with the pope, treated them with greater severity, than he would have done, at any other juncture. After causing them to be branded with a hot iron, he prohibited, under heavy penalties, all persons to afford them any relief; yet they endured this hard treatment very chearfully; and, as they could meet with no assistance, either to stay in the kingdom, or to depart from thence, they all miserably perished. This is all the account that historians have given of these pretended hereticks, without so much as telling us, why they were named Publicans. I observed, that, in all likelihood, they were the disciples of the Waldenses, because of their orthodoxy on the trinity and incarnation of the son of God, their patience, and their answer to the council, that they followed the doctrine of the apostles; for that was precisely the language of the Waldenses. Indeed, we cannot trace the Waldenses, in the tenets ascribed to them concerning baptism, the eucharist, marriage, and the communion of saints; but, possibly, the historians, who mention them, have misrepresented their doctrine. Perhaps, they did not believe transubstantiation, and refused to communicate with such as believed it; and, therefore, it was inferred, that they rejected the eucharist and communion of saints. As for baptism, it may be, with the Waldenses, they would have had it, stript of all the ceremonies tacked to it, since its institution; and, in fine, perhaps, they denied marriage to be a sacrament, and, for no other reason, were accused of rejecting it. However this be, they were not the first, to whom have been ascribed doctrines, very little agreeable to their sentiments, by strained consequences, as it is easy to prove from the history of the Waldenses and Albigenses *; and, tho' what I have been saying is only con-

* The Waldenses published the articles of their faith, which they dedicated to the French king, when they were persecuted by him; and, tho' the monks would have concealed their doctrines, they came, at last, to light, partly by the quarrels of the papists among themselves, and partly by the taking of Montburn, in 1585, by the Mareschal de Lesdiguieres, a protestant; who saved the records of the persecutions, found in that place, when the monks designed to have burnt them, because they not only contained an account of the cruelties against the Waldenses, but proved, that their doctrine was the same with that of the protestants.

jecture,

jecture, it is ſufficiently plauſible, to make one ſtand aſtoniſhed at the raſhneſs of ſome proteſtant authors, who, upon the credit of William of Newburgh, the monk, and ſome others of the ſame order, have ſo roughly handled theſe pretended hereticks.

Gervaſe, in his Chronicle, ſpeaks of another council convened by Henry II, in which, he affirms, that prince cauſed the biſhops to ſwear to obey his orders, before he had informed them of his intentions; and he adds, that, in conſequence of this oath, he would have obliged them to withdraw their obedience to Alexander III, and own the antipope, were it not that the prelates flatly refuſed it. One would think, that Gervaſe, who was a monk of St. Auguſtin's, and contemporary with Becket, ſhould have a perfect knowledge of all that paſſed, in that prelate's conteſt with the king; but, as he is extremely partial, in favour of Becket, and, beſides, no other hiſtorian takes notice of this council, we can hardly doubt of its being a fiction. The only foundation, for it, is Henry's writing to the archbiſhop of Cologn, as was obſerved, in the hiſtory of his reign; but I ſhall juſt remark here, that certain modern hiſtorians, relying too much on the authority of Gervaſe, who was Becket's creature, have unwarily followed him, in their account of this quarrel; from whence they have been led to favour the archbiſhop, and inſinuate, as if he was unjuſtly perſecuted by the king, which ſhews, how apt hiſtorians are to ſlide inſenſibly into the notions, or prejudices, of thoſe that have writ before them.

A ſynod at Weſtminſter.

In 1175, Richard, archbiſhop of Canterbury, convened in Weſtminſter a national ſynod, in which he cauſed to be read ſome canons, drawn up by himſelf, chiefly relating to eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, and the celibacy of the prieſts, which was not yet thoroughly eſtabliſhed; but Roger, archbiſhop of York, not being preſent at this ſynod, ſent agents, who proteſted, in his name, againſt three things, wherein he thought himſelf aggrieved. Firſt, he complained of being denied the privilege of having the croſs carried before him, in the province of Canterbury; ſecondly, that the biſhopricks of Lincoln, Cheſter, Worceſter, and Hereford were unjuſtly taken from the juriſdiction of the ſee of York; and, in the laſt place, on account of an excommunication denounced by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, againſt ſome clergymen of St. Oſwald's, in Glouceſter. Hence it appears, that the old diſputes, between the two metropolitans, were ſtill kept on foot, notwithſtanding the care taken, to put an end to them, in the reign of Henry I.

What was tranſacted, the next year 1176, in a ſynod held by Huguccio, the pope's legate, is a farther proof of this point; for, the archbiſhop of York ſeating himſelf, on the right-hand of the legate, the archbiſhop of Canterbury's domeſticks dragged him thence, and trampled upon him; but this accident cauſed the ſynod to break up, and was followed with a long proceſs, which occaſioned both the metropolitans to carry to the court of Rome ſeveral appeals, from which ſhe reaped great advantages.

An expedient of the clergy, to ſatisfy the pope.

In the year 1183, the pope deſiring Henry II, to procure him a ſubſidy from the clergy, to enable him to carry on the war againſt the emperor, the king aſſembled the prelates, to acquaint them with the pope's demand; and the clergy, not daring to refuſe the aid the pontiff required, and yet dreading that it might be made a precedent, contrary to the liberties of the church of England, intreated the king to give the pope what he judged reaſonable, promiſing to repay him whatever he ſhould advance.

A ſynod at Armagh in Ireland. Gir. Cam.

In this reign, two councils were held in Ireland; in the firſt of which, convened at Armagh, preſently after the conqueſts of the Engliſh, it was decreed, that all the Engliſh ſlaves ſhould be enfranchiſed; for the prelates believed, that the calamities, their iſland began to ſuffer, proceeded from the Iriſh detaining, in ſlavery, men, who were chriſtians, as well as themſelves; and, beſides, they conſidered that encouragement was given to pyrates, by furniſhing them with an opportunity of ſelling their ſlaves in Ireland. The other ſynod was held at Caſhel, to put the church of Ireland upon the ſame foot with that of England; that is, to reduce the Iriſh clergy under the pope's juriſdiction, purſuant to the king's promiſe, when he demanded Adrian's conſent, to make that conqueſt.

The XIth council of Lateran.

Before I conclude what relates to the councils in the reign of Henry II, I ſhall add a word, concerning the XIth council of Lateran, convened at Rome by Alexander III. There were only three Engliſh biſhops in this aſſembly; for, Roger de Hoveden aſſures us, it was one of the privileges of the church of England, not to be obliged to ſend more than four biſhops to councils held at Rome. The Albigenſes were excommunicated, in this council; and all chriſtians were very ſtrictly forbidden, to keep any correſpondence with them.

One of the canons prohibited, on pain of excommunication, to promiſe benefices, before a vacancy; but this prohibition took place only, with regard to patrons; for the popes broke it continually, by means of proviſions, which they often uſed, in ſpite of this canon.

It was farther reſolved, in the ſame council, to eaſe the vaſt expence, churches and religious houſes were liable to, for the entertainment of the viſitors, and their retinue, that, in viſitations, an archbiſhop ſhould have no more than 50 horſe, a biſhop only 30, a legate 25, and an archdeacon ſeven; a wonderful reformation! which evidently ſhews the moderation of the council. The charges, the abbies and churches were at, upon this occaſion, were ſtiled procurations; doubtleſs, becauſe the churches were obliged to procure what was neceſſary, for the entertainment of the viſitors; but, in proceſs of time, this was turned into a certain ſum of money, which ſtill retained the name of procurations, and became a fertile

ſource of oppreſſions, laid, by the nuncio's and legates, on the churches, under that pretence. tiltings and tournaments were, alſo, forbidden; but they were not aboliſhed by this prohibition.

COUNCILS, in the reign of RICHARD I.

A ſynod in favour of John's marriage. M. Paris.

IN 1189, Baldwin, archbiſhop of Canterbury, interdicting the lands of prince John, becauſe of his marriage with his couſin, Aviſa of Glouceſter, there was an appeal to the pope from this procedure; upon which, his holineſs ſent John de Anagnia, as his legate, into England, who called a ſynod, which annulled the archbiſhop's proceedings, and took off the interdict; and the pope afterwards confirm'd the marriage, by his authority; but, notwithſtanding this deciſive ſentence, the marriage was annulled, ſeveral years after, on the ſame pretence of kindred, and by the ſame authority, every thing being eaſy to thoſe, that are inveſted with abſolute power.

Baldwin, being about to attend Richard to the Holy-Land, called a ſynod; in which he declared, that he left the adminiſtrarion of the affairs of the province of Canterbury to the biſhop of London, and of his particular dioceſe to the biſhop of Rocheſter.

During the abſence of the two archbiſhops, one of whom was in the eaſt, and the other in Normandy, the biſhop of Ely, regent of the kingdom, and the pope's legate, convened two ſynods, one at Glouceſter, and another at Weſtminſter; but nothing of moment was tranſacted, his view, in calling them, being only to make a ſhow of his grandeur.

Baldwin dying at Acres, as ſoon as the news reached England, the biſhop of London ſent an inhibition to the monks of St. Auguſtin's, to proceed to the election of an archbiſhop, without the conſent of the ſuffragan biſhops; and, ſome time after, the ſuffragans being met at Canterbury, the monks came into their aſſembly, and declared, that they had elected the biſhop of Bath, whom, at the ſame inſtant, they placed on the archiepiſcopal throne. The biſhops appealed to the pope; but the death of the prelate elect, which fell out, ſoon after, put an end to the difference.

A ſynod at York. Hoved.

In 1193, Richard ſent, from Paleſtine, a letter to the ſuffragan biſhops of Canterbury, commanding them to proceed to the election of an archbiſhop, jointly with the monks of St. Auguſtin's; purſuant to which order, a ſort of ſynod was held, and Hubert Walters elected, whom the king had ſtrongly recommended.

Two years after, the ſame Hubert, being made legate, held, in the cathedral of York, a national ſynod, which decreed ſeveral canons; but two of them only deſerve to be related. The IIId prohibits prieſts to take money, for ſaying maſs; and the Vth expreſly forbids deacons to adminiſter the ſacraments of baptiſm and the euchariſt, unleſs in caſes of neceſſity.

COUNCILS, in the reign of King JOHN.

A ſynod held, notwithſtanding the king's prohibition. Hoved.

IN the year 1200, archbiſhop Hubert convened a national ſynod at Weſtminſter, notwithſtanding the king's prohibition; which is remarked by hiſtorians, as the firſt uſurpation of this nature; and ſeveral canons were made in it, the principal of which are theſe:

The firſt regulates the pronunciation of divine ſervice, to prevent reading prayers, either too faſt, or too ſlow.

The IId forbids the conſecrating the euchariſt, more than once in a day, without urgent neceſſity.

The XIth declares againſt clandeſtine marriages, and prohibits married perſons to travel, beyond ſea, without publiſhing their mutual conſent.

A ſynod which refuſes money to the pope. M. Paris.

In 1206, the pope deſigning to levy, in England, an extraordinary romeſcot, or peter-pence, the biſhops aſſembled in a ſynod, to debate upon his demand; but, the king ſending them orders to proceed no farther, they broke up, without coming to any reſolution; and, indeed, peter-pence not concerning the clergy, more than the reſt of the nation, they had no right to determine, whether it was to be paid, or not. However, ſhortly after, Florentinus, a legate, called another ſynod at Reading, on the ſame account; and, as if the clergy had occaſioned the king's refuſal, extorted from them an aid, in lieu of the extraordinary romeſcot demanded by the pope.

I paſs over in ſilence ſeveral councils, held, purely, to regulate the reſtitution, the king was to make the eccleſiaſticks, after his reconciliation to the pope, having ſpoken of them, in other places.

The XIIth council of Lateran. M. Paris.

During the reign of king John, pope Innocent III. called the XIIth council of Lateran, at which were preſent 412 biſhops; and 70 canons were paſſed, according to the hiſtorians, not very agreeable to the prelates, by whoſe authority they were made; which led a famous modern to conjecture, that the pope drew up theſe canons himſelf, and that they were read before the council, whoſe ſilence was taken for an approbation. This artifice began to be practiſed, in order to paſs in councils whatever the pope deſired; for the preſident ordered the canons, ready drawn up, to be read, and, the prelates perceiving they were not deſigned to be debated, no one preſumed to be the firſt oppoſer; but, in proceſs of time, this expedient was often uſed, and the council of Vienne, held in 1312, which aboliſhed the order of the knights-templars, will furniſh us with a remarkable inſtance. M. Du Pin.

To return to the council of Lateran; ſince the church of England, as a member of the catholick church, was no leſs concerned than the other churches, in the canons made in it, it will not, perhaps, be foreign to my deſign to be ſomewhat particular; but, to avoid prolixity, it will be ſufficient to take notice of the three following canons.

The

Canons of the Lateran council.

The Ist expreſly eſtabliſhes the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation.

The IIId imports, that the ſecular powers ſhall be requeſted, ſollicited, and, upon occaſion, compelled, by eccleſiaſtical cenſures, to take an oath, to do all that is poſſible to extirpate all hereticks; and that, for the future, all perſons, without exception, ſhall be obliged to ſwear the ſame oath, upon their being promoted to any dignity ſpiritual or temporal; but, if any temporal lord refuſes to purge his dominions of hereticks, after an admonition, he ſhall be excommunicated by the metropolitan and his ſuffragans; and, if he contemns the cenſures of the church, and refuſes to make ſatisfaction, within a year, the pope ſhall declare his ſubjects and vaſſals abſolved from their oath of allegiance, and invite the catholick princes to ſeize his country, ſaving to the ſovereign of the fee, if there is any, his rights; upon condition that the ſaid ſovereign ſhall do nothing, to obſtruct the execution of the canon.

Remarks on the third canon.

It is not eaſy to read this decree, without being ſurpriſed, that biſhops ſhould aſſume a right to deprive ſovereign princes of their dominions, as if, in fact, Jeſus Chriſt had, in plain and expreſs terms, inveſted them with ſuch a power. They might be allowed to exhort, requeſt, and ſollicit princes, to purge their territories of hereticks, and even to excommunicate theſe princes, under colour of their being, as members of the church, liable to eccleſiaſtical cenſures, as well as their ſubjects; but that biſhops may extend their authority, ſo far as to decree temporal puniſhments, and deprive princes, or even private perſons of their property, is what cannot be granted, without reſigning to them, at the ſame time, the temporal ſovereignty of the whole chriſtian world. To what purpoſe, then, will ſome ſay, is excommunication, if the perſons excommunicated contemn it? I know not; God alone will be judge, in the other life; tho' this did not content the clergy, much leſs the popes, who would be reſpected, feared, and obeyed, in the preſent, that being the ſole end of all their excommunications; and, indeed, temporal puniſhments were abſolutely neceſſary to this purpoſe, ſpiritual ones only producing their effect, in the next world, about which they were little concerned. Thanks be to God, the generality of chriſtians embrace, now, a different theology; and, accordingly, the excommunications of princes are much leſs frequent, becauſe the eyes of the people are opened, who do not think themſelves obliged to renounce their allegiance to their ſovereigns, in complaiſance to the pope. It may be farther obſerved, on this decree, that, tho' it ſeemed to be levelled only againſt the earl of Tholouſe, and the other protectors of the Albigenſes, the conſequences extended to all chriſtian princes, in general; and, indeed, from this principle, naturally flowed the unlimited authority, too frequently exerted by the Roman pontiff.

The laſt canon of the council of Lateran, that I propoſe to conſider, is the XIVth; by by which it is decreed, that the prieſts addicted to debauchery, in countries where marriage is allowed, ſhould be more ſeverely puniſhed than thoſe, who live in places, where they are obliged to celibacy; from whence it may be inferred, that the celibacy of the clergy was not, as yet, univerſally eſtabliſhed.

COUNCILS, in the reign of HENRY III.

I Shall not take notice of all the councils, in the long reign of Henry III, becauſe they were, for the moſt part, called, purely, to ſupply the popes with money, or to countenance their exactions; deſigning only to mention ſuch as, more immediately, related to religion, or wherein ſomething remarkable was tranſacted.

A ſynod at Canterbury, in which 3 perſons were condemned. T. Wikes.

In 1222, cardinal Langton held, in the cathedral of Canterbury, a provincial ſynod; in which three men were condemned, and delivered over to the ſecular arm. The firſt pretended to be Jeſus Chriſt, and ſhewed, on his body, the five wounds of our Saviour; the ſecond was an Hermaphrodite, who accompanied that impoſtor; and the third was a deacon, who, to marry a Jewiſh woman, with whom he was in love, had circumciſed himſelf*.

A ſynod againſt the marriage of prieſts.

In 1225, the ſame prelate convened a ſynod, which made a canon, confirming the prohibition of the marriage of the prieſts; from whence it may be preſumed, that there were ſtill, in England, prieſts, who maintained their ground againſt all former prohibitions.

In 1237, Otho, the pope's legate, called a national council at London, in St. Paul's church; but, as he foreſaw, that oppoſition would be made to the canons he intended to paſs againſt pluralities, he obtained of the king a guard of 200 men; yet no ſooner had the prelates taken their places, than he ordered certain canons to be read, which were brought from Rome, ready prepared, according to the modern method. When the canon againſt pluraliſts came to be read, Walter de Cantilupe, biſhop of Wincheſter, and ſome other prelates, vigorouſly oppoſed it, and even proteſted againſt it; which oppoſition obliged the legate to declare, that the canon ſhould be in force only, during the time of his legateſhip; yet, when it was paſſed, upon that condition, an eccleſiaſtick, in the legate's retinue, read aloud a decretal epiſtle of the pope, which ordained, that this canon ſhould be perpetually binding.

The IId limits the number of ſacraments to ſeven †.

The IIId fixes the eves of Eaſter and Whitſunday, for the adminiſtration of baptiſm; and, as ſome ſcrupled to baptiſe their children, on theſe days, their ſcruples were condemned.

The XXIId enjoins the clergy to live on their benefices, at leaſt, the greateſt part of the year;

* He was tied to a ſtake, and burnt; whereas the impoſtor was condemned to perpetual impriſonment, and to be fed with nothing, except bread and water.

† Baptiſm, confirmation, penance, the euchariſt, extreme unction, matrimony, and orders.

and,

and, indeed, as the pope diſpenſed with the reſidence of the Italians, who poſſeſſed a great number of benefices, in England, if the Engliſh had not been obliged to reſide, the churches would have been quite forſaken.

In 1239, a council was aſſembled at London, which flatly refuſed the legate the money demanded, to defray the expences of his legateſhip.

The following year, the ſame legate aſſembled another ſynod, wherein he demanded, for the pope, the fifth part of the revenues of the clergy; tho' he could not prevail.

All the reſt of the councils, from 1240 to 1264, were only convened, to demand money of the clergy.

Synods at Reading and at Northampton. T. Wikes.

During the barons wars, two councils were held; the firſt at Reading, which confirmed the appeal, brought by the barons, from the proceedings of the legate, then at Boulogne; and in the ſecond at Northampton, in 1266, Othobon, the legate, excommunicated all clergymen engaged in the earl of Leiceſter's party.

A council at St. Pauls.

In 1268, the ſame legate called, at St. Paul's in London, a national council, in which were publiſhed certain conſtitutions brought from Rome; and ſome of them are ſtill part of the canon-law of the Engliſh church. As ſeveral of theſe conſtitutions tended to leſſen the power and juriſdiction of the biſhops, ſtrenuous oppoſition was made againſt them; which obliged the legate to prorogue the aſſembly, till the enſuing day. However, he ſo wiſely improved this ſhort adjournment, that gaining, in this interval, either by promiſes or menaces, ſuch as ſeemed moſt averſe, on the morrow, he met with no farther reſiſtance.

Conſtitutions brought from Rome.

The Iſt of theſe conſtitutions allows laymen to adminiſter baptiſm, in caſes of neceſſity.

The IId prohibits prieſts to take money, for adminiſtring the ſacraments, and preſcribes theſe words to be made uſe of, in giving abſolution: "I abſolve thee from all thy ſins; or, "By the authority committed unto me, I ab"ſolve thee, &c." from whence it may be inferred, that there were ſtill ſome prieſts, who, ſcrupling to pronounce the abſolution, in a direct manner, were contented with a bare declaration.

The IXth enjoins reſidence to clergymen.

The XIIIth confirms the privilege of ſanctuary to churches.

The XIVth ordains the ſolemnizing of marriage, in publick.

The XXth is againſt thoſe that pretend to give a compenſation, in lieu of the penance enjoined them.

The XXIIId provides againſt alienating any part of the tythes from the parochial clergy; which conſtitution particularly concerned the monks, to whom ſuch alienations were daily appropriated.

The XXXth is againſt pluraliſts.

The original of commendams.

The XXXIſt forbids the giving benefices, in commendam, and declares a benefice, held in that manner, vacant; which cuſtom became much in vogue, and owed its original to the perſecutions the church endured, whilſt the northern nations over-run the weſtern empire. When, by the fury of the wars, the prieſts and biſhops themſelves were forced to fly, the principal prelates of the province appointed prieſts, to officiate in the vacant benefices, till the paſtors could reſume the care of their flocks; but this cuſtom was, at length abuſed, in a manner very prejudicial to the church; for, peace being reſtored, ſuch prieſts as were not the true paſtors, and were ſtiled commendatories, ſtill continued in the benefices, to the prejudice of the proper incumbents. Several councils endeavoured to reform this abuſe, by decreeing, that thoſe who held benefices, in commendam, ſhould not receive the profits, or officiate, as paſtors, above ſix months; but the popes, pretending to be above the canons, continued to diſpoſe of benefices, in commendam, for term of life.

The XXXIId canon decrees, that, before the conſecration of a biſhop, ſtrict enquiry ſhould be made, whether he held more livings than one, without a diſpenſation, and whether the diſpenſation was authentick and in form?

The XXXIVth annuls all previous contracts, between patrons and perſons preſented to benefices.

Theſe are the chief councils held in England, from the beginning of the reign of Henry II, to the end of that of Henry III, that is, during the ſpace of 60 years; but, having obſerved the manner of making the canons, it will be neceſſary to ſubjoin another remark, on that ſubject. It happened very frequently, that, in order to procure a canon to be paſſed, that was likely to meet with ſtrong oppoſition, it was inſerted, among many others of great uſe; which was done, that the oppoſers might be accuſed of withſtanding regulations of known uſefulneſs. This artifice was alſo practiſed in parliaments, when, to paſs certain bills, others of abſolute neceſſity were tacked to them; yet it has, from time to time, been ſo ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, that it could never, hitherto, grow into a cuſtom.

What we have remarked, in ſome of theſe councils, concerning the celibacy of the clergy, clearly proves, that it was not yet univerſally eſtabliſhed, though it is pretended that Anſelm accompliſhed it, in the reign of Henry I; and this evidence may be farther ſupported, by facts. Long after Anſelm, Richard, a biſhop of Lichfield, was the ſon of Robert, biſhop of Cheſter; upon which, an hiſtorian obſerves, that, in thoſe days, the being ſon to a prieſt did not hinder promotions in the church; and the ſame author affirms, that, the pope complaining, that the biſhop elect of Ely was not come to Rome, for his confirmation, the Engliſh ambaſſador merrily replied, that the prelate had a very lawful excuſe, taken from the holy ſcriptures, viz. "He had juſt "married a wife." It appears, alſo, from Baronius's Annals, that a legate ſent, by pope Innocent III, into Poland, to eſtabliſh the celibacy of the clergy, did, at laſt, carry his point; tho', attempting to do the ſame thing in Bohemia, he was in danger of his life.

There

There was another article, of as much conſequence to the popes, and which they puſhed as vigorouſly, as that of celibacy; namely, to give to their ordinances or decretals the ſame authority, as to the canons of the councils. In 1150, Gratian publiſhed a collection of decretals, containing all the ordinances made by the popes to that time, deſigning it for a rule, in the adminiſtration of eccleſiaſtical juſtice; and to this collection were afterwards added ſeveral others, in order to compoſe a compleat body of the canon-law. Raymond de Pegnoford, penitentiary to Gregory IX, was ordered to make this collection, intitled, The ſecond Part of the Canon-Law, and publiſhed in 1230; to which he annexed ſome conſtitutions of the councils, and reſolutions of the doctors, ſince the year 1150, where the ſecond part began; and this laſt collection was not only a ſupplement to the old canon-law, but even altered it, in ſeveral articles. For example, it is determined, that baſtards ſhould be incapable of eccleſiaſtical preferments, without the pope's diſpenſation; but, by this additional clauſe, "without the pope's diſpenſation," the court of Rome aſſumed, indirectly, the power of favouring baſtards, when ſhe judged it expedient, contrary to the antient conſtitutions of the councils. That court could never have a fairer opportunity to publiſh the decretals, her power being, now, at the utmoſt height; and, therefore, meeting with very little reſiſtance, they enacted, as a law, whatever they were pleaſed to decree, even though directly contrary to the former laws. For inſtance, the laws of England accounted, as illegitimate, children born before marriage, tho' their parents were afterwards married; but the canon-law decreed the contrary; which occaſioned great conteſts in the parliament of Merton, in 1236.

Religious orders.

The Roman pontiffs were no ſooner become almoſt abſolute monarchs in the church, than a vaſt variety of religious orders ſprang up, that ſerved, as a ſtanding army, to ſupport the grandeur and power of the popes; inſomuch that the council of Lateran endeavoured to prevent this abuſe, by expreſly prohibiting the inſtitution of any new order of monks. However, Dominic de Guzman, a Spaniard, who long preached againſt the Albigenſes, in ſpite of this prohibition, formed the project of a new order, under the name of Predicant friars, of which he petitioned for pope Innocent's confirmation. The pope, by reaſon of the decree of the Lateran council, ſcrupled, at firſt, to conſent to this eſtabliſhment; but, if we may give credit to the hiſtorians of this order, he was told, by a heavenly viſion, that he could do nothing more ſerviceable to the church; yet it was Honorius, his ſucceſſor, confirmed this new order, by the name of Predicant friars, the deſign of their inſtitution being to preach againſt hereticks; and they were alſo ſtiled Dominicans, from their founder, and in France, Jacobins, from their firſt ſettlement in St. James's ſtreet in Paris. The court of the inquiſition was under the direction of the Dominicans, which rendered them famous, for their cruelties, upon the pretended hereticks; and they ſettled in England, ſoon after their inſtitution, in 1317.

The order of Franciſcans, founded by Francis de Aſſiſi, quickly followed that of the Dominicans; for Innocent III. approved of it, in 1215, though he did not authentickly confirm it; but Honorius III. eſtabliſhed it, by a bull, in 1223, and, the next year, it was ſettled in England. The religious of this order, out of modeſty, choſe the name of Minors, or Minorites; and though, in proceſs of time, they were divided into ſeveral ſocieties, they all acknowledged Francis de Aſſiſi, for their head and founder. They were obliged, by their rule, not to preach, or take confeſſions, in any dioceſe, without expreſs leave from the biſhop; but this article was not long obſerved by them. They repreſented to the pope, that chriſtians were aſhamed to confeſs themſelves to their own paſtors; that many made a ſcruple of doing it, becauſe the pariſh-prieſts themſelves were guilty of the ſins confeſſed to them; and, in fine, that they had not the diſcretion to be ſecret. Upon this foundation, they petitioned a diſpenſation, for this part of their rule; which was readily granted.

The Dominicans and Franciſcans acquired ſo great a character, for ſanctity, among the people, that moſt of them had one of theſe friars, for a director; and, conſequently, the alms they received were very conſiderable. Beſides, for a long ſpace, almoſt all the popes were choſen out of one or other of theſe orders; ſo that, by their credit at the court of Rome, they procured very frequently grants of what belonged to other orders, pretending that it was neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence. On the other hand, they heaped up immenſe riches, not only by the voluntary gifts of the living, but by the legacies and grants extorted from the dying, who were taught to believe, that nothing could contribute more to their eternal ſalvation; yet, in the interim, whilſt theſe two orders laboured, with equal ardor, to ingroſs the benefactions of the devout, and ſo became rivals, a jealouſy aroſe between them, which was ſoon followed by a moſt ſcandalous quarrel, that was not eaſily compoſed.

In a council at Rocheſter, in 1244, a new order of friars, named Croſs-bearers, appeared and demanded leave to ſettle in England; who produced a bull from the pope, forbidding all perſons to reproach them, and impowering them to excommunicate thoſe, that ſhould dare to violate this privilege; but, the ſynod rejecting their petition, they were ſent away, under the pretence, that the granting them a licenſe was a direct breach upon the canons of the late council of Lateran.

I ſhall conclude this abſtract of the State of the Church, with ſome remarks on the celebrated eccleſiaſticks of thoſe days.

John of Salisbury.

Johannes Sarisburienſis, a native, and not biſhop, of Salisbury, as ſome have aſſerted, was an ornament to the church of England, for learning, politeneſs, and regularity of life; and he was very intimate with Adrian IV, who uſed to complain to him of the weight of the

papal crown; tho' the bull, which Adrian granted to Henry II, on account of the conqueſt of Ireland, ſeems to ſhew, that he was not the moſt ſcrupulous. John de Salisbury, who adhered to Thomas Becket, and followed him into France, was, by his means, promoted to the biſhoprick of Chartres. He wrote the Polycraticon, or de Nugis Curialium; a Collection of Letters; and ſeveral other inconſiderable tracts; and he died in 1181, or 1182.

As for Thomas Becket, or Stephen Langton, archbiſhop of Canterbury, I have ſufficiently ſpoken of them, elſewhere.

Baldwin of Canterbury.

Baldwin, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who attended Richard to the Holy-Land, where he died, was reputed to be a good divine; and ſome of his works, ſtill extant, prove that his reputation was not groundleſs. His great conteſt with the monks of St. Auguſtin, who became extremely inſolent, put him upon founding a ſociety of regular canons, near Canterbury, deſigning to transfer to them, by degrees, the privileges of the monaſtery of St. Auguſtin; but the monks, receiving early intelligence of his intent, made ſuch an intereſt at the court of Rome, that the archbiſhop was obliged to deſiſt from his project.

Hugh of Lincoln.

Hugh, biſhop of Lincoln, a native of Grenoble, was one of the moſt illuſtrious prelates of the church of England, in the reigns of Richard I. and king John; and his virtue gained him great reverence from the people of his dioceſe, who exceedingly dreaded being excommunicated by him, becauſe they obſerved, as they imagined, that thoſe, who lay under his cenſures, were, for the moſt part, viſited with ſome worldly calamity. It is related, as an inſtance of his zeal and reſolution, that, by his own authority, he ordered to be removed, out of the church of Godſtow in Oxfordſhire, the tomb of Roſamond, miſtreſs to Henry II; which ſtood in the middle of the choir, hung with black velvet, and wax tapers about it; for, though he was told, that the tomb was placed there, by the king's order, he ſaid it was a ſhameful thing, that the tomb of ſuch a woman ſhould ſtand in that honourable place; and this prelate, dying with the reputation of a ſaint, was canonized by Honorius III, in 1221.

Alexander Cementarius.

In the midſt of king John's conteſt with the pope, Alexander Cementarius, a clergyman, who had been profeſſor of divinity at the univerſity of Paris, publickly preached, that the pope had no power to deprive kings of their crown; but this freedom drew on him the indignation of the court of Rome, who reduced him, at length, to the neceſſity of begging his bread, from door to door. Matthew Paris ſharply inveighs againſt the errors of this doctor, tho' no one ſeemed more convinced, than this hiſtorian, of the pope's abuſe of his power, as he has evidently demonſtrated, in his hiſtory.

Walter of York.

Walter de Gray, archbiſhop of York, was more famous as a ſtateſman, than as a divine; and his ſucceſſors were inriched by his bounty, in purchaſing the manor of Thorp, and annexing it to his ſee. He alſo built, at London, a magnificent palace, called York-Place; tho' it afterwards went by the name of White-Hall; but this houſe, which was, for many years, a palace-royal, was, ſome time ſince, burnt down to the ground.

Edmund of Durham.

Edmund, who, from a canon of Salisbury, was advanced to the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury, after the pope had annulled three elections, to make room for him, was highly to be commended, for his moderation and regular life. He would have been glad to ſee the pope's power, then at its utmoſt height, reduced within due bounds; but, as he perceived, that ſuch an attempt muſt have proved unſucceſsful, he choſe rather to give way to the torrent, than withſtand ſo formidable a power, which was alſo ſupported by the king's authority. However, to avoid the blame of a baſe compliance, he retired into France, to the monaſtery of Pontigny, where his auſterities ſhortened his days; and he was canonized by pope Innocent IV, in 1216.

Richard Poor of Durham.

Richard Poor, biſhop of Salisbury, and afterwards of Durham, is remarkable, upon two accounts; for, firſt, whilſt he was biſhop of Sarum, he perſuaded the inhabitants to remove to a more advantageous ſituation, where Saliſbury now ſtands; and there he laid the foundation of a ſtately church, which was not finiſhed, till 30 years after, and remains, to this day. Secondly, this prelate was render'd famous, by his ſynodical conſtitutions, for the uſe of the church of Salisbury, which are, in all, 87; but I ſhall only take notice of the XVth, that forbids the prieſts to take money, for ſaying maſs, and the XXXIVth, which evidently ſhews, that the laity, communicated in both kinds, at that time.

Alexander Hales.

Alexander Hales, born in Glouceſterſhire, a great canoniſt, being ſtiled the irrefragable doctor, was profeſſor of divinity in the univerſity of Paris; who, among his other works, compoſed ſhort notes on the whole bible, and a commentary, in four books, upon the maſter of the ſentences; wherein, as the learned Du Pin obſerves, he diſcovers more skill in logick and metaphyſicks, than in the antiquities of the church.

Sewald of York.

Sewald, archbiſhop of York, was an able divine, and of an unblameable life; copying after Edmund, archbiſhop of Canterbury, his maſter. He was ſo incenſed at the frequent exactions of the court of Rome, that he wrote a ſharp remonſtrance to pope Alexander IV, upon that ſubject; and, among other things, he repreſented to him, that, when Jeſus Chriſt commiſſioned St. Peter to feed his ſheep, he did not give him authority to flea them. This freedom, with his refuſal to admit ſome Italians, who came with proviſions from the court of Rome, drew on him the diſpleaſure of Alexander, who, at length, excommunicated him; but the archbiſhop, upon his death-bed, complained bitterly of the pope's injuſtice, appealing to Heaven; and Matthew Paris, doubtleſs, did not believe, that this excommunication deprived Sewald of eternal ſalvation, ſince he aſſures us, that this prelate wrought a miracle, in his laſt ſickneſs.

Robert

Kilwarby of Canterbury.

Robert Kilwarby, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was a very learned prelate, for the age he lived in; but, his merit raiſing him to the dignity of a cardinal, he reſigned his archbiſhoprick, to live at Rome.

I ſhall cloſe my account of the moſt noted eccleſiaſticks of thoſe days, with the mention of one of the moſt eminent, viz. Groſteſt, biſhop of Lincoln; but I ſhall ſpeak more fully of him than the reſt, as there are ſeveral curious particulars concerning him.

Groſteſt of Lincoln.

Groſteſt was a prelate of reſolution and courage, neither to be gained by court-favours, nor deterred by the pope's menaces; but, being wholly intent upon following what he apprehended to be juſt and reaſonable, he little regarded the circumſtances of the times, or the quality of perſons, oppoſing equally the king's will, and the pope's pleaſure, as opportunity offered; and, by this invincible ſteadineſs, he acquired a great reputation among the people, long accuſtomed to ſee the biſhops ſtoop to the king, or the pope. It fell out, one day, that he excommunicated the ſheriff, for refuſing to impriſon an excommunicated perſon, who contemned the church's cenſures; but Henry III, very angry with the biſhop, for not applying to him, to compel the ſheriff, to execute the canons, addreſſed the pope, to ſecure his authority; a remedy worſe than the diſeaſe.

This affair obliged Groſteſt to take a journey to Rome, where he was confirmed in his ill opinion of the court of Rome; for he could not ſee, without indignation and concern, the beſt preferments in England beſtowed on Italians, who neither reſided on their benefices, nor underſtood a word of Engliſh. His grief to behold the church's revenues devoured by theſe harpies, cauſing him to refuſe to inſtitute an Italian to one of the beſt livings of his dioceſe, he was, preſently after, ſuſpended; but, regardleſs of this cenſure, he continued his epiſcopal functions, his flock being no more ſcrupulous than himſelf. He even refuſed, at that very juncture, to admit of new proviſions from the pope, in favour of other Italians; declaring, that to entruſt the cure of ſouls, to ſuch paſtors, was to act, in the name of the devil, rather than by the authority of God.

The court of Rome was unwilling, then, to make any noiſe, leſt ſhe ſhould diſguſt the whole body of the Engliſh clergy, from whom ſhe reaped a plentiful harveſt; and, therefore, the pope thought it more adviſable to connive at the diſobedience of this prelate, who was of known reſolution, and in great repute with the people, chuſing rather to try to bring him over, by fair means, in giving him a teſtimony of his eſteem, by a commiſſion to reform certain abuſes crept into the monaſteries. However, Groſteſt, ſoon after, touched the pope, in a very ſenſible manner, by computing the annual ſums, drawn by the beneficed Italians out of England, as was ſaid in another place; but Innocent IV, who then ſat in the papal chair, had been ſo accuſtomed to treat the Engliſh, with haughtineſs, that he could not hear of the biſhop's proceedings, without being extremely incenſed; but, not daring to attack him, on that ſcore, becauſe what he had done was univerſally approved, he fell upon him, for refuſing to admit his proviſions, and ſent him a menacing letter, which would have terrified any but him. Groſteſt, returned the perſon, that was ordered to ſend him the letter, with certain inſtructions, a very bold anſwer; of which the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee the following extract.

"I deſire your prudence to take notice, that I am continually ready to obey the apoſtolical inſtructions, and declare myſelf an enemy to whatever is repugnant to them; for to this I am obliged, by the command of God. To apply this: The apoſtolical inſtructions muſt, of neceſſity, be agreeable to the doctrine of the apoſtles, and of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, who is principally repreſented by the pope; and, ſince Jeſus Chriſt has declared, 'He that is 'not with me is againſt me,' the ſanctity of the apoſtolick ſee is ſuch, that it can never appear in oppoſition to our Lord; from whence it evidently follows, that the letter, in queſtion, is directly oppoſite to an apoſtolical character. Firſt, becauſe of the clauſe, Non-obſtante, ſo frequently made uſe of, now a-days, which is entirely inconſiſtent with natural equity; and, on the contrary, it certainly introduces a deluge of miſchief, as it occaſions a great deal of inconſtancy and breach of faith. It ſhakes the foundations of mutual truſt, and renders language and writings altogether inſignificant; and, in fine, it is impoſſible but that the purity of religion, and peace of ſociety, muſt ſuffer extremely, by ſuch a ſtretch of apoſtolical authority. Secondly, next to the ſins of Lucifer and Antichriſt, there cannot be a greater defection, or which is more directly oppoſite to the doctrine of our Saviour and his apoſtles, than to deſtroy ſouls, by depriving them of the paſtoral office; and yet it is manifeſt, that thoſe are guilty of this ſin, who undertake the ſacerdotal function, and receive the profits, without diſcharging the duty; for, in the ſcripture-account, the paſtor, who neglects his flock, is a downright murderer of the ſheep. Who, then, can conſider, in any other light, than as a moſt flagrant crime, a conduct, which tends ſo ſtrongly to the deſtruction of truth and virtue, and the happineſs of mankind? If, in moral productions, the cauſe of good is better than the effect, of courſe, the ſource and original of vice are worſe than the diſorder, that flows from them; and, conſequently, they, who introduce ſuch unqualified perſons into the church, and ſo deſtroy the hierarchy, are moſt chargeable with guilt, their crime riſing, in proportion to the height of their ſtation. Wherefore, I conclude, that the apoſtolical ſee, which has received ſuch a full authority from our Saviour, 'for edification, and not for deſtruction,' ought not to countenance, much leſs to command, ſo horrid and deſtructive a prevarication; ſince ſuch an attempt would be a notorious abuſe, if not a forfeiture of her authority; for it would be, in effect, to ſtray, at a vaſt diſtance, from the throne of glory, and to repreſent, in a very ill manner, the perſon of our Saviour. Theſe perſons may be rather

rather ſaid to be placed in the chair of peſtilence, and on the ſame bench with the devil and antichriſt; nor can any chriſtian, who deſires to continue in the communion of the church, and pays a due regard to the apoſtolick ſee, obey any commands of this ſort, tho' impoſed by an angel from heaven. On the contrary, it is his duty to rebel, if I may uſe that expreſſion, againſt the order, and oppoſe it, to the utmoſt of his power; and, therefore, ſince the foreſaid inſtructions ſo plainly contradict the catholick faith, and the ſanctity of the apoſtolick ſee, my duty obliges me to refuſe them, and not to comply, out of deference to the perſon, by whom they are ſent; neither can your prudence juſtly puniſh my conduct, becauſe, properly ſpeaking, my refuſal ought not to be conſidered, as a contumacy, but rather as an inſtance of filial reſpect. To ſum up all, in a word, the apoſtolical ſee has its commiſſion, only for edification, and not for deſtruction, and the plenitude of its power ought not to extend any farther than what relates to edification; but theſe proviſions, as they are ſtiled, have a manifeſt tendency to deſtruction; and, therefore, the holy ſee can, by no means, allow ſuch a liberty; for to conclude; theſe practices are revealed by "fleſh "and blood, which cannot inherit the king-"dom of heaven," and not by the father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.'

This letter threw Innocent into a furious paſſion. "What! ſays he, has this old do-"tard the confidence to cenſure my conduct? "By St. Peter and St. Paul, I will make ſuch "an example of him, that the world ſhall "ſtand amazed at his puniſhment." However, his rage was, in ſome meaſure, allayed by the cardinals, who repreſented to him the dangerous conſequences of too great ſeverity; that the noiſe he ſhould make, on this occaſion, would be prejudicial to the holy ſee, ſince it would infallibly lead the Engliſh to examine the motives; that, as they ſtood affected to the holy ſee, and to the biſhop of Lincoln, they would think it extremely ſurpriſing, that a prelate, of ſuch an eſtabliſhed reputation, ſhould be treated ſo ſeverely; that, on the contrary, it was neceſſary carefully to avoid giving any occaſion, to enter into the examination of what he alledged, to juſtify his refuſal; and, therefore, that it was moſt adviſable to paſs over, in ſilence, this inſolent letter. Tho' theſe remonſtrances moderated the effects of the pope's fury, they were inſufficient to appeaſe him entirely; for the Annals of Lanercoſt inform us, that the biſhop was excommunicated, a little before his death, who, regardleſs of the cenſure, appealed to the court of heaven; and this is farther confirmed by ſeveral hiſtorians, who ſay, that Innocent moved in the conclave, that the body of Groſteſt ſhould be taken up and buried in the high-way, but that he could not obtain the conſent of the cardinals. However that be, if he was excommunicated, he ſtill continued to diſcharge his functions; and the clergy of his dioceſe, who were not more ſcrupulous than their biſhop, obeyed him, to the day of his death. The biſhops, his brethren, and the monks themſelves, tho' zealous advocates for the pope, were not more apt to believe, that this excommunication had produced any great effect; and ſome, who were preſent at his death, affirmed, that they were entertained with divine muſick in the air, over the houſe where he died. We find alſo that, in the pontificate of Clement V, the dean and chapter of St. Paul petitioned very ſtrenuouſly, for the canonization of Groſteſt, on account of ſeveral miracles wrought by him, after his deceaſe; but, as he was not a ſaint of that kind, with which the court of Rome filled the calendar, their petition was rejected. An inſtance of a biſhop dying under the ſentence of excommunication, and yet paſſing for a ſaint, in the country where he lived, is a difficulty that I ſhall leave to be cleared by thoſe, whom it concerns; contenting myſelf with the relation of one circumſtance more, which, if not true, is, at leaſt, a proof of the great opinion of this prelate's ſanctity. An hiſtorian reports, that Groſteſt, a little after his death, appeared, in his robes, to Innocent IV, and, ſtriking him on the ſide, with his croſier, gave him a ſevere reprimand; and that the pope was ſo terrified at this apparition, that he continued two days, without eating. I have nothing to ſay, as to the truth of this ſtory, but draw this inference from it, that, tho' the biſhop died, excommunicated by the pope, and in ſentiments very oppoſite to thoſe of the court of Rome, the hiſtorian, notwithſtanding, ſhews, by this circumſtance, that he believed him to be a ſaint in heaven.

Groſteſt * was the author of ſeveral tracts; and, among other works, he tranſlated, from the Greek into Latin, the Teſtament of the twelve Patriarchs, a copy of which John de Baſingſtoke, who met with it at Athens, put into his hands; but the date of the original is uncertain. Dr. Cave aſſigns it to the latter end of the ſecond century; Dodwell places it in the firſt; and ſome others believe it was compoſed by ſome Jew, before our Saviour's death †.

* He was born at Stodbrooke in Suffolk; and he died October 8, 1253. M. Paris

† The moſt famous hiſtorians, that lived, in theſe four reigns, are, as follows:

Simeon of Durham, a monk and precentor of the church of Durham, in the year 1164, one of the moſt learned men of his age; who wrote, beſides other things, two books, de Geſtis Regum, which are only a few indigeſted collections, chiefly out of Florence of Worceſter, whoſe very words he frequently copies. He begins where Bede left off, and proceeds as far as the 29th of Henry I, 1129; and he is one of the X Scriptores, publiſhed at London, 1652.

Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon, flouriſhed, about the ſame time; whoſe eight books, concluding with the reign of king Stephen, were publiſhed by Sir Henry Savil. He is a follower of Bede; and he has borrowed a great number of lyes from Jeoffrey of Monmouth. He writes confuſedly, and reduces the tranſactions of the heptarchy to the ſeveral reigns of the Weſt-Saxon kings, but not ſo diſtinctly, as the nature of the work required.

William of Newburgh, ſo named from a monaſtery in Yorkſhire, to which he belonged, begins his hiſtory, at the conqueſt, and ends, at the year 1197; and he was a violent perſecutor of Jeoffrey of Monmouth. His Latin ſtile is preferred to that of M. Paris, and equalled with thoſe of Eadmer and Malmsbury, by Dr. Wats.

Gervaſe

Gervaſe, a monk of Canterbury, wrote a chronicle of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I, with ſufficient judgment, in the opinion of biſhop Nicholſon; and it was publiſhed among the X Scriptores, London, 1652.

Roger de Hoveden, chaplain ſome time to Henry II, is charged with borrowing from Simeon of Durham, without owning it; but, as biſhop Nicholſon obſerves, if he did, he has improved his ſtory, adding years to many things confuſedly related, in that author. His book contains many letters, ſpeeches, &c. relating to eccleſiaſtical matters; and he was contemporary with Gervaſe, 1201; but his hiſtory was publiſhed by Sir Henry Savil, Francof. 1601.

Ralph de Diceto, dean of London, wrote, about the year 1210; whoſe Abbreviationes Chronicorum contain an abſtract of our hiſtory, down to the conqueſt; and his Imagines Hiſtoriarum give the portraitures of ſome of our kings, more at large, ending with the firſt years of king John's reign. Mr. Selden extols this author and his works, tho' biſhop Nicholſon ſays, he uſually copied, verbatim, out of other writers; he is among the X Scriptores.

Walter, a monk of Coventry, a judicious and faithful hiſtorian, lived in Coventry, in 1217. He has ſome few remarkable things, not to be met with in Jeoffrey of Monmouth, Hoveden, and Huntingdon, in his three books of Chronicles; tho' they are chiefly collections from the ſaid authors.

Matthew Paris, a monk of St. Alban's, one of the moſt renowned Engliſh hiſtorians, in his Hiſtoria Major, gives us the annals, at large, of eight kings, from William the Conqueror to Henry III; which work was firſt publiſhed at London, 1571, and reprinted, with additions of various readings, &c. by Dr. Wats, London, 1640, and ſince in 1685. From the year 1259, wherein Matt. Paris died, to Henry III's death, it was continued by William Riſhanger, a monk of the ſame fraternity; and the whole work diſcovers a great deal of candour and exactneſs in the author, who relates ſo particularly the brave repulſes given by many Engliſh princes to the uſurpations of the Roman ſee, that it is a wonder how ſuch an heretical hiſtory came to ſurvive, to this day. A fair copy of this hiſtory, ſuppoſed to be written by the author's own hand, is in the king's library at St. James's; but he likewiſe wrote an abſtract of his hiſtory, which Lambard ſtiles his Hiſtoria Minor, having in it ſeveral material particulars, omitted in his Hiſtoria Major; tho' it is pretended that Paris begun only at the year 1135, the reſt being done to his hand by one Roger de Windleſhore, or Windſor, (or de Wendover prior de Bealvair, as it is in the MS copy in the Cottonian library) one of his predeceſſors in the ſame monaſtery.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK IX.

The Reigns of EDWARD I. and EDWARD II; containing the ſpace of 35 years.

9. EDWARD I. * ſirnamed Long-Shanks.

1272. Edward I. THE death of Henry III. happening, during the abſence of prince Edward, his ſucceſſor, ſeemed to furniſh the male-contents with a favourable opportunity, to raiſe new troubles; yet it was not attended with any commotions. Leiceſter's party was ſo humbled, that they were no longer able to hold up their heads; and, if ſome turbulent perſons had, on this occaſion, attempted to diſturb the peace of the kingdom, ſuch was the nation's eſteem for Edward, that it would have effectually defeated all their projects. This prince ſhined with great luſtre, during the latter part of his father's reign; and the victory of Eveſham, the reduction of the Ely-rebels, with his clemency to them, when reduced, were ſtill freſh in the memory of the Engliſh, and filled them with the moſt profound reſpect and admiration. They did not doubt but he would exert all his abilities, to reſtore the tranquility of the kingdom, which had received ſuch violent ſhocks, in the two preceding reigns; and they expreſs'd an extreme impatience to ſee their new ſovereign, founding on him alone all the hopes of their future happineſs. Tho' Edward was abroad, and not even heard of, all the barons ſwore fealty to him; and, at the ſame time, they ſent him a very reſpectful and ſubmiſſive letter, inviting him to come, with all expedition, to take poſſeſſion of the throne of his anceſtors. In the interim, they aſſembled at London, to commit the regency of the kingdom to thoſe that ſhould be eſteemed moſt capable of that important truſt; and, having choſen the archbiſhop of York, and the earls of Cornwall and Cheſter, the parliament, which met, preſently after, confirmed all the meaſures taken, for the preſervation of the peace of the kingdom. 1272.

This parliament conſiſted not only of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, but alſo of the knights of the ſhires, and repreſentatives of the principal cities and boroughs, as was practiſed under the government of the earl of Leiceſter, during the late king's captivity; but theſe aſſemblies were not convened by a lawful authority. I ſhall not, here, examine, whether, before this time, the commons had a right to ſend repreſentatives to parliament, ſince it is a point full of difficulties, and not yet thoroughly cleared; and, therefore, I ſhall only obſerve that it cannot be denied, that they enjoyed this privilege, in the reign of Edward I, and, from that time to this day, have preſerved it, without interruption. An. Wav.

Edward, purſuing his voyage, being a ſtranger to what paſſed in England, ſafely arrived in Sicily; where he was received by Charles of Anjou, with all the reſpect due to his rank and merit. At Meſſina, he had the firſt in-

* This was, in reality, the fourth monarch of this name, ſince there were three Edwards, in the time of the Saxons; and, therefore, in ſpeaking of this and the two following Edwards, by the name of Edward I, II, III, it was uſual to add poſt Conqueſtum, after the Conqueſt, tho', by degrees, that addition was omitted. Rapin.

telligence

1272. telligence of his father's death, for whom he seemed more concerned than for his eldeſt ſon John, the news of whoſe deceaſe was brought, at the ſame time; and, from Sicily, he went to Rome, where he continued ſome days, to viſit the new pope, his particular friend, who had accompanied him to Paleſtine, in the quality of a legate. After this, taking the road to France, he paſſed through Burgundy; and, as he was reputed to be a prince of great valour and bravery, the earl of Chalon, who valued himſelf for the ſame qualities, invited him to a tournament, in his country, and even ſent him a ſort of a challenge. Though a king of England might honourably decline entering the liſts with an earl of Chalon, Edward accepted his challenge, without the leaſt heſitation, being, doubtleſs, apprehenſive of injuring his reputation, in caſe of a refuſal; nor could the pope's letter, ſent to divert him from his purpoſe, prevail with him. Some hiſtorians pretend, that the Burgundians did not uſe all the fair play requiſite, on ſuch occaſions; who turned the tournament into a real fight, which was called the little battle of Chalon, wherein the Engliſh had the advantage.

1273. Edward is preſent at a tournament at Chalon. M. Weſt.

He viſits the king of France.

Edward, in his paſſage through France, went to Paris, to make a viſit to king Philip, who gave him a very honourable and civil reception, and received his homage for Guienne; and, from thence, he came to Bourdeaux, where the vaſſals of that dutchy did him homage. Some relate, that Gaſton de Moncade, viſcount of Bearn, refuſing to do homage, was taken into cuſtody at Bourdeaux, where he was come to meet the king; but, though it be true that the viſcount promiſed, not to leave the court of Edward, without his conſent, it is no leſs certain, that this difference with the king did not concern the homage of Bearn. The Collection of the Publick Acts evidently ſhews, that the diſpute was about quite another affair; which was decided at Limoges by Accurſius, a famous civilian, then in the ſervice of the king.

1274. He arrives in England, and is crown'd.

No ſooner had Edward ſettled his affairs in Guienne, than he paſſed over into England; where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of reſpect and affection, as having acquired freſh merit, by his late expedition into Paleſtine. A few days after his arrival, he was crowned, with Eleanor his queen, in the preſence of Alexander III, king of Scotland, the duke of Bretagne, and all the peers of the realm; and hiſtorians inform us, that, on occaſion of this ſolemnity, 500 horſes were let looſe about the field, and liberally given to ſuch, as could catch them.

He ſends commiſſioners into ſeveral counties.

Edward's firſt care, after his coronation, was to make ſtrict enquiry into the affairs of the kingdom; and, with this view, he appointed commiſſioners to go through the ſeveral counties, and take exact information concerning the fees held of the crown, and the ſtate they were in; and alſo to examine into, and puniſh the miſdemeanours of the magiſtrates, who, for ſome time, had but too much abuſed their authority, in oppreſſing the ſubjects. This proceeding had a wonderful influence over the people; for they were, now convinced, that the king intended to govern, in a very different manner from his father and grandfather; and every one expected, with aſſurance, the happy fruits of the maxims he was purſuing, to procure himſelf a peaceable reign. It was abſolutely neceſſary for Edward, to gain, at once, the eſteem and fear of his ſubjects, that no inteſtine troubles might obſtruct the grand deſigns he projected; of which the firſt and principal was the chaſtiſing Lewellyn, prince of Wales. This prince had plainly diſcovered, during the late troubles in England, that he was a dangerous neighbour, ſince, on all occaſions, he was ready to countenance the Engliſh male-contents; for neither would the earl of Leiceſter ever have arrived to that height of power, nor the earl of Glouceſter have become ſo formidable, without Lewellyn's aſſiſtance. On this account, Edward then reſolved to put it out of his enemy's power to annoy him; but the circumſtances of the times, and his voyage to the Holy-Land, obliged him to defer the execution of his project. Lewellyn, not inſenſible of it, conſidered Edward, as his greateſt foe; but his precautions, to ſcreen himſelf from his reſentment, only ſerved to furniſh the king with a pretence to attack him.

1274.

1275. The reaſon of the war with Wales.

I have, already, obſerved, that old Lewellyn, grandfather to this prince, became vaſſal and tributary to Henry III; and that his ſucceſſor did homage to the ſame king, for all Wales. Though the Welch, afterwards, made ſome attempts to ſhake off this yoke, and even offered to ſubmit to the pope; yet, in ſpite of the commotions in England, during the late reign, the crown continued to reckon, among her vaſſals, the prince of Wales. Immediately after the death of Henry III, and before the return of Edward, Lewellyn was ſummoned to appear and do homage to the abſent king; but he refuſed to obey the ſummons. The new king, preſently after his arrival, ordered him to be ſummoned, a ſecond time, to do him homage, and aſſiſt, as a vaſſal, at his coronation; yet Lewellyn ſtill found reaſons to be excuſed. He pretended, that the Engliſh, had violated the late treaty of peace, by committing, on his frontiers, ſeveral outrages, for which he demanded ſatisfaction; but, to remove that pretence, the king nominated commiſſioners to adjuſt all things, and, at the ſame time, ſummoned him again to appear and do homage, though this third ſummons was no more regarded than the former. In the interim, Lewellyn, being informed, that the archbiſhop of Canterbury was going to excommunicate him, and lay his territories under an interdict, wrote to the pope, in order to divert this blow; and the means he made uſe of, to gain the court of Rome, were ſo effectual, that the pope prohibited the archbiſhop to act againſt him, as long as he offered to do homage, in his own country. Edward, not being ſatisfied with theſe cavils, ſent him a peremptory ſummons, which the Welch prince thought fit to obey; tho' he ſtill inſiſted on the place, pretending that he

1275. he was only obliged to do homage to the king, in perſon, and on the borders of the two kingdoms. Edward readily agreed to this; but, a ſudden illneſs ſeizing him, as he was going to Shrewsbury, he deferred the homage to another opportunity. Lewellyn afterwards repented of the advances he had made; and nothing could prevail on him, to truſt himſelf in the hands of a monarch, whom he apprehended to be his avowed enemy; and, after ſeveral fruitleſs ſummons, the king found, at length, that he muſt have recourſe to compulſive methods. However, as he was willing to ſettle the affairs of the kingdom, before he made war upon his neighbours, he was contented with citing Lewellyn before the parliament, which was to meet, the beginning of the enſuing year; but the Welch prince, refuſing to appear, alledged, in excuſe, that, the king having diſcovered, on ſeveral occaſions, an extreme animoſity againſt him, he could not truſt his perſon with his declared enemy. Nevertheleſs, he proteſted, that he was ready to do him homage, in his own country, if the king would ſend commiſſioners thither, to receive it, or elſe in ſome third place, where he might be in ſafety; and he, moreover, offered to come into the king's territories, provided he would deliver up to him, as hoſtages, the prince his eldeſt ſon, the earl of Glouceſter, and the high-chancellor; but this arrogant anſwer confirmed Edward in his reſolution, againſt the prince of Wales. However, he concealed his intentions, that he might not interrupt the ſeſſions of the parliament, which was employed in affairs of great importance; namely, in enacting excellent laws, for the ſecurity of the peace and liberties of the people, as well as of the immunities of the church, and privileges of the clergy, which were ſtiled the Statutes of Weſtminſter *.

1276. Edward attacks the prince of Wales.

When the parliament broke up, the king ſeriouſly thought of the war, which he was reſolved to carry into Wales, to puniſh the diſobedience of Lewellyn; but, whilſt he was making preparations, ſome Briſtol-men happened to take a veſſel, in which was one of the daughters of the late earl of Leiceſter, who was going to Lewellyn, to whom ſhe was contracted. The prince demanded his wife; but, the king refuſing to ſend her, he perceived he was to expect a war; and, indeed, as ſoon as Edward had taken all his meaſures, he convened the peers of the realm, who paſſed judgment upon Lewellyn, declaring him guilty of felony; upon which, the war was proclaimed. Lewellyn was then ſorry he had puſhed matters to that extremity; wherefore, he humbly ſued for peace, and, at the ſame time, intreated the king to reſtore his wife; yet, both his requeſts were denied, unleſs he would oblige himſelf, to repair all the damages done to the borders of England, during the late wars; a condition, which he would not accept. The war, therefore, was begun, but was not very vigorouſly purſued, the firſt campaign.

1277. Edward preſſes Lewellyn.

In the beginning of the ſpring, Edward, aſſembling a great number of forces, appeared at the head of his army, and marched into the enemy's country; and, by cauſing a very large way to be cut thro' a vaſt foreſt, he opened a paſſage into the very center of Wales. Before he proceeded, he built the caſtles of Flint and Rhudhlan, which ſecured him an entrance, at all times, and a retreat in caſes of neceſſity. As the Welch were not able to withſtand him, advancing farther, he drove them to the mountain of Snowdon, their uſual refuge, when purſued by the Engliſh; and, at the ſame time, his fleet attacked the iſle of Angleſey, which made but a faint reſiſtance.

Who ſubmits to hard terms.

Lewellyn, being unable to oppoſe ſuch a formidable enemy, was forced humbly to ſue for peace, which was granted, but on very hard conditions; for he was obliged to promiſe the payment of 50,000 l. ſterling, for the expences of the war. Moreover, Edward reſtoring to him the iſle of Angleſey, it was agreed, that, for the future, he ſhould hold it of the crown of England, paying annually 1000 marks; and that he ſhould give entire ſatisfaction to his brother David, who had fled for refuge to the king, and hoſtages, for the performance of his word. The haughtineſs of the prince of Wales being tamed, by this mortifying treaty, Edward, contented, for once, with the honour of the victory, generouſly reſtored the hoſtages, and forgave him the ſums he was bound to pay; yet he cauſed a grant of the iſle of Angleſey to be made to him, though he was not to enjoy it, unleſs Lewellyn died, without iſſue. Then he delivered up the betrothed lady, and did him the honour to aſſiſt at his nuptials; and he created David, brother of Lewellyn, earl of Denbigh, to whom alſo he gave in marriage a rich Engliſh heireſs, to attach him to the intereſts of England.

1278. Act. Pub.

1279. The earldom of Ponthieu falls to him.

The happy iſſue of the war with Wales was, immediately, followed by Edward's acquiſition, in France, of the earldom of Ponthieu and Montrevil, fallen to his queen, by the death of her mother, queen of Caſtile, who was in poſſeſſion; but, to procure of the king of France the inveſtiture of that fief, he was obliged to confirm the king his father's treaty, made, whilſt a captive to the earl of Leiceſter, and to renounce, like him, all claim to Anjou and Normandy; yet he reſerved 30 l. per annum, out of the revenues of Normandy, in all appearance, as an acknowledgment that it once belonged to his anceſtors.

The Jews are puniſhed for clipping and coining.

This affair being over, Edward, in good earneſt, ſet about rectifying the coin, which was very much altered and adulterated, during the troubles of the late reign; and, being informed that the Jews were the principal authors of this miſchief, he cauſed all that were in the kingdom to be ſeized, in one day, that the guilty might not eſcape; when, after a ſtrict examination, 280, convicted of clipping and coining, or putting off falſe money, received ſentence of death, and were executed, without mercy.

* This year, about October 6, another parliament was held at Weſtminſter, in which Statutes were made, for reſtraining the exceſſive uſury exacted by the Jews; and it was alſo enacted, that they ſhould wear a badge upon their clothes, in the ſhape of the two tables of the law of Moſes.

An

1279. An affair of a different nature, tho' of no leſs importance to the publick, furniſhed the king with a freſh opportunity to ſhew his reſolution, to reform the abuſes introduced into the kingdom. The prodigious increaſe of the riches of the clergy, and monaſteries, had been long a ſubject of complaint; and yet no effectual remedy had been, hitherto, found out, to redreſs this grievance. The barons, who had exacted from king John the charter, ſo often mentioned, had taken care to inſert a clauſe, expreſly prohibiting all perſons to alienate their lands to the church; but this prohibition, as well as ſeveral others, had not been punctually obſerved. The complaints, upon this head, were renewed, in the beginning of this reign; and it was demonſtrated to the king, that, in proceſs of time, the clergy would be poſſeſſed of all the lands in the kingdom, if people were ſtill allowed to alienate their eſtates to the church; and, indeed, the church never dying, always acquiring and never alienating, it was impoſſible but that her riches ſhould increaſe immenſely, and, at laſt, all the lands of the kingdom would be in her hands. Edward, having maturely conſidered this affair, ſummoned the parliament, and propoſed, that a law ſhould be made, to reform this abuſe; which propoſal being joyfully received, a ſtatute was enacted, whereby all perſons were forbidden to diſpoſe of their eſtates to ſocieties, which never die, without the expreſs conſent of the king. This ſtatute was called the ſtatute of Mortmain, becauſe it was intended to prevent eſtates from falling into dead hands, that is, hands of no ſervice to the king and the publick, without hopes of their ever changing their owners.

The ſtatute of Mortmain. M. Weſt.

1280. The parliament, which met, the following year, deſirous of redreſſing another abuſe, unadviſedly, gave riſe to a greater. During the troubles of the two late reigns, ſeveral perſons appropriated to themſelves lands, to which they had no right; and the crown itſelf ſuffered, by this diſorder. To remedy this evil, the parliament paſſed an act, in itſelf very juſt; importing, that all, who were in poſſeſſion of the conteſted eſtates, ſhould be obliged to ſhew, how they acquired them, and produce their titles before the judges, in order to be examined. This ſtatute, from the Engliſh word, Warrant, was called Quo Warranto, that is, an act ſerving for the foundation or ſecurity of the poſſeſſion; ſo that the Quo Warranto is properly a right to demand of any perſon, by what warrant or title, he holds the eſtate in diſpute. This regulation was juſt and neceſſary; but the king, miſ-led by ill advice, and a deſire of amaſſing money, made uſe of it, contrary to the deſign of the parliament, to oppreſs his ſubjects. As he was ſenſible, that, among the great numbers, who held their lands of the crown, it was impoſſible but that many muſt have loſt their titles, he took advantage of their misfortune, under the pretence of putting the ſtatute of Quo Warranto in execution; and, accordingly, he publiſhed a proclamation, enjoining all perſons, that held lands of the crown, to lay their titles before the judges of the realm. This proclamation was conſidered, as the ſource of a very great grievance; and, indeed, thoſe, that were firſt attacked, and could not produce their original titles, though they proved a long poſſeſſion, were obliged to pay large ſums to the king, to preſerve their eſtates. This grievance would have been carried farther, if it had not been prevented by the courage of the earl of Warren; who, appearing before the judges, when he was required to produce the fundamental title, by vertue of which he held his lands, drawing an old ruſty ſword out of the ſcabbard, replied to the judges, "This is the inſtrument, by which my anceſtors "gained their eſtate; and, by this, I will keep "it, to the day of my death." This daring anſwer ſeemed likely to involve the earl in trouble, tho' it was attended with a quite contrary effect; for the king found, by it, that it would be extremely difficult and dangerous to exact upon the nobility, under ſuch a frivolous pretence. He plainly perceived, that there were ſtill, among the barons, perſons as ready to hazard all, in defence of their rights and properties, as thoſe in the reigns of John and Henry III; and that his pretenſions appeared unjuſt to the people, as, indeed, they were; which conſiderations inducing him to revoke his proclamation, the people expreſſed their joy, in ſuch a manner, as evidently ſhewed, how much they reſented this oppreſſion. On the other hand, the king's moderation turned more to his advantage, than his injuſtice had done to his prejudice; for his ſubjects blamed the miniſtry, for whatever was odious, in his conduct, and aſcribed to him the honour of reforming what was amiſs by his prudence. How great glory ſoever this prince had acquired by his victories, his conqueſt over himſelf, on this occaſion, gained him more honour than all his martial exploits; ſince it is infinitely leſs glorious for a ſovereign to ſubdue provinces and kingdoms, to which he has no equitable claim, than voluntarily to deſiſt from a pretenſion, which he diſcovers to be unjuſt.

1280. The ſtatute of Quo Warranto. An. Wav.

The king makes an ill uſe of it.

A bold reply of earl Warren.

1281. These domeſtick employments were interrupted, by the revolt of Lewellyn; who bearing, with extreme impatience, the yoke of the Engliſh, made another attempt to free himſelf from it, tho' it ſerved only to hurle him down into deſtruction. He engaged in this enterprize, chiefly from the three following motives; the firſt of which was the turbulent temper of his brother David; for, in ſpite of Edward's favours to this prince, he inceſſantly preſs'd his brother to take up arms, in order to free himſelf from ſubjection. He thought it his own concern; becauſe, as Lewellyn had no heirs, he was his preſumptive ſucceſſor. The ſecond thing, that inclined Lewellyn to war, was a certain prophecy of the famous Merlin; which, the Welch fancied, foretold, that Lewellyn was deſtined to wear the crown of Brutus, the firſt king, as it was pretended, of the whole iſland of Albion; and they were ſo full of this notion, and even Lewellyn himſelf, that they built upon it, as on a ſure foundation. The third and only reaſon, alledged by Lewellyn, was certain grievances, a liſt of which he

1281. The war with Wales.

1281. delivered to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, when he came to perſuade him to peace; and, T. Wikes. if theſe grievances, of which an hiſtorian has given us the ſubſtance, were real, this prince had certainly great cauſe, to endeavour to free himſelf from the yoke laid upon him; but Edward refuſed to hearken to his complaints. This convinced Lewellyn, that a vigorous defence was the only means, to deliver him from a ſubjection, which he conſidered, as a real ſlavery. He took up arms, therefore, to ſhake off this galling yoke; and ſurpriſing the lord Clifford, the king's general, on the frontiers, he ſlew ſeveral of his men, and took him priſoner. Then, penetrating farther into the Engliſh territories, he committed great ravages, and defeated the earls of Northumberland and Surrey, who were ſent into thoſe parts, to ſtop his progreſs.

Edward marches, in perſon, againſt the Welch. T. Wikes.

Edward was, to the laſt degree, mortified, that his troops ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be beaten by the Welch; yet, in hopes of being more fortunate himſelf, he drew together a numerous army, to try, once more, to tame the fierceneſs of Lewellyn. Whilſt his troops were on their march, towards the borders of Wales, he paid a viſit to the queen, his mother, who was retired to the nunnery of Ambresbury; who, being prepoſſeſſed in favour of the late king, her husband, ſhewed her ſon a man, who pretended to receive his ſight at the tomb, and by the interceſſion of Henry III. She, doubtleſs, imagined that it would be pleaſing to the king; but ſhe was exceedingly ſurpriſed, when he ſaid, he was ſo fully convinced of his father's juſtice and probity, that he did not queſtion, but, had it been in his power, he would rather have deprived the impoſtor of, than reſtored him to his ſight.

Edward, making but a ſhort ſtay with the queen, his mother, went and headed his army; and he entered Wales, without the leaſt oppoſition, Lewellyn being retir'd to the mountain of Snowdon, which was inacceſſible; yet, notwithſtanding this obſtacle, Edward reſolved to inveſt his enemy, by ſecuring all the avenues, thro' which he might make his eſcape. Nothing could more ſtrongly expreſs his ardent deſire to ſucceed, in his undertaking, than a project of this nature, which none of his predeceſſors had ever attempted; and, accordingly, having fortified all the poſts, he cauſed a bridge of boats to be made over the river Menay, oppoſite to Bangor, in order to ſend ſome troops alſo into the iſle of Angleſey; after which, foreſeeing that the blockade would hold long, he committed it to the management of Roger Mortimer, and waited the iſſue, in the caſtle of Rhudhlan, built during the late war. Lewellyn, in his advantageous poſt, would, doubtleſs, have tired the patience of his enemies, if an unexpected accident had not induced him, to deprive himſelf of that advantage; for ſome of the Engliſh that were in Angleſey, paſſing the bridge above-mentioned, in order to take a view of the country, were attacked by the Welch, and ſo cloſely purſued, that the greateſt part were ſlain, or drowned, in attempting to regain the iſland. Upon this ſmall ſucceſs, Lewellyn fancied that Heaven began to declare in his favour; and that Merlin's prophecy would infallibly be accompliſhed. Being tranſported with this deluſive idea, he deſcends into the the plain, to fight the Engliſh, not conſidering the inequality of his forces; but, in this battle, wherein he raſhly engaged, he was ſlain, on the ſpot, after ſeeing his army entirely routed. In his pocket were found letters in cypher, by which it appeared, that he had great friends in England; but Edward did not think it expedient to make a ſtrict inquiſition. However, to ſtrike a terror into thoſe that were engaged with Lewellyn, he commanded his head, crowned with ivy, to be expoſed to view, on the walls of the tower of London; from which ſpectacle, his ſubjects might learn, what they were to expect, from the king's ſeverity, ſince he treated a ſovereign prince, in that rigorous manner. 1281.

Lewellyn is vanquiſhed and ſlain. M. Weſt.

Such was the fate of Lewellyn, deſcended from Rhoderick the Great, of whom I have ſpoken, elſewhere, and from one of the moſt antient royal families in Europe; and, with him, expired the liberty of his nation. The Welch being intimidated by their prince's death and defeat, and no longer in a condition to reſiſt, Edward eaſily became maſter of their whole country; which he diſtributed, for the moſt part, among his officers and courtiers, reſerving to himſelf only the ſovereignty and fortified places.

Edward becomes maſter of all Wales. T. Wikes.

Some time after, David, brother of Lewellyn, roving ſtill up and down the country, had the misfortune to be taken by the Engliſh, and ſent to Rhudhlan, where the king ſtill remained; who, to no purpoſe, ſollicited for the favour of caſting himſelf at his feet, to implore his mercy; for, as he was the laſt of his family, Edward was willing to ſecure his conqueſt, by his death. Purſuant to this reſolution, he ordered him to be conducted to Shrewsbury; where, by the advice of the parliament, convened, on that occaſion, he was condemned to die the death of a traytor. This rigorous ſentence was executed, with all the circumſtances attending that infamous puniſhment; and his head was fixed near that of the prince, his brother, but his four quarters were ſent to York, Briſtol, Northampton, and Wincheſter.

He puts David, Lewellyn's brother, to death. M. Weſt.

Edward's ſeverity to this prince is related, by all the hiſtorians, without the leaſt cenſure; and yet it is an action, that can hardly be excuſed. Suppoſing that the rigour of the law authoriſed a ſentence of death, was it not very inhuman to execute a prince of a royal family, in a manner, till then unuſual, with reſpect to perſons of diſtinguiſhed birth? How would theſe very hiſtorians have exclaimed, if a king of France, after taking, in a battle, a brother of the king of England, had ordered him to be ignominiouſly hung on a gibbet? Or if, finding the body of the king himſelf ſlain in the fight, he had cauſed his head to be placed on the walls of the Baſtile?

Edward, being maſter of Wales, was extremely ſollicitous to ſecure his conqueſt; and, as the annexing that country to the crown of England ſeemed to be the moſt effectual means to that end, he called a parliament, in which it

Wales is united to England. Knighton.

1281. it was reſolved, that Wales ſhould be inſeparably united to the crown. Thus the Welch, thoſe ſmall remains of the antient Britons, loſt, at length, their liberty, after they had preſerved it, in that little corner of the iſland, above 800 years; who, ſurely, cannot, without injuſtice, be denied the commendations due to the reſolution, with which they had, hitherto, defended their country; for, deſtitute of all ſuccours, without foreign alliances, or a naval power, they maintained their ground againſt the kings of England, Saxons and Normans, who had, almoſt all, attempted to ſubdue them, with forces vaſtly ſuperior. Indeed, they were often obliged to pay tribute to the Engliſh; yet they remained, all along, a diſtinct nation, governed by their own laws. The preſervation of their liberty was not entirely owing to their valour, but alſo to their policy, in dexterouſly fomenting the diſſentions of their neighbours, till, at laſt, the time appointed, for their loſing that invaluable bleſſing, happened, in the reign of Edward I. However, it may be ſaid, that, if amends can be made for ſuch a loſs, they had reaſon to be eaſy, ſince they became one and the ſame nation with their conquerors; and, from that time to this day, they enjoyed the ſame laws and privileges, which render the Engliſh the happieſt nation under the ſun *.

1284. The death of Alphonſus, ſon to the king. Act. Pub.

The ſatisfaction, Edward received from the conqueſt of Wales, was, immediately, followed by a great affliction, cauſed by the death of Alphonſus, his ſon, a prince of great hopes, who, being now 12 years of age, was about to marry the only daughter of Florence, earl of Holland. This was the third ſon Edward loſt, within the ſpace of three years; for John, his eldeſt ſon, died before his return from the Holy-Land. Henry, his ſecond, was contracted to the only daughter of Theobald, king of Navarre.

The birth of prince Edward.

Though the Welch were entirely ſubdued, they, on all occaſions, expreſs'd their extreme regret, at their ſubjection to the Engliſh; and ſome of them had even the boldneſs to tell the king, that he ſhould never peaceably enjoy their country, until they were governed by a prince of their own nation. If we may believe certain hiſtorians, this bold declaration induced the king ſo far to give them ſatisfaction, that he propoſed to give them, for their prince, the ſon whom he hoped his queen, then with child, would ſhortly bring into the world; and that, with this view, he would have her go and lie in at Caernarvon, a town in Wales; where, according to his expectation, ſhe was brought to bed of a prince, called Edward, and ſirnamed of Caernarvon, the place of his nativity. It is farther ſaid, that the queen was no ſooner delivered, than he aſſembled the ſtates of Wales, and declared to them his reſolution, to give them a prince born in their country, and who could not ſpeak a word of Engliſh; upon which, he nominated to them the prince, his ſon, juſt born at Caernarvon; but other writers, leſs credulous, doubtleſs, conſidering this circumſtance, as a puerility, have thought fit to paſs it over in ſilence; and, indeed, it was no more than a mean equivocation, very little capable of ſatisfying the Welch, and not, in the leaſt, agreeable to the character of Edward; beſides, it is certain, that the young prince was not inveſted with the principality of Wales, till the year 1301, being then 17 years of age. 1284.

The conqueſt of Wales, and the univerſal eſteem the king was in among his ſubjects, procuring England an uninterrupted tranquillity, nothing of great importance fell out, in that kingdom; and, therefore, I ſhall ſlightly paſs over the domeſtick affairs, contenting my ſelf with a brief account of ſome of the moſt material particulars.

1285. Fabian's Chron.

In the year 1285, the king took away the charter of London, and, turning out George Brooksby, the mayor, becauſe he ſuffered himſelf to be bribed by the bakers, put in another, by his own authority; but, ſoon after, the city recovered their charter, by making the king a preſent.

This year, Edward called a parliament, which made ſome additions to the antient ſtatutes, by the name of the ſecond Statute of Weſtminſter †.

1286. The king procures from the Jews large ſums T. Wikes.

In the year 1286, Edward ordered all the Jews in England to be ſeized, on the ſame day; and the commons granted him a ſubſidy of the 50th part of their moveables, to expel the kingdom all ſuch foreigners, as were a burden to the nation, which he promiſed; but, having obtained this aid, he put them off with a delay, which was dearly purchaſed.

He goes into France.

About the middle of the ſame year, three important affairs called Edward into France, where he continued above three years; but, as in the mean time, nothing very remarkable paſſed in England, I ſhall only relate the affairs he had to manage in that country. The firſt was his demand of the provinces, taken from the kings John and Henry III; concerning which, there was a long negotiation. The ſecond concerned his homage to Philip the Fair, king of France, who had lately ſucceeded Philip the Hardy, his father. The third was the reconciliation, he undertook to procure, between the houſes of Arragon and Anjou, as to the crown of Sicily.

* King Edward, having taken the croſs, and, by reaſon of the Welch wars, and other affairs, not being able, in his own perſon, to perform a journey to the Holy-Land, deſigned his brother, Edmund, for that ſervice; and, there being ſix years tenths, collected from the clergy, according to the canon of the ſecond council of Lyons, ſecured, in ſeveral monaſteries, and other places, for an aid to the Holy-Land, pope Martin. IV. ſent two Predicant friars into England, for the exportation and return of this money, by his agents, and foreign merchants; upon which, Edward iſſued out, on May 24, 1282, a writ to prevent it; and he, moreover, ſent commiſſioners, the next year, to the places, where it was laid up, to ſee how much there was, and to order it to be kept ſafe, for the uſe to which it was intended. Vid. Brady's Hiſt.

† About this time, foreign merchants were firſt permitted to rent houſes, and to buy and ſell their own commodities, without any interruption from the citizens; for, before this, they hired lodgings, and their landlords were the brokers, who ſold all their goods and merchandizes for them. Fabian's Chron.

The

1286. The king, his kingdom, now, enjoying a profound tranquillity, committed the regency to the earl of Pembroke, and embarqued for France, where he ſpent almoſt a year, in ſolliciting the reſtitution of the provinces, taken from the crown of England, by the predeceſſors of Philip the Fair; but the court of France, being then in flouriſhing circumſtances, and in no danger from England, was deaf to all his propoſals. All the benefit, he reaped from this negotiation, was a penſion of 10,000 l. in lieu of his claim to certain lands, beyond the Charent, which Philip retained, contrary to the tenor of the antient treaties. Upon this foot, the two monarchs ſigned a new treaty; after which, Edward did homage to Philip. The form of the homage, paid only in general terms, and the previous proteſtations, plainly ſhew, that Edward was ſtill diſpoſed to keep up his pretenſions, in order to proſecute them, at a more favourable juncture; for, without ſpecifying, in his homage, any particular country, he affected to include all thoſe provinces, to which he had any claim; but, as this is a matter of moment, and was afterwards attended with remarkable conſequences, it will not be improper to recite the very words of the homage, with the proteſtations, as they occur in the Collection of the Publick Acts.

A new treaty between Edward and Philip the Fair. M. Weſt. T. Wikes.

The homage done by Edward to Philip.

"On Wedneſday in Whitſun-week, in "the 14th year of the reign of Edward, and "in the firſt of Philip, at Paris, in the room "of the royal palace, king Edward did ho-"mage to king Philip, in the following terms, "ſpoken by the biſhop of Bath and Wells.

"Sire, king of France, king Henry, father "of my lord the king of England, here pre-"ſent, made certain demands upon Lewis king "of France, your grandfather, whereon a "treaty of peace was concluded between "them. Purſuant to that treaty, Henry did "homage to your ſaid grandfather, for the "land he actually held, on this ſide the water, "and for ſuch, as the ſaid Lewis had obliged "himſelf to put into his hands, by the above-"mentioned treaty of peace. My lord, king "Edward, here preſent, after the death of his "father, did homage to the king your father, "for theſe lands, and according to the tenor "of the ſaid peace; and though my ſaid lord "might, with juſtice, as ſeveral of his coun-"cil are of opinion, refuſe to do the ſame ho-"mage, becauſe the ſaid peace has not been "obſerved, and becauſe, to his great preju-"dice, ſeveral attempts have been made upon "the lands which he holds; nevertheleſs, he "is unwilling, at preſent, to enter into diſ-"pute, upon that ſcore, provided you will "cauſe the ſaid peace to be kept, and the "damages he has ſuſtained to be repaired.

"I become your man, for the lands I hold "of you, on this ſide the water, according to "the tenor of the peace made with your an-"ceſtors."

1286.

It is obvious, that, in this homage, Edward was extremely cautious, as to his expreſſions; for, beſides his proteſtations, by the mouth of the biſhop, he would do homage only, in general terms, reſerving to himſelf the explanation, at another opportunity; yet Philip, who, doubtleſs, imagined, that he had a right to explain the ſame terms to his own advantage, very readily accepted the homage, notwithſtanding this affected obſcurity. He even granthim, a few days after, letters patent, by which he conſented, that the lands, poſſeſſed by Edward in France, ſhould not be liable to forfeiture, either for unjuſt judgment, or denial of juſtice; and he likewiſe promiſed to ſend back the appealants to the ſeneſchal of Guienne, and to allow him three months, to maintain or rectify the judgments; but this conceſſion was to take place only, during Edward's life, after which, things were to revert to their former ſtate.

Theſe two things detained Edward, at the court of France, about a year; but the agreement he undertook to mediate, between the kings of Sicily and Arragon, employed him much longer, and proved a very vexatious affair; for which he had no other reward, than the ſatisfaction of endeavouring to reconcile theſe illuſtrious houſes. Tho' this tranſaction does not immediately relate to the king of England, who acted only, as a mediator; yet as it was his whole buſineſs, for two years, I flatter myſelf it will not diſpleaſe the reader, if I briefly explain the occaſion of thoſe differences, and the principal events they produced.

A difference between the houſes of Anjou and Arragon. M. Weſt.

I have, already, related, in the late reign, that the popes inveſted the houſe of Swabia with the crown of Sicily; and the efforts they afterwards uſed, to wreſt it from that family.

I left Manfred the baſtard in poſſeſſion of both Sicily's, and the pope ſolemnly giving the inveſtiture of theſe two kingdoms to Charles of Anjou, after having long amuſed prince Edmund, king Edward's brother, with the hopes of that crown; but it will be neceſſary to reſume, in a few words, the ſequel of that hiſtory, to the preſent time.

Charles of Anjou was more dextrous, in improving the pope's favour, than Edmund; for, with the aſſiſtance of the king, his brother, he raiſed a numerous army, and came to Rome, where the pope ſolemnly crowned him king of the two Sicily's, on the 28th of June, 1265. In the beginning of the next year, he marched towards the kingdom of Naples, and, on the 26th of February, gained a complete victory over Manfred, who was ſlain, on the ſpot; and, being freed, from all the obſtacles in his way, by this ſingle battle, he took poſſeſſion of the Sicily's, and enjoyed them, ſome time, without a competitor. The Gibelines *, that is,

* The derivation of the names, Guelfs and Gibelines, is altogether uncertain. Some affirm, that, in 1130, there happened a ſchiſm in the church, by means of Innocent II. and Anacletus, the firſt of whom was countenanced by the emperor, and the other by Roger, count of Sicily and Naples, an active and warlike prince, who attached to his party Guelf, duke of Bavaria. The emperor Conrade III. entering Sicily, with a German army, and followed by prince Henry, his ſon, who was educated at a place in Germany, called Gibelin, Guelf, duke of Bavaria, marched to the aſſiſtance of his ally; and it fell out, as both armies were ready to engage, that the Bavarians cried out, in their

1286. is, the party againſt the pope, dejected by the flouriſhing condition of Charles, who ſupported the Guelphs, and was himſelf ſupported by them, did all that was poſſible, to deprive him of the two kingdoms; for they perſuaded Conradin, ſon of the emperor Conrade, that, being the ſole heir of the houſe of Swabia, he ought to aſſert his right to the Sicily's, and ſnatch the prey from Charles of Anjou. Conradin was eaſily prevailed on to engage in this undertaking; for, without a moment's conſideration, he aſſumed the title of king of Sicily, and, in ſpite of the excommunication thunder'd againſt him by the pope, came into Italy, where, at firſt, he made ſome progreſs. This auſpicious beginning inſpiring him with great hopes, he advanced towards Naples, to fight his enemy; upon which, Charles raiſed the ſiege of Nocera, which he had begun, and, marching towards him, met him, near the Lacus Fucinus, now called Celano, and gave him battle. Conradin had the misfortune to loſe the day, and be taken priſoner; and the conqueror was ſo cruel, as to behead the young prince, who was no more than 16 years of age; cauſing him to be tried and condemned by the ſyndicks of the cities of the kingdom, who were ſo baſe, as blindly to obey the directions of that bloody prince.

The extinction of the houſe of Swabia, by the death of Conradin, ſhould, one would have imagined, have utterly diſabled the Gibelines; but, if they were aſtoniſhed by this fatal blow, they were not quite diſpirited. Upon the deceaſe of Conradin, the rights of the houſe of Swabia were devolved to Peter, king of Arragon*, who had married Conſtantia, Manfred's daughter; for, tho' theſe rights came only by a baſe ſon of that houſe, the Gibelines entertained hopes of engaging the king of Arragon in their quarrel, ſince it might be the means of procuring him two kingdoms; and John, lord of Procida, an old ſervant of the houſe of Swabia, undertook to concert, with Peter, the neceſſary meaſures, to accompliſh the deſign of dethroning Charles of Anjou. Firſt of all, he ſecured the concurrence of pope Nicholas III, who was at variance with king Charles; and, then, proceeding to Conſtantinople, he obtained a ſupply of money from the emperor Michael, who was threatened with a war by the king of Sicily. Having made theſe preparations, he went and communicated his project to the king of Arragon; who was, at firſt, ſomewhat unwilling to embarque in an undertaking, which ſeemed to be impracticable; but the pope's approbation, the Grecian emperor's money, and the revolt of the Sicilians, of all which he was aſſured, led him, at length, to determine. Moreover, Procida repreſented to him, that he might, without any danger, be prepared, to improve the good ſucceſſes, or relinquiſh the undertaking, without appearing to be concerned; and, accordingly, he adviſed him to equip a fleet, under the pretence of invading the Moors of Africa, and even to beſiege one of their towns; adding, that if, which was, to the laſt degree, unlikely, the revolt of the Sicilians ſhould fail, he might continue the war upon the Infidels, without diſcovering that he had any other deſign; but, if the Sicilians ſhould perform their promiſes, he would be in a readineſs to improve the events. 1286.

This affair being, thus, adjuſted, John de Procida returned home, to ſet their friends to work, when matters were brought to maturity; and, tho' the king of Arragon's armament ſomewhat alarmed the kings of France and Sicily, he was ſuch a maſter of diſſimulation that he made them eaſy. No ſooner was his fleet ready, than he ſailed for the coaſt of Africa, where he beſieged Andacalle; having with him Roger de Lauria, the beſt ſea-officer then in Europe. In the interim, Procida ſo artfully concerted all his meaſures, that, in one night, the Sicilians cut the throats of above 8000 French, at that time in the iſland. This maſſacre, ſtiled the Sicilian Veſpers †, was acted upon Eaſter-Eve, on the 30th of March, 1282; but Charles of Anjou, receiving intelligence of it at Rome, ſet out, with all poſſible expedition, to prevent the conſequences of this conſpiracy. Having a fleet in readineſs, deſigned againſt the emperor of Conſtantinople, he embarqued, and arrived before Meſſina; and his ſudden coming ſo ſurpriſed the Meſſinians, that, deſpairing of timely relief, they offer'd to ſurrender, provided he would ſpare their lives; but the deſire of revenge ſo entirely poſſeſſed the king of Sicily, that he refuſed them that favour. The inhabitants of Meſſina, a great city, apprehending, by his refuſal, what they might expect, from ſuch a revengeful prince, reſolved to ſell their lives at a dear rate; chuſing rather to die, with ſword in hand, than on gibbets or ſcaffolds. Act. Pub.

In the mean time, the king of Arragon finding, from the proceedings of the Sicilians, that there was no danger from their inconſtancy, came, in a few days, to Palermo, where he was crowned; and then he ſent Charles a letter, commanding him, in an imperious ſtrain, to quit a country, to which he had no farther pretenſion. Charles returned him ſtill a more haughty and offenſive anſwer; yet, fearing that the Spaniſh fleet would cut off the proviſions, that were coming from Naples, he reſolved to raiſe the ſiege, and retire into Calabria. Upon his departure, the king of Arragon, immediately, made his entry into Meſſina; where the inhabitants received him, with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy and thankfulneſs. Act. Pub.

Charles, incenſed, to the laſt degree, carried his complaints to pope Martin IV, ſucceſ-

their language, Hier Guelfe; which being anſwered by the troops, commanded by the prince, by Hier Gibelines, the Italians retained the words, to diſtinguiſh the different parties, and made uſe of them to denote the actions. Blondo, Sigonius.

* When Conradin was on the ſcaffold, he threw his glove into the ſquare, deſiring the perſon, that took it up, to carry it to one of his relations, as a mark of the inveſtiture, which he gave him, of the inheritance of the family of Swabia, of which he was the laſt heir-male; and this glove was carried to Peter, king of Arragon.

† Becauſe the bell, which rang to evening-prayers, was made the ſignal.

1286. for to Nicholas; and, in ſpeaking of the king of Arragon, he made uſe of the moſt opprobrious and abuſive terms, offering even to fight him, hand to hand, or 100 againſt 100, to oblige him to own himſelf to be a baſe, cowardly, and perfidious traytor. Theſe words reaching the ears of the king of Arragon, he ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, to juſtify his conduct, and accept the challenge; which propoſal was joyfully received by Charles, his impatience, to be revenged perſonally on his enemy, cauſing him to conſent to a truce, during which, were ſettled the conditions of the future ſingle combate, between the two monarchs. It was agreed, that each of them ſhould appear at Bourdeaux, at the head of 100 horſe, on the 1ſt of June, 1283; and that the king of England ſhould inſtantly be intreated to appoint the liſts in that city; to honour their duel with his preſence, or to ſend ſome perſon, in his ſtead. However, it muſt be obſerved, that it is, in ſo many words, expreſſed in the articles: "That, whatever happened, the two kings "ſhould appear at Bourdeaux, on the day ap- "pointed; but, if Edward was preſent, in per- "ſon, the intended duel ſhould not be fought, "unleſs the parties agreed upon it afterwards." Indeed, all the hiſtorians unanimouſly affirm, that Edward appointed the liſts at Bourdeaux; and yet it is very certain, that he refuſed it. His letters, on this occaſion, to the king of Sicily, and the prince of Salerno, his ſon, clearly prove, that he was not, in the leaſt, inclined to grant their requeſt, ſince he poſitively aſſured them, that, were he to gain the kingdoms of Sicily and Arragon, he would not appoint the liſts for ſuch a duel; which letters are in the Collection of the Publick Acts, taken from the records of England.

Act. Pub.

Tho' Edward's refuſal diſengaged the two kings from the obligation to fight, they were, however, obliged, by the articles, to appear at Bourdeaux; and Charles came, on the day appointed, with 100 horſe, and continued there, from ſun-riſing to ſun-ſetting; but, not meeting his adverſary, nor ſo much as hearing of him, he retired. As ſoon as he was gone, Peter, who was, all the while, in Bourdeaux, diſguiſed, like an eſquire, repaired to the ſeneſchal of the city; and, taking a certificate of his appearance, he left him his arms, for a teſtimony; which proceeding led the French hiſtorians to ſpeak diſhonourably of the king of Arragon, as if want of courage was the motive to it, and that he practiſed that fraud, to evade his engagements; but it would not be very difficult to juſtify his conduct, in this particular, if this was a proper place, to enter upon the examination of ſuch an affair *.

Though, as I obſerved, the king of Arragon was freed from the obligation of fighting, ſince Edward did not come to Bourdeaux; yet his proceeding was extremely exaggerated, in France and Italy; for it was inferred, as an evident conſequence, that he himſelf was convinced of his injuſtice to Charles of Anjou, ſince he durſt not decide their difference, by a ſingle combate, which he himſelf had accepted. Pope Martin IV, a Frenchman, and entirely attached to the houſe of Anjou, thundered againſt the king of Arragon a ſentence of excommunication, tho' he produced the inveſtiture of Sicily, privately given him by Nicholas III. He even abſolved his ſubjects from their oath of allegiance, and gave the kingdom of Arragon to Charles, earl of Valois, ſecond ſon of the king of France †; yet Peter ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the Sicily's, and, to inſult the pope, under the pretence of ſubmitting to his authority, order'd himſelf to be ſtiled only, the Chevalier of Arragon. Martin, upon this, reſolved to make that prince know, that he was not to be inſulted, with impunity; for he publiſhed a Cruſade againſt him, under the command of Philip III, king of France; and there were people ſuperſtitious enough to imagine, that they ſhould obtain paradiſe, in eſpouſing the quarrel of the pope, and the houſe of Anjou; tho' few, except Frenchmen, were engaged in this Cruſade, in which their king was particularly concerned, ſince it was intended for placing his ſon on the throne of Arragon.

1286. Act. Pub.

Whilſt Philip was making preparations, Roger Lauria rendered his maſter's arms proſperous, in the Mediterranean; having taken Malta, from Charles of Anjou, after gaining a naval battle, in which the French fleet was entirely deſtroyed. Immediately after this victory, he attacked the coaſts of Naples, deſigning to draw, out of his ports, the prince of Salerno, to whom his father, king Charles, had left the command of his fleet; and this deſign proved ſucceſsful. The prince of Salerno, deſirous of glory, and unable to bear the inſults of Lauria, raſhly engaged in a ſea-fight, wherein he had the misfortune to be vanquiſhed and taken priſoner; who was, forthwith, ſent to Sicily, where he found himſelf in danger of loſing his head, on a ſcaffold, the Sicilians reſolving to make him ſuffer, by way of retaliation, for Conradin; but Conſtantia, queen of Arragon, was ſo generous, as to ſend him to the king, her husband, who was then in Spain. Charles's vexation at the loſs of his fleet, and his ſon's impriſonment, was the greater, as he arrived, three days after, with a powerful ſupply, and had expreſly commanded the prince not to fight, until he was reinforced. This accident, entirely diſconcerting his meaſures, was, probably, the cauſe of his death, on the 6th of June, 1285; who left, for his ſucceſſor, Charles II, his ſon, ſirnamed the Lame, priſoner in Spain, to whom the Arragonians gave only the title of prince of Salerno, during his captivity.

M. Weſt. An. Wav.

Neither the death of Charles, nor the loſs of the battle of Naples, could divert Philip from his projects; for, in the month of May, that very year, he headed his troops, conſiſting of 80,000 foot, and 20,000 horſe, and, though he heard, in his march, of the death of the king, his brother, entered Rouſſillon, and became

* See the extract of volume II. of the Publick Acts of England, in the Bibliotheque Choiſie of Mr. Le Clerc; where this affair is diſcuſſed, at large, and the king of Arragon's conduct fully juſtified. Rapin.

† Philip III, who was then alive. Rapin.

maſter

1286. master of Perpignan. He afterwards advanced into Catalonia, where, after ſeveral conqueſts, he beſieged Gironne; and the king of Arragon, attacking a convoy paſſing from Rozes to the ſiege, was hurt in the ſkirmiſh, and died, three months after, of his wounds. He left Arragon and Catalonia to prince Alphonſo, his eldeſt ſon; and Sicily to James, his ſecond ſon, on condition that, if Alphonſo died, without heirs, James ſhould ſucceed in Arragon, and reſign Sicily to Frederick, his younger brother.

T. Wikes. An. Wav. The king of France's ſucceſſes, in the beginning of the war, did not laſt, to the end of the campaign; for Roger Lauria, falling on the French fleet, deſtroyed all the ſhips, except a few that eſcaped to Rozes; and the ſickneſs in Philip's army retarded his progreſs, by land. In fine, being himſelf ſeized with the contagion, he was carried to Perpignan; where he departed this life, on the 6th of October. Philip IV, his ſon, ſirnamed the Fair, was his ſucceſſor; and, Martin IV. dying, the ſame year, Honorius IV. was elected, in his room.

Edward is mediator between the kings of Arragon and Sicily. Such was the ſtate of the affairs, between the houſes of Arragon and Anjou, when Edward accepted the mediation, offered him by both parties; and the main difficulty of this negotiation conſiſted, in freeing the prince of Salerno out of the hands of the king of Arragon, without which it was impoſſible to procure a peace. Edward had, upon that occaſion, ſeveral interviews with Alphonſo; and Mezerai affirms, he even went to Sicily, to confer with king James; but the hiſtory takes no notice of this voyage. In a word, at a conference between him and Alphonſo, at Oleron in Bearn, they ſettled the terms, on which the prince of Salerno was to be releaſed, and for which, as far as concerned the ranſom, Edward conſented to be ſecurity; and then the articles of agreement were confirmed, by a treaty concluded at Campo Franco, the 4th of October, 1288. Nicholas IV, ſucceſſor to Honorius, vigorouſly oppoſed the execution of the treaty, which he apprehended to be too advantageous for the king of Arragon, and too diſhnoourable for the holy ſee; becauſe the prince of Salerno, without conſulting him, had obliged himſelf to cauſe the earl of Valois to renounce the kingdom of Arragon. However, the difficulties, ariſing from this oppoſition, were, at length, ſurmounted by the prudence and activity of Edward, who acted, as mediator, with great impartiality; and, to facilitate the execution of the treaty, he was willing to give Engliſh hoſtages to the king of Arragon, and to cauſe the principal cities of Guienne to interpoſe, as pledges, Alphonſo performing the ſame, with reſpect to the principal cities of his dominions.

M. Weſt.

1287. Act. Pub.

1288.

1288. Purſuant to this agreement, the prince of Salerno was releaſed, leaving his ſons, as hoſtages; and now the main obſtacle, in this affair, was removed, by that prince's liberty, who was bound, by the moſt ſolemn oaths; but he entirely neglected his engagements. He not only procured himſelf to be crowned king of the Sicily's by the pope, contrary to the expreſs terms of the treaty; but he did all that was poſſible to confirm the earl of Valois in his reſolution, to proſecute his pretended right to the kingdom of Arragon; and, when he had ſufficiently prepared matters, he feigned a willingneſs to return to impriſonment, as he was obliged, upon his violating the articles of the treaty. Accordingly, he repaired to a certain place, where the king of Arragon was to receive him, and exchange him for the princes, his ſons; but he came ſo well attended, that Alphonſo did not think it expedient to venture upon his ſincerity. This occaſioned mutual complaints, reproaches, and apologies; and each party applied to the king of England, as mediator and guarantee of the treaty. Edward, in all probability, being tired with acting in favour of theſe princes, who ſo ill requited all his pains, left them to decide their differences, as they pleaſed, without concerning himſelf any farther; but, not to leave the reader in ſuſpence, how this diſpute ended, I ſhall add, in two words, that, after long negotiations, intermixed with many hoſtilities, the two princes adjuſted their quarrel, by a treaty. The prince of Salerno, ſtiled Charles the Lame, kept Sicily, on this ſide the Faro, which, from that time, was called the kingdom of Naples; and the houſe of Arragon remained in poſſeſſion of the iſland of Sicily; beſides, the earl of Valois renounced his pretenſions to the kingdom of Arragon.

1289. Edward returns to England. T. Wikes. After ſtaying above three years beyond ſea, Edward returned into England, in Auguſt, 1289; whoſe firſt care was to reform ſeveral abuſes introduced, in his abſence, eſpecially in the adminiſtration of juſtice; for, upon complaints from all hands, that the judges were chargeable with bribery, he ſtrictly examined into their conduct, and ſeverely puniſhed the guilty. Sir Thomas Weyland, the chief juſticiary, or firſt judge, was, on this account, baniſhed the realm, his eſtate being alſo confiſcated*; and theſe miſdemeanours, which were but too frequent, gave the king occaſion to oblige the judges to ſwear, that, for the future, they would take neither money, nor any ſort of preſents, except a breakfaſt, which they might accept, provided there was no exceſs. An hiſtorian affirms, that the king acquired above 100,000 marks, by the confiſcation of the eſtates of thoſe that had been faulty †.

* The king puniſhed, in this ſevere manner, not only the juſtices of the king's-bench, but alſo the juſtices of the Jews, and of the foreſts, the foreſters, ſheriffs, ſtewards of manors, and all other delinquents. T. Wikes.

† Sir Ralph de Hengham, chief juſtice of the higher bench, was fined 7000 marks; Sir John Lovetot, juſtice of the lower bench, 3000 marks; Sir William Bramton, juſtice, the like ſum; Sir Solomon Rocheſter, juſtice of aſſizes, 4000 marks; Sir Richard de Boyland, 4000 marks; Sir Thomas Soddington, 2000 marks; Sir Walter Hopton, 2000 marks: The four laſt were juſtices itinerant. Sir William de Saham, 3000 marks; Robert Littlebury, maſter of the rolls, 1000 marks; Roger Leiceſter, 1000 marks; Henry Bray, eſcheater, and judge for the Jews, 1000 marks; and Adam de Stretton, a clerk of the court, no leſs than 32000 marks of new money, beſides jewels and ſilver-plate. Chron. de Dunſtable MSS. T. Wikes.

In

1290. In the beginning of the year 1290, Edward assembled a parliament, wherein the Third Statute of Westminster was enacted; and the banishment * of the Jews was absolutely resolved. The nation had long desired it; but the Jews, hitherto, found means to divert the blow, by presents to the king and his ministers; and they would fain have used the same method, now, but could not prevail, the king being unable to protect them any longer, without disobliging the parliament. Their immoveable goods were confiscated; tho' they were allow'd to carry away the rest with them. It is the general opinion, that they began to settle in the kingdom, in the reign of William the Conqueror; but some believe their settlement to be still more antient. At first, their number was small; yet, by degrees, they increased to 15000. Their money procured them several considerable privileges, confirmed by Edward himself, namely, a synagogue at London, a head of their religion, being a sort of high-priest, and judges of their own nation, to hear and determine their differences; yet they lost all these advantages, because of their insatiable greediness of enriching themselves by unlawful means, as usury, adulteration of the coin, and the like odious practices; but, as for the imputation of crucifying, from time to time, christian children, one may almost be assured, that it was only a calumny invented by their enemies †.

1290.

The Jews are banished England. T. Wikes.

The affairs of Scotland.

We are, now, come to the grand affair of the reign of Edward I, viz. the conquest of Scotland; which it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to treat of, in a satisfactory manner, to the English and Scots; for though the two nations almost agree, as to the facts, and the occasion of this conquest, they widely differ, with respect to the right. The English affirm, that Edward's whole conduct, in this affair, was agreeable to reason and justice; whilst the Scots alledge, that he was prompted, solely, by his ambition, to take advantage of the troubles of Scotland, in order to become master of that kingdom, under frivolous pretences; and, notwithstanding the great distance of time, since this event, historians still retain their national prejudices. The English, to this day, consider Edward I, as a truly glorious prince, who employed his arms in no other than a just and honourable cause; yet the Scots speak of him, as a tyrant, vowing the destruction of their nation, and, contrary to all manner of right, intent upon gratifying his ambition, in uniting all the people of Great-Britain, under his dominion. As I am not attached to either party, by birth, or any other motive, I flatter myself with having impartially examined this affair, and produced, from the Collection of the Publick Acts, such light, as may serve to conveigh a just idea of the thing; and it will be necessary to be somewhat particular, as it is the only possible means to dispel the prejudices, which darken the affair.

1290.

Alexander III, king of Scotland, married, as was said, above, Margaret, daughter of Henry III, king of England, and sister of Edward; by whom he had three children, Alexander, David, and Margaret. David died, in his infancy; and Margaret was married to Eric, king of Norway, in 1281. It was agreed, in the marriage-contract, that, if prince Alexander died, without heirs, and the king, his father, left no issue male, Margaret should succeed to the crown of Scotland, and her children enjoy the same right, if she died, before the king, her father. Alexander, soon after, losing his only son of the same name, and the queen of Norway, his daughter, also dying, after she had brought into the world a daughter, called Margaret, that prince resolved to perform the foresaid agreement; and, with this view, he obliged the Scotch barons to swear, that, if he died, without male heirs, they would acknowledge the young princess of Norway, for their queen; but Alexander departed this life, about two years after he had, thus, settled the succession, his death being occasioned by a fall from his horse, in the year 1285.

An account of the disputes about the succession to the crown of Scotland.

Alexander III. dies. T. Wikes.

The Scots, upon the decease of their king, chose six regents to govern the kingdom, till the princess of Norway, who was, at most, but three years of age, arrived to years of maturity. It does not appear, from the histories of England or Scotland, why the Scots were three or four years, before they demanded their queen, or why Eric, her father, neglected to send her over; and yet it was not till 1289, after Edward's return into England, that Eric sent ambassadors, for that purpose. Edward being Margaret's great uncle, Eric thought it advisable to ask his advice and assistance, to place the young princess on the throne of Scotland; and, upon this ambassy, Edward, forthwith, wrote to the regents of Scotland, strenuously recommending the interests of young Margaret, and likewise acquainting them, that he design'd to send ambassadors, to settle certain affairs relating to the welfare and tranquillity of Scotland; but the regents judged it more expedient for themselves to send plenipotentiaries into England, to adjust with the ambassadors of Norway, in Edward's presence, whatever concerned the interests of that kingdom. However, they took care to insert this clause, in the credentials of their envoys, "Saving the honour and liberty of the kingdom;" and the bishops of St. Andrews and Glascow were commissioned to transact this affair.

Margaret of Norway is acknowledged queen of Scotland. Walsing.

Act. Pub.

Tho' historians have overlooked the difficulties, concerning the coming of Margaret into Scotland, it is evident that they were very great; as well from the time, since the death of king Alexander, as from the precaution taken, in assembling, at Salisbury, the plenipo-

* Many of the Jews embarqued in the river Thames, in a vessel belonging to one of the Cinque-Ports, and were, by the master and seamen, not only plundered of all they had left, but were also cruelly thrown over-board; which reaching the ears of the king, he caused many of those inhuman mariners to be hanged. T. Wikes.

† From the 17th of December, in the 50th year of Henry III, to the Tuesday in Shrovetide, the 2d of Edw. I, which was about seven years, the crown had 420.000 l. 15 s. 4 d. from the Jews. Coke's 2d Institute.

tentiaries

1290. tentiaries of Edward, Eric, and the Scots, to ſettle together whatever related to the reception of that princeſs. In this aſſembly, it was agreed, that the young queen ſhould be ſent into England, free from any marriage-engagement; and Edward promiſed to take care of her education, till Scotland, being reſtored to perfect tranquillity, ſhould be in a condition to receive her; moreover, he gave his word, not to ſuffer her to be contracted in marriage, provided the Scots would not take any ſtep to that end, without his and the king of Norway's conſent.

Edward propoſes the marriage of his ſon with Margaret. Act. Pub.

Edward had his own reaſons, for cauſing this laſt article to be inſerted in the agreement; for, ever ſince the death of the king of Scotland, he had been forming the project of uniting the two kingdoms of Great-Britain, by his ſon's marriage with Margaret; nay, he had already procured a diſpenſation from the court of Rome, tho' he had not thought fit to diſcover ſo early his intention. However, having taken the forementioned meaſures, he cauſed the marriage to be propoſed to the regents; which propoſal, being examined, in a council of Scotland, was unanimouſly approved; but upon certain terms, which they were to lay before the firſt parliament aſſembled in England. There were, upon this occaſion, ſeveral negotiations; but it is ſufficient to ſay, that the commiſſioners of the two nations, meeting at Bingham, agreed upon ſeveral articles, the principal of which, with reſpect to the ſequel, were, as follows:

The regents conſent to it. Ibid.

The terms of the marriage. Ibid.

I. The plenipotentiaries of Edward promiſed, in his name, that he would inviolably maintain the laws, liberties, and cuſtoms of Scotland, in all things and in all times, throughout the whole realm, with all its marches.

II. That, if either Edward, the ſon, or Margaret, his future ſpouſe, ſhould die, without iſſue, and in all caſes or events, by which the kingdom of Scotland ſhould fall to the next heir, it ſhould be reſtored to the people of Scotland free, independent, and without any ſubjection, ſaving, however, the rights of the king of England to the crown of Scotland, provided it devolved to him, or his heirs, by a lawful ſucceſſion.

III. That the kingdom of Scotland ſhould remain ſeparated, divided, and free in itſelf, without any ſubjection to, or dependence on, England; ſaving to the king of England, and his ſucceſſors, his right to certain lands on the frontiers, or elſewhere, before the time of this agreement, or any right he ſhould lawfully acquire, hereafter.

IV. No perſon, holding lands, in fee, of the king of Scotland, ſhould be obliged to proſecute any ſuit, out of the kingdom, according to the cuſtom, hitherto, obſerved.

V. That all the ſubjects of the crown of Scotland ſhould enjoy the ſame privilege, according to antient cuſtom.

VI. That all records, charters, and privileges, or other memorials, relating to the royal dignity, and the kingdom of Scotland, ſhould be depoſited in a place of ſafety, and not carried out of the realm, under the ſeals of certain lords, till the queen ſhould come into the kingdom, and have children. 1290.

VII. That no ſubjection, alienation, or obligation, of any thing, concerning the kingdom of Scotland, ſhould be made, till the queen ſhould be there, in perſon, and have children alive.

VIII. That no parliament ſhould be held, out of the kingdom.

Theſe precautions demonſtrate, how far the Scots were from believing, in thoſe days, that the kingdom of Scotland was dependent on England.

The marriage is concluded. Act. Pub.

Theſe, and ſeveral other articles, which I forbear to mention, being approved and ratified, the marriage was concluded and reſolved, to the general ſatisfaction of both nations; and Edward began to take, as it were, poſſeſſion of Scotland for the prince, his ſon, by ſending thither the biſhop of Durham, who, jointly with the ſix regents, was intruſted with the adminiſtration of affairs, in the name of young Edward and Margaret. No one queſtioned, but the two kingdoms of Great-Britain would be united, by means of this marriage, when, on a ſudden, all hopes of an union vaniſhed; for Edward received a letter, from the biſhop of St. Andrews, acquainting him with the report of queen Margaret's death; and that ſome Scotch lords *, upon the news, already ſtirred, in the proſecution of their pretended right to the crown. The biſhop intreated him, at the ſame time, to advance towards the frontiers, to prevent, by his preſence, the commotions, which the queen's death, if found true, would excite in the kingdom. The report of her death was but too well grounded; for the princeſs, whom the king, her father, promiſed to ſend into England, before the month of October, having ſailed from Norway, died in a certain iſland†, where ſhe was driven, by ſtreſs of weather.

Margaret's death. Buchanan.

The news of this accident threw the kingdom of Scotland into a more wretched condition, than ever; for the late king, tho' he obliged the great men to ſwear to acknowledge Margaret of Norway, for queen, neglected to ſettle the ſucceſſion, in caſe that princeſs died, without heirs. This rendered the choice of a ſucceſſor very perplexing; and it became more ſo every day, on account of the factions formed, in favour of the pretenders to the crown. Never was union among the great men more neceſſary; but, private intereſt ſtifling the love of their country, every one proceeded, as he was engaged, either by family-ties, or other motives, entirely regardleſs, about the juſtice of the cauſe which he eſpouſed.

John Baliol and Robert Bruce pretend to the crown of Scotland.

Among the pretenders to the crown, John Baliol and Robert Bruce divided almoſt all the ſuffrages of the kingdom; for the firſt held large poſſeſſions in France, in the province of Normandy; the other held a conſiderable

* The lord Robert de Bruce, with the earls of Marr and Athol. Rymer's Fœd.

† The iſle of Orkney. M. Weſt.

1290. eſtate in England; and both were very potent in Scotland. For the better underſtanding the grounds of their reſpective titles, it will be neceſſary to take a view of the genealogy of the royal family of Scotland; of which I ſhall, therefore, give a brief explanation.

The genealogy of the royal family of Scotland.

David, king of Scotland, had but one ſon, named Henry, who, dying before him, left three ſons, viz. Malcolm IV, who ſucceeded to the crown, after his grandfather, and died, without heirs; William, ſucceſſor to his elder brother; and David, who was earl of Huntingdon in England. The race of William being extinct, by the death of Margaret of Norway, there was a neceſſity of going back to that of David, earl of Huntingdon, third ſon to prince Henry. David, died, without iſſue male; but he left three daughters, Margaret, married to Alan of Galloway, Iſabella, wife of Robert Bruce, and Ada, wife of Henry Haſtings, an Engliſh lord. Margaret, the eldeſt, left only two daughters, Deverguld, whom ſome call Dornagilla, and Marjory. Deverguld married John Baliol, by whom ſhe had a ſon of the ſame name, one of the two candidates for the crown; but Marjory, wife of John Comyn, died, without iſſue. Iſabella, ſecond daughter to David, had, by Robert Brnce, a ſon, named Robert, from his father, the other candidate; and Ida, David's third daughter, left a ſon, called John Haſtings, who was alſo a pretender to the crown. To avoid confuſion, I ſhall confine myſelf, at preſent, to the two chief competitors, namely, John Baliol and Robert Bruce, who alone had properly a right to pretend to the ſucceſſion.

The foundation of the titles of the competitors.

It muſt be obſerved, that, at the time of Margaret of Norway's death, the three daughters of David, earl of Huntingdon, were not alive; but Deverguld, daughter of the eldeſt, was ſtill living, and reſigned her title to John Baliol, her ſon, who, being deſcended from the eldeſt of David's daughters, claimed a right to have the preference to all the other candidates. On the other hand, Robert Bruce, ſon of the younger daughter, alledged, that he was, one degree, nearer than Baliol, ſince he was grandſon to David; whereas his rival was only grandſon to the eldeſt daughter of the ſame prince. It was objected, that, as Deverguld was in the ſame degree with him, he ought to ſucceed, ſince ſhe was daughter to the eldeſt; whereas he was only ſon to a younger daughter of David. To which he replied, that, where the degree is the ſame, the males ought to be preferred to the females, according to the conſtant law and cuſtom of all ſtates; for which he produced ſeveral precedents, from the hiſtories of foreign countries. This was the ſtate of the caſe; which could not be decided, without diſpleaſing one half of the kingdom.

The ſtate of affairs in Scotland, according to the Scotch hiſtorians. Buchanan.

Here it is that we, firſt, diſcover a diſagreement, between the Engliſh and Scotch hiſtorians; for the latter affirm, that, in the preſent poſture of affairs, it was impoſſible to find in Scotland impartial judges; and that, ſuppoſing ſuch could have been found, it would have been extremely difficult to execute their ſentence, by reaſon of the equality of credit and power in the contending parties. Baliol was lord of the county of Galloway, one of the moſt conſiderable of the kingdom; being likewiſe ſupported by the Comyns, a family of great power and intereſt. Robert Bruce held, in England, the earldom of Cleveland, and, in Scotland, thoſe of Anandale and Gariock; and, by means of his ſon, Robert, who had, with his wife, the earldom of Carrick, he was allied to the moſt powerful families of Scotland; inſomuch that, as they add, to avoid a civil war, both parties agreed to refer the deciſion of this important affair to the king of England. All good offices were expected from him, not only becauſe of the good underſtanding which had long ſubſiſted between the two nations, but in return for their ready conſent to the marriage of the prince, his ſon, with their late queen; and, therefore, according to theſe writers, he was intreated to be the umpire of this diſpute, and to aſſiſt the perſon he ſhould think proper to place on the throne. They farther ſay, that Edward, accepting the mediation, came to Norham; where he ſummoned the ſtates of Scotland, proteſting, that he convened them, not as a ſovereign, but as a friend, that deſir'd them to meet the arbitrator choſen by themſelves. However, this fact is denied by the Engliſh, who aſſert, that Edward ſummoned the ſtates of Scotland to Norham, not as a friend and umpire, but by vertue of his right of ſovereignty over Scotland; adding, that the bare conſideration of the ſituation of Norham, a town in England, evidently ſhews, that Edward exerciſed an act of ſovereignty, in aſſembling the ſtates of Scotland, in his own kingdom. The Scots reply, that this proof is entirely deſtroyed, by the letters patent which Edward granted them, on that occaſion; whoſe words are theſe: "That he did not intend, "that the coming of the Scots, on this ſide "the Tweed, ſhould be any prejudice to them, "or that, for the future, upon any account "whatever, they ſhould be obliged to come "and treat with him, on this ſide the river." This expreſs declaration, tho' it ſeems to prove, that Edward did not pretend to the ſovereignty of Scotland, amounts to no more than an evidence of his policy, or diſſimulation; ſince he certainly deſigned, then, to eſtabliſh the right of ſovereignty; and, accordingly, it was no ſooner eſtabliſhed, than he ſtiled his letters patent a mere conceſſion, which might be, and was actually, revoked. In the view this monarch had, of cauſing his ſovereignty to be acknowledged by the ſtates of Scotland, as will be ſeen, hereafter, it would have been very improper to alarm the Scots, by an act of abſolute authority, before the ſtates were aſſembled; it being much more natural and advantageous for him, to convene the ſtates, firſt, and lead them, by degrees, to the acknowledgment he was deſirous of extorting from them; and, probably, when he ſummoned the ſtates to Norham, he made choice of ambiguous and cautious expreſſions, to conceal his real intention, ſince it was not his intereſt, then, to diſcover it, though he deſigned

1290.

Edward is choſen umpire,

Buchanan.

and ſummons the ſtates of Scotland to Norham.

to

1290. to uſe this very aſſembly, to ſtrengthen his right.

Buchanan pretends, that, immediately after the young queen's death, Edward formed the project of becoming maſter of Scotland; but, perhaps, he proceeds too far. It is much more likely, that, at firſt, he had no farther view, than to cauſe himſelf to be acknowledged, for ſovereign of that kingdom; whether he imagined it his due, or was inclined to improve the favourable opportunity of firmly eſtabliſhing this pretended right. The more effectually to accompliſh his deſign, according to the ſame hiſtorian, he perſuaded eight other perſons, beſides the two above-mentioned, to claim the crown; intending ſo to perplex the affair, that the two principal candidates might ſee, that he ſhould not want means, to render their titles dubious, if they were not pliant to his will.

After theſe previous remarks, it is high time to come to the deciſion of this famous proceſs; but, firſt, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that this affair contains two things, really diſtinct from each other, viz. the right of ſucceſſion to the crown of Scotland, and the right of ſovereignty over the ſame kingdom, claimed by Edward. The former, ſeems, at firſt ſight, to be the moſt important, and the latter appears only to be an incident queſtion ariſing upon the other; but the ſequel will inform us, that it became the main point, by its fatal conſequences. It muſt be farther obſerved, that the particulars, I am about to relate, are taken from a journal, or verbal proceſs, inſerted in the Collection of Publick Acts, made by Mr. John de Cadam, one of Edward's clerks or notaries; which ſhould induce us to read, with ſome caution, what appears to be too much in favour of the king of England, with reſpect to his claim to the ſovereignty of Scotland.

1291. Edward requires the ſtates of Scotland to own him, for ſovereign. Act. Pub.

The ſtates of Scotland being aſſembled at Norham, May 10, 1291, Roger le Brabazon, chief juſticiary of England, by order, and in the name of the king, his maſter, who was preſent, repreſented to them, that the king of England, conſidering the unſettled circumſtances of Scotland, had required the ſtates to meet, in that place, to lay before them certain matters, tending to the preſervation of the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom; that he had no deſign to uſurp the rights of any perſon, ſtop the courſe of juſtice, or to infringe the liberties of the people of Scotland; but, as ſovereign lord of Scotland, he was come to do juſtice to all: And that this might be the more eaſily effected, though what he claimed could not be juſtly diſputed, he demanded, as a ſuperabundant right, the ſtates aſſent to, and recognition of, his ſuperiority and direct dominion; upon which, he would make uſe of their counſels, to do what ſhould ſeem agreeable to juſtice and reaſon. The ſtates, extremely ſurpriſed at this propoſal, required time, to conſult with the abſent biſhops and barons, that they might return an uniform anſwer, in an affair of ſuch importance; and Edward, in his turn, expreſs'd ſome ſurpriſe, that the ſtates ſhould require time to give in their anſwer. He told them, that he had reaſon to believe they were come prepared for this matter, ſeeing they were not ignorant of his intention; and, therefore, he allowed them only the reſt of that day, to conſider of his demand. On the morrow, the ſtates inſiſting on a longer time, the king granted them three weeks, from the 10th of May; during which ſpace, they were to prepare all their objections to his pretenſions, and all the acts and monuments they might think proper, to invalidate his demand. 1291.

The ſtates make no anſwer. June 2.

Though, according to the time prefixed by the king, the next meeting was to be, on the firſt of June; yet the journal, which I take for my guide, mentions only that of the ſecond of the ſame month. The biſhop of Bath and Wells, being ſpokeſman for the king, recited what had been done, in the two former aſſemblies; adding that, as the three weeks, granted to the ſtates, were expired, and they had not produced or alledged any thing, to invalidate his right, he was reſolved to act, by vertue of his acknowledged ſovereignty over Scotland, and, as ſovereign, to do juſtice to the candidates.

Remarks on the ſilence of the ſtates.

Let us ſtop, a moment, to make a ſingle remark, on the preſent occaſion. How great an opinion ſoever a man may entertain of the faithfulneſs of Edward, and the notary, that drew up the foreſaid journal, he cannot avoid perceiving, that there is ſomething defective here. In the two former aſſemblies, Edward produced his pretenſions to the ſovereignty of Scotland; and the ſtates, far from, immediately, owning this ſovereignty, require time to conſult together, about ſo nice a point. The king grants them three weeks; and, upon the expiration of that time, in the firſt meeting, taken notice of in the journal, the chancellor begins with ſaying, that the ſtates had produced or alledged nothing, againſt the king's pretenſions. Ought he not rather to call upon the ſtates, for their anſwer? and the journaliſt ſhould relate either their objections, or aſſent, or, at leaſt, declare, that they had return'd no anſwer. If this had been done, the chancellor's ſpeech would come to the purpoſe; but, on the contrary, he begins with declaring, that, the ſtates having nothing to object againſt the king's pretenſions, Edward was reſolved to make uſe of his right; which renders it ſuſpicious, either that the account of what paſſed, that day, is curtailed, or that, the day before, there was another aſſembly, wherein the ſtates had produced their proofs, but which the author of the journal did not think proper to mention, I, before, obſerved, that, according to the time appointed by the king, there was to be an aſſembly, on the firſt of June, whereas this was not, till the ſecond; but I offer this, as no more than a conjecture; for the grand difficulty lies in that, after a three weeks conſultation, the ſtates of Scotland ſhould have nothing to anſwer or object to Edward's pretenſions. It is certain, that, hitherto, the ſovereignty of the crown of England over Scotland had never been ſo generally acknowledg'd, that the bare publick evidence could ſilence the

ſtates;

1291. ſtates; which is ſufficiently evident, from the marriage-articles above-mentioned, wherein the Scots had taken ſo great care to maintain their independence. In the ſecond place, the time they took, to conſult about the king's demand, plainly proves, that they were not fully perſuaded of their ſubjection to the crown of England; and, in a word, Edward's very precaution, in requiring this acknowledgment, teſtifies, that the thing was, at leaſt, doubtful; for it is not cuſtomary to act, thus, when a man has a known and undeniable right. If it be true, then, that the ſtates returned no anſwer to the king's demand, it muſt be thought, either that they were overaw'd; or that the two principal candidates united, and prevailed with the ſtates, by ſecret practices, not to oppoſe the pretenſions of the king of England; and, probably, they were afraid, that this incident would retard the deciſion of the main affair. However, to return to our journal.

Edward is owned, for ſovereign, by all the claimants.

The high-chancellor having ſpoken, as is related in the journal, taking his maſter's right for granted, addreſſed himſelf, firſt, to Robert Bruce, and demanded of him, whether he would own the king of England, for ſovereign of Scotland, and receive juſtice from him, as ſuch? To which, according to the journal, Robert Bruce replied, openly and expreſly, that he acknowledged the king of England, for ſovereign lord of the realm of Scotland, and conſented to acquieſce in the judgment, that prince, as ſuch, ſhould think fit to pronounce. The ſame queſtion being propoſed to Florence, earl of Holland, and the lord John Haſtings, they both made the ſame anſwer; and then Patrick of Dunbar, earl of March, William de Ros, Walter de Huntercumbe, William Veſcy, by proctor, Robert de Pynkeny, and Nicholas de Soules appeared, and required to be admitted, ſeparately, to prove, that the crown of Scotland was devolved to them, by right of ſucceſſion. The ſame queſtion was put to them, as to the three firſt, about Edward's right; to which having returned the ſame anſwer, their petition was received. John Baliol being abſent, his gentleman of horſe ſtood up; and, alledging ſome excuſe, for his maſter's abſence, he demanded, in his name, that he might be heard, the next day, which was accordingly granted.

The proteſtation of Edward. June 3.

On the morrow, after the chancellor's recapitulation of what had paſſed, to that time, Baliol, who was preſent, was asked the ſame queſtion, as the reſt of the competitors, and made the like anſwer; upon which, the chancellor proteſted, aloud, in the king's name, "That, although the king of England acted, "now, as ſovereign lord of Scotland, he did "not deſign, thereby, to depart from the he-"reditary right, he might have to the crown "of that kingdom, or to exclude himſelf, as "to the property; but that he expreſly re-"ſerved to himſelf the liberty to proſecute his "right, as the reſt of the candidates, when "and how he pleaſed." As ſoon as the chancellor had done ſpeaking, the king repeated, verbatim, the ſame proteſtation, with his own mouth; and then John Comyn, lord of Badenoch, riſing up, demanded leave to prove his lawful right to the crown; whoſe requeſt was granted, after recogniſing, like the reſt, the king of England's ſovereignty. Upon this, the candidates drew up a writing, whereby they acknowledged him ſovereign lord of Scotland; which writing was ſigned and ſealed by all, and particularly by Robert Bruce and John Baliol; and, as for the ſilence of the ſtates, on this occaſion, Edward, taking it for an aſſent, became poſſeſſed of the ſovereignty. 1291.

Edward is put in poſſeſſion of Scotland.

This ſtep being made, the king, advancing farther, repreſented to the candidates, that it would be in vain to give ſentence, in favour of one of them, if it was not in his power to put it in execution; wherefore, he demanded the poſſeſſion of the kingdom, that he might be able to deliver it to the perſon, that ſhould be declared king. The competitors, conſenting to this, ſigned an inſtrument, according to his deſire; as if their bare pretenſions to the crown had impowered them to diſpoſe of the kingdom, at their pleaſure; in which writing, they own the king of England, for ſovereign lord of Scotland, and, as ſuch, for judge of the proceſs, concerning the ſucceſſion, promiſing to ſtand to the judgment he ſhould pronounce. They alſo agreed, that he ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of all the caſtles, and the whole kingdom, in order to reſtore it to him, in whoſe favour it ſhould be adjudged; but on this condition, that he ſhould be obliged to reſtore it, within two months after judgment given, in the ſame ſtate he receiv'd it, ſaving to him the homage of the new king. Act. Pub. M. Weſt.

Whatever had been, hitherto, done, in Edward's behalf, was only the acts of private perſons; yet, among them, were Bruce and Baliol, who divided all Scotland between them; and, conſequently, their approbation drew after it that of the whole kingdom. In thoſe days of anarchy, the regents had but little authority, not daring to do any thing diſpleaſing to the king, or the two chief competitors, one of whom was to be their maſter; and, as for the ſtates, Edward, perceiving that they diſliked his pretenſions, conſulted them no more; but, as they were aſſembled, out of Scotland, and in the king's power, they were not at liberty to take ſuch meaſures, as were agreeable to their inclinations. Edward, therefore, met with little oppoſition from the governors of the caſtles, when he came to take poſſeſſion of the kingdom, William de Umfraville, who had the cuſtody of the caſtles of Dundee and Forfar, being the only perſon that made any reſiſtance; who conſidered the foreſaid act, as very irregular, and could not reſolve, upon ſuch a warrant, to ſurrender the places committed to his truſt, neither by the king of England, nor by the candidates; apprehending it to be neceſſary, that the competitors, regents, and king himſelf ſhould oblige themſelves, by an expreſs act, to indemnify him, in caſe he ſhould, hereafter, come to be called to an account. Act. Pub.

Notwithſtanding Edward's pretenſions, it is certain, that the ſovereignty of the crown of England had never been acknowledged, in Scotland;

1291. Scotland; for which reaſon, the Scots, in general, muſt, of courſe, regard the proceedings of the candidates, and the regents themſelves, as a manifeſt prevarication; and yet it was extremely difficult to act otherwiſe, all the great men being brought over, either by Edward's promiſes, or threats; beſides, the troops he had ordered to march to Norham, under the pretence of guarding the ſtates of Scotland, did not a little contribute to inſpire them with terror. However, the regents, to give the people ſome ſatisfaction, demanded of Edward letters patent, declaring that the judgment of the proceſs ſhould be given in Scotland; and Edward, looking upon this ſtep, as a ſort of approbation of his ſovereignty, becauſe the demand was expreſſed, in very humble terms, readily condeſcended to their petition, and ordered the deſired letters to be diſpatched, immediately.

Act. Pub. The affair of the ſovereignty being, thus, concluded, tho' without the intervention of the ſtates, the examination of the titles of the ſeveral candidates for the crown came on, that the king might know the grounds of their reſpective pretenſions; and it was agreed among them, that Baliol and Comyn, as well for themſelves as for all the competitors, ſhould nominate 40 perſons, and Robert Bruce, 40 others, to hear and diſcuſs their reſpective rights; that, to theſe 80, the king ſhould add about 24 more; and that theſe commiſſioners, after a mature examination, ſhould make their report to the king.

June 5. In the aſſembly of the 5th of June, nothing more was done, than giving in the names of the examiners that were choſen.

June 6. The next day, the king ordered the examiners to fix the time and place of meeting, for their examination; who unanimouſly agreed upon Berwick, a town in Scotland, ſituated on the Tweed, for the place; but, not agreeing on the day, the king appointed it to be on the 2d of Auguſt following.

June 11. There was another aſſembly at Norham, where the regents of Scotland reſigned their patents, and the governors of the caſtles their commiſſions, to the king, to be diſpoſed of, at his pleaſure; who received, but reſtored them again, with the neceſſary alterations, to ſhew, that they governed, in his name; and, the ſame day, he made the biſhop of Caithneſs chancellor of Scotland, joining with him Walter de Hamondeſham, an Engliſhman, one of his clerks, as an aſſociate.

June 12. On the 12th of June, Edward iſſued out orders to all, that held any office in Scotland, to come and ſwear fealty to him; which was done, that day, by all that were preſent. The candidates took the ſame oath; and then the aſſembly broke up, till the day appointed for their meeting at Berwick.

Tho' it was ſtill a good while to that day, Edward came, quickly after, and, on the 3d of July, made the following proteſtation: "That, "altho' he had granted, that the affair of the "ſucceſſion ſhould be tried, in Scotland, he "did not think himſelf obliged to the like con-"deſcenſion, if the ſame caſe ſhould happen "again, or on any other occaſion." In all appearance, the aſſembly, before whom he made this declaration, was neither full, nor authoriſed to receive it; ſince the examiners were not to meet at Berwick, till the 3d of Auguſt, that is, a month after. 1290.

On the day appointed, the examining commiſſioners met at Berwick, in the preſence of the king, and received the petitions of the competitors, in the following order; but becauſe theſe petitions, containing the grounds of their pretenſions, were founded on the genealogy of the royal family of Scotland, I ſhall preſent the reader with a view of this genealogy, tho' ſuppoſititious, without which it would be difficult to underſtand their reſpective rights. Auguſt 3. Act. Pub.

Florence, earl of Holland, alledged, that he was deſcended from Ada, daughter to prince Henry, and ſiſter of the kings, Malcolm IV. and William.

Patrick de Dunbar, earl of March, aſſerted, that he was ſprung from Ilda, daughter of king William, and ſiſter of Alexander II.

William de Veſcy founded his claim upon his deſcent from Margaret, daughter of king William.

Robert de Pynkeny pretended, that he was the iſſue of Margaret, daughter of prince Henry, and ſiſter of the kings, Malcolm and William.

Nicholas de Soules affirmed, that, being grandſon to Alexander II, by Marjory, his ſecond daughter, and the race of Margaret, eldeſt ſiſter to his mother, being extinct, he was, of courſe, the next heir to the crown.

Patrick Galythly founded his pretenſions on his being grandſon to king William, by Henry, his ſon; but, probably, Henry, Patrick's father, was a baſtard, ſince, had he been legitimate, his ſon's title could not have been diſputed.

Roger de Mandeville claimed the crown, as the ſon of Alfrica, king William's daughter.

John Haſtings inſiſted, that the kingdom of Scotland, being diviſible, ought to be parted among the deſcendants of the three daughters of David, earl of Huntingdon, the youngeſt of whom was his mother.

Robert de Ros ſaid, that he was a deſcendant from Iſabella, eldeſt daughter to king William, and ſiſter of Alexander II.

John Comyn derived his claim higher, viz. from Donald, formerly king of Scotland.

John Baliol repreſented, that he was ſon to Deverguld, eldeſt daughter of Margaret, the eldeſt of the daughters of David, earl of Huntingdon; and that, the race of king William being extinct, he was the next heir to the late queen. It muſt be remarked, that he took it for granted, that Marjory and Iſabella, eldeſt daughters of Alexander II, died, without iſſue, though Nicholas de Soules alledged, that he was ſon to the former; and that, overlooking Henry, Iſabella, Ilda, Margaret, and Alfrica, children of king William, from whom Galythly, Ros, Dunbar, Veſcy, and Mandeville profeſſed themſelves deſcendants, he proceeded to the family of David, younger brother to king William. His ſilence gives occaſion to preſume, that either theſe

1290. competitors had falſly ſet forth their genealogies, or, that thoſe, from whom they deſcended, were baſtards; otherwiſe their iſſue would have had a better title to the crown, than David's; and, accordingly, the ſequel will ſhew, that their pretenſions were entirely diſregarded. It may be farther obſerved, that this favours what is related by Buchanan, that Edward engaged eight candidates, beſides Baliol and Bruce, to demand the crown, on purpoſe to puzzle the cauſe; and, indeed, it is obvious, that, of all the competitors, Baliol excepted, there was not one that had the leaſt right to the ſucceſſion, ſuppoſing, as is very likely, that they were deſcended from baſtards, and that Nicholas de Soules had not truly ſet forth his genealogy.

Robert Bruce aſſerted, that he was, one degree, nearer than Baliol, being grandſon of David, ; whereas his rival was only grandſon of his daughter; that, indeed, Deverguld was in the ſame degree with himſelf, but could not claim the crown, becauſe it was the cuſtom to prefer the males to the females, in the ſame degree of conſanguinity. To ſtrengthen his title, he added that Alexander II. declared him his heir, provided he died, without iſſue, and offered to prove it, by living witneſſes; and he alſo maintained, that Alexander III. always conſider'd him, as his preſumptive heir, and declared it to ſuch, as were his familiars.

All theſe petitions being read, the king, according to the journal, willing to give the commiſſioners time to examine them, appointed the 2d of June of the following year 1292, for another aſſembly; wherein the candidates might more fully urge their reſpective rights.

I ſhall make uſe of this interval, to examine, as briefly as poſſible, the grounds on which Edward founded his right of ſovereignty over Scotland; which we find, at large, in a memorial drawn, by the order of that prince; and, becauſe this memorial is frequently advanced by the Engliſh hiſtorians, as containing ſufficient proofs of the right of ſovereignty, enjoyed immemorially by England, over Scotland, it will be requiſite to give an abſtract of it, that the reader may be perfectly informed, concerning this matter.

Proofs alledged by EDWARD I, to eſtabliſh the RIGHT of SOVEREIGNTY of the KINGS of ENGLAND over SCOTLAND.

IN the year 901, Edward the Elder, king of England, ſubjected to his dominion the kings of the Scots, Humbrians, and Welch *; as is evident, from the Hiſtories of Marianus Scotus, Roger de Hoveden, and William of Malmsbury.

In 921, the king of Scotland, Reginald king of the Danes, the Engliſh of Northumberland, the king of Wales and his ſubjects, elected Edward the Elder, for their father and lord, and entered into a ſtrict alliance with him. Marianus Scotus, Roger de Hoveden. 1291.

In 924, the ſame Edward reigned over all the inhabitants of Great-Britain, Engliſh, Scots, Cumbrians, Danes, and Britons. Marianus Scotus, Roger de Hoveden.

In 926, king Athelſtan, ſon to Edward, vanquiſhed Conſtantine, king of Scotland, with the king of the Wenti, and forced them to fly; and, after the victory, they took an oath to him, and concluded an alliance with him, at Emothe, July the 4th. Marianus Scotus, Roger de Hoveden.

It appears, from the Hiſtories of William of Malmsbury, Henry of Huntingdon, and Ralph de Diceto, that Athelſtan compelled Conſtantine, king of Scotland, to quit his crown; tho' he afterwards gave him leave to reſume it, on condition that he ſhould hold it of the kings of England, ſaying, "It was more glorious to "make kings, than to be one.

In 934, the ſame Athelſtan vanquiſhed Conſtantine, who had revolted, and ravaged Scotland, as far as Dunfred; and Conſtantine gave him his ſon, as an hoſtage, with great preſents, a peace being concluded between them. Marianus Scotus, Roger de Hoveden, Henry de Huntingdon, Ralph de Diceto.

In 937, Eugenius king of Cumberland, and Conſtantine, king of Scotland, met Athelſtan, at Dacor, and ſubmitted to his mercy; and Athelſtan, commanding Conſtantine to cauſe his ſon to be baptiſed, ſtood godfather himſelf. William of Malmsbury.

In 940, Edmund ſucceeded Athelſtan, who reigned four years; and the Scots never revolted, during that ſpace.

In 947, Edred, Edmund's brother and ſucceſſor, having vanquiſhed the Northumbrians, carried his arms into Scotland; but the Scots, being terrified, ſubmitted, without reſiſtance, and ſwore the fealty that was due to him; and Edred placed over them a king, named Yric. Marianus Scotus, William of Malmſbury, Henry of Huntingdon.

In 955, Edwy was king of England, after Edred, and reigned four years, without any revolt of the Scots.

In 997, Edgar, king of England, having ſummoned to his court Keneth, king of Scotland, Malcolm of Cumberland, and ſix other kings, made them row in his barge, ſteered by himſelf; who is reported to have ſaid, on that occaſion, that his ſucceſſors might, now, boaſt of being really kings of England, ſince they enjoyed ſo great a prerogative.

The ſame Edgar being informed, that Keneth had reviled him, ſent for him to his court, and, walking with him into the fields, offered him the choice of two ſwords, to fight with him; but Keneth refuſing it, and caſting himſelf at Edgar's feet, implored his pardon, which he obtained. Marianus Scotus, Roger of Hoveden, William of Malmsbury, Henry of Huntingdon, Ralph de Diceto.

* In the original, Stregewallorum, the ſame who are termed in the Saxon Annals, Strædledweallas; the people that inhabited, about Galway in Scotland, and, being continually haraſſed with the incurſions of the Picts and Scots, retired into Flintſhire, about the river Clwyd. Vid. Camden in Flintſhire.

The

1291. The Scots never revolted, during the reigns of Edward the Martyr, Ethelred II, and Edmund Ironſide.

In 1017, Canute the Great, at his return from Rome, in the 15th year of his reign, eaſily ſubdued Scotland, which had revolted; and king Malcolm was ſubject to him. Canute was king of England, Denmark, Norway, and Scotland. Marianus Scotus, William of Malmsbury, Henry of Huntingdon, Ralph de Diceto.

We do not find, that the Scots revolted, during the reigns of Harold II. and Hardicanute.

In the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, Siward, earl of Northumberland, vanquiſhed Mackbeth, king of Scotland, and ſlew him; and then, by the command of king Edward, he ſet Malcolm, ſon of the king of Cumberland, on the throne of Scotland. Ibid.

William of Malmsbury affirms, "King "Edward gave the kingdom of Scotland to "Malcolm, ſon of the king of Cumberland, "to hold it of the crown of England."

There is nothing concerning the Scots, whilſt Harold II. ſat on the throne of England.

William the Baſtard having marched into Scotland, in the ſixth year of his reign, Malcolm met him, at Aberneth, where he did him homage, or became his man. Chron. of St. Albans.

The ſame Chronicle relates, that William returned into England, having received the homage of Malcolm and ſome hoſtages.

In the third year of William Rufus, Malcolm revolting and ravaging Northumberland, William, accompanied by Robert, his brother, led his army into Scotland, and entered into a treaty with Malcolm, on condition that Malcolm ſhould obey him, as he obeyed William, his father. Marianus Scotus, Roger de Hoveden.

Henry of Huntingdon ſays, that Malcolm, ſeized with fear, became king William's man *.

The ſame king dethroned David of Scotland, and placed Edgar, Malcolm's ſon, in his room.

Edgar, king of Scotland, dying, Alexander I, his brother, ſucceeded him, by the conſent of Henry I, king of England. Henry of Huntingdon.

Stephen, king of England, demanded homage of David, king of Scotland; and, upon his refuſing it, becauſe he had taken an oath to Matilda, Henry, his ſon, did homage to king Stephen. Marianus Scotus, Henry of Huntingdon, Roger de Hoveden.

1291. William king of Scotland, David earl of Huntingdon, his brother, with the earls and barons of Scotland, did homage to Henry II, king of England, and ſwore fealty † to him.

In 1174, William, king of Scotland, ravaging England, was taken priſoner and delivered to king Henry II, who releaſed him, on condition that he ſhould do him homage, for the kingdom of Scotland.

'As the treaty, between theſe two kings, 'has been, already, mentioned, it is needleſs 'to repeat it, here; ſince it is ſufficient to ſay, 'in a word, that William, to procure his li'berty, was forced to promiſe to do full ho'mage to Henry II, for the kingdom of Scot'land, and performed his word. This is the 'ſtrongeſt proof, in favour of Edward, and, 'accordingly, he chiefly inſiſts upon it, in the 'memorial; entering into a long detail, which 'amounts to what is, above, related.'

It does not appear, that the Scots revolted, in the reign of Richard; but, on the contrary, William came to Canterbury, to do homage to that prince.

'Edward wiſely overlooks the letters patent 'of Richard I, by which he relinquiſhed the 'ſovereignty of the kingdom of Scotland.'

The ſame William came and did homage to king John, at Lincoln, and ſwore fealty to him, upon the croſs of Hubert, archbiſhop of Canterbury. Roger de Hoveden.

The ſame king John would have made war upon William, becauſe, without his conſent, he married his daughter to the earl of Boulogne; as is evident, from the Chronicle of the monaſtery of Bridlington. The Chronicle of the abbey of Kyngeſwode likewiſe affirms, that William gave his two daughters, in hoſtage, to king John.

Henry III, in the 35th year of his reign, came to York, to marry his daughter to Alexander, king of Scotland; where the latter did homage to the king of England; and the guardianſhip of the young king, with the regency of the kingdom, was conferred on Robert de Ros and John Baliol, by the advice of the great men of both nations. Chron. of St. Albans.

To corroborate all theſe proofs, Edward heaped together ſome paſſages, extracted from divers charters and ſeveral bulls, and from a book, intitled, The Life of St. John of Beverly.

In a charter of Edgar, king of Scotland, granted to the church of Durham, that prince owns, that he holds the lands of Londoney, and the whole kingdom of Scotland, by the grant of William, king of England, his lord.

In another charter, William, king of Scot-

* i. e. did him homage; the form of which is, in the ſecond ſtatute, 17 Edw. II. When a freeman ſhall do homage, he ſhall hold his hands together, between the hands of his lord, and ſhall ſay, on his knees: "I become "your man, from this day forth, for life, for member, and for worldly honour, and ſhall owe you my faith, "for the land I hold of you, ſaving the faith I owe to our ſovereign lord the king, and to my other lords." The "eccleſiaſticks, inſtead of, "I become your man," ſay, "I do you homage, and to you ſhall be faithful and "loyal."

† Fealty, from the Latin, Fidelitas; the form of it is in anno 14 Edw. I. Stat. 2. When a freeman ſhall do fealty, he ſhall hold his right-hand over the book, and ſay: "Hear you, my lord, that I A. B. ſhall be to you "faithful and true, and ſhall owe my fealty to you, for the land that I hold of you, and truly ſhall do you the "cuſtoms and ſervices that I ought to do you, at the terms aſſigned; ſo help me God, and all the ſaints." He, that holdeth land, by this oath only, holdeth in the freeſt manner that any Engliſh ſubject may hold.

land,

1291. land, grants to John, king of England, his dear lord, the power of marrying Alexander, his ſon, prince of Scotland, to whom he pleaſed; and he alſo promiſes, that, whatever happens, he and prince Alexander, his ſon, will be true to Henry, ſon to John, as their ſovereign lord.

In a brief of Gregory IX, that pope ordered the barons of Scotland, to join with the king of England againſt their own prince, if the latter ſhould violate the treaty made with Henry II.

The ſame pope, in another brief, commanded the archbiſhop of York and the biſhop of Carliſle, to perſuade the king of Scotland to obſerve the treaty.

In another, directed to the king of Scotland, the ſame pope told him, that, as he was liegeman of the king of England, and had ſworn fealty to him, he ought not to attempt any thing againſt him.

Pope Clement, writing to Henry, king of England, in behalf of the biſhop of St. Andrews, deprived of his ſee by the king of Scotland, requires him, among other things, to warn, exhort, and, if neceſſary, to compel that prince, by the power committed to him, to reſtore the biſhop.

The proof, taken from the Life of St. John of Beverly, the author of which is unknown, is, as follows: King Athelſtan, carrying his arms into Scotland, meets, by the way, certain people, who were juſt cured of blindneſs and lameneſs, by the interceſſion of St. John of Beverly; upon which, he reſolves to go and perform his devotions, in the church where the body of this ſaint lay; and, having ſaid his prayers, he left his dagger on the altar, as a pledge of what he had promiſed the ſaint, if his undertaking proved ſucceſsful. After this, entering Scotland, St. John, appearing to him, aſſures him of his aſſiſtance; upon which, Athelſtan attacks the Scots, and gains a ſignal victory; and he afterwards ſubdued the whole kingdom of Scotland, and remained there, three years. In his return to England, a great rock ſtanding in his way, he beſought God, through the mediation of St. John of Beverly, to give him ſome ſign, by which the ſpectators might know, that the Scots were juſtly ſubdued by the Engliſh, and the conquered kingdom ought, for ever, to pay tribute to his ſucceſſors; and, drawing his ſword, he ſtruck the rock, which yielded like butter, and made a hole in it, an ell deep; an evident ſign, the author adds, that Scotland was ſubjected by the Engliſh.

Edward cited ſome other teſtimonies, but without naming his authors, to ſhew, that the lords of Galloway had done homage to the kings of England.

In 1185, Roland, lord of Galloway, ſubmittted to the king of England, fearing, as it is preſumed, the power of that monarch, who was advancing with a great army, to make war upon him.

Henry II, king of England, having received the homage of Alan of Galloway, and of David, brother of king William, returned into his dominions. 1291.

In the 22d year of Henry II, Gilbert, ſon of Fergus, lord of Galloway, accompanied the king of Scotland into England; where he became liege-man to Henry, the father, and ſwore fealty to him; after which, to gain his good-will, he gave him 1000 marks of ſilver, and his ſon, Duncan, in hoſtage.

Theſe are the proofs alledged by Edward, to juſtify his right of ſovereignty over Scotland; and, as it paſſes for certain, among ſeveral Engliſh hiſtorians, that Edward undeniably proved his right, from antient chronicles, I imagined, that the reader would not be diſpleaſed to be able to judge, for himſelf without being obliged to conſult the writers of both parties; wherefore, I have retrenched none of theſe proofs, though ſome of them are far enough from being evident.

Certainly, it furniſhes matter for admiration, that the Scots ſhould have nothing to object to theſe proofs, the greateſt part of which are very weak, if not entirely trifling; but it muſt be conſidered, that they were, in England, overawed by the king's preſence; and that Bruce and Baliol, who were very powerful, exerted themſelves, to prevent any incidents, that might retard the deciſion of the main affair. However, ſince Edward founded his pretenſions on the proofs produced in the memorial, and the homage, required of the kings of Scotland, was the ſole cauſe of the following war, between the two nations; it will be requiſite, to ſet this matter in a true light, to ſubjoin what the Scots might have objected againſt the proofs, if weighty motives had not induced them to keep ſilence, and even what they actually did object, at a more favourable juncture.

Firſt of all, they might ſay, that it was neceſſary to diſtinguiſh two things, which Edward induſtriouſly confounded, in this memorial; viz. the ſuperiority of the forces of the kings of England, and their frequent advantages over the Scots, from the pretended acknowledgment made by the kings of Scotland, that they held their crown of the kings of England. The latter was the principal point in diſpute; and yet the proofs, advanced in the memorial, chiefly relate to the former.

2. It was not ſufficient to prove, in general, that the kings of Scotland were often compelled to make diſadvantageous treaties, and afterwards ſwear to them; but the acts themſelves ſhould have been alledged, containing an expreſs acknowledgment of the ſovereignty of the kings of England over Scotland. It was farther neceſſary to ſhew the continuation of this acknowledgment, by the homages of the kings of Scotland, upon every new acceſſion to the thrones of both kingdoms, according to the conſtant cuſtom practiſed by vaſſals, for many ages; whereas this was not done by Edward.

3. When Edgar, king of Scotland, owned, in his charter to the church of Durham, that he held his kingdom of William Rufus, that

acknowledged

1291. acknowledgment did not impoft a confeſſion, that the crown of Scotland was dependent on that of England; for it was only a declaration, that, by the king of England's aid, he had aſcended the throne of Scotland, ſeized by an uſurper, as appears, in the Hiſtory.

Anderſon's Eſſay. 4. This very charter, one of Edward's chief proofs, is affirmed to be a forgery, by the Scotch writers, and oppoſed with ſuch ſtrong chronological arguments, as ſeem to demand our aſſent.

5. It muſt be confeſs'd, William, king of Scotland, did full homage, for his whole kingdom, to Henry II; but it is no leſs certain, that it was in conſequence of a treaty, wherein that homage was expreſly ſtipulated, for the captive king's liberty; and, therefore, it is manifeſt, that he was not ſubject to it, before, ſince there was need of obliging him to it, by a treaty. Moreover, this homage, which was only the reſult of William's captivity, was not continued by his ſucceſſors; for Richard, ſon to Henry, entirely renounced it, as we have ſeen, in the reign of that prince.

6. As for the reſt of the proofs, which are ſtill weaker, they are taken from Engliſh writers, or ſubjects of England, who, for the moſt part, lived, long after the events they relate; and they are founded on ambiguous expreſſions, which do not neceſſarily bear the ſenſe, contended for by Edward.

7. Could Edward produce no other proofs, but the teſtimonies of ſome partial hiſtorians? Why did he not alledge the homages of the antient kings of Scotland, as he did that of William to Henry II? If his buſineſs had been only to prove the homage, for the earldom of Huntingdon, he would have had no occaſion to rummage the hiſtorians; ſince his own records would have ſupplied him with proofs; and what reaſon can be aſſigned, that it was more difficult to preſerve the homages, for the kingdom of Scotland? If the king of France could have proved his ſovereignty over Guienne, and the earldom of Ponthieu, only by paſſages taken from French authors, in all appearance, Edward would never have ſubmitted to do him homage, for theſe two provinces.

8. The Scots might object, that, when Henry III. demanded the king of Scotland's aſſiſtance, againſt the earl of Leiceſter, he owned, in expreſs terms, that this aid was given him, out of friendſhip, and not out of duty.

9. The ſame Henry required Alexander III, his ſon-in-law, to do homage, for the kingdom of Scotland; but Alexander, refuſing it, would only do it, for the lands he held in England.

10. Edward himſelf being deſirous, that the ſame Alexander III, his brother-in-law, ſhould aſſiſt at his coronation, gave him letters patent; acknowledging, that he aſſiſted at the ſolemnity, purely out of friendſhip, and to do him honour.

11. When the ſame Alexander did homage to Edward, he made an authentick declaration, that he did not intend to do homage, for the kingdom of Scotland, but only for the lands he held in England; and his homage was accepted, with that limitation. 1291.

12. The Scots might farther add, that the homage done, for the lands in England, tho' paid by a Scottiſh king, had not any relation to the kingdom of Scotland; as the kings of England, in doing homage to the kings of France, did not deſign to render the kingdom of England dependent on the crown of France, but only to own the dependency of the lands they held in that kingdom.

13. Laſtly, homage was frequently paid, for penſions; for example, the earls of Flanders did it to the kings of England, on that account; as did the earl of Savoy, for a penſion of 200 marks. To ſhew, therefore, that the kings of Scotland barely did homage to the kings of England, was no proof of the point in diſpute; for it ſhould have been alſo proved, that theſe homages were done, for the kingdom of Scotland, either by letters patent of the kings of Scotland themſelves, or by the inſtruments of the homages well atteſted, according to the uſual cuſtom; but Edward produced no other act, except that of William's forced homage, renounced by king Richard.

As to the extracts from the papal bulls, they could amount to no proof; ſince the Scots acknowledged, that their kings were vaſſals to England, for the earldom of Huntingdon, and other lands, on the frontiers; but they denied them to be ſo, for the kingdom of Scotland, which the bulls did not affirm.

I ſhall ſay nothing to the paſſage taken from the Life of St. John of Beverly; for it may be fairly preſumed, that Edward did not ſeriouſly intend to draw a proof from ſo ill atteſted, or rather ſo ridiculous a miracle, and from a hiſtory, whoſe author is unknown.

Theſe anſwers are not arguments invented by me, for the Scots; but they are, for the moſt part, the ſame that Boniface VIII. uſed, in his letter to Edward, to diſſuade him from any attempt on Scotland, as will be ſeen, hereafter. Let us, now, return to the deciſion of the affair of the ſucceſſion *.

1292. The ſequel of the affair of the ſucceſſion. June 12. Act. Pub. On the day appointed, all the candidates, with the 80 examiners, repaired to Berwick, where Edward was preſent; and, at the firſt meeting, the king of Norway's ambaſſadors, appearing, demanded the crown, for the king their maſter, father of the late queen. Their petition being received, after a recognition of the king of England's direct dominion over Scotland, thoſe of the other competitors were read, each in its turn, and the commiſſioners entered upon the examination of them; but Edward, according to the journal, conſidering that this method would be very tedious, and, conſequently, prejudicial to Scotland, moved, and his motion was approved, that the rights

* Whilſt Edward was in France, in 1287, he made a vow to go to the Holy-Land, and received the croſs, from the hands of the pope's legate, at Bourdeaux; purſuant to which, pope Nicholas IV. granted him, by a bull, dated at Orvieto, March 18, 1291, the tenths of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, for ſix years. Vid. Rymer's Fœd.

1292. and titles of John Baliol and Robert Bruce ſhould be, firſt, examined, without prejudice to the others, which ſhould be, afterwards, diſcuſſed.

A queſtion is propoſed by Edward, and left undecided.

The firſt queſtion, Edward propoſed, was, By what laws and cuſtoms, judgment was to be given? upon which, he demanded the previous advice of the examining commiſſioners. It was impoſſible for them to agree, in deciding this point; and, after long debates, they told the king, that they could not give him their advice, without farther deliberation, deſiring him to add to their number the 24 Engliſh, according to the agreement. The Engliſh commiſſioners reported to the king, that the Scots were ſo divided, in opinion, about their own laws, that it was very difficult to determine ſo diſputable a point; adding, that they durſt not themſelves, on that account, give him any advice, upon ſo intricate a queſtion. Edward, by reaſon of theſe difficulties, allowed a longer time; appointing the 14th of October following, for the day of the firſt aſſembly *.

He propoſes three queſtions. Octob. 14.

The commiſſioners meeting, at the time prefixed, Edward propoſed three queſtions: 1. By what laws and cuſtoms, judgment was to be given? 2. How he was to proceed, if the cuſtoms of England and Scotland ſhould be oppoſite, or uncertain? 3. Whether judgment was to be given, about the kingdom of Scotland, otherwiſe than concerning earldoms, baronies, and other fees of the crown of England? The examiners, who could not agree, upon the firſt queſtion, in Auguſt, were unanimous, in October; to which they replied, that, if there were any certain laws, or cuſtoms, in the king's dominions, they ought to be the rule of his proceedings. They made anſwer to the ſecond, that if, in his territories, there was no certain law, he might eſtabliſh a new one; and, to the third, that the kingdom of Scotland was to be judged, in the ſame manner as other indiviſible fees. It is obvious, that theſe preliminary queſtions, and their anſwers, tended only to eſtabliſh Edward's right of ſovereignty; a right which he conſtantly ſuppoſed, without allowing it to be contradicted.

The reaſons alledged by Robert Bruce.

Edward, upon theſe deciſions, ordered Bruce and Baliol to be called, and asked, Whether they had any thing to offer, to ſtrengthen the reaſons alledged in their petitions? They replied, that they deſired to add ſomething farther by word of mouth; and Bruce began, firſt, whoſe reaſons were confined to theſe four. 1. That the ſucceſſion of a crown ought to be ſettled, by the natural right of kings, and not by the laws common to ſubjects; and, according to natural right, the neareſt ought to ſucceed. 2. That, though private inheritances were diviſible, and the eldeſt had ſome privilege, by the laws obſerved among ſubjects, it was otherwiſe, with reſpect to a kingdom to which the next heir ought to ſucceed, without any diviſion. 3. He maintained, that, in Scotland, the crown had been adjudged for the collateral branch, in preference to the direct; and the ſucceſſion, in the family of the eldeſt, was not ſo eſtabliſhed, as to be juſtly prejudicial to him, ſince, in that very kingdom, brothers had, ſeveral times, been preferred to ſons. 4. He took it for granted, that, though he was in the ſame degree, as Deverguld, he had a right to ſucceed, becauſe he was the next male heir. 1292.

The reaſons and replies of John Baliol.

John Baliol, anſwering, in his turn, founded his right on the genealogy of the royal family, alledging that he was deſcended from the eldeſt of the daughters of David, earl of Huntingdon; whereas Bruce ſprung only from the ſecond. In anſwer to the reaſons of his competitor, he maintained, that, according to the cuſtom, as well of England as Scotland, the deſcendant of the eldeſt daughter, though more remote, was preferable to the nearer coming from the younger; and that, as to natural right, and the right of kings, the deciſion of it belonged to the king of England, as immemorial ſovereign and direct lord of Scotland. As for the inſtances, produced by Robert, of brothers preferred to ſons, he affirmed, that, whenever it happened, in Scotland, it was done, by way of uſurpation and violence; and the kings of England, as ſovereigns, rectified it, by placing the ſon on the throne; producing, in proof of his aſſertion, the example of Edgar, whom William Ruſus put in poſſeſſion of the crown, uſurped by Donald. Laſtly, he ſaid, that, admitting what Robert advanced to be inconteſtable, it could not be of any advantage to his cauſe; but I ſhould be too tedious, if I recited all the arguments, anſwers, and replies of both parties; and what has been, already, offer'd, will, I hope, ſufficiently ſhew the grounds of their pretenſions.

The queſtion, propoſed to the examiners, Act. Pub.

This affair being, thus, cleared, and the reaſons of the two candidates examined, the king put the queſtion, as follows: "Whether the more remote, by one degree in "ſucceſſion, deſcending from the eldeſt ſiſter, "ought, according to the laws and cuſtoms "of both kingdoms, to exclude the nearer, "by a degree, deſcending from the ſecond "ſiſter?" The commiſſioners unanimouſly replied, that, according to the laws and cuſtoms of both kingdoms, the deſcendants of the eldeſt daughter ought to have the preference. It might be juſtly demanded, to what purpoſe, then, was the diſcuſſion of the preliminary queſtions, ſince the laws of both kingdoms were ſo expreſs, in favour of the principal, if it had not been obſerved, that they were ſubſervient to the private intereſts of Edward? However, notwithſtanding the formal deciſion of the commiſſioners, the king, to demonſtrate that he acted, without paſſion and partiality, cauſed the ſame queſtion to be, again, long debated, in his preſence, and appointed the 6th of November

is decided, in favour of Baliol.

* In the original, Parliamento, or parliament. The king promiſed, that he would ſummon ſome of the greateſt and moſt diſcreet perſons of his kingdom to be then preſent; and, that he would, in the interim, diſpatch meſſengers to the moſt learned men abroad, for their advice on this point. Rymer's Fœd.

1292. vember following, to pronounce the final sentence.

Edward gives sentence against Bruce. Nov. 6.

On that day, Edward solemnly pronounced, that Robert Bruce's pretensions were groundless; and that the laws allowed him no right to the crown of Scotland; but, as the exclusion of Bruce did not necessarily imply the admission of Baliol, since there were other candidates, the king ordered the examiners to hear the rest of the parties. Robert Bruce, being excluded by this sentence, declared, that he would justify, in another form, his pretensions to part of the kingdom; and then he presented his petition, which was received.

The demand of John Hastings.

The affair between Baliol and Bruce being decided, John Hastings stood up and asserted, that Scotland, being a fee of England, had no more privileges than other fees, which were all partible; inferring, from thence, that the kingdom of Scotland ought to be divided among the descendants of the daughters of David, earl of Huntingdon, the youngest of whom was his mother. He was, immediately, seconded by Robert Bruce, who said, that he claimed a third part of the kingdom, as son and heir to David's second daughter; upon which, Edward propos'd these two questions: 1. Whether the kingdom of Scotland was a partible fee? 2. Or, whether, not being so, the escheats and acquisitions, made by the kings of Scotland, ought to follow the law of common inheritances? The unanimous advice of the king's council, and the commissioners, was, that the kingdom of Scotland was an indivisible fee; and that the king's acquisitions, in the kingdom itself, ceased to be partible, the moment he entered into the possession of them; and then Edward fixed the 17th of November, to pass sentence.

All the other candidates drop their pretensions. Nov. 17.

The commissioners being met, on the day appointed, the king order'd all the candidates to be asked, What they had to offer, in defence of their rights? The ambassadors of Norway, Florence, earl of Holland, William de Vescy, Patrick de Dunbar, William de Ros, Robert de Pynkeny, Nicholas de Soules, and Patrick Galythly declared, that they dropp'd the prosecution of their claims, and withdrew their petitions; upon which, the king pronounced, that they had no pretensions to the crown of Scotland. John Comyn and Roger de Mandeville, not appearing to maintain their claims, were also rejected; and the king pronounced, that John Hastings and Robert Bruce had no right to the third part claimed by each, because the kingdom of Scotland was an indivisible fee.

None remained, except Baliol, who, being without a competitor, was acknowledged, as the only person that had a right to the crown; and, accordingly, Edward adjudged, that he should be put in possession of the kingdom, saving, however, to himself and successors, the right of prosecuting their pretensions to the same kingdom, whenever they thought it expedient *. Then, addressing himself to the new king, he said, he should take care to govern his people, with equity, in such a manner, that, by reason of injustice, or on any other account, he should not oblige his sovereign to exert his right to redress the grievances; and he appointed him the Thursday following, to swear fealty, and Christmas-day next, to do his homage, at Newcastle. 1292.

Baliol swears fealty to Edward. Nov. 20. Act. Pub. M. West.

The process being over, Edward dispatched all necessary orders to put Baliol in possession of the kingdom; and the new king swore fealty to him, on the 20th of November †. In the oath, he own'd the sovereignty of the king of England over Scotland, in very express and submissive terms, causing an authentick act of the same to be drawn up; and his installation was performed, at Scone, with the usual formalities, all the Scotch lords swearing fealty to him, except Robert Bruce, who was absent; after which, he came to Newcastle upon Tyne, where he did homage to the king, in such expressions, that it was impossible to add any thing, to denote, more fully, his dependence ‡.

Complaints of the Scots against Edward.

Having seen what the journal, made by Edward's order, relates, with respect to this famous process, it is but reasonable to hear the Scots, in their turn. They pretend, that Edward acted very unjustly, in the whole course of this affair, and that his conduct was a continual series of artifice, corruption, and violence; that, indeed, he had, before, some pretension to the sovereignty of Scotland, but it was so weak, that he would never have prosecuted it, if the state of the kingdom had not furnished him with an opportunity; and that, being chosen judge, or rather umpire, of the difference between the two competitors, he abused that trust, to serve his own ends, at the expence of the liberty of the Scots. They agree to the facts related in the journal, but affirm, that, by promises and threats, he privately engaged the commissioners blindly to follow his directions; and that, his principal view being to make the person, who should be declared king of Scotland, a vassal of the crown of England, he intimated to the two candidates, that they had nothing to hope for, unless they would, first, acknowledge him, for sovereign of the kingdom. They add, that, to bring them to this acknowledgment, Edward himself raised up all the other competi-

* Salvo jure ejusdem domini regis Angliæ, & hæredum suorum, cum voluerint inde loqui. Rymer's Fœd.

† The form of it was, as follows: "Ego Johannes de Balliolo, rex Scottorum, fidus & fidelis ero vobis domino "Edwardo, Dei gratia, regi Angliæ, & superiori domino regni Scotiæ; & vobis fidelitatem facio de eodem regno "Scotiæ, quod de vobis teneo, & clamo tenere: & fidem & fidelitatem vobis portabo de vita & membro, & terre-"no honore, contra omnes homines: & fideliter recognoscam, & vobis faciam servitia, vobis debita de regno Scotiæ "antedicto; sic me Deus adjuvet & hæc sancta evangelia." Rymer's Fœd.

‡ This was the form of the homage: "Mon seigneur, mon sire Edward, rey d'Engleterre, sovereign seigneur "du Reaume de Escoce, je Johan de Baillol, rey de Escoce, devien vostre homme lige de tot le reaume de Escoce "ove les aportenances, e a quant qe il y apent; le quel je tieng e dei de dreit, e cleim, por moi, e mes heyrs, "reys de Escoce, tenir heritablement de vous, e de voz heyrs, reys d'Engleterre: E fey e leaute porterai a vous, e "a voz heyrs, reys d'Engleterre, de vie e de membre, e de terrien honeur, contre tote gent qe porunt vivere e "morir." Rymer's Fœd.

tors,

1292. tors, who entirely depended upon him, on purpoſe to create difficulties, which might convince Bruce and Baliol, how much they ſtood in need of his favour. It is no wonder, that the candidates ſo readily complied with all his demands; for the two principal were afraid, that their oppoſition would deprive them of the crown, and the reſt put in their claims, purely, in obedience to his orders, or for his pleaſure. It is farther aſſerted, that, before the pretenſions of the parties came to be examined, Edward had reſolved to give the crown to Baliol, who was of an inferior genius to Bruce, and had leſs intereſt in the kingdom; for Buchanan ſays, that Edward, firſt, offered the crown to Bruce, if he would promiſe to do him homage; but that, upon his refuſing it, on that condition, Edward applied to Baliol, who, at once, accepted his propoſal. To the invincible argument, which the Engliſh pretend to infer, from Robert's conſent, and hand, to the acts and declarations made by the competitors, before they preſented their petitions, the Scots reply, It was not impoſſible but Robert might, at firſt, refuſe the crown, on the condition required; tho' afterwards, perceiving how prejudicial his refuſal might be to him, he was induced to comply. Indeed, this did not much promote his cauſe; ſince his refuſal made a deeper impreſſion on Edward, than his compliance could efface. They add, It is evident, from the journal itſelf, made by Edward's order, that this prince favoured the cauſe of Baliol. Firſt of all, the arguments of Robert Bruce are exceedingly abridged, and may be ſaid to be diſadvantageouſly repreſented; and, in the next place, immediately after Robert's excluſion, all the reſt of the candidates, except Baliol, relinquiſhed their pretenſions, even to the ambaſſadors of Norway, who, very probably, had private orders to act, as directed by Edward. It does not appear, why the excluſion of Bruce ſhould ſo affect the other candidates, as to oblige them to withdraw their petitions; but it is eaſy to apprehend, that they were no longer neceſſary to the king's deſigns, after the judgment againſt Bruce. This plainly diſcovers the reaſon, why Edward ordered the examiners to begin, with diſcuſſing the rights of Bruce and Baliol; becauſe, that affair being decided, he had no farther occaſion for the others. The affected abſence of Baliol is alſo remarked, on the day that the other competitors acknowledged the ſovereignty of the king of England, that he might not be afterwards reproached, when on the throne, as the firſt who introduced that innovation, having, by this means, a plauſible excuſe, that he only followed thoſe that went before him. It is affirmed, that Edward was more apprehenſive of Bruce than of Baliol, and, in the whole courſe of this procedure, had continually a view to his own advantage; and that the ſole end of all his proceedings was to eſtabliſh an ill-grounded right, which he could never have ſupported, at any other juncture. If this right had been inconteſtable, wherefore, did he take ſo many precautions, to eſtabliſh it? To what purpoſe, were ſo many acknowledgments and oaths required, 1292. from ſome private perſons, when the ſtates of Scotland, if we may believe the journal, did not alledge the leaſt objection to his pretenſions? Why ſuch a heap of arguments, moſt of which are ſo weak, to cauſe a ſovereignty, according to him, indiſputable, to be acknowledged? If the ſtates of Scotland made no reply to Edward's firſt propoſition, it is manifeſt, that their ſilence muſt have proceeded from a motive of fear; nor could it be inferred, from it, that they owned this ſovereignty, ſince they had never, before, made the like recognition. If, by their ſilence, they deſign'd to give their approbation to Edward's pretenſions, why did he not require from them an authentick declaration, as well as from the candidates? Was it their province to decide ſo important a queſtion, and not rather that of the ſtates, then actually aſſembled? In a word, the ſequel ſufficiently ſhew'd, that the ſentiments of the people of Scotland were not agreeable to the declaration of the competitors, ſince they embraced the firſt opportunity, to ſhake off the yoke impoſed upon them. I ſhall add, here, in behalf of the Scots, that the Collection of the Publick Acts affords a convincing proof, that the kings of Scotland never did homage, for the whole kingdom, if we except that of William to Henry II. We find in the Collection, that, Edward's high chamberlain demanding, of Baliol, the fees due from the vaſſals, when they did homage, there was no precedent to be found; ſo that Edward was obliged to fix them himſelf to 20 l. ſterling, which was double the ſum paid by an earl, on the like occaſion; but, can it be imagined, that the fees ſhould not be ſettled, before, if this homage had been done ſo often, as Edward pretended? Act. Pub.

I have, hitherto, related the ſentiments of the Engliſh and Scots, with reſpect to this famous proceſs, as well concerning the crown itſelf, as the ſovereignty claimed by Edward; but, to ſet this affair in a true light, it will be requiſite to make ſome farther remarks. In the firſt place, Edward's whole conduct demonſtrates, that his intent, at firſt, was not to become maſter of Scotland, as Buchanan charges him, but only to render that kingdom dependent on England; in which he only copied after moſt of his predeceſſors; for, not to mention the Saxon and firſt Norman kings, Henry II. had no ſooner king William in his power, than he took advantage of that prince's misfortune, to compel him to do homage for his kingdom; and Henry III, Edward's father, would fain have extorted the ſame homage from Alexander III, though he could not ſucceed. It cannot, therefore, be inferr'd, from Edward's firſt proceedings, that he had formed the project of becoming maſter of Scotland; ſince he required only the direct dominion, without ever inſiſting on the poſſeſſion, concerning which, he was ſatisfied with making a bare declaration; for, if he had any ſuch intention, he might eaſily have found plauſible pretenſions, to place Engliſh garriſons and governors, in the places that were put into his hands.

1292. hands. He might have alledged, that all the Scots, being attached to ſome one of the candidates, the cuſtody of the caſtles could not be committed to perſons of their nation, without expoſing the kingdom to the danger of a civil war; but, inſtead of thus ſecuring the poſſeſſion of the kingdom, he confirmed all the governors, contenting himſelf with receiving their oath; a precaution which a prince, of his abilities, would, doubtleſs, have thought inſufficient, had he formed the project he is charged with. Beſides, a fair opportunity offered to put it in execution, by dividing the kingdom between the deſcendants of David's three daughters; by which means, he might have weakened the forces of the Scots; whereas he kept them united, in adjudging the crown to a ſingle perſon.

But, on the other hand, it can ſcarce be denied, that he deſigned to take advantage of this favourable juncture, to eſtabliſh his ſovereignty over Scotland; and ſo to accompliſh the project formed, but never fully executed, by his anceſtors. It is difficult to judge, whether Edward himſelf believed, that he had a lawful right; or, conſidering the circumſtances of Scotland, was willing to eſtabliſh a new one. The laſt ſeems to be the moſt probable, tho' men too frequently ſuffer themſelves to be prepoſſeſſed, in favour of what is for their advantage; and, indeed, to produce proofs, from hiſtories compiled by Engliſhmen, to ſhew, that Scotland was dependent on England, evidently demonſtrates, that they were the beſt he could find; but, after all, a homage, of this nature, ought certainly to be evinced by more authentick proofs. Is it not altogether incredible, if the kingdom of Scotland had been, immemorially, dependent on England, without any interruption, as he pretended to prove, that there could be found, in the ſovereign's archives, only one ſingle homage, in form, done by the kings of Scotland? Probably, therefore, without being fully convinced of his right, in order the more effectually to eſtabliſh it, he improved the opportunity which the preſent circumſtances of Scotland furniſhed him with, being very ſenſible, that there could be no oppoſition, ſince the two leading men had ſo much reaſon to cultivate his friendſhip; but I queſtion, whether the acquieſcence of the Scots was ſufficient to acquire him a new right. I ſhall leave the determination of this point to thoſe, who are verſed in ſuch matters; yet, in my opinion, this prince is not to be juſtified, who, by an ill-grounded ambition, kindled, between the two nations of Great-Britain, a war, which cauſed torrents of blood to be ſpilt on both ſides; and, if the event is of any weight, in affairs of this nature, the ſequel will ſhew, that, though God, at firſt, favoured Edward's deſigns, he permitted the projects of the Engliſh to prove, at laſt, abortive. Perhaps, I ſhall incur the cenſure of ſome, fond of this antient ſovereignty of England over Scotland, or of the perfections of Edward I; who will, doubtleſs, fancy, that what I have been ſaying is injurious to the glory of that prince, or the grandeur of England; but they, who are leſs prejudiced, will, I hope, do me more juſtice. It is time, now, to return to the Hiſtory, and relate the fatal effects of Edward's ambition, to both kingdoms. 1292.

1293. Edward's haughty behaviour towards the new king of Scotland.

If the deſire of a crown had cauſed Baliol to act, to the prejudice of Scotland, Edward's eagerneſs, to eſtabliſh the ſovereignty over that kingdom, led him to commit errors, deſtructive of his own real intereſts, as well as of thoſe of England. On the like occaſion, pope Innocent III. took particular care, not to let the Engliſh feel, too ſoon, the weight of his ſovereignty, acquired by king John's reſignation; inuring them to his yoke, by degrees, and inſenſibly, for fear of alarming them; but Edward, on the contrary, was ſcarce poſſeſſed of the ſovereignty over Scotland, before he made his vaſſals feel the whole weight of it; though this rigour, inſtead of conducing to keep that nation in ſubjection, ſerved only to excite their endeavours, to free themſelves from the galling yoke.

Whilſt Edward was at Newcaſtle, an opportunity offered, to exerciſe his new right, which he greedily embraced; for, an inhabitant of Berwick complaining to him of an injury done him, as he pretended, by ſome Engliſh commiſſioners ſent into Scotland, Edward ordered the affair to be tried in England, by his judges; but the council of Scotland, regarding this proceeding, as a violation of the king of England's promiſes, ſent ſome of their members to repreſent to him, that he had engaged, that the pleas of things, done in Scotland, ſhould not be drawn out of that kingdom. Edward, apprehending this remonſtrance to be very unreaſonable, replied, That the affair was of ſuch a nature, that he could not permit it to be tried any where, except in his own courts; ſince it belonged not to vaſſals, to puniſh the miſdemeanours of thoſe, that repreſented the perſon of the ſovereign. If he had ſtopped there, the Scots might have entertain'd hopes, that this particular caſe would not be brought into a precedent; but the king, to prevent the like complaints, for the future, diſpatched to the council of Scotland the following declaration: "That if, during the vacancy of the "throne, he had made the Scots any ſuch "temporary promiſes, he had punctually ob-"ſerved them; yet, as there was, now, a "king in Scotland, he did not deſign to be re-"ſtrained by ſuch engagements, but would "admit and hear all complaints, and all buſi-"neſs relating to that kingdom, where and "when he pleaſed." He repeated this declaration, ſome days after, in his own chamber, before Baliol, and a great number of lords of both nations; adding, "He would call the "king of Scotland himſelf to appear in Eng-"land, at his pleaſure." The warmth, with which he ſpoke, ſtopped the mouth of Baliol, who, being in his power, thought it improper to make any anſwer; but, two days after, he was obliged to renounce, by letters patent, for himſelf and ſucceſſors, all the promiſes, conceſſions, and ratifications made by the king of England, during the vacancy of the throne of Scotland; and to approve all Edward's pro-

Act. Pub.

Edward revokes what he had granted the Scots.

Baliol yields it up.

1293. ings, during that time. In return for this renunciation, Edward gave him a writing, by which he acknowledged, that he had no other right to the kingdom of Scotland than that of homage; and he promiſed, for himſelf and ſucceſſors, not to claim the wardſhip and marriage of young nobles.

This firſt ſtep of Edward was ſufficient to convince the Scots, that he was reſolved to ſtretch his prerogative, to the utmoſt; but he, ſoon after, gave them more ſubſtantial proofs. A merchant of Gaſcoigne preſented a petition to him, ſhewing, that Alexander III, late king of Scotland, was indebted to him in a certain ſum, ſtill due to him, notwithſtanding all his ſollicitations to the new king, for payment; and that, therefore, he applied to him, as ſovereign of the king of Scotland, for juſtice. Edward, immediately, ſummoned the king of Scotland to appear at Weſtminſter, the morrow after Aſcenſion-Day, to anſwer, in perſon, the complaints brought againſt him by the merchant; which firſt ſummons bears date, the 8th of March, about two months after Edward's departure from Newcaſtle.

Eight days after, Edward ſent a ſecond ſummons to Baliol, on the following occaſion. Whilſt he was at Berwick, he had ordered the regents of Scotland to put Macduff, earl of Fife, in poſſeſſion of certain lands claimed by that earl; which orders had been executed, before Baliol's coronation, whilſt Edward was ſtill maſter of Scotland. In the firſt parliament, held by the new king, at Scone, the earl of Fife was accuſed of unjuſtly taking poſſeſſion of theſe lands, the cuſtody of which belonged to the king; and this was properly accuſing him of an affected raſhneſs, in applying to the king of England, and not waiting, till there was a king on the throne of Scotland. Upon this charge, the parliament ordered him to be impriſoned; but, ſome time after, the earl, being releaſed, carried his complaints to Edward; who, upon this, again ſummoned Baliol to appear before him, wherever he ſhould be, the day after Trinity-Sunday.

The 15th of June following, Edward took a freſh occaſion to ſummon the king of Scotland; for, whilſt he was at Newcaſtle, he had ordered Walter de Huntercombe, governor of the iſle of Man, to put Baliol in poſſeſſion of that iſle, which was done accordingly. Shortly after, a lady, named Auſtrica, claiming the iſle, demanded it of the king of Scotland; and, her demand being rejected, ſhe complained to Edward. Upon this, Baliol was again ſummoned to appear, in perſon, 15 days after Michaelmas, in whatever place the king ſhould then be; and Edward ordered the ſheriff of Northumberland, to notify this ſummons to the king of Scotland himſelf, before witneſs.

A few months after, Baliol received another ſummons. David, king of Scotland, had formerly granted to the monaſtery of Reading, in England, a certain priory, held of the biſhoprick of St. Andrews; but this priory was afterwards alienated, by the abbot of Reading, to the biſhop of St. Andrews. The ſucceſſor of this abbot, deſirous of recovering the priory, pretended, that the alienation was made, without the conſent of the majority of the monks, and, thereupon, preſented a petition to the king; but the biſhop, being informed of it, appealed to the pope, and his appeal was admitted by the court of Scotland; yet, upon the abbot's complaint, about admitting the appeal, Edward again ſummoned Baliol to appear, in perſon, 15 days after the feaſt of St. Martin. 1293.

A year after, Edward treated this prince, in the ſame imperious manner, by commanding him to appear before him, to anſwer for himſelf, for denying juſtice to the biſhop of Durham, in an affair relating to his dioceſe. 1294.

So many different ſummons, on ſuch trivial occaſions, and on the bare complaints of private perſons, convinced Baliol, that he was become rather the ſlave than the vaſſal of the king of England; yet, as he had taken no meaſures, to ſhake off the yoke, he durſt not but appear, to anſwer to theſe ſeveral accuſations. Buchanan affirms, it was, merely, by accident, that Baliol was preſent in the parliament of England, when the earl of Fife brought his complaints againſt him; but others ſay, that it was in obedience to the ſummons. However that be, he was accuſed, before the parliament, of denying juſtice to, and impriſoning the earl of Fife; and, tho' he would have anſwered by a proctor, he was obliged to ſtand at the bar, like a private perſon. This was a great mortification, for a crowned head; but Edward was reſolved to humble him, and make the Scots feel the whole weight of their dependence. Baliol, being conſtrained to anſwer, in perſon, alledged, that, as the accuſation entered againſt him concerned his crown, he could not reply to it, without firſt conſulting his ſubjects; but, his excuſe not being admitted, the parliament ordered, that three of his principal caſtles ſhould be put into the king's hands, till he gave full ſatisfaction. The Engliſh hiſtorians relate, that, before this ſentence was pronounced, Baliol preſented a petition, owning the ſovereignty of the king of England over Scotland, and beſeeching Edward to allow him time, to conſult his parliament; and that, upon this condeſcenſion, his demand was granted, and a certain day aſſigned, for his appearance; upon which, he withdrew, incenſed, to the laſt degree, at the affront he had received, and determined to do all that was poſſible, to free himſelf from ſuch an inſupportable yoke. Baliol appears before the parliament of England. Ryley.

The war, which broke out, at the ſame time, between France and England, inſpired Baliol with hopes of a favourable juncture, to put his deſign in execution; and, indeed, it was likely, that he would have leiſure to concert neceſſary meaſures, to compaſs his ends, whilſt Edward was employed, in that war. A private quarrel, between ſome Engliſh and French mariners, was the occaſion of this rupture; which gave the king of France a pretence to ſummon Edward, before the court of peers, and an opportunity to ſeize Guienne, by a ſtratagem, as the ſequel will inform us. 1295. Baliol enters into an alliance with France. Act. Pub.

Before

1295. Before the war was proclaimed, Edward attempted, by way of negotiation, to recover that dutchy from the king of France; but Philip, being no ſtranger to the king of Scotland's deſigns, prolonged matters, till that prince declared his intentions. During the negotiation, Baliol ſent ambaſſadors to France, under the pretence of renewing the antient alliance between the two nations; but, in reality, to enter into a ſtrict union with Philip, by the marriage of his ſon, Edward, with a daughter of the earl of Valois, brother to that monarch. How ſecretly ſoever this negotiation was carried on, Edward received intelligence, that ſome plot was contriving againſt him, at Paris; and, to diſconcert Baliol's meaſures, he demanded of him the caſtles of Berwick, Jedburgh, and Roxborough, promiſing to reſtore them, as ſoon as matters were adjuſted with France; but, without rejecting entirely this demand, Baliol found means to gain time, whilſt he purſued his deſign of ſhaking off the yoke of the Engliſh. His ambaſſadors having concluded with France the propoſed league, he thought it time to declare; being preſſingly ſollicited to it by Philip, who was deſirous of raiſing him domeſtick troubles, that might hinder him from projecting means, to recover Guienne. Baliol had been long in ſuſpence, by reaſon of his oath to the king of England; but, to remove this ſcruple, Philip procured him the pope's diſpenſation; ſo that, being ſecure from the church's cenſures, then very formidable, and having no farther uneaſineſs, on account of his oath, he was reſolved, that nothing ſhould any longer retard him. Edward, ſurpriſed at this reſolution, which quickly reached his ears, determined, that, relinquiſhing his affairs in France, he would employ his preparations againſt Scotland; for, as Baliol's revolt gave him a plauſible pretence, to render himſelf maſter of that kingdom, he conſider'd, that the conqueſt of it would be of much greater importance than Guienne; wherefore, inſtead of embarquing his army for France, he marched directly for Scotland. In the interim, Baliol, depending on the aſſiſtance promiſed by the king of France, diſpatched to the king of England the ſuperior of the Cordeliers of Roxborough, to deliver a letter into his own hand; complaining of the frequent injuries received from him; of the many ſummons iſſued out, on very trivial occaſions, and upon the bare petitions of private perſons; and, finally, declaring, that he would be no longer his vaſſal. This letter, ſtill more, exaſperated Edward, who, continuing his march towards Scotland, his affairs in France being in a very ill ſituation, reſolved to make a conqueſt of that kingdom, as the Engliſh hiſtorians confeſs, on this occaſion; from whence may be dated the beginning of the long war, that created, in the hearts of the Engliſh and Scots, a mutual enmity, which time has not, hitherto, been able to extinguiſh.

1296. Buchanan. Edward, having advanced, as far as Newcaſtle, with a view of beſieging Berwick, which was, as it were, the key of the two kingdoms, and, therefore, of all places, moſt expoſed to the ſieges and ſurpriſes of both nations, ſent a fleet to ſea, with ſtrict orders to prevent any ſuccours, or ſupplies, from approaching that town; but the fleet was ſurpriſed by the Scots, who burnt and ſunk 18 ſhips; and they alſo gained another advantage over ſome Engliſh troops, who, attempting to ſeize a certain poſt, were cut in pieces, with the loſs of above 1000 men; which ſucceſſes, tho' they animated the king of Scotland, ſerved only to inflame Edward's revenge, who exerted himſelf, to ſubdue a people, that ſeemed ſo reſolute, to ſhake off his yoke. There were in Scotland, as was, before, obſerved, two factions; one for Baliol, and the other for Bruce. Edward, being very ſenſible, that the latter had ſubmitted only by force, to the judgment pronounced, in favour of the former, offered him the crown, provided he would declare againſt Baliol; and Bruce, joyfully accepting this propoſal, augmented Edward's party, with a great number of friends, who had only, out of fear, taken the oath to Baliol. 1296.

He beſieges Berwick.

Theſe meaſures being taken, Edward entered Scotland, and laid ſiege to Berwick; but, as this place was very ſtrong and well garriſoned, he was apprehenſive of meeting a reſiſtance, which would give Baliol leiſure to prepare, and the Scots, in general, an opportunity of uniting together, to free themſelves from a common and impending danger. He, therefore, imagined, that nothing could be more to his advantage, than ſpeedily to become maſter of Berwick, in order to advance into the heart of the kingdom, and diſconcert the meaſures of the Scots; and, for the greater diſpatch, he reſolved to make uſe of a ſtratagem; wherefore, after aſſaulting the town, ſeveral days, he ſuddenly raiſed the ſiege. At the ſame time, by means of ſome ſoldiers, who, pretending to be deſerters, threw themſelves into the town, he cauſed a rumour to be ſpread, that the king of Scotland's approach, to their relief, compelled him to retire; which was quickly followed, by the falſe news of Baliol's being within a league of the town, ready to enter it; and, upon this, the ſoldiers and inhabitants ſallied out, in crowds, to meet him, believing, that Edward was, now, at a diſtance. This headleſs multitude falling into an ambuſh, and endeavouring to retreat, with precipitation, were ſo briskly purſued, that the Engliſh entered, pell-mell, into the town, and made a great ſlaughter; and it is ſaid, that above 7000 Scots periſhed, on that occaſion.

Baliol is vanquiſhed.

Edward, being maſter of Berwick, marched to Dunbar, in order to beſiege it; and he was ſcarce arrived, before the town, when he heard of Baliol's approach, at the head of a powerful army. Though he did not expect that the Scots could be in readineſs ſo ſoon, he rejoyced at the news, in hopes of obtaining a victory, that would put him in poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom. Baliol advanced, on his part, with equal ardor, intent upon deciding, by one battle, whether he ſhould be free, or a ſlave; and the two armies, engaging, fought a conſiderable time, with undaunted bravery; but the

1296. the Scots were, at laſt, forced to retreat, having loſt the beſt part of their troops. Their loſs, in this action, is ſaid to amount to above 20,000 men; a loſs ſo great and aſtoniſhing, that they were not in a condition for a long while, to withſtand the power of the conquerors. Upon this ſignal victory, Edward, immediately, returned to Berwick, its gates being opened to receive him; and then, without giving his enemies leiſure to breathe, he marched to Roxborough, which he ſubdued, with the ſame eaſe. Preſently after, he approached Edinburgh, the caſtle whereof was ſurrendered, in eight days; and, from thence, he went and ſeized Sterling, Perth, and all the conſiderable places in the kingdom. In a word, before the end of the campaign, Baliol and the whole nation had no other remedy, but to ſubmit to his mercy; upon which condition, he entered into a treaty with them. The king of Scotland appearing before him, at Kincardin, with a white rod in his hand, reſigned his kingdom to him, to be diſpoſed of, at his pleaſure; which reſignation, being drawn up, in form, was ſigned by Baliol, and the greateſt part of the barons of Scotland, and ſealed with the great ſeal of the kingdom.

The Scots ſwear to Edward. Knighton.

To confirm this new acquiſition, Edward ordered the ſtates of Scotland to aſſemble at Berwick; where all the nobility and officers of the kingdom ſwore fealty to him, and delivered up all the caſtles and places, that were ſtill in their hands. William Dowglas was the only Scotch nobleman, that could never reſolve to ſwear to a prince, who had no right to Scotland, but what was acquired by the ſword; but, upon this refuſal, Edward, commanding him to be conducted to England, kept him in cloſe confinement, to the day of his death; though his misfortunes could never bring him to acknowledge Edward, for his ſovereign. Baliol was alſo ſent into England, and impriſoned, at firſt, in the tower of London; but he was afterwards removed to Oxford, where he founded the college, which bears his name. Other Scotch lords, whom Edward judged it neceſſary to ſecure, were confined in ſeveral priſons in England; and, if he left ſome their liberty, they were obliged to continue in the ſouthern parts, without ever paſſing the Trent, on pain of death. He might, with eaſe, have been crowned king of Scotland; but he deſigned to unite Scotland to England, as he had done Wales, and to conſtitute one kingdom of the whole iſland of Britain. This evidently appeared, from his removing into England the crown and ſcepter of Scotland, with all the reſt of the regalia, and all the enſigns of the liberty, hitherto, enjoyed by the Scots; but it was much more difficult to blot, out of their minds, the remembrance of this invaluable bleſſing. He

Dowglas alone refuſes. Major.

Baliol is ſent into England. Buchanan. M. Weſt.

Edward takes away the crown and ſcepter of Scotland, and the famous ſtone of Scone. Walſing.

caused the famous ſtone, on which the inauguration of their kings was performed, to be conveyed from Scone; in which ſtone the people of Scotland had, all along, placed a ſort of fatality, fancying, that, whilſt it remained in the country, their ſtate would be unſhaken, but that, the moment it ſhould be removed, it would occaſion great revolutions. Edward had no other view, in carrying it away, than to create in the Scots a belief, that the time of the diſſolution of their monarchy was come, and to leſſen the hopes of recovering their liberty*; but, how much ſoever they were attached to this fatal ſtone, they ſuſtained a greater loſs, on this occaſion; for the burning of their records, by Edward's order, was, to them and their poſterity, an irretrievable misfortune. Moreover, Edward, to ſecure his conqueſt, placed Engliſh garriſons and governors, in all the caſtles; and, leaving John Warren, earl of Surrey and Suſſex, to command in Scotland; he returned, in triumph, to England. 1296.

Edward's affairs with France. Act. Pub.

Having ſeen the end of the firſt war with Scotland, it will be requiſite to conſider what was tranſacted in France; where Edward's affairs were in a very different ſituation. Ever ſince the treaty between St. Lewis and Henry III, France and England had lived in a good underſtanding, till a quarrel, between two inconſiderable perſons, gave occaſion to the two monarchs to take up arms. A Norman pilot quarrelling with an Engliſh mariner, in a port of Guienne, the former chanced to be killed; and, whether the magiſtrates of the port neglected to bring the murderer to juſtice, or he was not in their power, the Normans finding, that the murder of their countryman was paſſed over, with impunity, reſolved to be revenged. Accordingly, ſurpriſing an Engliſh veſſel, they hung up the pilot at the yard-arm; which repriſals occaſioned others, on both ſides, ſo that the Engliſh and Normans made fierce war upon each other, wherever they met, even to the plundering each other's ſhips, as opportunity offer'd. This was, for ſome time, only a private war, in which the two monarchs had no concern; but ſome Engliſh ſhips, meeting a Norman fleet laden with wine, carried them to England, and, the owners complaining to the king of France, he demanded reſtitution of the ſhips and goods, and immediate ſatisfaction, for the outrage. Edward not returning a ſpeedy anſwer, Philip the Fair, who was extremely haughty, ſummoned him to appear, in perſon, before the court of peers, to anſwer to the complaints exhibited againſt him; which ſummons was iſſued out, in 1294. The French hiſtorians affirm, that, Edward not appearing, but only ſending his brother, Edmund, in his room, Philip diſpatched the conſtable de Neſle into Guienne, where he

* Keneth II, king of the Scots, having made a general ſlaughter of the Picts, near the monaſtery of Scone, placed a ſtone there, which, according to vulgar tradition, was the ſame that ſerved Jacob for a pillow, and incloſed it in a wooden chair, for the inauguration of the kings. It had been brought out of Spain into Ireland by Simon Breccus, and out of Ireland into Argyle; and king Edward cauſed it to be removed to Weſtminſter. On it was engraven this diſtich:

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum — Or fate's deceiv'd, and Heaven decrees in vain;
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem. — Or, where they find this ſtone, the Scots ſhall reign. Camb. Buch.

ſeized

1296. seized Bourdeaux, with all the reſt of the province; but it is ſcarce credible, that France ſhould ſo eaſily gain ſuch a conqueſt. Was it poſſible for that general to become maſter of Guienne, without forming a ſiege, or fighting a battle; as if it had been an open country, entirely deſtitute of caſtles and troops? This inclines me to believe, either that the French hiſtorians were ignorant of what was done, on this occaſion, or thought it improper to be related; but what does not appear, in their hiſtories, is thoroughly cleared, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, lately printed in England, and which I have ſo often quoted; and, therefore, I hope the reader will not be diſpleaſed with an account of the particulars.

Philip deceives Edward. Act. Pub.

Edward, being ſummoned before the peers, as we have ſeen, ſent prince Edmund, his brother, to Paris, to anſwer for him; with orders to give the king of France all the ſatisfaction he could reaſonably deſire, to prevent a war. Edmund found the French monarch extremely incenſed; and, after ſeveral inſtances to enter into a treaty, apprehending his endeavours to be fruitleſs, he reſolved to return home; but, juſt as he was in readineſs for his departure, Mary of Brabant, widow of Philip the Hardy, and Joanna of Navarre, wife of the preſent king, intreated him to renew the negotiation with them. The great deſire they expreſſed of procuring a firm peace, between the two kings, and Edmund's inſtructions from the king, his brother, eaſily induced him to conſent to the propoſal; and the two queens repreſented to him, that Philip was greatly offended, at the affronts received from Edward's ſubjects, and eſpecially from certain perſons of Guienne; wherefore, it was impoſſible to come to a good agreement, without a reaſonable ſatisfaction. They added, that, as the king's honour was concerned in this affair, the only way, to appeaſe him, was to make him a publick reparation, to demonſtrate to the world, that Edward diſclaimed the proceedings of his ſubjects; and they propoſed, that Xaintes, Talmond, Turenne, Puymirol, Penne, and Monflauguin, together with the perſons complained of, ſhould be delivered up to Philip; but they, at the ſame time, intimated to Edmund, that it was only for form ſake, and that Philip would engage to reſtore the towns and perſons, upon their own requeſt; promiſing alſo, that, as ſoon as the king's honour was rendered ſafe, by this reparation, he ſhould revoke the ſummons, and give Edward a ſafe-conduct to come to him at Amiens, where he would receive his homage. Edmund conſented to all theſe propoſals; which the two queens ſign'd, in writing, and engaged, with an oath, that the particulars, agreed upon, ſhould be punctually performed. This treaty, ſign'd by the two queens, and, for the king of France's honour, to be kept ſecret, was ſent to Edward; who ſeemed to be pleaſed with it. He was chiefly intent upon the affairs of Scotland, and, in all probability, his many ſummons to Baliol, on trifling conditions, were, purely, deſigned to cauſe him to rebel, in order to have an opportunity to chaſtiſe him; and, during Edmund's negotiation, at Paris, he made himſelf maſter of Scotland; ſo that, as a war with France, at ſuch a juncture, muſt, of courſe, greatly embarraſs him, he was very glad to give Philip a ſeeming reparation, which, in the main, was not detrimental to himſelf; and, he reſolved to give it him more amply than was even deſired, in order to procure a peace with France, ſo neceſſary for him. Accordingly, he impower'd Edmund to ſurrender to the king of France all Guienne, with its metropolis; and he ſent poſitive orders to the ſeneſchal, to obey the prince's command, without any exception. Edmund, acquainting Philip with his orders, declared he was ready to put them in execution; but on condition that, before creditable witneſſes, the king would promiſe, with his own mouth, to perform the articles ſigned by the two queens. Philip, accordingly, going into a certain room, attended by the duke of Burgundy, paſſed his royal word, in the preſence of the duke, the two queens, Blanche of Navarre, wife of Edmund, and the Engliſh ambaſſadors, to perform that treaty; and he likewiſe revoked, with his own mouth, Edward's ſummons, and ordered the revocation to be publiſhed, in the open hall, by the biſhop of Orleans. Edmund, upon this, ordered the ſeneſchal of Guienne to deliver up the dukedom to the king of France; and Ralph de Neſle, conſtable of France, was commiſſioned to take poſſeſſion of Guienne, in Philip's name. The ſeneſchal ſcrupled to reſign the province, except on the terms of the treaty, of which Edmund had informed him; but the conſtable would not be tied to any conditions, alledging, that he was ignorant of the treaties between the two kings, and was ordered only to take poſſeſſion of Guienne, in his maſter's name; after which, he demanded the perſons agreed upon, and ſent them to Paris.

Philip refuſes to execute the treaty.

All the articles being more than performed, on the part of England, Edmund demanded the reſtitution of Guienne, with the perſons, ſtipulated in the ſecret treaty; to which it was replied, that his demand ſhould be examined, in the king's council. Philip likewiſe ſent him word, not to be ſurpriſed, if he gave him a harſh anſwer, before the council, on account of ſome members, who were not in the ſecret; but that, upon their departure, he would give him entire ſatisfaction. Edmund, relying upon his promiſe, appeared before the council, where Philip was preſent, and demanded the reſtitution of Guienne; to which that monarch roughly replied, He would not reſtore it. This anſwer not ſurpriſing the prince, who expected it, he withdrew into the next room, waiting for the performance of the king's word, and was left there, ſome time, without any other anſwer; but, at length, the biſhops of Orleans and Tournay came and told him, that it was in vain to wait any longer, ſince the king would be deaf to all his ſollicitations. Some days after, Philip came to the parliament, without giving Edmund notice, and ordered the king of England to be publickly cited, to appear and anſwer to the articles exhibited in,

1296. the ſummons; but, Edmund not being then in the palace, Hugh de Vere and John de Lacy, Edward's, ambaſſadors entering, ſaid, that they expected this affair would have been decided, according to the treaty, eſpecially as the ſummons was revoked. However, they were diſmiſſed; and, though they deſired only, till the next day, to conſult with the king's brother, they could not obtain that delay; but the court decreed the confiſcation of Guienne to the king of France.

This is the ſubſtance of a memorial, in the Collection of the Publick Acts; wherein prince Edward himſelf gives a full account of this affair, from the beginning of his negotiation. It may, indeed, be objected, that it comes from one of the parties; but, beſides the ſimplicity and plainneſs of the memorial, the conqueſt of Guienne, without ſieges and battles, renders this relation extremely probable. Moreover, we find, in the foreſaid Collection, ſeveral of Edward's letters, complaining of being deceived by the king of France. There is one in particular, directed to the prelates and barons of Guienne; wherein he excuſes himſelf from making a treaty with France, without their advice, and aſſures them, that he is deceived as much, or more, than themſelves. This is farther evident, from his diſclaiming the homage he had done to Philip, in the following terms:

The recantation of Edward's homage to Philip. Act. Pub.

"Our ambaſſadors ſhall ſay to the king of "France theſe words,

"Sire, our lord the king of England, lord "of Ireland, and duke of Aquitain, did you "homage, conditionally; namely, according "to the form of the peace made, between "your anceſtors and his, which you have not "kept. Moreover, that all differences, be"tween your ſubjects and his, might be end"ed, a ſecret treaty was made between you "and my lord Edmund, his brother, as you "may remember, containing certain articles "which you have not performed, though he "has done more than was promiſed, on his "part. After that, he required you twice by "his ſaid brother, and a third time by the "peers of France, and other great men of "your kingdom, to reſtore him his land of "Guienne, and to deliver thoſe of his ſubjects, "whom you detain in priſon, which you have "refuſed; and, therefore, it ſeems to him, that "you no longer count him your vaſſal; and ac"cordingly, he refuſes to be ſo, for the future."

The war of Guienne is of no importance. Act. Pub.

How much ſoever Edward was mortified, to find himſelf, thus, cheated by Philip, he choſe rather to leave that prince in the poſſeſſion of Guienne, than relinquiſh the war with Scotland, which he apprehended to be of greater importance. Beſides, he was ſenſible, that, before he engaged in a war with France, it would be neceſſary to prevent the diverſion, the Scots might make, on the frontiers of the north; and, therefore, he was ſatisfied with ſending his brother, Edmund, into Guienne, with a few troops, his ſole view being to keep Philip employed, in thoſe parts, to prevent his aſſiſting the Scots. As Edward did not intend a vigorous proſecution of the war in Guienne, where he had only Bayonne and ſome neighbouring places, it may be fairly preſumed, that nothing very remarkable paſſed there; and yet the French boaſt of gaining two battles, one under the earl of Valois, and the other under the earl of Artois; but theſe actions could not be very conſiderable, on account of the ſmall number of Edmund's forces. The truth is, France was obliged to keep there a numerous army, not only to oppoſe the Engliſh, but the revolts of the natives, who were extremely uneaſy under their new maſter. The ſuperiority of the earl of Valois's forces conſtrained Edmund to ſhut himſelf up in Bayonne, where he died, in 1296; and the earl of Lincoln, who took the command of the Engliſh troops, beſieging Dacs, was compelled to make a haſty retreat, upon the approach of the earl of Artois, who was advancing, to raiſe the ſiege. Perhaps, he received, on this occaſion, ſome inconſiderable loſs, which the French call a battle; but I ſhall not inſiſt any longer, on the war of Guienne, ſince it producedno material event. 1296.

Edward gains the earl of Flanders to his ſide.

It was not in Gaſcoigne that Edward deſigned to exert his utmoſt ſtrength, againſt France; for he perceived it to be very difficult to recover a province, ſo remote from England, and where he had not any place, except Bayonne; but his intention was to attack Philip in Flanders, where the ſituation of affairs ſeemed to promiſe him better ſucceſs. The earl of Flanders's circumſtances laid him under a neceſſity of ſeeking for protection, againſt France; and he could find none ſo near, or ſo ready, as that of the king of England, who was ardently deſirous of being revenged. The occaſion of the earl's quarrel with Philip was this:

The affairs of Flanders.

In 1284, Guy, earl of Flanders, quarrelled with the inhabitants of Ghent, on account of the government of their city, in which, they pretended, he had no concern. In the reign of Philip the Hardy, this affair was brought before the parliament of Paris, who paſſed a ſentence, in favour of the earl, and fined the magiſtrates; upon which, Guy became as troubleſome, as poſſible, to the citizens of that large city, which they highly reſented. When Philip the Fair aſcended the throne, things had a different aſpect; for that monarch, perceiving that he could make an advantage of the diſcord, between the earl of Flanders and the people of Ghent, privately ſent word to the magiſtrates, that, if they would renew their proceſs againſt the earl, he would do them juſtice; which was ſufficient to engage the city of Ghent, to revive the quarrel. The affair being, once more, laid before the parliament of Paris, the authority of the 39 magiſtrates or governors, aboliſhed by the former decree, was re-eſtabliſhed in Ghent; but the earl was extremely incenſed, that Philip ſhould make it his buſineſs to plague him, by reſtoring to the city a power, which he ſo greatly deteſted. However, he durſt not diſcover his reſentment; yet, ſome time after, he employed Robert de Bethun, his ſon, who, by ſecret inſinuations, perſuaded the cities of Flanders

1296. ders to fortify certain places, contrary to the tenor of the treaties with France; aſſuring them, that they would meet with no oppoſition from the earl, his father. Guy's deſign was to ſet the cities at variance with France, leſt Philip ſhould excite them againſt him; but Philip received intelligence of the ſhare the earl had, in this affair; tho' he did not judge it adviſable, immediately, to ſhew his reſentment, either againſt the cities which had violated the treaties, or againſt their adviſer. In the interim, the earl, from his very ſilence, perceived, that he had reaſon to expect an attack, at ſome other time; and, for ſeveral years, Philip diſſembled his anger, whilſt Guy continually projected means, to prevent its effects.

Act. Pub. During theſe tranſactions, the rupture broke out, between France and England; and, tho' Edward uſed all means, to avoid a war, the negotiation, at Paris, induced him to believe, that, whatever fell out, he ought to ſecure the aſſiſtance of the earl of Flanders; wherefore, he demanded his eldeſt daughter in marriage, for prince Edward, his ſon, taking it to be an infallible way, to attach him to his intereſts. This negotiation, though ſecret, reaching the ears of Philip, gave him great uneaſineſs; but he concealed it, leſt, by diſcovering it, he ſhould put it out of his power, to prevent an alliance ſo prejudicial to France. Accordingly, he pretended ignorance, and, under ſome pretence, drawing Guy and his counteſs to Paris, detained them, as priſoners; and it was even a favour that he gave them their liberty, on condition that they delivered their daughter, in hoſtage, and promiſed to break their alliance with Edward, on pain of excommunication. However, Guy was no ſooner in his dominions, than he did all that was poſſible, to recover his daughter from Philip, tho' to no purpoſe; for that prince was too apprehenſive of the earl's union with England, voluntarily to reſign the pledge he had in his hands.

1297. Edward forms a league againſt France. In the mean while, the affairs of Scotland allowed Edward neither leiſure nor opportunity, to proſecute his projected war againſt Philip; but, as ſoon as a proper juncture offered, he applied all his thoughts to revenge. Philip's fraudulent proceeding was an injury not to be eaſily buried in oblivion; yet, as his adverſary was a mighty prince, it was neceſſary to have a powerful army, which England alone could not ſupply; and, therefore, he endeavoured to form, beyond ſea, a ſtrong league againſt France; and, though it ſeemed to be a difficult task, his endeavours proved ſucceſsful. Beſides the earl of Flanders, whom he gained, without trouble, Adolphus of Naſſau, lately elected emperor, Albert, duke of Auſtria, the archbiſhop of Cologn, and ſeveral other German princes, the duke of Brabant, the earls of Holland, Juliers, and Luxemburgh were engaged in the league, by the promiſes of great ſums, which Edward made them; and all theſe princes, proud of their number and ſtrength, ſent cartels of defiance to Philip, who was offended with none of them ſo much, as the earl of Flanders; becauſe, tho' he was his vaſſal, he boldly told him, that he would no longer own him, for a ſovereign.

Mezerai Chr. Belg.

1297.

Whilſt Philip was preparing, to repulſe this attack, Edward exerted himſelf, to raiſe the money he wanted extremely, on account of his engagements with the confederate princes; and, with this view, he aſſembled the parliament, at St. Edmundsbury, and obtained a ſubſidy of the eighth part of the moveables of the cities and boroughs, and a twelfth of the reſt of the laity. This example could not influence the clergy; who pretended that they were exempted from giving aids to the king, by vertue of a bull ſent, the laſt year, by Boniface VIII, to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, which he had not, hitherto, publiſhed; and, by this bull, all eccleſiaſticks were expreſly prohibited to pay any tax to ſecular princes, without the conſent of the holy ſee. The clergy's refuſal extremely provoked the king; yet, before he proceeded to violent methods, he cauſed it to be repreſented to the principal members, that, ſeeing they poſſeſſed fees in the kingdom, and enjoyed the protection of the laws, as well as the reſt of his ſubjects, they ought, in equity, to contribute to the publick expences; but, when he found, that theſe remonſtrances were ineffectual, he commanded all the lay-fees poſſeſſed by the clergy to be ſeized, and their whole body to be thrown out of the protection of the laws, expreſly forbidding his judges to do them juſtice, in any caſe whatſoever; which bold ſtep aſtoniſhed the clergy, who, ſince the beginning of the monarchy, had never experienced the like reſolution, in any king of England. If Edward had been like his father, or grandfather, perhaps, that potent body would have been able, by means of the people's diſcontent, to make the king repent of his boldneſs; but, as they plainly perceived, that it would be difficult to ſtir up the people, ſome of them ſpeedily compounded with the king, for the fifth part of their goods, and the reſt copied after their example; but, the archbiſhop of Canterbury was treated, with greater ſeverity, as he was not only the firſt adviſer of the clergy's refuſal, but perſiſted in it more obſtinately than the others. The king ordered all his eſtates to be ſeized, with the revenues of the monaſteries of his dioceſe, and entruſted the management of them to officers, who left the monks no more, than was abſolutely neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence. In all probability, this was to puniſh them, for too warmly adhering to their archbiſhop; and the king's reſolution, at length, obliged that prelate to ſtoop, who, to recover his ſovereign's favour, gave him a fourth part of his goods. Thus, the clergy, when they meet with vigorous princes, are as ſubmiſſive, as they are haughty, when they are concerned with thoſe that are weak and ſcrupulous.

Edward cheques the pride of the clergy.

Act. Pub.

Shortly after, on a like occaſion, the lay-lords diſcovered more ſteadineſs than the prelates though againſt the ſame monarch; who, to execute his grand projects, aſſembled the nobility, at Salisbury, on purpoſe to ſee exactly,

Edward is oppoſed by the barons.

1297. actly, what troops each baron could furniſh him with. He intended to make a powerful diverſion, in Guienne, whilſt he preſſed the enemy, on the ſide of Flanders; but it was no eaſy matter to find lords that would ſerve, unleſs he commanded, in perſon; for every one deſired to be excuſed ſerving, in Guienne, though they were willing to ſupply the troops. Edward, diſſatisfied with their excuſes, threatened to give their lands to ſuch as would be more obedient; which menaces raiſed great commotions among the nobles, who did not, in the leaſt, imagine their lands were at the king's diſpoſal. Humphrey Bohun, high-conſtable, and Hugh Bigod, earl of Norfolk, and marſhal of England, bolder than the reſt, in ſo many words, told the king, that they were ready to follow him, where he commanded, in perſon, and not otherwiſe; adding, that he was willing to lead the van-guard, under the king, as his office obliged him, but would not ſerve, under any other, to which none had a right to compel him. The king, being in a furious paſſion, replied, that he would make him go; to which the other replied, that he ſhould not. The king, to the laſt degree, incenſed, ſaid, "By the eternal God you ſhall "march, or be hanged." The earl anſwered, "By the eternal God, I will neither march, "nor be hanged;" upon which, he withdrew, without returning to court any more.

The boldneſs of two earls. Knighton.

The king durſt not chaſtiſe them. M. Weſt.

Edward had obſerved, in the king his father's reign, frequent and fatal inſtances of the inſolence of the barons; and he was too ſenſible of their ſtrict union, in the defence of their privileges, to hazard his reputation and quiet, in a war againſt them. Such a quarrel muſt have been extremely prejudicial to him, as well as to the whole kingdom; and the leaſt inconvenience, that could happen, was loſing the opportunity of being revenged on the king of France. It was ſcarce to be doubted, but all the barons would have joined againſt him, if he had openly chaſtiſed the inſolence of thoſe that withſtood him, to his face; and he had ſtill farther reaſon to be confirmed in this belief, when, dreading his reſentment, they began to raiſe troops, in their defence, if he ſhould reſolve to attack them; ſo that it was manifeſt, that they were ſupported. Theſe conſiderations led the king to conceal his reſentment, for the preſent; and, beſides, he was unwilling to loſe the opportunity of going into Flanders, where the wants of the earl, his ally, inceſſantly called him. However, it was not long, before he found a favourable juncture, to correct the boldneſs of the two earls, by turning them out of their poſts, becauſe they refuſed to do ſomething belonging to their offices, to prevent their falling into his hands; and he was very near repenting what he had done;

He turns them out of their offices.

for, juſt as he was upon the point of embarquing, he received, fromthe biſhops, earls, barons, and commons of the realm, a long remonſtrance, containing a liſt of the grievances of the nation, and ſeveral violations of the great charter. This proceeding convinced him, that he ought to act, with deliberation, leſt he ſhould provoke a nation, which ſeemed ready to take fire, on the firſt occaſion; and, therefore, he returned a very gracious anſwer to the remonſtrance, and promiſed, upon his honour, to redreſs, at his return, all the abuſes complained of. He deſired the nobles to be quiet, during his abſence, aſſuring them, that he would give them entire ſatisfaction; and, to appeaſe the people, exaſperated by the ſecret practices of the two earls, he publiſhed a proclamation, to ſhew his reaſons, for turning out theſe two great officers. Among other things, he ſaid, in this proclamation, that he was informed his people were made to believe, that he refuſed to receive remonſtrances, tending to the good of the publick, which he affirmed to be falſe; and he alſo declared, that he was extremely ſorry, for having put his ſubjects to vaſt expences, for the ſupport of his wars. He intreated them to excuſe what neceſſity had conſtrained him to do; and he engaged to obſerve the great charter punctually, for the future, which, he, ſoon after, performed. The prince, his ſon, whom he left regent, having aſſembled the parliament, and obtained a large ſubſidy, ratified king John's two charters, by an authentick act, ſigned in Flanders by the king himſelf, and ſealed with the great ſeal which he had carried with him *. Several inſtances, parallel to this, occur in the Hiſtory of England; I mean, that the kings, who have treated their ſubjects gently, and anſwered their complaints, with moderation, have ſeldom failed to appeaſe them, unleſs, like Henry III, they affected continually to deceive them and break their word; whilſt, on the contrary, ſuch, as have acted too imperiouſly, have generally involved themſelves into great trouble; of which we have ſeen very remarkable examples, in ſome of the preceding reigns.

1297.

A&t Pub.

Philip prepares for his defence.

Whilſt Edward was employed, at home, in making preparations, to maintain the league formed againſt Francc. Philip was equally ſollicitous to provide againſt the impending aſſault; who entered into an alliance with the kings of Caſtile and Arragon, and raiſed a powerful army, whilſt Joan, queen of Navarre, his wife, muſtered together her own forces, to aſſiſt him. Champagne, belonging to that princeſs, was firſt attacked, by the earl of Bar, one of Edward's allies, who ravaged that province, from one end to the other; but, upon the queen's approach, the earl, ſeized with fear, and unable to fight, or retreat, was forced to ſurren-

* This act, or ſtatute, is extant in Coke's 2d Inſtitute, and contains ſome additions to, or explanations of, ſome articles in Magna Charta. It is, as follows, 1. No tallage, or aid, ſhall be impoſed, or levied, by us or our heirs, in our kingdom, without the conſent of the archbiſhops, biſhops, earls, barons, knights, burgeſſes, and other freeholders. 2. None of our officers, nor our heirs, ſhall take the corn, proviſions, or any other goods whatſoever, without the owner's conſent. 3. Nothing ſhall be taken, henceforward, for any ſack of wooll, under the pretence of cuſtoms. 4. We will and grant, for us and our heirs, that all the clergy and laity, in our kingdom, enjoy all their laws, liberties, and free cuſtoms, as fully and freely, as they have enjoyed them, at any time; and, if any ſtatutes have been made, or cuſtoms introduced, by us or our anceſtors, contrary to them, we will and grant, that they be for ever null and void.

der

1297. der to that princeſs, who ſent him priſoner to Paris.

He corrupts Edward's allies. Walſing.

In the interim, the confederate princes delayed to ſend their troops into Flanders; for Adolphus of Naſſau, detained by troubles, which Philip had raiſed him, in Germany, or, as ſome affirm, by preſents, could not, or would not perform his engagements. The duke of Auſtria was bribed, by the ſame means; and the dukes of Brabant and Luxemburgh, the earl of Guelders and Beaumont, followed their example. Philip, improving this advantage, entered Flanders, at the head of 60,000 men, and, immediately, ſat down before Liſle; whilſt Guy, who impatiently waited for the Engliſh ſupplies, was not able to withſtand him, not having half the forces he was made to expect; ſo that he could do nothing more, than try to diſconcert Philip's meaſures, by a diverſion under the conduct of the duke of Juliers. When the king of France heard, that this general had taken the field, he detached the earl of Artois, who, meeting him, near Furnes, gave him battle, and routed his army. The duke of Juliers was ſlain, in the engagement; and the earl of Artois loſt his eldeſt ſon. After this defeat, Guy durſt not ſtir from Ghent and Bruges, where he expected Edward; and, beſides, he was greatly perplexed, on account of the diviſions in his country; for there were two parties in Flanders, one named Porte-lys, in the intereſt of France, and the other for the earl.

Edward arrives in Flanders. T. Wikes.

Edward arrived, at laſt, but with forces very unequal to the great undertaking; becauſe he depended upon the allies, who had broken their word. At his entry into Bruges, he found the whole city in confuſion, by reaſon of the animoſity of the two foreſaid factions; and it was, with difficulty, that he, at length, appeaſed the commotions of the city, by granting the inhabitants certain privileges, relating to their commerce with England. After that, he came to Ghent, which was diſtracted with the ſame diviſions; ſo that, as, on his part, he did not bring with him all the forces he had promiſed, he himſelf was mortified to ſee, how unable the earl of Flanders was, to ſupply the troops he had been made to expect. The Flemings were divided, about the war; for, tho' ſome approved of it, others maintained it to be deſtructive to their country, and undertaken by their prince, for his own, or the king of England's, advantage. Whilſt Edward was intent upon compoſing theſe differences, ſo prejudicial to his affairs, Philip, after a three months ſiege, became maſter of Liſle; and, being poſſeſſed of this place, he eaſily reduced Douay, Courtray, and ſome other towns in the neighbourhood; then he marched to Bruges, which ſurrendered, without any reſiſtance; and he deſigned to burn the Engliſh fleet, which lay at anchor, at Dam; but the earl of Valois, who had undertaken this expedition, not being ſecret enough in his preparations, found that the Engliſh ſhips were ſailed from that harbour.

A truce between the two kings.

Edward perceived, that his principal allies had deſerted him, tho' they had taken his money; and the ſupplies, he could expect from the earl of Flanders, were uncertain and inconſiderable, on account of the Porte-lys faction, which oppoſed all reſolves, in the leaſt, detrimental to France. His own troops were inſufficient to withſtand his enemy's forces; and freſh commotions, in Scotland, rendered his preſence neceſſary, in England, where too he was apprehenſive, that his abſence might occaſion ſome troubles. All theſe conſiderations, together, induced him to ſeek ſome expedient to get off, without being obliged to abandon the earl of Flanders, whom he had engaged in his quarrel; and the beſt, he could find, was to deſire a truce, which was granted him, ſolely, in reſpect to the king of Sicily and the earl of Savoy, who uſed their intereſt for him. Philip, by this truce, which was to laſt no longer than till the Epiphany, for Guienne, and till St. Andrew's day, for Flanders, continued in poſſeſſion of the places he had taken; and, probably, this condition was a means of prolonging the truce, for two years, Philip being very well pleaſed peaceably to enjoy his conqueſts. How deſirous ſoever Edward might be, to ſettle matters in Scotland, he ſpent the reſt of the winter, at Ghent, to try to unite the inhabitants of that powerful city, expecting great aſſiſtance, from thence, when the truce was expired; but, during his ſtay, he was in danger of his life, by a ſedition of the citizens, who were reſolved to murder all the Engliſh. It is ſaid, that he owed the preſervation of it to the generoſity of a Flemiſh knight, of the Porte-lys faction, who, by his pains and intreaties, allayed the fury of the mutinous people; yet, after this, dreading ſome freſh inſult, he relinquiſhed his undertaking and returned to his dominions. Act. Pub.

Such was the ſucceſs of Edward's expedition into Flanders; and the powerful league, which ſeemed ready to ſwallow up France, ſerved only to drain the treaſure of the projector, and convince him, how difficult it would be to recover, by force, the country loſt, by his imprudence. That his projects ſhould miſcarry was not much; for the greateſt men are liable to that misfortune; but, what was ſtill more unfortunate, he could not extricate himſelf out of the difficulties, into which he was plunged, but at the expence of his honour. However, in ſpite of his promiſe to protect the earl of Flanders, to the laſt, he deſerted him, as will be ſeen, hereafter; but it is, now, time to return to Scotland, which is to be the principal ſubject of the ſequel of this reign.

The affairs of Scotland.

Though Edward had conquered Scotland, he had not ſubdued the hearts of the Scots, who were extremely impatient under the yoke he had impoſed on them; and, during his abſence in Flanders, they roſe up in arms, under the conduct of William Wallace, a man of a mean family, and of a ſtill meaner fortune, but of a very great and exalted genius. This generous Scot, though he had little authority, among his countrymen, undertook to raiſe his country out of the gulph of miſery, wherein it was plunged; whilſt the perſons of the higheſt rank, divided by factions, or adhering to the

1297. conqueror, ſtrove, who ſhould moſt perpetuate its ſlavery; and the Scotch writers give this glorious man a character, which equals him to the greateſt heroes, and are at a loſs for words ſublime enough, to expreſs his merit. Wallace, then, tho' ſcarce known in Scotland, reſolving to recover the liberty of his country, aſſembled a ſmall number of troops, for that purpoſe; but, with this body, how inconſiderable ſoever, he made ſuch an amazing progreſs, that one does not know, which to admire moſt, either the boldneſs, or the firſt ſucceſs, of his enterprize. All, that longed for liberty, finding that there was a man that had the reſolution to be their commander, liſted, in crowds, under his banner, and quickly formed a conſiderable army; and, with this aid, Wallace attacked the places poſſeſſed by the Engliſh, whoſe garriſons were weak, becauſe Edward had occaſion for his troops, in Flanders. By his ſeverity to thoſe that fell into his hands, he ſo terrified the reſt, that ſcarce any place held out to extremity, in order to avoid the ſame treatment; and, thus, he regained, in a very ſhort ſpace, all the towns taken by the Engliſh, leaving them only the ſingle town of Berwick; which ſignal ſucceſſes created, in his army, ſuch an admiration, for his bravery, that, without ſtanding upon the uſual formalities, he was declared regent of the kingdom. Edward, then in Flanders, hearing of Wallace's progreſs, haſtened the concluſion of the foreſaid treaty, and returned into England; being reſolved to puniſh, with ſeverity, the revolt of the Scots.

Philip and Edward chuſe the pope, for umpire. Act. Pub.

Before he entered upon this expedition, it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſettle two affairs of equal importance; firſt, to find out ſome method, to bring about a peace with France, leſt Philip ſhould aſſiſt the Scots; and, ſecondly, to give the ſatisfaction to the people, he had promiſed, after his return. The beſt expedient, he could deviſe, to accompliſh his firſt deſign, was to procure Philip's conſent to refer their difference to Boniface VIII, who was not yet at variance with that prince, as he was afterwards; and, Philip accepting this propoſal, the two monarchs left their conteſts to the pope's arbitration, not as head of the church, but as a private perſon, under the name of Benedict Cajetan.

Edward confirms the great charter. M. Weſt.

Edward, in order to gain the affection of his ſubjects, convened a parliament; wherein, of his own accord, he confirmed the great charter. Indeed, he ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on having this clauſe inſerted in his confirmation, "Saving the prerogatives of the crown"; but, the parliament oppoſing it, with great warmth, he choſe to deſiſt, which had a very good effect upon the people.

1298. He marches into Scotland, Walſing.

Edward, having diſpatch'd both theſe affairs, in a ſatisfactory manner, appeared at the head of a numerous army; and, advancing into the middle of Scotland, he met his enemies, at Falkirk. The two armies were encamped ſo near together, that the Engliſh, hearing a great ſhout in the enemy's camp, ran to their arms, in the utmoſt hurry, expecting an attack; and the king alſo would mount his horſe; but, as he was putting his foot in the ſtirrup, the horſe, frighted by the noiſe that was made, threw him on the ground, and, with a kick, broke two of his ribs; yet this unhappy accident did not prevent him from being in the battle, which quickly enſued, and, commanding, with his uſual preſence of mind, the battle proved bloody, and, at the ſame time, very fatal to the Scots; who, according to ſome authors, loſt 60,000 men; but this account is ſcarce credible. Others, who reduce the number to 10,000, are, perhaps, as wide of the truth; yet, however that be, the loſs of the Scots was ſo great, that, for a long ſpace, they were unable to hold up their heads. Wallace, with the remains of his army, retired, behind the northern fens, where it was impoſſible to follow him; and, in the interim, Edward, improving his victory, retook all the fortified places, with the ſame eaſe he had loſt them, ſo that he may be ſaid, on this occaſion, to conquer Scotland, a ſecond time; but having given neceſſary orders, for the preſervation of the kingdom, he returned to England, where he was called by important affairs. 1298.

and defeats the Scots, at Falkirk. M. Weſt.

The Scotch lords are jealous of Wallace. Buchanan.

Wallace was not, then, in a condition to take advantage of Edward's abſence; for he had not only loſt his army, but likewiſe evidently perceiv'd, that the jealouſy of the Scotch lords was one of the principal cauſes of his defeat. His virtues, inſtead of inſpiring them with emulation, made them apprehenſive of his aſpiring to the crown; and, in this belief, they choſe rather, that their country ſhould groan under perpetual bondage, than that they ſhould be reduced to do homage to one of ſo mean extraction. Theſe ſuſpicions muſt, doubtleſs, have been ſpread, among the nobility; ſince Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, ſon of the candidate to the crown, upbraided Wallace, on that account. This earl, who ſerved in Edward's army, being, on the day of the battle of Falkirk, in purſuit of Wallace, who was retreating, and ſtopped by a little river, which the Scots had juſt paſſed, ſent to deſire him to come and ſpeak with him, on the oppoſite bank. Wallace conſenting to it, Robert repreſented to him, "That he would ruin himſelf, by his ambition; that he could not have any proſpect of withſtanding the forces of the king of England; and that, though he might flatter himſelf with ſuch hopes, the great men of the kingdom would never be brought to own him, for their ſovereign." Wallace replied, "That, in taking up arms, he was not, in the leaſt, ſwayed by ambition; that he acknowledged himſelf too unworthy of the throne, to dare to aſpire to it; but that his only view was to deliver his country, which the great men of the realm ſuffered to periſh, by their cowardice." It is ſaid, that this reply made ſuch an impreſſion on Bruce, that he burſt out into tears; and that he reſolved, from that very moment, to exert his utmoſt ſtrength, to free Scotland from the ſlavery ſhe groaned under.

In the mean while, Wallace, being ſenſible that the jealouſy of the Scotch nobility, with reſpect to him, was prejudicial to the intereſts of

1298. of the kingdom, reſigned the regency, and acted only, as a private perſon; though he ſtill inceſſantly endeavoured, to the utmoſt of his power, to recover the liberty of Scotland. Some time after Edward left Scotland, they, who had any remains of affection for their country, choſe Comyn, for regent; but this regency was of little importance, ſince it gave him authority only over a ſmall part of the kingdom, and a few diſorder'd troops, that eſcaped from the late battle.

Edward puſhes the negotiation of peace with France.

Upon Edward's return into England, he laboured to promote the negotiation, now in the hands of the pope, for the reſtitution of Guienne; for, ever ſince he deſpaired of regaining that province, by arms, the alliance of the earl of Flanders was a burden to him, being a perpetual obſtacle to the concluſion of the peace. He reſolved, therefore, to abandon his ally; and the unfortunate earl, deſerted by the king of England, and, on the other hand, preſſed by the earl of Valois, who commanded the French army in Flanders, was in the greateſt perplexity; but, in this wretched ſituation, he was perſuaded, at length, to ſurrender himſelf to that prince, who promiſed to conduct him to Paris, that he might treat, in perſon, with the king, and that, if he could not, within a year, obtain a peace, he ſhould be at liberty to return into his dominions; but Philip, not thinking himſelf obliged, by his brother's word, detained the earl priſoner.

1299. The truce is prolonged. Act. Pub.

The two years truce, between France and England, being about to expire, the ambaſſadors of the two kings met, at Montreuil, upon the ſea; where the pope ſent them his ſentence of arbitration. The ſubſtance of it was, that Edward ſhould, again, take poſſeſſion of Guienne, and, to reſtore union between the two monarchs, ſhould marry Margaret, ſiſter to Philip; that Iſabella, daughter of the ſame Philip, ſhould be given to the prince of Wales, Edward's ſon; and that John Baliol, formerly king of Scotland, ſhould be delivered to the pope's nuncio, to be ſecured, where he ſhould judge it convenient. The plenipotentiaries of the two crowns ſigned this ſentence; but, as ſeveral things were to be adjuſted, in order to put it in execution, they agreed upon a truce, which was often prolonged, before the treaty of peace was concluded; and, in the interim, Baliol was delivered to the biſhop of Vicenza, the pope's nuncio, who committed him to the cuſtody of ſome French biſhops.

A truce is granted to Scotland. Buchanan.

When the new regent of Scotland heard, that a treaty was negotiating, at Montreuil, between France and England, he ſent deputies to Philip, to intreat him to procure Scotland to be included; and, as Edward deſpaired of the recovery of Guienne, by any other way than a treaty, it was not unlikely, that he would grant Scotland tolerable terms, if the king of France would ſeriouſly endeavour to obtain them. At firſt, indeed, Philip attempted to perſuade Edward to leave Scotland in quiet; but he no ſooner propoſed it, than he found it impoſſible to procure any thing, except ſome little advantages, which too they could not purchaſe, without a formal acknowledgment of the power that enſlaved them. Edward was in poſſeſſion of Scotland, where he, now, ſcarce met with any oppoſition; ſo that to propoſe his granting a peace to that kingdom was, in effect, to deſire him to relinquiſh his conqueſt; and, beſides, he could not grant a ſeparate peace to the regent and his adherents, without leaving in Scotland a power independent on his own. All, therefore, that Philip could obtain was a ſeven months truce, for ſuch as were uneaſy under his yoke; and, if we may believe the Scotch hiſtorians, this truce was violated by England; but, poſſibly, this is only to juſtify Comyn's reſolution to break it. However that be, the regent aſſembled the lords, whom he knew to be well affected to their country, and repreſented to them its preſent wretched condition; aſſuring them, that, if they gave Edward time, to ſecure his conqueſt, he would put it out of their power, for the future, to recover their liberty; but that, as ſoon as the few remains of the Scots, which ſtill reſiſted, were ſubdued, he would entirely reduce the miſerable kingdom to a perfect ſlavery. He farther told them, that this deſign would, now, have been executed, had it not been retarded by the truces procured them by France; and that it was, therefore, neceſſary ſpeedily to reſolve to make a generous effort, to regain their freedom, or to leave their country in perpetual ſlavery. Then he ſhewed them, with what eaſe, they might deliver themſelves from the yoke, whilſt Edward depended on their weakneſs; and that the winter ſeaſon offered them advantages, which they could never more expect, when once it was over. Upon theſe remonſtrances, the lords, impatient of their ſervitude, unanimouſly reſolved to riſe in arms, and laboured to inſpire the people with the ſame reſolution; which was not a very difficult task, ſince the meaner ſort were ſtill more exaſperated againſt the Engliſh than the nobles, becauſe they were worſe treated; and, in a ſhort time, the whole kingdom riſing, it was impoſſible for the Engliſh garriſons to put a ſtop to ſo general a revolt. All the inhabitants of the town, as well as of the country, taking arms, the ſame day and hour, all the garriſons were attacked, at once, both within and without, with ſuch vigour and fury, that they were reduced to the neceſſity of deſiring leave to depart the kingdom, to prevent their being cut in pieces.

1299.

All Scotland riſes, and drives the Engliſh out of the kingdom. Buchanan.

1300. Edward's third expedition into Scotland.

Edward, to the laſt degree, incenſed at theſe proceedings, raiſed an army, with all expedition; and, as ſoon as the ſeaſon permitted, entered, a third time, ſword in hand, that unfortunate kingdom; and the Scotch army, conſiſting only of an ill-armed and undiſciplined militia, being unable to withſtand Edward, would have retired, upon his approach; but he purſued them ſo briskly, that, being, at length, overtaken, and forced to engage, they were entirely routed. Hiſtorians affirm, that the fate of Scotland would have been determined, that day, if the Engliſh could have followed

He defeats the Scots. M. Weſt.

1300. followed their enemies thro' the fens; but, tho' known to the natives, they were inacceſſible to the conquerors.

The Scots, upon this defeat, deſpairing of making any farther reſiſtance, humbly intreated the king to permit them to redeem their lands, with money, and to reſtore their king, on what conditions he pleaſed; but he refuſed their requeſts. This cruelty induced them to put themſelves under the pope's protection, to whom they ſent ambaſſadors, with an offer of the ſovereignty of Scotland; and Boniface VIII, whoſe ambition is notorious, immediately, accepted this propoſal. He had been accuſtomed to treat chriſtian princes, in a very haughty manner, fancying that they ought implicitly to ſubmit to his will; and that his authority extended to temporal as well as ſpiritual affairs. In this belief, he thought, that his bare brief was ſufficient to cauſe Edward to quit all his pretenſions to Scotland; and, in the beginning of it, which was, as follows, he took for granted a thing, that had never been heard of, before.

The pope's bull to Edward. Act. Pub.

"BONIFACE, Servant of Servants, &c.
"To our beloved ſon, Edward, illuſtrious
"king of England, greeting and apoſtolical
"benediction.

"WE know, dear ſon, and experience has often convinced us, how great your devout "affection is for the church of Rome, who "upholds you in the bowels of love. We "know, I ſay, your ardent zeal and reve-"rence for her, and your readineſs to obey her "orders. This gives us a firm hope and en-"tire confidence, that your royal highneſs will "receive our words in good part, diligently "liſten to them, and effectually put them in "execution. Your royal highneſs may have "heard, and we doubt not but you remember, "that, of old, the kingdom of Scotland did, "and does ſtill, belong to the church of Rome, "as all the world knows; and, as we have "been informed, was never held, either of "yourſelf, or predeceſſors, &c.

The reſt of the brief, which is too long to be inſerted, here, contains moſt of the abovementioned objections, againſt the pretenſions of the kings of England to the ſovereignty of Scotland; and, as, in all probability, the pope had received inſtructions from the Scotch ambaſſadors, it is to be preſumed, that, if, during the aſſembly at Norham, the ſtates of Scotland returned no anſwer to Edward's allegations, it was not, for want of proofs. The pope likewiſe upbraided Edward, for all the outrages committed in the Scotch war, and, particularly, for the impriſonment of ſeveral biſhops; and, in a word, he made himſelf judge of the controverſy, between the Engliſh and Scots, ordering the king to ſend ambaſſadors to Rome, within ſix months, at fartheſt, after which, he would pronounce a final ſentence.

Edward threatens to deſtroy Scotland. Walſing.

This imperious proceeding was, by no means, proper to cauſe Edward to lay down his arms; who was ſo exaſperated at it, that, inſtead of regarding the pope's pretenſions, he ſwore, if he heard any more of them, he would deſtroy Scotland, from ſea to ſea. The deputies of the Scots, being preſent, could not hear theſe menaces, without emotion; and they told him, that he had ſtill many things to do, before matters could be brought to that extremity, ſince there was not a Scotchman but would ſpill the laſt drop of his blood, in the defence of his country; but, notwithſtanding Edward's reſolution, not to leave Scotland, before it was entirely reduced, he durſt not refuſe the king of France a truce, which he demanded, in behalf of the Scots. 1300.

Edward creates his ſon prince of Wales. M. Weſt.

During this, Edward inveſted his eldeſt ſon, now 17 years of age, with the principality of Wales, and the earldom of Cheſter; which was an occaſion of rejoycing to the Welch, who conſidered it, as a mark of the king's favour, becauſe the young prince was born in their country.

1301. The anſwer to the pope's bull.

In the beginning of the next year, the king called a parliament, at Lincoln, to conſult with them, about the pope's pretenſions to Scotland, and what anſwer ſhould be returned to his brief; and, the parliament being no leſs provoked at the haughtineſs of the court of Rome, than the king himſelf, it was reſolved, that a letter ſhould be ſent to the pope, ſigned by all the barons of the realm. In this letter, they plainly contradict what he had aſſerted, in his brief; affirming, that the crown of England had, immemorially, enjoyed the right of ſovereignty over Scotland, and that it was publickly known, that Scotland, as to temporals, never belonged to the church of Rome; that, therefore, the parliament would never ſuffer the king's prerogative to be diſputed, or ambaſſadors to be ſent to Rome, on that account, though the king himſelf ſhould be willing to be ſo condeſcending to the holy ſee; and, finally, they deſired the pope to leave the king and people of England, in the enjoyment of their rights, without giving them any diſturbance. This letter was followed, ſome months after, by another from Edward himſelf, with a memorial, like that drawn up, during the aſſembly at Norham, to prove, that the kingdom of Scotland had been always dependent on the crown of England; but, whereas, in the firſt, he carries his claim no higher than Edward the Elder, in this, he derives it from Brutus, firſt fabulous king of the iſle of Albion, tracing it thro' all the reigns of the fictitious kings mentioned in the hiſtory, or rather the romance of Geoffrey of Monmouth; which he did not venture to do, in the memorial drawn up for the Scots. However, it anſwered his purpoſe, with the pope and Italians, who were not ſufficiently verſed in the Engliſh hiſtory, to diſcern truth from falſhood; and, beſides, the king's letter to his holineſs was very reſpectful; but this moderation, when he was highly incenſed at the pope's pretenſions, muſt be aſcribed to the need he had of his aſſiſtance, with reſpect to the reſtitution of Guienne. Act. Pub.

Edward returns into Scotland and prolongs the truce.

The truce with Scotland was no ſooner expired, than Edward returned, and ſpent the whole winter, in that kingdom; but, when he was preparing to renew the war, he was ſo ſtrongly

1301. ſtrongly ſollicited by the king of France, that he conſented to prolong the truce with the Scots, till November. One might wonder, that he ſhould have ſo much complaiſance for Philip, if what ſome relate be true; that he had made a peace with France, at Montreuil, and taken poſſeſſion of Guienne; but it is certain, that the peace, between the two crowns, was not fully concluded, till 1303; for the treaty of Montreuil was properly only the pope's arbitration, containing ſeveral articles, the performance of which might meet with great difficulties, tho', in general, the two monarchs were well enough pleaſed with it. This renders Edward's deference for Philip not ſo ſurpriſing; ſince, by a refuſal, he might have retarded the concluſion of a peace, by which Guienne was to be reſtored.

He ſends Segrave into Scotland.

The truce with Scotland being about to expire, Edward ſent Segrave into that kingdom, to renew the war; whoſe intent, in marching thither, was not ſo much to fight the Scots, whom he thought unable to reſiſt him, as to deſtroy the country. With this view, he divided his army into three bodies, which marched, at ſome diſtance from one another, in order to take up the more ground; and, fancying that there was no danger, he marched, in a careleſs manner, without ſo much as informing himſelf of the poſture of his enemies; but he, unexpectedly, met them, near Roſlin, five miles from Edinburgh. As he was too far advanced with the body he commanded, to receive any benefit from the others, the Scotch army, under Comyn and Frazer, attacked him, without loſs of time, and put him to the rout; but the neareſt of the two other bodies, hearing that the general was attacked, haſted to his relief; yet, not being able to come ſoon enough, they were alſo defeated. Tho' the Scots were victorious, in both theſe engagements, their wounded being many, and their troops exceedingly harraſſed, they were willing to take ſome reſpite, when the third body of the Engliſh army advanced, to attack them; which put them into ſuch diſorder, that they would have, forthwith, retreated, if the exhortations of their generals had not revived their courage. This laſt battle was the ſharpeſt of the three; wherein the Engliſh, animated with a deſire of revenge, and the Scots, encouraged by their two victories, fought, for ſome time, with equal animoſity; but the Scots, at laſt, routed their enemies. The Engliſh hiſtorians take very little notice of theſe three battles, whilſt the Scots highly extol this triple victory; but, perhaps, neither of theſe accounts is exactly true. However that be, it cannot be denied, that Edward apprehended this loſs to be very conſiderable, ſince it made him reſolve to enter Scotland, once more, with a more formidable army than ever; tho' it was not in his power to execute his deſign, before the next year, becauſe he could not avoid including the Scots in a truce made with France, till June.

Three victories are gained by the Scots, in one day. Buchanan.

Before the expiration of the truce, the peace, between the two monarchs, was concluded, at Paris, on the 20th of May, 1303. Philip reſtored Guienne to Edward, who promiſed, on his part, to do him full homage, and without limitation, in the city of Amiens; but the allies of the two kings were not ſo much as mentioned in the treaty. On the contrary, each monarch obliged himſelf, by oath, not to aſſiſt the other's enemies; ſo that the Scots and the earl of Flanders were equally abandoned. This is one of the many remarkable inſtances, how little petty princes can rely upon their alliances with more powerful ſovereigns; for though the firſt article always runs, that neither peace nor truce ſhall be made, without the conſent of all parties, it is uſually the firſt that is violated. Indeed, Philip perſuaded the Scots, that he would procure them a ſeparate peace, at a future conference with Edward; but this was fartheſt from his thoughts; for he had left the Scots to the mercy of the king of England, only to engage him to abandon the Flemings, who, having taken up arms againſt him, had, now, gained great advantages. Baliol, who was, by this treaty, deprived of all hopes of being ever reſtored, lived upon his eſtate in Normandy; where he ſpent the remainder of his days, as a private perſon.

1303. A treaty of peace, between France and England. Act. Pub.

The unexpected conteſts, between pope Boniface and Philip the Fair, had long delayed the concluſion of this peace; for the pope, who had projected to turn the arms of the Chriſtians againſt the Infidels, pretended arbitrarily to command all the princes of Europe, to end their quarrels, according to his caprice, and prepare to ſend, or lead, in perſon, their forces to the Holy-Land, and the haughtineſs, with which he would have treated the king of France, occaſion'd ſuch diſputes between them, as grew, at length, to an open rupture. Philip, therefore, conſidering the pope, as his enemy, rejected his arbitration, and concluded a peace with Edward, without his intervention *.

The peace was made without the pope.

Edward, having entered into an alliance with France, carried his arms, a fourth time, into Scotland, with ſo numerous an army, that penetrated even to the utmoſt bounds of the iſland, ravaging all parts of the country; for the Scots were unable to withſtand ſuch a formidable power. Wallace alone kept cloſe to him, with ſome troops, in order to revenge the Scots on the Engliſh ſoldiers, that ventur'd to ſtir from the body of the army; but, notwithſtanding Edward's extraordinary ſucceſs, he was not ſo ſevere to thoſe who voluntarily ſubmitted, as he was, in his former expedition; for he found, that, by driving them to deſpair, he had himſelf induced them to revolt; wherefore, he treated favourably ſuch as ſurrendered, permitting them to redeem their lands; which he had, before, refuſed; and all the great men of the kingdom, perceiving no other remedy, were willing to embrace it.

Edward's fourth expedition into Scotland. Buchanan.

* This year, the ſaid pope died, on October 12, after he had been charged by the king of France with hereſy, ſimony, and murder, impriſoned, and plundered of all his goods. Walſing.

1303. Edward, before he left Scotland, ordered Sterling-caſtle to be aſſaulted, which held out, the whole winter; and the vigorous defence of the
1304. beſieged obliged the king to be there, in perſon, as ſoon as the weather permitted. However, it was July, before he brought them to capitulate; and, according to Buchanan, contrary to the articles of the capitulation, he impriſoned the governor and officers of the garriſon.

The taking of Sterling compleated Edward's fourth expedition and third conqueſt; but, tho' Scotland may juſtly be ſaid to be conquer'd, on this occaſion, there were ſtill in the country, out of the reach of the Engliſh arms, certain impenetrable places, which ſerved for a retreat and ſanctuary to thoſe that could not live in ſlavery, and who greatly promoted the reſtoration of the whole kingdom to its antient liberty. This Edward himſelf dreaded, in the midſt of his ſucceſſes; and the rigorous treatment of the brave Wallace, who was baſely betray'd into his hands, evidently proves, that he did not think the Scots ſubdued, though he was maſter of Scotland. To deter them, by the puniſhment of this glorious man, whom he regarded, as the ſole author of their revolt, he cauſed him to be tried, condemned, and executed, as guilty of high-treaſon, and ordered his four quarters to be hung up, in four of the principal towns in the kingdom; which ſentence was pronounced by Engliſh judges, tho' Wallace was a Scotchman, and had never owned the juriſdiction of Edward. To excuſe, in ſome meaſure, this extraordinary ſeverity, ſome hiſtorians charge Wallace with having committed exceſſive cruelties; but neither theſe accuſations, nor the manner of his death, have been able to hinder poſterity from doing him the juſtice he deſerved; for unprejudiced people ſtill account him a heroe worthy of a better fate.

The tragical end of Wallace. Buchanan. M. Weſt.

1305. Edward's ſeverity towards Segrave. M. Weſt.

Edward, having finiſhed his buſineſs in Scotland, returned into England; where he, immediately, applied himſelf to cauſe his authority to be reſpected, for which ſome among the barons ſhewed but little regard; and Segrave was, firſt of all, attacked, for an example to the reſt. This lord being accuſed of ſome miſdemeanour, to vindicate his innocence, challenged his accuſer to a duel, according to the cuſtom of thoſe days; but the king, judging it improper to conſent to it, Segrave embarqued, in order to fight, out of the kingdom. Though his diſobedience was, in ſome meaſure, ſoftened, by forbearing to fight, in Edward's dominions; yet he apprehended it to be of too great conſequence, to be paſſed over, with impunity; and no ſooner did Segrave return, than he was taken into cuſtody, and brought to his trial. The judges were at a loſs, what ſentence they ſhould pronounce, upon this affair, concerning which there was apparently no law to direct them; but, after three days conſultation, they declared him worthy of death, adding, in their ſentence, that it ſhould be in the king's power to pardon him. Edward, being extremely provoked at the boldneſs of the judges, who ſeemed to preſcribe bounds to his prerogative, as if he could not exerciſe his clemency, without their permiſſion, gave them a ſevere reprimand; yet he pardoned Segrave, upon the interceſſion of certain lords, who offered to become ſureties, for his good behaviour *.

1305:

The commiſſion of Trail-Baton. Act. Pub.

But this was not the only inſtance of Edward's ſeverity, after his return. He was informed, that juſtice was adminiſtered, in all parts of the kingdom, with great negligence and partiality; that the magiſtrates were bribed with preſents, and the rich ſcreened from the rigour of the laws, whilſt the poor lay expoſed to the oppreſſion and tyranny of the great; and, ſuch a diſorder calling for a ſpeedy and effectual redreſs, he gave an extraordinary commiſſion to judges, nominated by himſelf, to go into all the counties and ſtrictly enquire concerning all malefactors, of what rank ſoever, impowering them to execute their ſentences, upon the ſpot. This commiſſion was ſtiled Trail-Baton †, a word whoſe derivation is unknown, about which there are ſeveral conjectures too long to be inſerted; but it is ſufficient to obſerve, in order to give a notion of this extraordinary court, that it was much the ſame with that in France, called Grands Jours. This ſeverity was a cheque to thoſe, that expected to ſcreen themſelves from juſtice, by their credit and riches; and, at the ſame time, it filled the king's coffers, with the mulcts and fines of the guilty.

The prince of Wales is publickly impriſon'd Fabian.

To theſe two inſtances of ſeverity, he added a third, very fit to demonſtrate his intention, that the laws ſhould be obſerved, without reſpect to birth, or dignity; for, prince Edward, his ſon, being perſuaded by Piers Gaveſton, one of his favourites, to commit ſome outrage againſt the biſhop of Cheſter, he ordered him to be publickly impriſoned, and would not ſuffer his rank to exempt him from juſtice.

This proceeding would, doubtleſs, have been more agreeable to the Engliſh, if what he did,

* Thirty of his peers, girt with ſwords, who offered to be bound, body and goods, that he ſhould be forthcoming, whenſoever the king ſhould require it. M. Weſt.

† This old French word ſignifies to draw a ſtaff; and Mr. Tyrrel gives the following account of it, from the Eveſham-Chronicle, which derives it from a certain inſtrument, antiently uſed by ſhoemakers, to beat their apprentices, called a Trayle-baſton. The king, in his return out of Scotland, was told this ſtory, of thoſe who then made it a trade to take money, to beat other men: A certain wicked perſon, having hired ſome of theſe ruffians, to beat another man, whom he durſt not meddle with himſelf, they cudgelled him very ſeverely; but, chancing to know one of them, he found out who it was that had employed them; upon which, intreating them to ſpare him, he promiſed them, if they would give as many blows to him that hired them, he would reward them doubly, to which they conſented. Accordingly, in their return, they met with the man that firſt ſet them to work, who asked them, whether they had done, as he had ordered them? They anſwered, yes; and that they were to receive as much more, for the like buſineſs; ſo one of them, being a ſhoemaker, crying out Trayle-baſton, they all fell upon him, and cudgelled him twice as much as they did the other. The king, though, at firſt, he ſmiled at this ſtory, to ſecure his people, for the future, from ſuch malefactors, iſſued out the foreſaid commiſſion; which may be ſeen, at large, in Rymer's Fœd.

ſoon

1305. ſoon after, had ſhewn the ſame moderation and regard for his ſubjects. Clement V, a native of Bourdeaux, ſucceeding Boniface VIII, Edward improved his intereſt with the new pope, to obtain a diſpenſation from the oath he had taken, to maintain the two charters of liberties; and his holineſs did not ſcruple to grant him that favour. He ſuppoſed, as he affirms, in his bull, that the king was compelled to take that oath; and that ſuppoſition, though falſe, appeared to him a ſufficient reaſon, to abſolve him from the ſame; and it is pretended, that Edward purchaſed this diſpenſation, by a preſent of gold plate to the pope. The alarm, this ſtep occaſioned in the kingdom, was not groundleſs; for it was ſoon perceived, that the king aſſumed a greater authority, than was conſiſtent with the laws and cuſtoms of the realm; and he even affected to diſcover his deſign, in a very manifeſt and publick manner. Clement V. granted him a tenth upon the clergy, for three years, reſerving one half to himſelf, for the occaſions of the holy ſee; but the parliament, who could not bear this ſhameful trade, which tended to impoveriſh the clergy, without any neceſſity, and to drain the kingdom of money, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, and prohibited the collectors to levy the tenth. However, Edward removed this prohibition, by his own authority, and permitted the collectors to proceed; which arbitrary act, immediately, ſucceeding the foreſaid diſpenſation, led the Engliſh to apprehend, that he intended to deprive them of their liberties; and, in all appearance, they had but too much reaſon to entertain theſe apprehenſions; but, if Edward had any ſuch intent, the troubles, which ſuddenly broke out a-freſh in Scotland, prevented the execution, and rendered the pope's favour ineffectual.

1306. The affairs of Scotland. Buchanan. The Scots, though ſo often vanquiſhed, and conſtrained to ſwear fealty to Edward, could not inure themſelves to his yoke; and Robert Bruce, earl of Carric, was one of thoſe that thought they had they had the greateſt cauſe to complain; for Edward had not only excluded Robert, his father, from the crown, but, though he had promiſed to place him on the throne, in the room of Baliol, made not the leaſt ſtep towards the performance of his promiſe. Nevertheleſs, Robert, all along, ſerved him, with fidelity, both before and after his father's death; but, his diſcourſe with Wallace, on the day of the battle of Falkirk, and the king's whole conduct, convincing him, that Edward had ſolely conſulted his own intereſt, he entertained the generous deſign of exerting himſelf, to free his country from the ſervitude to which it was reduced; and he likewiſe thought of procuring the crown of Scotland, to which he pretended to have a lawful title, notwithſtanding the ſentence given againſt the earl, his father. John Comyn, ſirnamed the Red, another Scotch lord of great diſtinction in Scotland, though of leſs credit than Bruce, had, or ſeemed to have, the ſame concern, for the liberty of his country; and this conformity cauſed theſe two lords to communicate their ſentiments to each other, after long ſounding

Bruce and Comyn contrive to free their country. M. Weſt.

one another, without daring to ſpeak their minds; and, at length, both growing bolder, they had ſeveral interviews, wherein they agreed upon means, to accompliſh their projects. Theſe conferences ended in an agreement, containing the two following articles. I. That they ſhould act, in conjunction, to promote Robert Bruce to the crown of Scotland. II. That, in conſideration of Comyn's ſervices, Bruce ſhould conſign to him all his private patrimony, and appoint him his lieutenant-general. Upon this, Robert came to Edward's court, where it was neceſſary to gain certain Scotch lords, who were attached to that prince. 1306.

Comyn betrays Bruce. Walſing. In the interim, whether Comyn repented of what he had done, or, as ſome affirm, had contrived this plot, on purpoſe to enſnare Robert, he diſcovered the whole affair to the king; and he even ſent him the original agreement, under both their hands and ſeals. Edward, at firſt, reſolved to apprehend Robert, immediately; but, leſt he ſhould, thereby, miſs of his accomplices, he was contented with narrowly watching him; hoping to make ſome freſh diſcoveries, by means of Comyn, to whom Robert communicated, by letters, all his proceedings at court. The king's deſign could not be ſo ſecret, but it was perceived by the earl of Gomer, an old friend of the family of Bruce, then at London; who being ſenſible, that Robert was narrowly watched, and not daring, by word of mouth, to inform him of it, ſent him a pair of ſpurs, with ſome pieces of gold, as if he had borrowed them of him; but Robert, who was a prince of great penetration, preſently diſcerned, that there was ſome myſtery in this pretended reſtitution of his friend; and, concluding that he meant, by it, to adviſe him to make his eſcape, he, at once, came to a reſolution, which he executed, with ſuch addreſs and diligence, that it was impoſſible to prevent him, and much more to overtake him. As he had communicated his thoughts only to Comyn, he did not queſtion but he was betrayed, by that treacherous friend; and, accordingly, as ſoon as he arrived in Scotland, he repaired to Dumfries, where Comyn then was, and, meeting him in the church of the Cordeliers, who little expected his coming, ſtabbed him, with his own hand. This bold ſtroke, added to the plot he had projected, expoſing him to the king's reſentment, he openly declared himſelf, well knowing that there was no ſafety for him but in the ſucceſs of his deſigns; and ſuch numbers flocked to him, that he was ſoon in a condition to go well attended to Scone, where he was ſolemnly crowned; after which, all the people, in general, eſpouſed his cauſe.

Bruce eſcapes to Scotland, and kills Comyn.

He is crowned king of Scotland.

Edward was extremely mortified, to find that he was miſtaken, in imagining that he had entirely ſecured the poſſeſſion of that kingdom; wherefore, he reſolved to reduce it to ſuch a ſtate, that there ſhould be no more danger of a revolt. With this view, he ſent Audemar of Valence, earl of Pembroke, with an army to prepare the way, whilſt he aſſembled all his forces, at Carliſle; and, to render his expedition

Edward ſends an army into Scotland. Act. Pub.

1306. dition the more ſignal, he knighted 300 young gentlemen, who attended the prince, his ſon, whom he was willing, on this occaſion, to initiate in the art of war.

Bruce is defeated, and forced to abſcond. Buchanan.

In the mean while, Robert made a great progreſs in Scotland; and he would have enlarged his conqueſts, if the earl of Pembroke had not ſtopped his career. This lord, entering Scotland, marched directly to Robert, who, thinking it improper to retreat, advanced, in order to meet him; and, the two armies coming to an engagement, that of Robert was put to the rout; but, as his loſs was not great, he was willing to hazard a ſecond battle, wherein he had no better ſucceſs. Theſe two defeats, upon one another, obliging him to quit the country, he withdrew to one of the Hebrides, where he lay concealed, at a relation's houſe, in expectation of a more favourable juncture; and, ſhortly after, Edward, arriving with a powerful army, found the Scots in conſternation, and their troops diſperſed; ſo that, having no enemies to encounter, he ſent out detachments, on all ſides, to ſeize Bruce's adherents. Great numbers were taken, who all felt that prince's ſeverity; three of Robert's brothers loſt their heads, on a ſcaffold; and his queen, being conducted into England, was kept in cloſe confinement. Edward's age and vexation, to be ſo often obliged to begin afreſh, rendered him ſo inexorable, that he ſcarce pardoned any one perſon; and the biſhops of Glaſcow and St. Andrews, who were taken, with their coats of mail over their habits, would have fallen a ſacrifice to his vengeance, had he not been afraid of the pope's reſentment; however, they were ſent into England, and thrown into priſon. The earl of Athol, though allied to Edward, and the royal family of Scotland, was diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, only by the heighth of the gallows on which he was executed; the counteſs of Buquhan, who aſſiſted at Robert's coronation *, being put into a wooden cage, was placed, as a ridiculous ſpectacle to the people, on the walls of Berwick-caſtle; and Mary, her ſiſter, was expoſed, in the ſame manner, at Roxborough.

Act. Pub.

Act. Pub. M. Weſt.

1307. Edward would unite Scotland to England. Walſing.

Edward, having thus taken vengeance on Robert's adherents, who were ſo unhappy as to fall into his hands, ſpent the winter, at Carliſle, where he convened the laſt parliament of his reign; and the firſt buſineſs of that aſſembly was, about means to ſecure the poſſeſſion of Scotland, by uniting it to England. Edward was reſolved to keep the Scots in obedience, and even to uſe, for that purpoſe, the moſt rigorous methods; but the face of affairs was much altered, in that country, before he could put his deſign in execution.

Statutes againſt the court of Rome. M. Weſt.

This parliament alſo very induſtriouſly endeavoured, to prevent the extortions of the court of Rome, which were ſtill continued, as before, in ſpite of the means made uſe of to ſuppreſs them; nay, ſtatutes were enacted, which might have redreſſed this grievance, had they been punctually obſerved. 1307.

Piers Gaveſton is baniſhed the kingdom. Act. Pub.

At this very time, the biſhop of Litchfield, high-treaſurer, cauſing the king to perceive the aſcendant, Piers Gaveſton, a young man, of a very debauched life, had over the prince, his ſon, and the dangerous conſequences of ſo great a familiarity, Edward, with the advice of the parliament ſtill aſſembled, baniſhed Gaveſton the realm, as a corrupter of the prince; and he, moreover, obliged his ſon to promiſe, with an oath, never to recall him. He likewiſe made Gaveſton ſwear, that he would never return into England; and, on that condition, he allowed him a penſion of 100 marks, to be paid out of the revenues of Guienne.

Bruce's great ſucceſs. Buchanan.

Notwithſtanding Edward's reſolution, to the contrary, the time of that kingdom's deliverance was at hand; for God, who was pleaſed to chaſtiſe the Scots, had not decreed the utter deſtruction of that nation, though it was reduced to the laſt extremity. Upon Edward's leaving Scotland, Robert Bruce ſallied out of his retreat, and effectually improved the king's abſence, and the ſharpneſs of the winter, which hindered the Engliſh troops from acting; for he aſſembled the remains of his diſperſed army, and reinforced them with freſh ſupplies, which the Scotch lords, incenſed at Edward's ſeverity, brought him from all quarters. With theſe troops, he attacked the earl of Pembroke, the Engliſh general, and gained a ſignal victory, wherein the earl was taken priſoner; and then he marched againſt the earl of Glouceſter, who commanded another body, and forced him to retreat to the caſtle of Aire, which he beſieged, though without ſucceſs. As he was maſter of the field, and had none to reſiſt him, he eaſily took ſeveral places, which he cauſed to be diſmantled; as well not to be obliged to leave garriſons, as to prevent the Engliſh from fortifying them, hereafter.

Edward reſolves utterly to deſtroy Scotland. M. Weſt.

Edward, aſtoniſhed at this unexpected revolution, and implacably exaſperated againſt the Scots, ſummoned all the vaſſals of the crown to meet him, at Carliſle, about the middle of the ſummer, on pain of forfeiting their fees; reſolving to march into the heart of Scotland, and deſtroy that kingdom, from ſea to ſea, as he had often threatened; but God did not permit him to execute this barbarous purpoſe; for he was ſcarce arrived, at Carliſle, where he had drawn together the fineſt army England had ever ſeen, when he was ſeized by a diſtemper, which put an end to his days, and all his projects. He no ſooner found that he was ill, than he knew he ſhould die; and, whilſt his mind was ſound, he ſent for prince Edward, his eldeſt ſon, and earneſtly recommended to him three things: Firſt of all, vigorouſly to proſecute the war with Scotland, till he had entirely ſubdued the Scots; adviſing him, to carry along with him his bones, at the head of

* This counteſs was ſiſter to the earl of Fife, then abſent in England, whoſe office it was to crown the kings of Scotland; and, therefore, ſhe, being of a brave and manlike ſpirit, ſtole from her husband, with all his horſe, and came and ſet the diadem upon Bruce's head at the abbey of Scone, on Palm-ſunday, March 25. Walſing. He had been crowned, before, on February 2. M. Weſt.

the

1307. the army, not, in the leaſt, doubting but that object would intimidate the enemies he had ſo often vanquiſhed. The ſecond thing was to ſend his heart to the Holy-Land, with 32000 l. ſterling, which he had provided, for the ſupport of the holy ſepulchre; and he, in the third place, ordered him never to recal Gaveſton. After theſe his laſt orders to his ſon, he cauſed himſelf to be carried, by eaſy journies, into Scotland, being deſirous to die in a country, he had, thrice conquered; and, in this manner, he advanced, as far as the little town of Burgh *, where, a dyſentery increaſing his ſickneſs, he departed this life, on the 7th of July, 1307, in the 68th year of his age, after a reign of 34 years, 7 months, and 20 days. His corpſe was removed to Waltham, and from thence to Weſtminſter-abbey; where, being done over with wax, it was laid by Henry, his father †.

Edward's encomium and character.

Thus, lived and died Edward I. This prince was, doubtleſs, endowed with very noble qualities, and particularly great valour and prudence; and, having the art of maſtering his paſſions, he could return to the right way, when he had deviated from it; a quality never to be ſufficiently commended, in a ſovereign. If we compare him with his father, his grandfather, and his own ſon, his ſucceſſor, we ſhall find that he vaſtly ſurpaſſed them all; and this compariſon, which one can ſcarce avoid making, has been ſo much to his advantage, that the Engliſh hiſtorians have given him the higheſt encomiums, repreſenting him to be the greateſt prince of his age. A famous author has even affirmed, "That God had pitched his "tabernacle, in the breaſt of that monarch;" but his whole conduct, with reſpect to Scotland, does not conveigh ſuch an advantageous idea of that monarch. However, without examining too ſtrictly the expreſſions uſed by the hiſtorians, in his praiſe, it cannot be denied, that he was a great king, and that England received conſiderable advantages, from his adminiſtration; for the kingdom, weakened by the ill management of the two preceding kings, was reſtored to its former ſplendor, by the abilities of Edward, who knew how to render himſelf beloved and reſpected by his ſubjects, as well as dreaded by his neighbours. The conqueſt of Wales, to no purpoſe, attempted by his predeceſſors, added a great luſtre to his reign, and was very beneficial to England; and that of Scotland would, doubtleſs, have gained him more honour, had it been entirely compleated, ſince the Scotch hiſtorians would have ſpoken of him, in different terms, if, at the time of their writing, they had been Engliſh. 1307.

Camden.

He was very perſonable, and taller than the generality of men, by the head; his hair was black, and curled naturally, and his eyes, of the ſame colour, ſparkled with uncommon vivacity. He would have been perfectly well ſhaped, if his legs, which were ſomewhat too long, from whence, he was ſirnamed Long-ſhanks, had been proportionable to the reſt of his body. He joined to his bodily perfections a ſolid judgment, an uncommon penetration, and a prudent conduct, which very rarely ſuffered him to make a falſe ſtep; and he had alſo principles of juſtice, honour, and honeſty, which reſtrained him from conniving at vice, not only in his moſt intimate courtiers, but even in his own ſon; beſides, he was of an exemplary chaſtity, a virtue very ſeldom found in ſovereign princes. All theſe noble qualities procured him the love and eſteem of his ſubjects; which did not a little contribute to the rendering his reign peaceable, at home, whilſt his arms were employed, abroad; but, as for the affair of Scotland, it gained more honour than real advantages to England, ſince, after torrents of blood ſpilt, in that quarrel, the Engliſh were conſtrained, at laſt, to relinquiſh their project.

His iſſue, by his firſt wife. Walſing. Sandford.

Edward had, by Eleanor of Caſtile, his firſt wife, four ſons and nine daughters *; but Edward II, his ſucceſſor, was the only ſon that ſurvived him. Eleanor, his eldeſt daughter, was contracted to Alphonſus, king of Arragon; but, that prince dying, before conſummation, ſhe was eſpouſed to Henry, duke of Bar. Joanna, ſirnamed of Acres, the place of her nativity, was betrothed to Hartman, ſon to the emperor Rodolphus I; but, the death of the young prince preventing their union, ſhe married Gilbert de Clare, earl of Glou-

* Upon the ſands, in Cumberland, to diſtinguiſh it from Burgh upon Stanemore, in Weſtmoreland; where the memory of Edward's death had been preſerved, by ſome great ſtones rolled upon the place; but, in 1685, there was erected a ſquare pillar nine yards and a half high. On the weſt ſide is the following inſcription:

"Memoriæ æternæ Edwardi I. regis Angliæ longe clariſſimi, qui, in belli apparatu contra Scotos occupatus, hic "in caſtro obiit, 7 Julii, A. D. 1307."

It was ſet up by John Aglionby, I. C. and made by Thomas Langſtone. Camden.

† On the north ſide of the ſhrine of St. Edward; and his ſepulchre is compoſed of five grey marbles, two on the ſides, two at the ends, being covered by a fifth, upon the north ſide of which are pencilled theſe words: EDWARDUS PRIMUS SCOTORUM MALLEUS HIC EST. 1308. PACTUM SERVA.

* Queen Eleanor died, the 28th of November, 1291, at Richard de Weſton's houſe at Hardeby, in Lincolnſhire; and, at the places where her body reſted, were erected to her memory goodly croſſes, viz. at Lincoln, Grantham, Stanford, Geddington, Northampton, Stony-Stratford, Dunſtable, St. Alban's, Waltham, and Charing. Her bowels were buried in the cathedral at Lincoln, where the king erected a Cenatoph for her, on which is placed her figure of gilt copper, with an inſcription; but her body lies in Weſtminſter-abbey, at the feet of Henry III, under a tomb of grey marble, having, on the north ſide, the arms of England and Leon and Ponthieu, with her figure as large as the life. It is remarkable, that queen Eleanor bore, quarterly, Gules, a Caſtle Or; and, Argent, a Lion rampant purple, which were the arms of Ferdinand III, king of Caſtile and Leon, her father, and quartered by him, being the firſt two coats that were borne, quarterly, in one ſhield, which king Edward III. next imitated, when he quartered France and England. Theſe arms, with thoſe of Ponthieu, viz. Or, three Bentlets Azure, within a border, Gules, are carved in ſtone, in ſeveral places, on the croſs erected to her memory, near Northampton. Sandford's Geneal.

1307. ceſter, and, after his deceaſe, Ralph de Monthermer †. Margaret was wife to John, duke of Brabant; Elizabeth, to John, earl of Holland, and afterwards to Humphry Bohun, earl of Hereford; but Berenguella, Alice, Blanche, and Beatrix died young, or unmarried. 1307.

Edward's iſſue, by his ſecond wife.

Edward had two ſons and one daughter, by Margaret of France, his ſecond wife, whom he married, in the 60th year of his age, tho' ſhe was no more than 18 years old; and Thomas de Brotherton, the eldeſt, was earl of Norfolk and marſhal of England. Edmund bore the title of earl of Kent; and Eleanor, the daughter, would have been married to Otho, earl of Burgundy, had ſhe not died, in her childhood.

A ſeries of parliaments ſince his reign. Stat. de Tallagio non conce.

We have an uninterrupted ſeries of all the parliaments held in England, from the 22d year of this reign; and the conſtitution of theſe aſſemblies, as it is, at this day, was ſo firmly ſettled, in it, that there was an additional law made to the Great Charter, that no tax ſhould be levied upon the people, without the conſent of the commons.

The title of baron is limited.

It may be farther remarked, that, in Edward's reign, the title of baron, which was common to all that held lands of the crown, was confined to thoſe, whom the king ſummoned to parliament.

10. EDWARD II. ſirnamed of Caernarvon.

1307. The ſtate of England.

THE reign of Edward I. had been glorious and triumphant for England. The principality of Wales was united to the crown; Scotland, thrice, ſubdued, was upon the point of being conquered, a fourth time, the Engliſh army having entered the frontiers; and there were no more factions in the kingdom, a good underſtanding being happily eſtabliſhed between the ſovereign and the people. All this ſeemed amply to repair the loſſes ſuſtained by the crown, beyond ſea, in the reigns of John and Henry III, not ſo much through the weakneſs of the Engliſh, as the puſillanimity of thoſe two princes; and Edward of Caernarvon's age, who, when he aſcended the throne, was in his 23d year, his noble ſtature, comely mien, majeſtick preſence, joined to the advantage of deſcending from a father ſo univerſally eſteemed, inſpired the Engliſh with raiſed hopes. As no prince ever came to the crown, in more favourable circumſtances, ſo never was prince received, with a more general joy and greater applauſe; inſomuch that the extraordinary ſatisfaction expreſſed by the people, on this occaſion, ſeemed to be ſomewhat injurious to the glory of the deceaſed king.

Edward recalls Gaveſton, and loads him with favours. Act. Pub.

However, the very firſt ſtep of this prince blaſted all theſe agreeable hopes; for he had not diſcharged the laſt offices to the late king, his father, when, forgetting his oath concerning Gaveſton, he recalled that favourite, and, without ſo much as ſtaying for his return, made him, in an inſtant, the richeſt man in the kingdom; for he created him earl of Cornwall, and gave him the lands fallen to the crown, by the death of the late earl, ſon to Richard, king of the Romans. His impatience to load with favours a man, who had been juſt baniſhed from him, as the corrupter of his youth, evidently diſcovered the height of his paſſion, and its dangerous conſequences; for he not only recalled his favourite, who was deſpiſed by all the world, and, immediately after his return, preſented him with the iſle of Man, but, which, moſt of all, diſguſted the Engliſh lords, ſolely entruſted him with the adminiſtration of the affairs of the kingdom; and all publick offices and employments were diſpoſed of, at Gaveſton's pleaſure. The king, wholly intent upon pleaſing him, as a lover his miſtreſs, daily deviſed new ways, to procure him ſatisfaction; and, in a word, giving himſelf up entirely to his direction, he permitted him to act, as king, whilſt he gloried in being his ſubject, or ſlave. A more exceſſive paſſion is not to be met with in hiſtory; and, accordingly, people did not ſcruple to ſay, publickly, that the king was bewitched.

A deſcription and character of Gaveſton. J. Trokelow.

If a woman had been, thus, enamoured of Gaveſton, it could not have been thought very ſurpriſing, ſince he had all the qualifications proper to attract the love of the fair ſex; for he had a beautiful face, without the leaſt defect, a fine and eaſy ſhape, a noble and grand air; and, in all the exerciſes of the body, he was diſtinguiſhed, for his extraordinary addreſs. One could not avoid admiring his wit, and thoſe ſharp and quick repartees, peculiar to the Gaſcoigns, among whom he was born; and to all this ſome add an uncommon valour. If he had been leſs beloved by the king, he would have made a more laſting, though not ſo vaſt, a fortune; but the affection of his prince inſpired him with a pride, which occaſioned his deſtruction. He governed the ſtate, with an abſolute ſway, and would not ſhare his

† He was a ſervant to her former husband; and, the marriage being performed, in 1296, unknown to her father, Ralph was impriſoned, and all the lands and caſtles, formerly made over to earl Gilbert and counteſs Joanna, were ſeized into the king's hands; but Anthony Bec, biſhop of Durham, procured a reconciliation between the king and his daughter, and her new husband and his lands were reſtored. Ralph, ſoon after, was ſummoned to parliament, by the title of earl of Glouceſter and Hereford, which he enjoyed, till his ſon-in-law, Gilbert de Clare, came of age; but, afterwards, in all parliaments, he was ſummoned, as lord Monthermer. He had, by the ſaid Joanna, two ſons, Thomas and Edward; and Sir Thomas de Monthermer had an only daughter, Margaret, wife to John Montague, by whom, ſhe had John Montague, earl of Salisbury, from whom the preſent duke of Montague, the earls of Mancheſter and Sandwich, and the baron of Halifax derive their original. Sandford's Geneal.

power

1307. power with any; hardly vouchſafing ſo much as to uſe the name of the king. His external accompliſhments rendered him ſo haughty and inſolent, that he thought himſelf ſuperior to all the great men; though, by his vices and debaucheries, he degraded himſelf below the very meaneſt. The principal means, he made uſe of, to gain Edward's affection, was a blind condeſcenſion to his deſires; and, having, at length, an abſolute influence over him, his only care was to indulge him in his pleaſures, to which that prince was too much inclined. What, then, could be expected from the ſtrict friendſhip of two ſuch perſons, but a ſcandalous licentiouſneſs, at court, and an entire decay of publick affairs? An unexperienced and mean-ſpirited miniſter, who regarded nothing but trifles, diverſions, balls, banquest, and ſome ſtill leſs innocent pleaſures, was very incapable of governing ſo large a kingdom; and the nation ſoon felt the fatal effects of ſuch an imprudent choice.

The biſhop of Litchfield is impriſon'd. Act. Pub.

Gaveſton's return was, immediately, followed by the diſgrace of Langton, biſhop of Litchfield and high-treaſurer; for Edward mortally hated that prelate, becauſe he was the chief promoter of Gaveſton's baniſhment. He no ſooner aſcended the throne, than he confined him in Wallingford-caſtle, and would not ſuffer any perſon to ſpeak, in his favour; and it was not without the preſſing inſtances, or rather menaces of the pope, that he releaſed him, after a long confinement; and, to this violence, he added the removal of all his father's officers and domeſticks, without ſo much as conſulting the advice of his council.

1308. The king's marriage. Act. Pub.

The beginnings of this reign being ſo very unpromiſing, the principal lords, betimes, projected means to reſtrain the impetuoſity of their prince, and curb his capricious temper; but they were interrupted, by the celebration of his nuptials. The king, his father, had contracted him to Iſabella of France, daughter to Philip the Fair, and had ſtrictly charged him, a little before his death, to conſummate the marriage, with all poſſible expedition; and this was the only inſtance wherein he made haſte to obey him; for, neglecting the war with Scotland, tho' it was no leſs neceſſary, he repaired to Boulogne, where the king of France waited for him, to deliver his daughter into his hands. No wedding was ever more magnificent; for four kings and four queens were preſent at it, beſides a great number of princes and princeſſes, lords and ladies, who formed the moſt numerous aſſembly of nobles that had been ſeen for many years.

Gaveſton is made guardian, in the king's abſence. Walſing.

Though Edward's voyage was very ſhort, it did not fail to produce ill effects; for he was ſo weak as to leave his favourite guardian of the realm, impowering him to diſpoſe of all vacant places and benefices, wardſhips, of young nobles, and, in a word, to act, in all things, with an unlimited authority. The barons were ſo incenſed, to ſee Gaveſton, thus, loaded with favours and honours, that they combined together, to prevent the king's coronation, tho' the day was appointed; but, Edward not being in a condition to diſſolve ſuch a powerful league, in which almoſt all the lords of the realm were engaged, paſſed his royal word to the barons, that, in the next parliament, he would grant whatever they could reaſonably deſire; and this promiſe gave them ſatisfaction; but they were extremely uneaſy at Gaveſton's being commiſſioned to carry the crown of St. Edward, with which the king was to be crowned; an honour that, by antient cuſtom, belonged to the princes of the blood. This preference, to the laſt degree, exaſperated the lords againſt the favourite, and, at the ſame time, filled them with indignation againſt the king, who ſeemed to glory, in his fondneſs for a man whom the whole nation deteſted. However, the coronation was ſolemnized, without oppoſition; and the biſhop of Wincheſter performed this ceremony, by order of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was out of the kingdom. The form of the coronation-oath was, as follows: 1308. Act. Pub.

The coronation-oath.

Biſhop of Wincheſter. "Sir, Will you "keep and confirm, by your oath to the people of England, the laws eſtabliſhed by the "pious kings, your predeceſſors, and particularly the laws, cuſtoms, and liberties, "granted to the clergy and people by the "glorious St. Edward, your predeceſſor?

King. "I will and promiſe it.

Biſhop. "Sir, Will you preſerve to God, "to his holy church, to the clergy and people, "the peace of God, fully, and to the utmoſt "of your power?

King. "I will.

Biſhop. "Sir, Will you cauſe to be obſerved, in all your judgments, right and "juſtice, with diſcretion, in mercy, and in "truth, as far as you are able?

King. "I will.

Biſhop. "Sir, Will you promiſe to keep "and cauſe to be kept the laws and ſtatutes, "that the community of your kingdom ſhall "judge fit to enact, and will you defend and "protect them, to the utmoſt of your power?

King. "I do promiſe it."

As this is the firſt perfect copy of a coronation-oath, that occurs in the Engliſh Hiſtory, it will not be improper to remark the advantage gained by the people, upon the royal prerogative, ſince the eſtabliſhment of Magna Charta; for this oath evidently ſhews, that, far from ſuppoſing the Great Charter to be the original title of the privileges, granted, by king John, to the people of England, it was conſider'd only, as a confirmation of the antient liberties of the nation. Upon this ſuppoſition, Edward II. was made to ſwear, that he would obſerve the laws of St. Edward, which were the ſame with thoſe of the Anglo-Saxons; leſt, by cauſing him to ſwear to keep the Great Charter, they might give occaſion to imagine, that the privileges of the people were founded on the conceſſions of their kings; but, whether Edward I. took the ſame oath, or it was firſt introduced, at the coronation of Edward II, I am not able to determine.

This ſolemnity was no ſooner over, than Edward forgot his promiſe to the lords; for he left him,

1308. him, as before, abſolute maſter of his own and the kingdom's affairs. As for Gaveſton, far from endeavouring to avert the impending ſtorm, he affected to govern with an arbitrary power; and he abuſed his influence over his maſter, to divert him from proſecuting the war with Scotland, which the king, his father, had ſo preſſingly recommended to him, and whereof his ſubjects impatiently waited the iſſue, in order to be eaſed of the burden. Inſtead of inſpiring the king with the love of glory and virtue, he filled the court with libertines, buffoons, and paraſites, and the like pernicious inſtruments, proper to corrupt his inclinations, though they had been naturally as good as they were vicious; and beſides, he had the ridiculous vanity to wear the king's jewels, and the crown itſelf, which Edward freely permitted. Such, at length, was the king's paſſionate fondneſs for him, that he was heard to ſay, if his power was equal to his affection, he would ſet the crown on Gaveſton's head; but, as that was impracticable, he would, at leaſt, raiſe him, as near the throne as poſſible, by giving him Margaret, his niece, ſiſter to the earl of Glouceſter, in marriage.

The hatred of the lords againſt Gaveſton.

Every freſh favour, conferred upon Gaveſton by the king, increaſed the hatred of the lords; and, indeed, an Engliſhman, exalted to ſo high a ſtation, would ſcarce have been endured, much leſs a private Gaſcoign gentleman, in whom they diſcovered no other merit, than a handſome ſet of features, an eaſy ſhape, and a ſparkling wit, very agreeable in converſation, but altogether unfit to govern a ſtate. They plainly perceived, that the king would never conſent to part with this favourite, unleſs he was forced; and, therefore, they laboured to draw into their league the members of the parliament, which was to meet, and accordingly did meet, in May, 1308. By the management of the lords, Gaveſton's baniſhment became the principal, or rather the ſole buſineſs of the ſeſſion; and the two houſes, being united in the ſame deſign, demanded of the king, in ſo ſtrong and poſitive a manner, that Gaveſton ſhould be baniſhed, that he durſt not oppoſe their demand. He was apprehenſive, that his refuſal would deprive him of the ſubſidies he expected, for the continuation of the war with Scotland, and, perhaps, dreaded ſomething worſe; and, therefore, without any fruitleſs diſputes, he ordered letters patent to be drawn up, promiſing to cauſe Gaveſton to depart the realm, before St. John Baptiſt's day next enſuing; though, in the interim, he daily heaped new favours upon him. Fifteen days after his engagement, he made him a grant of 3000 marks, per annum, in land; and, this proceeding evidently ſhewing, that he was, by no means, reſolved to part with his favourite, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who had entered into the barons league, though he lay under great obligations to the king, excommunicated Gaveſton, provided he did not leave the realm, by the time preſcribed. Edward, diſregarding this cenſure, only intreated the pope to annul it; and, at the ſame time, he wrote to the king of France, his brother-in-law, to deſire him to negotiate an agreement between him and the barons, and ſo to manage, that he might keep his favourite. 1308.

Theſe meaſures were both unjuſt and unſeaſonable; for the lords, finding that the time appointed, for Gaveſton's departure, drew nigh, ſo ſtrenuouſly preſſed the king to keep his word, that he durſt not deny their requeſt; yet, in performing his promiſe, he gave his favourite a freſh mark of his affection, by making him governor of Ireland, with a very extenſive authority. However, this removal, in ſome meaſure, ſatisfied the lords, who hoped to take advantage of his abſence, to ruin him; but, as to Gaveſton himſelf, he was greatly diſpleaſed; for he not only perceived, that this change of England, for Ireland, was very diſadvantageous, but likewiſe, that his abſence from court would infallibly pave the way for his ruin. As he was abſolute maſter of the king, he ſcarce had arrived in Ireland, before he procured himſelf to be recalled, under the pretence of aſſiſting at a tournament, to be held at Wallingford; and the magnificence, with which he appeared, on this occaſion, with the great number of foreigners in his retinue, that ſerved him for guards, exceedingly increaſed the jealouſy of the lords, who found themſelves, thus, inſulted; and, beſides, he was ſo imprudent as to paſs ſatyrical jeſts on the earls of Lancaſter, Warwick, Warren, and Hereford, which would have provoked them, even though they had no other cauſe for complaint. He called the earl of Lancaſter, ſtage-player; the earl of Pembroke, Joſeph the Jew; the earl of Warwick, the wild boar of Ardenne; and he nicknamed all his private enemies, to render them ridiculous, or diſcover their faults. The lords, being braved by the favourite, and deceived by the king, aſſembled, to conſult about means to oblige Edward to keep his word; and, ſoon after, they preſented a petition to him, repreſenting that the ſtate and his own houſhold were ſo indiſcreetly managed, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to prevent the conſequences of this diſorder; and that the only proper method, in their judgment, was, for the king to commit to certain lords, nominated by the parliament, the care of regulating the government of the kingdom and his own domeſtick affairs. Edward had already given convincing proofs of his weakneſs, in his compliance with their former demands; and, therefore, they concluded, that, if, for the future, they ſhewed any reſolution, he would not have the courage to reſiſt them; and they were not miſtaken, in their conjectures. This prince, as timorous, on ſome occaſions, as he was haughty and imperious, on others, being incapable of diſcerning, when he ſhould give way, and when maintain his ground, inſtead of complying with the barons, when they firſt petitioned, for Gaveſton's removal, obſtinately perſiſted in retaining him, in direct contradiction to all the rules of policy; and, afterwards, far from vigorouſly oppoſing the motion of placing the government in other hands than his own, he, at once, yielded to their importunity; for, regardleſs of the conſequence of a condeſcenſion

Gaveſton is made governor of Ireland. Knighton.

1309. He is recalled. Walſing.

1310. The addreſs of the lords.

ſo

1310. ſo pernicious to his authority and quiet, he permitted the parliament to chuſe ſeven biſhops, eight earls, and ſix barons, to make the propoſed regulation.

The new regulation of the government. Act. Pub.

Purſuant to this, the lords, having finiſhed the regulation, preſented the plan to the king, who approved it, and impowered them, to cauſe it to be obſerved, for one year; which contained only ſix articles, whereof the two principal were: "That the king ſhould not "diſpoſe of any part of his revenues; which "ſhould, henceforward, be expended, in diſ-"charging his debts, and ſupporting his houſ-"hold, that he might live on his own income, "without taking any thing from others: That "the Great Charter ſhould be punctually ob-"ſerved; and, if any article ſhould be ob-"ſcure or doubtful, it ſhould belong to the "lords elected, who were ſtiled ordainers, to "explain it." There was nothing inſerted, concerning Gaveſton's baniſhment; and, probably, becauſe the barons apprehended no danger, from that favourite, ſo long as the government continued in their hands; yet, when they afterwards ſaw, that the king ſtill heaped favours upon him, and, without asking

1311. their advice, had made him governor of Nottingham, and warden of the foreſts, on this ſide of the Trent, they drew up 41 new articles, to which the king was forced to aſſent; and, by one of theſe articles, Gaveſton was expreſly ſentenced to perpetual baniſhment.

Gaveſton is baniſh'd. Act. Pub.

Edward, being, thus, bound with fetters, which he could not ſhake off, reſolved, tho' with extreme regret, to part with Gaveſton; yet, to take off the ſhame of his baniſhment, he gave him an imaginary commiſſion to levy troops, in Guienne, for the aſſiſtance of the earl of Foix, who had been at variance with the court of France, tho' the quarrel was, now, compoſed.

1312. The king recalls him. Act. Pub.

However, Edward, who could not live, without Gaveſton, diſregarding the articles he had lately ſigned, recalled him, without acquainting the ordainers; and, ſhortly after, he ſent circular letters to the ſheriffs, to notify this affair, and to juſtify his proceeding. He told them, that, being obliged by his coronation-oath, to ſee the laws of the realm put in execution, there was no authority that could diſſolve his obligation; that, as Gaveſton was baniſhed, by a notorious violence, and without a legal ſentence, he could not deprive him of the benefit of the law, to which all his ſubjects were intitled; that, therefore, he had cauſed him to return into England, not with a deſign to ſcreen him from juſtice, but that he might be tried, according to the uſual form; and that, in the interim, he conſidered him, as a loyal ſubject, ordering them to publiſh this declaration, in their reſpective juriſdictions.

The barons ſtir up the people againſt the king. Walſing.

The lords were not diſpleaſed, that the king, by this ſtep, had furniſhed them with a pretence, to compleat the ruin of a favourite, who could not be torn from him, without compulſive methods; and, to compaſs their end, they laboured to gain the people, by exclaiming againſt the king's conduct. They openly ſaid, that no ſtreſs could be laid upon what was enacted by the parliament, ſince the king diſregarded it; and that it was obvious, he aimed at an arbitrary power, which the whole nation was equally concerned to oppoſe, as it tended to render the ſubjects ſo many ſlaves. Theſe diſcourſes, being ſupported by their emiſſaries among the people, occaſioned an univerſal diſcontent; but the king imagined, that he ſhould be able to prevent the conſequences of it, by publiſhing a proclamation, proteſting that it was his intention to obſerve the 41 articles; yet, as he had violated one of the principal, in recalling his favourite, his proteſtation proved altogether ineffectual. 1312.

The inſolent behaviour of Gaveſton, particularly to the queen. Walſing.

In the mean while, Gaveſton ſtill more indiſcreet than his maſter, daily grew more haughty and arrogant, as if he was in no danger, or was ignorant of the barons deſigns; and he had even the preſumption to ſpeak inſolently to the queen; who, finding that ſhe could not obtain any ſatisfaction, complained bitterly to the king, her father. She told him, that Gaveſton was the ſole cauſe of her misfortunes; and that the king her husband's fondneſs, for that unworthy favourite, alienating his affections from her, made him an entire ſtranger to her bed. This complaint has induced ſome to ſuſpect, that the familiarity, between the king and Gaveſton, was of a very criminal nature; but, perhaps, their ſuſpicions are carried too far.

The earl of Lincoln's advice to the earl of Lancaſter. Walſing.

In the interim, the barons were ſtill intent upon their firſt deſign; for they knew, how dangerous it is, on ſuch occaſions, to act, by halves; and that, if enterpriſes of that ſort are not brought to an iſſue, they ſeldom fail to ruin the projectors. The earl of Lincoln was one of the moſt conſiderable of the party, as well for his high birth and ſtation, as for his age and experience; but, being confined to his bed by a fit of ſickneſs, which, in all probability, would lay him in his grave, and apprehenſive, that, after his death, the confederates would give way, to prevent that accident, which would have been fatal to them, having ſent for his ſon-in-law, the earl of Lancaſter, grandſon to Henry III, "He con-"jured him, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt pathe-"tical terms, not to abandon the church and "people of England to the mercy of the popes "and kings. He repreſented to him, that "his birth obliged him to endeavour to free "the kingdom from the oppreſſions it labour-"ed under; and he charged him to have con-"tinually a tender regard for the king; but, "at the ſame time, he added that it was his "duty to do all that was poſſible, to remove "from his perſon the foreign miniſters, and "favourites; that honour, conſcience, and the "publick good called upon him, to procure "the obſervance of the Great Charter, the "only foundation of the welfare and tranquil-"lity of the kingdom; and, in concluſion, he "adviſed him to join heartily with the earl of "Warwick, who, of all the confederate lords, "was beſt qualified to carry on the impor-"tant undertaking." It was not long before the effects of this advice were viſible; for, the

1312. earl of Lancaſter entering into a ſtrict league with the earls of Warwick, Pembroke, Arundel, Hereford, Warren, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſeveral other prelates and barons, they unanimouſly reſolved to up take arms, under the uſual pretence of defending the rights of the church and ſtate.

They chuſe the earl of Lancaſter general. Walſing.

The earl of Lancaſter was choſen general of the intended army; an honour that could not be refuſed to his merit, if no regard had been had to his quality. Immediately after this reſolution, all the confederate barons, diſperſing themſelves into the ſeveral counties, publickly levied troops; and with ſuch expedition, that, in a ſhort time, their forces were aſſembled, at the appointed rendezvous. It Act. Pub. was impoſſible for Edward to be ignorant of theſe preparations; and yet, inſtead of projecting means, to appeaſe the incenſed barons, or defend himſelf againſt their inſults, he minded nothing but his diverſions, at York, where he was then with Gaveſton, His ſole care being to heap new favours on his minion, he remained in an amazing indolence, whilſt he ſaw the whole kingdom ready to riſe againſt him; and, indeed, he ſeemed to affect to act, on all occaſions, contrary to his real intereſts, and to neglect to take ſuch meaſures, as a perſon of an ordinary underſtanding might have pointed out to him. At the very juncture when the barons were in arms, to compel him to obſerve the 41 articles, he wilfully violated one of the principal, in making the biſhop of Litchfield high-treaſurer, without the conſent of the ordainers; and, as if he had been in a condition to give laws to the barons, he would have even reformed the regulation, pretending that he had reſerved to himſelf the power of correcting, with the advice of the ordainers, ſome articles prejudicial to his prerogative; and, tho' it was eaſy to apprehend, that this was an improper ſeaſon for that work, he nominated, on his part, commiſſioners to ſet about the alterations.

The barons riſe, and the king retires to Scarborough, with Gaveſton.

The barons, having drawn all their forces together, marched directly for York, deſigning to ſurpriſe the king; but, upon the firſt news of their approach, he retired to Newcaſtle, where they, immediately, followed him; and, that town not ſeeming to him to be a place of ſufficient ſtrength, he left it and ſhut himſelf up in Scarborough-caſtle, which he took Act. Pub. to be his beſt fortreſs, in the north. He then, when it was too late, began to be ſenſible of his error, in deferring ſo long to prepare, for his defence; and, in ſpite of the improbability of ſucceſs, he reſolved to go into Warwickſhire, vainly expecting that the people would flock, in crowds, to liſt under his banner; but, as he was more concerned for Gaveſton than himſelf, he left him behind, at Scarborough, recommending him to the care of the governor, as a precious truſt, and a certain pledge of the confidence he repoſed in him.

The barons ſeize the king's and Gaveſton's equipage, at Newcaſtle.

Whilſt Edward was employed about his too late meaſures, the barons, who entered Newcaſtle, the very day of his departure, ſeized whatever was left there by the king and his favourite, their haſte not permitting them to carry any thing away; and, in Gaveſton's baggage, were found many jewels, belonging to the crown, of which an exact inventory was taken, that an account might be given of them, hereafter. The earl of Lancaſter was Act. Pub. no ſooner informed of the king's quitting Scarborough, and his leaving Gaveſton there, than he ſent the earls of Pembroke and Warren, to beſiege that caſtle; whilſt he marched himſelf, with the reſt of the army, towards the center of the kingdom, in order to have it more in his power to oppoſe the deſigns of the king. The two detached earls, advancing towards Scarborough, without any reſiſtance, formed the ſiege, and proſecuted it, with great vigour; but, tho' the place was one of the ſtrongeſt in the kingdom, it was ſo meanly provided with neceſſaries, for its defence, that, in a few days, Gaveſton was conſtrained to deliver himſelf into the hands of his enemies; however, he obtained a ſort of capitulation, by which it was promiſed, that he ſhould ſpeak with the king, and be tried by his peers, according to the uſual form.

The earl of Pembroke undertakes to conduct Gaveſton to the king. Walſing.

Edward, upon the firſt notice of his favourite's being, thus, taken, preſſingly ſollicited his liberty, or that, at leaſt, he might ſpeak with him, according to promiſe; and, above all, he conjured the confederate lords to ſpare the priſoner's life, aſſuring them, that, on that condition, he would give them entire ſatisfaction, as to their grievances. Moſt of the barons were againſt Gaveſton's being conducted to the king, evidently perceiving, that his requeſt tended only to get him out of their hands; but they conſented, at laſt, on the earl of Pembroke's repreſenting, that, having paſſed his word, in the name of all the confederates, they were obliged to perform it; and that, if they would commit him to his cuſtody, he would undertake to conveigh him to the king, and to reſtore him to them, at a day and place appointed.

Pembroke intended to conduct his priſoner to Wallingford-caſtle, where the king was to come, to have an interview with him; and, accordingly, taking the road to Oxfordſhire, he arrived at Deddington, where he left Gaveſton under a guard, whilſt he himſelf went and lodged in a neighbouring caſtle. He did not judge it neceſſary to uſe greater precaution, in a place where the king had no troops; but the earl of Warwick, who violently oppoſed this conference of the king and Gaveſton, hearing how they quartered, came, that night, to the houſe where Gaveſton lay, and carried him away, by force, to Warwick. On the morrow, the ſame lord, with ſome others the moſt violent of the party, after a ſhort trial, ordered him to be beheaded; a mad action, if ever there was any, which, in violating a capitulation, trampled upon the laws of the land, and the reſpect due, at all times, from ſubjects to their ſovereign. How would theſe very lords have exclaimed, if the king, or Gaveſton, had acted, in the ſame outrageous manner?

The barons march againſt the king.

Though Edward was extremely exaſperated, at the boldneſs of theſe lords, it was not in

1312. in his power to be revenged; and the barons, instead of giving him any satisfaction, for this outrage, demanded, more imperiously than ever, the performance of the 40 articles, and a speedy redress of the grievances of the state. At the same time, they marched to London, where the king had retired, being intent upon obtaining, by force, what they plainly saw he would never voluntarily grant them; but, in the interim, the king, not daring to trust the Londoners, was gone to Canterbury, where he was not much safer; and, in this extremity, he had recourse to the mediation of the pope's nuncio, of Lewis, earl of Evreux, the queen's uncle, then in England, and of the earl of Gloucester, his nephew, who had stood neuter. These three mediators laboured so heartily, in the affair, that certain articles were agreed upon, which seemed to give entire satisfaction to both the parties; for the lords promised to restore whatever was taken, at Newcastle, publickly to ask the king's pardon, and to declare that, without any design against his person, their sole view was to redress what was amiss in the government; and the king promised, on his part, to grant a general pardon to them and all their adherents, reserving a power to pardon those that favoured Gaveston's return.

Act. Pub.

1313. The barons punctually performed their engagement, in restoring whatever was seized, at Newcastle; but Edward deferred the publication of the general pardon, above a year, and, during that space, used all means, to draw the earl of Lancaster to court; tho', notwithstanding the safe conducts he offered him, he could not persuade the earl to put himself in his power, before the pardon was proclaimed. At length, the barons, weary of the king's evasions, began to rise again, when the king of France dispatched the earl of Evreux, his brother, accompanied with Enguerrand de Marigny, to negotiate an accommodation; and the queen likewise did all that was possible for her; but it was extremely difficult to accomplish it, because, the king delaying to publish the promised pardon, the barons believed, that they had still reason to fear he never designed it. In the interim, the king went and conferred with his father-in-law, leaving orders, that the parliament should meet, in his absence; and the earl of Lancaster, with the barons of his party, did not scruple to be present, in that assembly; but, hearing that he was landed, at Sandwich, they, immediately, withdrew, not venturing to trust to the safe-conducts he sent them, from that place; and, their retreat obliging the parliament to break up, the mediators so strenuously press'd the king to give the barons satisfaction, that he ordered the two general pardons to be drawn up, which were confirmed, soon after, by the parliament; but, as a general pardon did not fully satisfy the parties concerned, it was also necessary to grant a particular pardon to 468 persons, whose names are recited, in the Collection of the Publick Acts.

1313. The king delays to publish it. Act. Pub.

The pardon is published. Act. Pub.

The birth of prince Edward. Act. Pub.

During this negotiation, in the beginning of October, 1313, the queen was delivered of a prince, named Edward.

The publication of the general pardons, as well for the confederate barons, as for Gaveston's friends, having, at length, restored tranquillity to the kingdom, the parliament allow'd the king a considerable subsidy, towards a vigorous prosecution of the war with Scotland; and, before that assembly broke up, the barons publickly begged the king's pardon, in Westminster-hall, in the presence of all the people. This was done, in a very solemn manner; for the barons, addressing the king, made use of the most humble and submissive terms, as if the pardon, they had received, was, purely, the effect of his clemency; and then they returned to their habitations, satisfied, in appearance, though they still continued to distrust the king. They had too highly offended him, to entertain hopes, that he would ever forget it, and the death of the earl of Warwick, which fell out, soon after, increased their diffidence, it being generally believed, that he was poisoned.

1313.

The affairs of Scotland.

Whilst England sustained violent shocks, by the weakness and little genius of the governor, Scotland daily grew stronger, by the prudent conduct of a valiant and active king, who wisely improved the respite, occasioned by the death of Edward I. Robert Bruce, who may justly be stiled the restorer of the Scotch monarchy, politickly suppressing the factions which divided his subjects, united them all in the design of shaking off the English yoke; and, by this means, he was in a condition not only to recover the best part of his country, but also to carry his arms into England; but I shall, now, enter upon the particulars of the Scotch war, which I could not, without confusion, intermix with the relation of the domestick troubles in England.

The war with Scotland.

Edward I. had resolved upon the utter destruction of Scotland, and, probably, would have succeeded in his design, if, very opportunely for the Scots, death had not snatched him out of the world; but, whilst Robert Bruce was preparing, to take advantage of this accident, a great fit of sickness prevented him from acting; and the Scots, being, as yet, ignorant of the character of Edward II, were in great perplexity, their king being very dangerously ill, and their forces much inferior to those of their enemies. However, Edward II's sudden resolution to return into England, after he had advanced, as far as Dumfries, and struck terror into the whole kingdom, inspired them with better hopes; for his impatience to meet Gaveston, to marry the princess designed for him, and to be crowned, expelled all thoughts of war, to which he had not the least inclination; so that, leaving his army under the conduct of John Comyn, a Scotch lord, he returned into England. His abrupt departure occasioned great murmurs, in the army and kingdom; for people were, to the last degree, astonished, that he should relinquish the conquest of Scotland, at a time when the number and ardor of his troops, and king Robert's indisposition, seemed to warrant him a glorious campaign. His choice of Comyn, to command the army, was no less disliked; for this general was a Scot,

Act. Pub.

1313. Scot, and, tho' of Edward's party, and Robert's particular enemy, his being a foreigner was, alone, ſufficient to diſguſt the Engliſh. It, preſently after, appeared, that their complaints were not groundleſs, when Comyn, willing to make the beſt uſe of Robert's illneſs, advanced, in order to attack the Scots; but, tho' Robert was extremely weak, leſt a retreat, at ſuch a juncture, might have diſheartened his ſubjects, and occaſioned the loſs of his whole kingdom, having mounted his horſe, ſupported by two eſquires, he drew up his army, and expected the enemy, with a ſteadineſs that was crowned with an amazing ſucceſs. The Engliſh fancied, that this little army would never dare to withſtand them; but, when they found themſelves diſappointed, their courage ſo exceedingly abated, that they could ſcarce be brought to begin the fight; and, this feeble attack, ſo ill ſeconded, animating the Scots, they fell, with great fury, upon their enemies, and put them entirely to the rout. This defeat was the more diſhonourable to the Engliſh, as, beſides their being ſuperior, in number, they were the very ſame troops that had ſo often vanquiſhed the Scots, tho' they, now, ſuffered themſelves to be beaten by an army levied, in haſte, and conſiſting of undiſciplin'd ſoldiers. Comyn retiring into England, after the battle, Robert entered the county of Argyle, that ſtill belonged to the Engliſh, and ravaged it, from one end to the other; and, quickly after, Edward Bruce, his brother, gained another victory over the Engliſh, in the county of Galloway; which ſucceſſes gave the Scots ſuch a ſuperiority, that, thenceforward, forgetting their paſt loſſes, they deſpiſed the Engliſh.

Edward marches againſt Scotland, Buchanan.

Notwithſtanding Edward's averſion to war, he could not avoid endeavouring to ſtop the progreſs of the king of Scotland; and, in 1308, that is, in the ſecond year of his reign, he led, in perſon, a numerous army into that kingdom; but, as he had taken no care for proviſions, he was obliged to march back his army into England, for want of ſubſiſtence. Robert, more provident than he, had carried away, or deſtroyed, before-hand, whatever might ſerve to maintain the enemy's troops; and, upon Edward's retreat, the king of Scotland ſubdued ſeveral places poſſeſs'd by the Engliſh, making, that year, a very proſperous campaign. The troubles, which afterwards happened, in England, by reaſon of Gaveſton, enabled that prince to make a ſtill greater progreſs; in 1310 and 1311, he entered England, twice, and carried off a great booty; in 1312, he recovered Perthe, Laneric, Dumfries, Roxborough, and, laſtly, Edinburgh-caſtle, which was taken, by ſtorm, by the earl of Murray, his general; and, the ſame year, the little Iſle of Man voluntarily ſubmitted to his authority.

and returns, without doing any thing.

Whilſt Robert enlarged his conqueſts, Edward, wholly employed in projecting means to be revenged on the barons, for putting Gaveſton to death, was ſurpriſingly remiſs, with reſpect to Scotland; for, inſtead of haſtening an agreement with the lords, in order to unite all his forces, he prolonged the negotiation, by a policy extremely pernicious to the affairs of the ſtate. In the interim, Robert took advantage of the negligence of the Engliſh; and, having made himſelf maſter of all the places Edward I. poſſeſſed in Scotland, except Sterling, he ſent, in 1313, his brother, Edward, to beſiege that town, the ſtrongeſt then in the kingdom. The ſiege was carried on very vigorouſly; but the beſieged made as brave a defence. However, Philip Mowbray, the governor of the place, when he found that Edward made no preparations, to relieve him, thought to do him good ſervice, in ſigning a capitulation, by which he promiſed to ſurrender the town, in a year, if it ſhould not be relieved, by that time. 1313.

1314. Edward levies an army of 100,000 men. Walſing.

Edward, having ſufficient leiſure to prepare, and deſiring, at all adventures, to prevent the loſs of this important place, ſummoned all his vaſſals to meet him, with their troops; and the Engliſh, Gaſcoigns, and Welch ſo readily obeyed him, that, by June, 1314, he appeared at the head of 100,000 men. The ſoldiers already devoured, in their imagination, whatever the former ravages of Edward I. had left, in Scotland; but the earls of Lancaſter, Arundel, Hereford, and the new earl of Warwick refuſed, on this occaſion, to ſerve the king, not daring to truſt themſelves in his power.

The battle of Banockbourn. Buchanan.

This powerful army, entering Scotland, advanced, within view of Sterling; and Robert expected them, at the head of 30,000 men, inured to the fatigues of war, and who had frequently vanquiſhed the Engliſh. He drew up his army, on an advantageous ground, where he could not be ſurrounded; for a mountain, full of inacceſſible rocks, covered one of his flanks, whilſt the other was ſecured by a deep moraſs; and, notwithſtanding the inequality of the two armies, the Scots, being determined to conquer, or die, received their enemies, with ſuch vigour and reſolution, that they ſoon put this formidable army of the enemy into diſorder and confuſion. The Engliſh horſe, being preſſed, at firſt, with an irreſiſtible fury, occaſioned, by their flight, the defeat of the whole army; a defeat the moſt terrible England had ever endured, ſince the beginning of the monarchy. The Scotch writers affirm, that the loſs of the enemy amounted to 50,000 men; pretending that the number of the priſoners taken, on this occaſion, exceeded that of the conquerors. The earl of Glouceſter, nephew to Edward II, with many other lords of diſtinction, and above 700 knights, lay dead on the field of battle; but the Engliſh reduce the number of the ſlain to 10,000; tho' the conſequences of this action ſhew, that their loſs was much greater, ſince, from that time, they ventured no more to take the field.

The Engliſh are routed.

Hec. Boet. Buchanan.

Walſing.

Act. Pub.

Edward, with the remains of his army, retreated, with precipitation, not thinking himſelf out of danger, till he arrived at York; where the diſperſed fugitives reſorted to him; and, having formed a very conſiderable body, he expreſſed a deſire to re-enter Scotland, and hazard another battle; but he could not prevail on his diſpirited troops to make an attempt, to retrieve their honour. This battle, ſtiled the battle of Banockbourn, procured the

1314. the Scots, beſides an ineſtimable booty, a peace which laſted, ſeveral years; and they acquired ſo great a ſuperiority over the Engliſh, that the latter, inſtead of being able to recover what they had loſt, in Scotland, were long forced to ſee their borders ravaged, without the leaſt reſiſtance; nay, one of their hiſtorians aſſures us, that three Scotch ſoldiers were ſufficient to put a 100 Engliſhmen to flight, ſo exceedingly were they intimidated by this terrible defeat. Walſing.

An impoſtor pretends to be Edward, and is hanged. Higden. Walſing.

Whilſt fortune ſtrove, on all occaſions, to humble Edward, an impoſtor, John Deydras, a tanner's ſon of Exeter, attempted to deprive him of his crown, by maintaining that he was himſelf Edward, and changed, at nurſe; but this extraordinary and ill-formed project ſerved only to bring the impoſtor to the gallows. Doubtleſs, this pretender to the crown founded his hopes on the little eſteem the Engliſh had for their king, having, probably, imagined it would not be difficult, to perſuade them that he was not the ſon of Edward I, who had none but noble and generous inclinations; but this was not the vile inſtrument, which Providence was pleaſed to uſe, to ruin this unhappy prince, though, in ſome meaſure, this event may be conſidered, as a ſort of preſage of what afterwards happened.

1315. A great famine.

The loſs ſuſtained by the Engliſh, in Scotland, was followed by a dreadful famine, which laſted, three years, and deſtroyed an infinite number of people; and the parliament, to no purpoſe, endeavoured to help it, by ſettling the price of proviſions; for they were forced, the next year, to revoke the act that had been paſſed, on that account However, neither war, famine, nor the murmurs of the people could reſtrain the king from expending a large ſum, in celebrating the funeral of his favourite, whoſe body was removed to King's-Langley, in Hertfordſhire; and he honoured the funeral pomp, with his preſence, attended by the archbiſhop of Canterbury and ſome other prelates; but the barons poſitively refuſed to aſſiſt, at the obſequies of a man, whom they conſidered, as unworthy of the reſpect paid to his memory. Walſing.

1316. The famine increaſes. Walſing.

In the mean while, the famine raged ſo furiouſly, that the account, given of it by hiſtorians, is almoſt incredible; for they not only relate, that the moſt loathed animals were uſed, for food, but that people were conſtrained to hide their children, with all poſſible care, to prevent their being ſtolen and eaten by thieves. They aſſure us, that men themſelves took precautions, to hinder their being murdered, in private places, ſince there were too many inſtances, that ſome had been treated, in that inhuman manner, to feed ſuch as could find no other ſubſiſtence; and we are alſo informed, that the priſoners, in the goals, barbarouſly devoured one another, the extreme ſcarcity of proviſions not permitting their being allowed neceſſary food. The bloody flux, cauſed by groſs feeding, compleated the miſery of the Engliſh; and ſuch multitudes died, every day, that the living were ſcarce ſufficient to bury the dead; whilſt the only remedy, that could be found againſt the famine, tho' even it was incapable of bringing all the neceſſary relief, was to prohibit, on pain of death, the brewing any ſort of beer, with a view that the corn, uſually applied to that uſe, might ſerve to make bread. 1316.

1317. An injury is done to the earl of Lancaſter.

Tho' one would have thought, that theſe calamities ſhould have turned their thoughts to religion and repentance, the mutual enmity, which the king and barons had long harboured in their breaſts, daily increaſed; and it was next to impoſſible but this violent averſion ſhould, at laſt, produce very fatal effects. Edward, ſtill mindful of the injuries he had received, was reſolved to gratify his ſtrong deſire of revenge; but his reſentment chiefly lay againſt the earl of Lancaſter, whom he apprehended to be the ſole author of his diſgraces, and his moſt avowed enemy. Had the earl's life been in his power, he, probably, would not have ſpared it; but, finding that he could not reach his perſon, he attempted to deprive him of his eſtate and honour, by creating him a trouble, which the moſt immoderate diffidence could not have prevented.

His wife is taken away, and given to another. Walſing.

During the earl's abſence from court, a certain knight, named Sir Richard St. Martin, a man of a mean aſpect and dwarfiſh ſtature, preſented to the judges a petition, claiming the wife of the earl of Lancaſter, heireſs of the families of Lincoln and Salisbury; and he repreſented, in his petition, that he had carnally known her, and that ſhe had made him a promiſe of marriage, before ſhe was contracted to the earl. The counteſs, who was diſſatisfied with her husband, having, to her eternal ſhame, confeſſed the fact, was adjudged, with all her eſtate, to the unworthy claimant; and this affair, which required a long examination, was ſo ſpeedily decided, that it was obvious the judges were gained, before-hand, and that the king himſelf had been a promoter of the proceſs. An injury, of this nature, offered to a prince of the royal blood, who was the darling of the people, raiſed an extreme indignation againſt the king; for nothing was any where heard, but murmurs againſt his government. As he had, then, no favourite to bear the blame, it was all fixed on himſelf; and people openly ſaid, that the throne of England was never filled by a prince ſo unworthy to rule a free nation; and ſome even upbraided him, to his face, for his ill conduct. Upon a certain holiday, dining in publick, in Weſtminſter-hall, a woman, who was maſqued, came, on horſeback, and delivered him a letter; and the king, fancying that it contained ſomething proper to divert him, ordered it to be read aloud; but he was exceedingly ſurpriſed to hear only outrageous reproaches, for his cowardice, tyranny, and all the grievances introduced, in his reign. The woman, being apprehended, confeſſed, that ſhe was bribed by a certain knight to act this part; and the knight boldly maintained, that, believing the king would peruſe the letter, in private, he thought it the moſt expedient way, to communicate to him the complaints of his ſubjects.

1318. Whilſt England was reduced to extreme deſolation, Edward, regardleſs of the ravages the Scots continued to make, on the borders, made it his whole ſtudy to humble the barons; who began to form new projects, the conſequences whereof he had reaſon to dread. They had lately preſented to him a petition, containing a long liſt of the people's grievances, of which they demanded a ſpeedy redreſs; and, though nothing was farther from his thoughts than to reform abuſes, not daring openly to diſcover his intentions, he had referred the matter to the parliament which was to meet, at Lincoln; but a Scottiſh invaſion afforded him an excuſe to prorogue the parliament, ſeveral times, and, at length, to diſſolve it. This proceeding ſo exaſperated the barons, that they unanimouſly reſolved to take up arms, to procure, by force, the ſatisfaction they required; and they would, doubtleſs, have extremely diſtreſſed this weak prince, incapable of governing himſelf, at ſo critical a juncture, if ſome lords, of greater moderation, had not joined with the pope's legate, to negotiate a reconciliation. Theſe mediators obtained of the king, that, to ſatisfy the confederate barons, he ſhould admit a certain number of them into his council, and promiſe to do nothing, without their advice; and the earl of Lancaſter was to be one; but, as he durſt not truſt the king, it was agreed, that he ſhould nominate a baron, or knight, to ſupply his place. Moreover, Edward engaged to grant an abſolute pardon to the earl of Lancaſter, for all his paſt offences; and this agreement was made and ſigned, at Leek, on the 9th of Auguſt, 1318, and confirmed, three days after, by the parliament, which was aſſembled, upon the preſſing inſtances of the mediators. This affair being over, the king and earl of Lancaſter, meeting on a plain, near Leiceſter, embraced and kiſſed each other, in token of their being perfectly reconciled; but let us, now, return to the war with Scotland, which ſtill continued, during the troubles in England.

The barons complain of ſeveral grievances.

Act. Pub.

After Robert's obtaining, near Sterling, that remarkable victory, which proved ſo fatal to the Engliſh, he purſued the vanquiſhed into England, where he committed prodigious ravages, whilſt Edward durſt not ſtir from York, to oppoſe his enemy; and the king of Scotland, not contented with this advantage, projected the conqueſt of Ireland upon the crown of England. This iſland had long been governed by Engliſh officers, who were more ſollicitous to enrich themſelves, than to promote the publick good; and the Iriſh were ſo extremely uneaſy, under their arbitrary government, that they wanted only a favourable opportunity to revolt. The defeat of the Engliſh army, before Sterling, inducing them to believe, that the preſent juncture was very proper, to execute their deſign, they ſent word to the king of Scotland, that they were ready to ſhake off the Engliſh yoke, provided he would give them aſſiſtance; and Robert took care not to loſe ſo fair an occaſion, to become maſter of the iſland, or, at leaſt, to make a powerful diverſion; for he ſent thither ſome troops, under the command of his brother, Edward, who, heading the rebels, ſubdued the beſt part of Ireland, and was even owned, for king; and, whilſt he carried on his conqueſt, Robert amuſed the king of England with propoſals of peace, with ſeeming ſincerity and earneſtneſs, tho' he artfully, from time to time, ſtarted difficulties, which hinder'd matters from being brought to a concluſion. This proceeding laſted, till 1317, before Edward perceived the artifices of his enemy; and his ſhallow penetration would even have made him entirely loſe Ireland, had he not been alarmed by the murmurs of the people. The prejudice England might receive, by the loſs of that iſland, was ſo manifeſt, and the conſequences were ſo plainly repreſented to him, that, at length, he reſolved to ſend thither a powerful aid, under the conduct of Mortimer; and the Engliſh, that were in Ireland, finding that, by means of this ſupply, they were in a condition to take the field, marched, to attack the Scotch prince. In the interim, the king of Scotland, being informed how much his brother ſtood in need of ſpeedy relief, went himſelf into Ireland; but, upon his arrival, hearing that his brother was defeated and ſlain in a battle, wherein he had raſhly engaged, as his loſs, on that occaſion, diſabled him from continuing the war, in that country, he thought it more adviſable to return and improve the advantages, lately gained by his arms, in Scotland; for Dowglas, one of his generals, defeated the army ſent by the king of England into that kingdom, in order to take advantage of Robert's abſence, in Ireland.

1318.

Robert ravages England, and has a deſign upon Ireland.

Walſing. Chr. Lanere.

Robert's brother, whom he ſent into Ireland, is defeated and ſlain. Walſing.

Act. Pub.

This freſh victory, which put it out of the power of the Engliſh, to withſtand the Scots, encouraged Robert to improve it, by laying ſiege to Berwick, which was ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh; and, tho' he could not make his preparations, without Edward's knowledge, that monarch wanted both money and troops, to prevent his deſigns. The king of England's ſubjects were ſo averſe to him, that he could not expect to procure either a ſeaſonable or powerful aid; and, ſuppoſing he could have expected it, he evidently perceived, that the parliament would oblige him to pay dear for the ſubſidy they ſhould grant; wherefore, in this extremity, he applied to the pope, earneſtly intreating him to interpoſe his authority, in order to procure him a peace, or, at leaſt, a truce with Scotland. John XXII, who had lately ſucceeded Clement V, at once, complied with Edward's requeſt; for he conceived this to be a very favourable opportunity, to extend his power over crowned heads. Accordingly, he undertook to bring about a peace, between Edward and Robert, not as a mediator, but as ſovereign arbiter, and by vertue of his apoſtolical authority; and, with this view, he ſent two legates into England, with a power, which ſhewed that he thought himſelf inveſted with ſupreme authority over all kings, even in temporal affairs. Their commiſſion impowered them to make peace, between the two contending nations, in what manner they pleaſed, and even to compel

The king of Scotland prepares to beſiege Berwick.

1319. *Edward applies to the pope.*

1319. compel both princes to accept it, on pain of excommunication, and an interdict upon their dominions; but, as he apprehended, that this could not be done, without ſome debate, which would take up time, he ordered his legates to cauſe a two years truce to be publiſhed, in his name, and by his authority; and to excommunicate thoſe that refuſed to obſerve it.

The legates publiſh a truce.

The legates, furniſhed with ſuch an extenſive and extraordinary power, came into England, and, immediately, cauſed the truce to be proclaimed; and Edward paid an implicit obedience to it, tho' he, thereby, ſacrificed to the court of Rome the moſt authentick prerogatives of the crown; but the caſe was otherwiſe, with reſpect to Robert, who, under the pretence, that the pope and his legates did not give him the title of king, would never permit the laſt to enter Scotland, much leſs to proclaim the truce, in that kingdom. He even treated very roughly the ſuperior of the Cordeliers of Berwick, ſent to him by the legates, who, had the boldneſs to publiſh, in ſome meaſure, the truce, in the preſence of ſeveral Scots; and, inſtead of obeying the pope, he beſieged and took Berwick, by the treachery of the governor, if we may believe the Engliſh hiſtorians. This contempt, for the papal orders, occaſioned the legates to excommunicate him, and lay his kingdom under an interdict; but, deſpiſing this unjuſt and partial cenſure, he continued his progreſs, and committed great ravages, on the borders of England, without the leaſt oppoſition.

Act. Pub.

Edward beſieges Berwick.

Edward, now, found, that the ſpiritual weapons of the pope did him but little ſervice; and, therefore, on a ſudden, altering his meaſures, he found means to raiſe an army, with which he reſolved to attempt the recovery of Berwick; but, whilſt he was employed in the ſiege, the earl of Murray, the king of Scotland's general, made a diverſion in England, which proved very fatal to the borderers. In his return from ravaging ſeveral counties, he met a body of Engliſh militia, to the number of 10,000, with the archbiſhop of York at their head; and, though his forces were not near ſo numerous, as thoſe of his enemies, he bravely charged them, and gained over theſe undiſciplined troops, a victory, that deſtroyed above half; which action the Scots called, the white battle, becauſe ſome Engliſh prieſts, with their ſurplices on, were ſlain, in the fight. This accident obliged Edward to raiſe the ſiege of Berwick, and, ſoon after, with much ſollicitation, he obtained a truce, for two years; upon which, he left the north, and returned to London, where he had no better ſucceſs.

Act. Pub.

The promotion of the Spencers.

The truce did not reſtore to England the expected tranquillity; for it was ſcarce proclaimed, before the kingdom was involved in freſh troubles, much more violent than thoſe cauſed by Gaveſton. The enmity, between the king and the barons, was ſtill kept alive, like fire under cinders; and an occaſion was but too ready to rekindle the ſame. The lords, ever jealous of thoſe about the king's perſon, had introduced into court a young gentleman, Hugh Spencer, whom they believed to be entirely devoted to their intereſts; and they had procured him the office of king's chamberlain, deſigning to make uſe of him, as a ſpy, in order to be informed of the tranſactions at court, where they ſeldom appeared; but their project proved deſtructive to themſelves. Spencer had a father, who was alſo named Hugh, a perſon of courage and good ſenſe, who intimated to him, that he might, with greater eaſe, make his fortune, by labouring directly for himſelf, than by ſerving the barons; and that, with a little patience and obſequiouſneſs, he might render himſelf ſuperior to thoſe, whom he conſidered, as his protectors. Spencer, the ſon, being inclined to follow this advice, at firſt, met with almoſt inſuperable difficulties, the king being extremely jealous of a domeſtick, who had already diſcovered too great an inclination for his enemies; yet, by the prudent counſels of his father, Spencer removed, by degrees, all his maſter's prejudices againſt him. As he intended to govern the king entirely, he did not ſcruple to become, for ſome time, his ſlave; and, by a general compliance to whatever was agreeable to him, from his ſpy, he became his confident, and, at length, ſupplied, in his heart, the place formerly poſſeſſed by Gaveſton; but, he no ſooner found himſelf in the ſame degree of favour, than he abuſed it, like his predeceſſor, and, by his exceſſive pride and inſatiable avarice, made it ſoon wiſhed, that Gaveſton had never been oppreſſed. Hugh, his father, whom he had procured to be created earl of Wincheſter, had been, hitherto, of a quite contrary character; nothing could be laid to his charge unworthy a man of honour and honeſty; and, in all the poſts he had been promoted to, by this and the late king, he had always behaved, with great moderation, prudence, and impartiality; but a blind fondneſs for his ſon, and ambition, which ſeized him, in his old age, plunged him into thoſe exceſſes, which rendered both him and his ſon odious to the nation, and particularly to the nobility. It was not long, before an univerſal diſcontent viſibly appeared; and the earl of Lancaſter, who was extremely beloved by the people, and an avowed enemy to the king, notwithſtanding their outward reconciliation, had improved theſe junctures, to form a party capable of ruining the two new favourites. He had demonſtrated to his friends, "That their deſtruction and his own were unavoidable, if the Spencers were not removed "from court; that the king, who harboured "a ſecret deſire of revenge, was, indeed, incapable of managing a deſign; but that every thing was to be feared from that prince, "aſſiſted by his two new miniſters, of much "greater abilities than Gaveſton. He added, "that they were no leſs guilty, than the other, "of divers incroachments on the privileges of "the people; and that all their former endeavours, to reduce the royal authority, within "due bounds, would be fruitleſs, if the king "was permitted to return to his former courſes, and trample upon the liberties of his "ſubjects." Theſe reaſons, alledged by a prince, who was eſteemed to be a diſintereſte d

Lancaſter ſtirs up the lords againſt the Spencers. Walſing.

and

1320. and zealous aſſerter of the publick good, together with the envy raiſed, by the advancement of the Spencers, cauſed ſuch a ſudden effect, that the old aſſociation was renewed; and the confederate barons, without loſs of time, which was ſo precious, preſented to the king petitions, as they had done, concerning Gaveſton; but, as this conduct would only have given their enemies leiſure to prepare, they reſolved to levy troops, with all poſſible ſecreſy and expedition, and to ſurpriſe the king and his favourites, before they had time, to take any meaſures. This deſign was ſo ſpeedily put in execution, that, in a very ſhort ſpace, they drew together 11000 men, with whom they ventured to take the field; and their firſt exploit was to plunder the lands of the Spencers, which was committed to the care of Roger Mortimer, the younger, ſo called, to diſtinguiſh him from his uncle of the ſame name; who had ſo little regard for the favourites, that he did them, in a few days, 60,000 l. damage. Upon this, the barons ſent ſome of their body, to preſent a petition to the king, requeſting the removal of the Spencers; and Edward, being in no condition to curb their boldneſs, referred that affair to the parliament, not doubting but he ſhould have intereſt enough with the commons, to protect the two miniſters; yet the barons reſolution, to continue in arms, diſconcerted all his meaſures. Several members of parliament being attached to the lords, others overawed by the army, and all, in general, having too little value for the Spencers, to run any riſque, on their account, the two favourites were baniſhed the realm; nor was it in the king's power to ſcreen them. This parliament was ſtiled, the parliament of the white bands, by reaſon of certain white marks, by which the adherents of the barons were to know one another; and Edward, in ſpite of all his endeavours, to oppoſe theſe violent proceedings, was forced to give way to this irreſiſtible torrent. Spencer, the father, was, then, abroad, upon the king's affairs; but the ſon was ignominiouſly conducted to Dover, where he was ſhipped off, with very ſevere menaces, if he ever preſumed to return into England.

The Spencers are baniſhed. Act. Pub.

1321. Edward, highly reſenting this affront, ſwore to be revenged; but, perhaps, he might have been appeaſed, if the queen, who had uſually acted, as a mediatrix, between the king and the barons, had been pleaſed to interpoſe, on the preſent occaſion; but, inſtead of aſſwaging the king's indignation, ſhe excited him to vengeance, being incenſed at an inſult, ſhe lately received from a baron, of which ſhe charged the blame upon the whole party. The cauſe of her reſentment was, as follows:

An affront is offered to the queen. De la M.

Iſabella, intending to go in pilgrimage to Canterbury, ſent ſome of her domeſticks, before, to provide lodgings in the caſtle of Leeds, belonging to Bartholomew de Badleſmere, one of the confederate barons; but, as the whole party, at that time, entertained an extreme diſtruſt of the king, the officer, who commanded in the caſtle, denied the queen's ſervants admittance. There was even one of them killed; and Badleſmere, far from diſclaiming what was done, upon complaint made to him, had the boldneſs to write to the queen a very inſolent letter, expreſly approving what had paſſed; but it was difficult for that princeſs, who was naturally proud and revengeful, not to reſent ſuch a daring affront; and, as ſhe plainly perceived, that the union of the barons ſolely occaſioned Badleſmere's inſolence, ſhe was reſolved to do all that was poſſible, to diſſolve it. The king waited patiently, for a proper opportunity to exerciſe his vengeance; but a woman's revenge can admit of no delay. The queen perſuaded Edward, that the preſent juncture was very favourable, to free himſelf from the power of the barons; that, by immediately puniſhing the governor of Leeds, as he deſerved, he would ſo terrify the barons, that they would not even ſtand upon their defence, when they ſhould ſee them, ſword in hand, and able to compel them to return to their allegiance. Edward, approving this advice, gave orders for levying troops; but, to prevent any obſtacle, and in order to remove the people's apprehenſions, who began to be alarmed at theſe levies, he iſſued out a proclamation, proteſting that he did not take up arms, to make war on his ſubjects, but only to puniſh the inſolence of a private perſon. This proclamation producing a good effect, among the people, and the barons not thinking it adviſable to engage the kingdom in a civil war, for the ſake of a ſingle officer, the king raiſed an army, without oppoſition; and no ſooner were his troops in readineſs, than he went and beſieged the caſtle of Leeds, and, taking it, ordered the governor, with ſome other inferior officers, to be hanged; but, this ſucceſs inducing him to forget his proteſtation, he employed his arms, to take vengeance on his enemies. Accordingly, he laid ſiege to ſome other caſtles belonging to the barons, and particularly Warwick, which he ſubdued, with the ſame eaſe; and, when he thought himſelf ſufficiently formidable, he recalled Spencer, the ſon, who, ſince his exile, had turned pyrate, particularly, againſt the Engliſh.

1321. She ſtirs up the king to a revenge.

The king levies troops, and takes the caſtle of Leeds.

He recalls Spencer. Act. Pub.

Edward, continuing his progreſs, after the return of his favourite, put the aſſociated barons into the utmoſt conſternation, being entirely unprepared, for their defence; and they could have wiſh'd, for the queen's aſſiſtance, in their preſent deplorable circumſtances; but, ſhe was, now, their implacable enemy. In the interim, the king, by his ſole authority, revoked the ſentence of baniſhment againſt the Spencers, and recalled the father, as he had already done the ſon; his army was in the center of the kingdom; and the people, as it generally happens, on ſuch occaſions, joined with the ſtrongeſt, leſt they ſhould be oppreſſed, before the barons were able to protect them. In this terrible extremity, moſt of the confederate barons, wiſely choſe to ſubmit to the king's mercy; and, as for thoſe who refuſed to follow their example, many were apprehended and executed, ſome fled for refuge, beyond ſea, and others were confined in ſeveral priſons. Among the laſt of theſe was Roger Mortimer, junior, whom the Spencers ſhut

Spencer, the father, is recalled. Act. Pub.

1321. ſhut up in the tower; but he, doubtleſs, would not have been treated, in ſo mild a manner, had not his life been ſaved, by a powerful interceſſion.

1322. Lancaſter goes towards Scotland. The earl of Lancaſter's faction being exceedingly weakened, by the defection, flight, impriſonment, or death of his adherents, the earl, with the few troops he could aſſemble, was conſtrained to retire into the north; having nothing to depend upon but the protection of the Scots, who promiſed him ſuccours; but it was neceſſary for him to come and join them. The rout he took, and ſome intercepted letters, diſcovered his intention to the king; who ordered Sir Andrew Harcla, governor of Carliſle, with what forces he could draw together, to march againſt the earl, to cut off the paſſes, or, at leaſt, to keep him at a bay, whilſt he purſued him, in perſon, with his army. However expeditious the earl of Lancaſter was, and how careful ſoever to retard the king's march, by deſtroying the country behind him, he was obliged, after paſſing the Trent, over Burton-bridge, to halt, in order to oppoſe the paſſage of the king's army; but, Edward retiring, to paſs at another place, the earl reſolved to maintain his ground. Nevertheleſs, whether through ſcruple, or fear of the king's ſuperior forces, he ſuddenly altered his reſolution; and, in hopes of extricating himſelf out of theſe ſtreights, he advanced to Burrow-bridge, where ran another river, which afforded no paſſage, except over a bridge defended by Harcla. In this extremity, he was obliged either to fight the king, who cloſely purſued him, or to force this paſs, before the approach of the royal army; but, chuſing the latter, without loſs of time, he ordered the bridge to be attacked; yet the vigorous reſiſtance of the enemy, the death of the earl of Hereford, ſlain in the beginning of the fight, and the dread of being ſurpriſed by the king, who was advancing, ſo diſpirited Lancaſter's troops, that, inſtead of continuing the attack, they retreated, and diſperſed themſelves over the country. Harcla, perceiving this diſorder,

He is taken priſoner, ſpeedily paſſed the bridge, and purſued them, of whom he took great numbers priſoners; and the earl of Lancaſter, who ſtaid too long, in expectation of rallying his men, was alſo taken himſelf, with 95 barons and knights, and conducted to the caſtle of Pontefract. This unhappy prince had the misfortune to be expoſed to the inſults of the ſoldiers, who, in deriſion, called him king Arthur, from his uſing that name, in ſome of the intercepted letters;

Act. Pub. and, a few days after, the king, being come to Pontefract, ordered him to be arraigned, in the hall of the caſtle, before a ſmall number of peers that attended him, among whom were the two Spencers; who condemned the earl to be drawn, hanged, and quartered, as a traytor;

and beheaded. but, out of reſpect to his birth, the king gave orders, that he ſhould only be beheaded. Nine other lords of his party were ſentenced to the ſame puniſhment, and executed, at York; and the lord Badleſmere, the firſt cauſe of the war, with four other barons, ſuffered the like death, at London, Windſor, Canterbury, and Glouceſter, for a terror to the kingdom. Never ſince the Norman conqueſt, had the ſcaffolds been drenched with ſo much Engliſh blood, as on the preſent occaſion; and theſe inhuman proceedings were aſcribed to the Spencers, who, thereby, rendered themſelves extremely odious to all the world, and created, in the hearts of the nobility, a deſire of revenge, which was but too fully ſatiated, in the end. 1322.

1323. Edward's expedition into Scotland. Buchanan. Edward imagined, that, after this ſucceſs againſt his ſubjects, he ſhould, of courſe, prove very formidable to the Scots; and, therefore, he reſolved to march towards Scotland, fluſhed with the hopes of ſurpriſing Robert, and repairing all his former loſſes, by this ſingle expedition. Whilſt he was in his own territories, he had plenty of proviſions, every one ſtriving to ſupply his army, more out of fear than affection; but, prepoſterouſly fancying that he ſhould find the ſame conveniences, in the enemy's country, he was, on a ſudden, diſtreſs'd with a terrible want; ſo that, inſtead of advancing any farther, he was forced to return, as he had done, once before, without being the wiſer by that experience; and, which reflected a ſtill greater diſhonour on this ill-concerted project, Robert cloſely purſued him, even into England, and, overtaking him, at Black-more, eaſed him of his baggage, and had like to have taken him priſoner. Upon this, the Engliſh army being all diſperſed, Robert continued his march, ravaging the country, with fire and ſword, to the very walls of York; and, at laſt, having burnt the monaſtery of Rippon and ranſacked the abbey of Beverly, he returned home, loaded with booty. Whatever reaſon that prince had to expect great advantages, from the continuation of the war, he entered into a negotiation, for a truce, which, at length, was concluded, on the 13th of May, 1324, for 13 years; and, indeed, he was forced to give ſome reſpite to his ſubjects exhauſted, by ſo long a war; moreover, he had a proſpect of being reconciled to the pope, by means of this truce, having received intimation, that his abſolution and the removal of the interdict depended upon his compliance.

Robert ravages England. Act. Pub.

The ſubmiſſion of the Engliſh, and the long truce with Scotland, placed Edward, in a ſituation exactly agreeable to his temper; for he had nothing to divert him from his pleaſures, enjoyed a peaceable kingdom, and could leave the government to his favourites, without any danger of being controuled by his ſubjects. This was a happineſs he could never attain, till the preſent year, which was the 16th of his reign; tho' his ſatisfaction was ſtill, ſometimes, interrupted, by the remembrance of paſt events; and the death of the earl of Lancaſter, of which he began to repent, ſince his tranquillity, now and then, ſtung him with bitter remorſe. This evidently appears, from his anſwer to certain lords, who petitioned him to pardon a condemned criminal: "Is "it poſſible, he cried, that ſuch a wretch, as "this, ſhould find ſo many friends, to inter-"cede for him, when not ſo much as one "would ſpeak, in behalf of my couſin of Lan-"caſter, who, if he had lived, might have

Edward repents of the death of Lancaſter. Walſing.

1323. " been uſeful, both to me and the whole king-
" dom; therefore, as for this fellow, he ſhall
" die, as he deſerves.

The uncertainty about the earl of Lancaſter's character.

The character of Thomas, earl of Lancaſter, was almoſt as ambiguous, as that of the earl of Leiceſter, in the reign of Henry III. The king's and the Spencer's adherents called him villain and traytor; one that, having taken up arms againſt his ſovereign, was juſtly condemned; but the people, in general, conſidered him, as a real martyr for liberty. Immediately after his deceaſe, vaſt multitudes reſorted to his tomb, where many miracles were pretended to be wrought *; ſo that the king was obliged ſtrictly to command the biſhop of London, to put a ſtop to the ſuperſtition of the people of his dioceſe, who came and ſaid their prayers to the earl's picture, hung up in St. Paul's church; and, probably, the uncertainty, as to the real character of this prince, would have laſted much longer, if two occurrences had not determined people, in his favour. The firſt was the puniſhment of Harcla, who, being made earl of Carliſle, for taking Lancaſter priſoner, incurred the diſpleaſure of the Spencers, and, upon a ſuggeſtion of a correſpondence with Scotland, was beheaded †; and the ſecond was the canonization of Lancaſter, in 1389 ‡. After that, there was no room to queſtion the ſincerity of his intentions; at leaſt, it was no longer permitted openly to defame his memory.

The great power of the Spencers.

The death of this prince, and of ſeveral other lords of his party, placed the Spencers at the top of the wheel; and theſe two miniſters, now, did, in the king's name, whatever they pleaſed, without regarding a faction entirely reduced. Had they been ſo wiſe as to moderate their paſſion, and deny themſelves the pleaſure of revenge, they would have, doubtleſs, ſupported themſelves in their exalted ſtation, and cauſed their maſter to paſs an eaſy and quiet life; but where are men of ſuch moderation to be found? The Spencers, to compleat their vengeance, plunged the kingdom into greater and more fatal troubles, than thoſe that were lately appeaſed; for, not ſatisfied with putting to death the heads of the oppoſite party, confiſcating the eſtates of others, and condemning great numbers to perpetual baniſhment, they were ſtill impatiently deſirous of being rid of three perſons, with whom they were extremely incenſed; viz. the biſhops of Lincoln and Hereford, and Roger Mortimer, junior; but the laſt of theſe was in their power, being actually confined, in the tower.

They attack the biſhop of Hereford, but are oppoſed. Act. Pub.

Adam Orleton, biſhop of Hereford, was promoted to that ſee, by the intereſt of pope John XXII, in ſpite of all the king's efforts, to the contrary; and, having ſhewn but little regard for the court, on that occaſion, he rightly judged, that the king would not fail, when an opportunity offered, to be revenged on him; wherefore, he joined with the earl of Lancaſter, to ſcreen himſelf from the effects of his reſentment; yet, being greatly diſappointed, in his expectation, and the king remaining implacable againſt him, his ruin was determined. Accordingly, he was ſummoned to anſwer, in the king's court, to a charge of high-treaſon entered againſt him; but, though he appeared, he refuſed to plead in any, except the eccleſiaſtical court, inſiſting upon the privilege of his order. This refuſal would have been unavailable to him, had he not been ſupported by the archbiſhops of Canterbury and Dublin; who, conſidering the ſentence, which the king's court was about to pronounce, as a direct violation of the church's immunities, went, accompanied by ſeveral other prelates, and prohibited the king's judges to take cognizance of the caſe, threatening them with excommunication, if they dared to proceed; and, how deſirous ſoever the king and his miniſters were to be rid of this biſhop, the oppoſition of the clergy hindered the judges from paſſing ſentence, and the affair was referred to the parliament; nevertheleſs, till this proceſs was over, the king ordered the temporalities of the party accuſed to be ſeized.

The two biſhops join together.

The biſhop of Lincoln, who was in the ſame caſe, evidently foreſaw his own fate, if the biſhop of Hereford was condemned; and, common intereſt forming a very ſtrict underſtanding between theſe two prelates, they exerted themſelves, to raiſe troubles, which ſhould ſhelter them from the king's vengeance; but, unfortunately for that prince, their endeavours proved only too ſucceſsful.

Mortimer is condemned twice, and pardoned.

Roger Mortimer, the younger, was not, or, at leaſt, did not ſeem to be, in very favourable circumſtances; for he was a priſoner, and deſtitute of a character, to ſecure him from the malice of the favourites, his inveterate enemies; ſo that he could expect nothing leſs, than the loſs of his head; and, indeed, he was condemned to die; yet, by means of a powerful interceſſion, the king, notwithſtanding the ſollicitations of his favourites, changed his ſentence to perpetual impriſonment. It was no ſmall matter, for Mortimer, to eſcape death; and his preſent condition ſeemed to require his patience, till time ſhould bring about ſome revolution, in his favour; but, after all, this ſlow and uncertain means was incapable of making him eaſy; and, whether he was apprehenſive, that the king would, one time or other, be gained by his enemies, or relied upon the ſame protection that had already ſaved his life, tho' impriſoned, he made an attempt to become maſter of the tower, and likewiſe of Walling- Walſing.

ford-caſtle,

* He was buried in the church of the priory of Pontefract; and the prior, and monks reporting, that miracles were wrought at his tomb, it gained ſo much ground, that the king was forced to order the church to be ſhut up. The king's letter to the biſhop of London, on account of the earl's picture, which was ſet up, in St. Paul's cathedral, and worſhipped by the people, is in Rymer's Fœd.

† Before his being beheaded, he was degraded of the honour of knighthood; which is the firſt inſtance of this kind. Walſing.

‡ Queen Iſabella wrote, in 1326, to the pope, extolling the virtues of the late earl of Lancaſter, and intreating his holineſs to canonize him; and king Edward III. permitted a chapel to be built over the place, where the earl was beheaded; but his canonization was not compleated, till Richard II's reign, in 1389. Brady.

1323. ford-caſtle, by the aſſiſtance of his friends. This plot being diſcovered, one of his accomplices was condemned to be hanged, and himſelf once more had the ſentence of death paſſed upon him; though, what is extremely ſurpriſing, he again obtained his pardon.

Remarks on his being, thus, pardoned.

When a man reflects on the great credit of the Spencers, their revengeful temper, and the provocation they had perſonally to hate Mortimer, he muſt be convinced, that the protection, which ſcreened him from their vengeance, was very powerful; and, on the other hand, if all the circumſtances of this reign be conſidered, it will not appear probable, that any other perſon, except the queen, could procure ſuch a favour from the king, againſt the intereſt and ſollicitations of the miniſters. This conjecture is confirmed by the ſcandalous manner, in which that princeſs afterwards lived with Mortimer, from whence it may be inferred, that their familiarity commenced, long before it was publickly known; and, beſides, all the hiſtorians unanimouſly relate, that the queen inceſſantly complained of the ſeverities exerciſed upon the friends of the late earl of Lancaſter; which gives occaſion to preſume, that Mortimer was the principal ſubject of her complaints. Moreover, at this very juncture, the Spencers began to perſecute queen Iſabella, inſomuch that they forced her to complain to the king of France, her brother, that ſhe was regarded, only as a ſervant, in the palace of the king, her husband; and yet we cannot find, that the favourites had any other reaſon to mortify her, than the protection ſhe granted to Mortimer, their enemy. All theſe conſiderations incline me to believe, that there was, at this time, a criminal correſpondence, between Iſabella and Mortimer; and that the protection, ſhe publickly honoured him with, drew upon her the malice of the favourites. The vexation, they gave her, induced her to project means to be revenged, in her turn; and this is, in reality, the ſource of the following events, which are very obſcurely related by the hiſtorians. Let us add, here, that we may not return to Mortimer, till there ſhall be occaſion, that, ſoon after, he eſcaped out of the tower, and lay concealed, ſome time, in England, notwithſtanding the diligent ſearch that was made, to apprehend him; and, though hue and cry was raiſed after him, which generally proves ſucceſsful, he was not diſcovered, but had the good fortune to retire into France. In all appearance, he was hid in ſome place, where they durſt not look for him; but let us, now, proceed to the fatal effects of the love, ambition, and revenge, which, at that time, filled the minds of the principal perſons at court.

Edward's affairs with France.

Edward I.'s treaty with France, ſtill ſubſiſted, notwithſtanding certain diſputes between the two crowns, in the reigns of Lewis Hutin and Philip le Long, ſons and ſucceſſors to Philip the Fair; but, upon Charles the Fair's acceſſion to the throne of France, after the death of his brothers, theſe differences were greatly increaſed, by reaſon of the juriſdiction claimed by that prince over Guienne, as ſovereign lord of the dutchy. It is alſo probable, that Charles, diſſatisfied at the ill treatment of his ſiſter, queen Iſabella, in England, only wanted an opportunity, to give Edward proofs of his reſentment; and, improving an unexpected accident, in Guienne, he made himſelf ſatisfaction; from whence flowed all the misfortunes, which, afterwards, befel the king of England. 1323.

The king of France takes occaſion to ſeize Guienne. Act. Pub.

At St. Sardos, a town in Agenois, held of the caſtle of Montpezat, ſome outrage was committed, which Edward's officers, in Guienne, neglected to redreſs; upon which, the parties concerned carried their complaints to the king of France, as ſovereign. Charles embraced this opportunity, to aſſert his right over Guienne, cauſing the court of peers to ſentence the lord of Montpezat, and other Gaſcoign gentlemen, to baniſhment, and confiſcate their caſtles to the crown of France; and, by vertue of this ſentence, given without ſummoning the king of England, or his officers, Charles would have taken poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Montpezat, had he not been prevented by the Engliſh, who placed a ſtrong garriſon there. Upon this, by another ſentence, the garriſon were declared guilty of felony, for oppoſing the execution of the firſt; and, in the interim, the king of France ordered troops to be raiſed in Perigord, and the neighbouring provinces, in order to beſiege the caſtle. To give the better gloſs to this armament, he complained, that Edward had not done him homage, for Guienne and the earldom of Ponthieu, thereby, having a pretence ready, to confiſcate theſe provinces, if his arms met with the expected ſucceſs; and, indeed, it was viſible, that his intent was not to take a caſtle only, ſince he ſent a formidable army into Guienne, under the command of Charles de Valois, his uncle, who ſubdued ſeveral places. As for Edward, it is certain, that he was not, in the leaſt, inclined to enter into a war with France, though he took no meaſures to prevent it; but, inſtead of giving the king, his brother-in-law, ſome ſatisfaction, by doing juſtice to the parties concerned, in the affair of St. Sardos, and by offering the homage due to him, he ſtill acted up to his character of neglecting important matters, for the ſake of trifles. Indeed, he ſent commiſſioners into Guienne, with publick orders, to inquire into the buſineſs of St. Sardos; but they received private inſtructions, to do their utmoſt to oblige the plaintiffs, to deſiſt from their appeal. As for the homage, though he did not diſpute it, he excuſed himſelf from doing it, alledging that he had never been ſummoned, in form; and, in the mean while, he ſent his brother, the earl of Kent, to command, in Guienne, but with ſo few troops, that the earl, not daring to keep the field, ſhut himſelf up in Reole, where he was beſieged, and, at laſt, forced to ſubmit to a capitulation.

1324. Charles de Valois makes a great progreſs, in Guienne.

A negotiation at Paris. Act. Pub.

Before the earl of Kent went over to Guienne, he was ſent to Paris, to accommodate the difference, between the two crowns; and he had even agreed with the court of France, upon a treaty, which the king, his brother, refuſed to ratify; but this was the ſubject of a long negotiation,

1324. negotiation, which only afforded the earl of Valois leiſure, to purſue his conqueſts, in Guienne. At length, Edward made ſome preparations, which occaſioned the court of France to equip a fleet, to oppoſe that of the Engliſh; and the Spencers, who greedily embraced every opportunity, for vexing Iſabella, made uſe of this, to deprive her of the earldom of Cornwall, aſſigned her, for her private expences. They repreſented to the king, that it was dangerous to leave that country in the hands of the queen, when he was in war with the king, her brother; and that, probably, the French fleet was intended for an invaſion, from that quarter. This was ſufficient to prevail on Edward to re-aſſume that earldom, in a very diſobliging manner to the queen, without diſſembling that he thought her capable of holding a criminal correſpondence with the enemies of the ſtate; but this indignity, added to ſo many other reaſons of diſguſt againſt the Spencers and the king, in all probability, haſtened the project, the particulars whereof I am about to relate.

1325. The pope tries to accommodate matters. Act. Pub.

Notwithſtanding Edward's preparations for war, it was not, by the force of his arms, that he expected the reſtitution of Guienne; but his chief dependence was on the pope, who was choſen mediator, between the two crowns; and his holineſs, to promote this agreement, ſent two nuncio's to Paris, where ambaſſadors from England alſo repaired; but the negotiation went on ſo ſlowly, that the Engliſh could not conceal their impatience. As they ſeemed inclined to return home, a perſon of great note, in the court of France, took occaſion to inſinuate to the nuncio's, that, if the king of England would ſend his queen to Paris, ſhe would, doubtleſs, obtain from the king, her brother, much better terms than the ambaſſadors; and, the nuncio's having communicated this propoſal to the Engliſh plenipotentiaries, it was reſolved that one of them, the biſhop of Wincheſter, ſhould take a journey to London, to perſuade their maſter to follow the method propoſed to them. Theſe particulars may be ſeen, in a letter from Edward to the pope, on this occaſion, inſerted in the Collection of the Publick Acts; ſo that it was not a contrivance invented by the Spencers, to be rid of the queen, as ſome affirmed, ſince it was firſt projected, in France; but it is far more likely, that the queen herſelf was the author of it, in order to have an opportunity of going to Paris, to put in execution her plot againſt the king, her husband, and his favourites. However, that be, the propoſal being debated, in the council, any expedient was judged preferable to a war, in the preſent poſture of affairs; and Iſabella was, therefore, deſired to go to France; to which ſhe ſeemed to conſent, ſolely with a view to make peace, between the two kings.

The articles of Iſſabella's treaty with her brother.

Immediately after her arrival, at Paris, ſhe procured a ſhort truce, during which, ſhe concluded a treaty with the king, her brother, on theſe terms, that the dutchy of Guienne ſhould be wholly reſigned to the king of France; that afterwards both the kings ſhould meet, at Beauvais, where Charles, at the inſtance of the queen, his ſiſter, ſhould reſtore Guienne to Edward, upon his doing homage for it; that the country of Agenois, lately conquered by France, ſhould not be included in this reſtitution; but that the king of England ſhould be allowed to ſue for it, in the court of peers, where juſtice ſhould be done him; and, if the court decreed, that Edward ſhould have poſſeſſion again, he ſhould be obliged to pay the king of France a certain ſum, towards the charges of the war, but nothing, if he loſt his cauſe. The day after ſigning this treaty, the commiſſioners of France, for reaſons they did not think fit to explain, deferred, 15 days longer, the interview of the two monarchs, tho' it had been fixed to the Aſſumption of the Virgin. 1325.

Edward prepares to go and do homage

How diſadvantageous ſoever this treaty ſeemed to Edward, being willing, at any rate, to avoid a war, he took care to ratify it and prepare to do his homage; but the Spencers were extremely uneaſy at theſe preparations, knowing that there were, in the kingdom, great numbers of male-contents, who might take advantage of the king's abſence, to excite freſh commotions. However, an expedient found out, in this interval, either in France or England, diſpelled their perplexing apprehenſions; for it was inſinuated to Edward, that, if he would reſign to prince Edward, his ſon, aged 13 years, the dutchy of Guienne and the earldom of Ponthieu, the king of France would receive the homage of the young prince, and deliver up to him the places he had promiſed to reſtore by the treaty. In all appearance, this overture came from the court of France, as well as the propoſal of the queen's going to Paris; but it was only hinted to the king, like the former, to induce him to demand that favour himſelf. Nevertheleſs, Edward fondly imagined, that, out of reſpect to him, Charles had made this overture, to excuſe him from performing what was very diſagreeable to him, or that the queen had obtained this favour, by her ſollicitations; nor did the Spencers diſcern the poiſon that lurked under this ſeemingly very beneficial propoſal. They did not, in the leaſt, queſtion, but the management of Guienne would ſtill remain in their hands, in the name of the young prince, at leaſt, during his minority; nor did they apprehend, that the propoſed change could redound to the advantage of France; whereas, for that very reaſon, they ſhould have ſuſpected it, ſince it ſeldom happens, that any thing advantageous is offered to another, without the propoſer's receiving ſome benefit, though, at firſt, it does not appear. However, Edward accepted, without heſitation, the offer, which excuſed him from a journey he was extremely unwilling to make; tho' he, thereby, threw himſelf, headlong, into the ſnare laid for him, the queen's ſole deſign, in the whole contrivance, being to get the prince, her ſon, with her, to employ him, as her inſtrument, to ruin the king, her husband.

Remarks on the giving up Guienne.

It will appear, to the laſt degree, probable, that Charles the Fair was very deeply concerned in this plot, when it is conſidered, that he

1325. he was the author of the firſt propoſal of ſending Iſabella to Paris; and, therefore, in all likelihood, of the ſecond too, which tended to draw prince Edward there alſo; and, indeed, if he had not ſome private view, what could he reaſonably expect from the propoſed change? Act. Pub. Was it not more honourable to ſee the king of England at his feet, than his ſon? And yet, inſtead of making any objection, on this account, the Collection of the Publick Acts ſhews, that he very readily came into it, by the great haſte with which this agreement was made. The 21ſt of Auguſt, Edward had ſtill thoughts of going to France; the 24th of the ſame month, in a letter to Charles, he deſired to be excuſed, upon a pretended fit of ſickneſs, from meeting him, at Beauvais, on the day appointed; the 2d of September, he abſolutely reſigned to the prince, his ſon, the earldom of Ponthieu; the 4th of the ſame month, Charles ſigned letters-patent, conſenting to the ſubſtitution of the ſon, in his father's room, provided Edward would reſign to his ſon whatever he held, in France; but this condition was already performed, in England, two days before, with reſpect to the earldom of Ponthieu, from whence it is evident, that this negotiation was begun and compleated, between the 24th of Auguſt and the 4th of September; which, doubtleſs, cannot be thought a ſufficient time, without ſuppoſing, that the court of France was already determined to grant what, ſhe well knew, was about to be demanded. If the ſon's ſubſtitution, in the father's place, had been attended with no conſequence, there would have been no occaſion to take much notice of it; but it was neceſſary to relate the circumſtances, in order to demonſtrate, that it was a plot contrived, long before, by the queen, and a ſnare laid by her for the king, her husband; and that ſhe, all the while, acted in concert with the king of France, her brother; for it is ſcarce credible, that this princeſs was ſo politick as to engage Charles in her project, and yet that neither he nor his council ſhould perceive it. It is, therefore, very probable, before Iſabella left England, ſhe had intimated to the king, her brother, that ſhe was deſirous of ſhaking off her dependence on the Spencers, to free herſelf from the ill treatment ſhe received from her husband, by their inſtigation; ſo that it may be very fairly preſumed, that Charles cauſed to be made, indirectly, the propoſal of ſending her to Paris, in order to ſerve the queen, his ſiſter; and that, with the ſame view, he ſo readily came into the treaty he concluded with her, when he might reaſonably expect to become maſter of Guienne. In fine, that, in purſuit of the ſame deſign, he conſented to receive the ſon's, inſtead of the father's homage; and the prolonging of the term of the homage, without aſſigning the reaſons, was a conſequence of the ſame project; for it was, doubtleſs, believed, that it would require more time to prevail on Edward to ſend his ſon to Paris, to which it was imagined, he would raiſe ſome objections. To all theſe reaſons it may be farther added, that afterwards Charles permitted the queen, his ſiſter, to ſtay in France, in ſpite of the repeated inſtances of her husband, to the contrary; and that the French hiſtorians own themſelves, that he had promiſed to aſſiſt her. Mezerai. Moreover, Iſabella's hatred of Spencer, the younger, and her paſſion for Mortimer, which ſhe no longer concealed, when ſhe had the prince, her ſon, in her power, as well as the readineſs, with which all the Engliſh lords declared for her, when it was time, as we ſhall ſee, preſently, are farther proofs of this point; for, from the connexion of all theſe circumſtances, it is demonſtrable, that Iſabella's plot was formed, before her departure from England, and that the king, her brother, was privy to it; but I have inſiſted more copiouſly on theſe particulars, becauſe the hiſtorians, in my opinion, ſpeak very obſcurely of the cauſes of the revolution, I am about to relate.

Prince Edward comes to Paris. Act. Pub.

The kings having agreed upon the expedient propoſed, prince Edward departed for Paris, on the 12th of September, 1325, after he had received, from his father, the abſolute grant of the dutchy of Guienne and earldom of Ponthieu; and, in a few days after his arrival, he did homage to the king, his uncle, who actually delivered up Guienne to him, tho' he kept Agenois, of which Edward, the father, greatly complained; alledging, that, by the late agreement, Charles was obliged to reſtore all Guienne to his ſon. Charles, on the contrary, maintained, that the promiſed reſtitution had relation to the late treaty, by which he reſerved Agenois for himſelf. This conteſt was not diſagreeable to the queen, who wanted a pretence to continue at Paris; and, Walſing. after the arrival of the prince, her ſon, all the Engliſh, who had fled for refuge into France, or been baniſh'd their country, reſorted to her. Roger Mortimer was of this number, who became her chief counſellor; and, from that time, Edward's ambaſſadors had very little acceſs to the queen, and were no longer conſulted, about the reſtitution of Agenois. On the contrary, ſhe held frequent councils, unto which none were admitted, except the profeſs'd enemies of the king, her husband, and of the Spencers; nay, ſhe had ſecret interviews with Mortimer, which occaſioned many ſuſpicions; and, in fine, ſhe uſed, at length ſo little diſcretion, in her familiarities with him, that Edward's ſervants, at Paris, were extremely offended at her conduct; whilſt, on the other hand, her return to England was deferr'd, from day to day, on various pretences, notwithſtanding the repeated orders of the king, her husband, to bring home his ſon. All the hiſtorians unanimouſly relate, that ſhe was enamoured of Mortimer; and ſome affirm, that her paſſion commenced, at Paris; though, as was obſerved, much more probably, it began, in England; but, however that be, the queen's ſecret conferences with a fugitive, whom ſhe ought to have baniſh'd her preſence, as an enemy to the king, opened, at length, the eyes of the biſhop of Exeter, one of Edward's ambaſſadors. This prelate, being fully convinced, that his maſter was betrayed, privately withdrew from the court of France,

The queen's plot againſt the king, her husband. Her paſſion for Mortimer.

1325. to give him an account of the proceedings, at Paris; and he not only informed him of the queen's ſcandalous behaviour, with reſpect to Mortimer, but likewiſe aſſured him, that they were contriving ſome plot againſt him; very juſtly founding his ſuſpicions on their frequent councils with the exiles, without ſuffering the Engliſh ambaſſadors to be preſent. Edward, Act. Pub. before this, greatly wondered, that, as the homage was paid, his wife and ſon ſhould ſtay ſo long, in France, and he had often wrote, to recall them; but the biſhop of Exeter, having, now, entirely opened his eyes, he plainly perceived his great error, in ſending his ſon to Paris. He, therefore, more urgently than ever, repeated his inſtances for their return, and even poſitively commanded the queen to bring the young prince with her, without delaying a minute, for the reaſons ſhe had, hitherto, alledged; and his orders were ſo preſſing, that Iſabella cauſed the king, her brother, to ſend him word, that ſhe durſt not venture to return into England, unleſs ſhe was, firſt, ſecured againſt the ill treatment ſhe was apprehenſive of receiving from Spencer, the younger; but Edward, in his anſwer, juſtified Spencer's behaviour to the queen, by her own letters to that miniſter, full of friendſhip and confidence, ſince her being in France, and, at the ſame time, aſſured the king, his brother-in-law, that he would never ſuffer Spencer, or any other perſon, to fail in the reſpect due to his queen. He farther repreſented to him, that, if he had not entirely relied on his ſincerity, he ſhould never have ſent his ſon into France, and intreated him to remember his promiſe, and ſend him back, with all expedition; and, to the ſame purpoſe, he wrote to the queen and prince; but all his letters were ineffectual. Iſabella was reſolved to purſue her project; and, whilſt ſhe was taking meaſures, to accompliſh her deſign, her friends, in England, were very active and zealous, in her ſervice. The heads of her party were Henry of Lancaſter, brother of him that was beheaded, at Pontefract, and the biſhops of Lincoln and Hereford; who eaſily formed a powerful faction, againſt the king, ſuch was the diſſaffection of the barons, ſince the late cruel executions.

1326. Iſabella treats with the earl of Hainault. Charles the Fair, as the French hiſtorians are forced to acknowledge, had promiſed the queen, his ſiſter, ſome aſſiſtance, tho' he was unwilling it ſhould appear, that he was concerned in her plots; wherefore, it was neceſſary, for Iſabella, to find a protector, who would openly ſupport her intereſts. With this view, ſhe applied to the earl of Hainault, from whom ſhe expected to procure ſome troops, to ſtrengthen her party, upon her arrival in England; and, the more effectually to gain him, ſhe concluded with him a marriage, between her ſon, Edward, and his daughter, Philippa, as if it had been in her power to diſpoſe of the young prince. Several pieces, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, evidently prove, that this match was in hand, whilſt the king was yet at Paris; and, among others, there is a letter of king Edward to his ſon, expreſly forbidding him, to enter into any marriage-engagement, without his knowledge.

and concludes a marriage, between prince Edward and his daughter.

1326.

In the interim, the king of France ſtill permitted Iſabella to remain, at Paris, and read, without any emotion, or anſwer, Edward's letters, upbraiding him with breach of faith; and the information, Edward received from the biſhop of Exeter, the queen's frivolous excuſes, to defer her return, and king Charles's connivance gave him the greateſt uneaſineſs. He plainly apprehended, that ſome plot was contriving againſt him, at Paris, tho' he could not learn the particulars of it; yet he was but too ſenſible of its dangerous conſequences, ſo long as the prince, his ſon, was in the hands of his enemies. Moſt of the hiſtorians affirm, that the contempt ſhewn, by the mother and ſon, for his orders, induced him, at length, to baniſh them the kingdom; but a letter, he Act. Pub. ſent the pope, on that ſubject, demonſtrates, that it was no more than a falſe rumour ſpread, in France, on purpoſe to juſtify the queen's ſtay; for, in this letter, Edward told the pope, "That he had never entertained ſuch an unnatural thought; that the tender age of his ſon freed him from any imputation of diſobedience, of which the queen alone was guilty; and that he had too great an affection for both, to treat them, in that inhuman manner." Having tried, in vain, all the means he could deviſe, to oblige them to return to England, he turned his whole fury upon the ambaſſadors, who aſſiſted the queen, in the negotiation of the fatal treaty, and reſolved to make them reſponſible, for the iſſue; and he particularly accuſed the biſhop of Norwich and earl of Richmond, of prevaricating, in the execution of their orders, in which he committed two moſt egregious errors. Firſt, he increaſed, thereby, the number of his enemies, who were, already, too numerous; and, ſecondly, he diſcovered his incapacity to govern his kingdom, ſince, as if he had been a minor king, he caſt on his miniſters the blame of his own conduct, in ratifying the treaty. This ſtep could not fail to give his enemies a great advantage; whoſe principal deſign was to perſuade the people, that he was very unfit to govern; and his next proceeding was no leſs impolitick, in declaring war againſt France, He declares war with France. tho' he was not in a condition to maintain it, and it furniſhed Charles with a plauſible pretence openly to eſpouſe his ſiſter's cauſe.

A confutation of Edward's baniſhing the queen and his ſon.

As Iſabella's project, to dethrone the king, Charles aſſiſts his ſiſter. her husband, has a very deteſtable aſpect, the French hiſtorians would fain inſinuate, that Charles the Fair, her brother, was not, in the leaſt, concerned in it; and that, when it came to his knowledge, he expelled her his dominions, and prohibited his knights to give her any aſſiſtance. They would have ſpoken the whole truth, if they had ſaid, that he did not do this, till Iſabella had concerted all her meaſures with the earl of Hainault, and was upon the point of putting her project in execution; and Mezerai could not avoid diſcovering his ſentiments, when he tells us, that the Spencers were ſo liberal of their money, at the court of France,

1326. France, that Charles, gained by preſents, or overawed by the menaces of a rupture, forbad his ſubjects to aſſiſt the queen. It is true, he adds, that, becauſe Mortimer, who had eſcaped out of the tower, was come to queen Iſabella, at Paris, Charles, deteſting their ſhameful proceedings, would not permit her to ſtay any longer, in his dominions; but it is manifeſt, that the French king was not ſwayed by this motive, ſince Mortimer, had been, in France, two years, before the queen's arrival; and it is, on the contrary, certain, that he ſuffered his whole court, for above 16 months, to be witneſs of the familiarities, between his ſiſter and Mortimer; and, if he afterwards ſent her out of his territories, it was, purely, to prevent his being blamed, for approving her meaſures, if they ſhould fail of ſucceſs.

Walſing. Knighton. Iſabella, having left the court of France, ſpent ſome days, at Abbeville, from whence ſhe proceeded to Valenciennes; where ſhe ratified the treaty concluded between her and the earl of Hainault, and contracted her ſon, Edward, to the princeſs, Philippa. A few days after, repairing to Dort, ſhe embarqued the troops ſupplied by the earl of Hainault, who were all in readineſs there, with ſhips to tranſport them, John de Hainault, the earl's brother, was their general; and the queen, as a ſingular favour, allowed him to ſtile himſelf her knight. Some relate, that theſe troops conſiſted only of 3000 men; whilſt others affirm, that they were far more numerous; but ſhe did not rely ſo much upon theſe forces, as upon the many adherents procured her, by her friends, in England. She landed, on the 22d of September, at Orewell, in Suffolk, where ſhe was joined by Henry of Lancaſter and ſeveral other lords; and her army ſoon became ſo powerful, that ſhe ſtruck terror into thoſe that were deſirous of ſerving the king. That unfortunate prince, who had received early intelligence, that a plot was in agitation againſt him, at Paris, had, according to cuſtom, applied ineffectual remedies to the impending evils; for, inſtead of raiſing an army, and equipping a fleet, which might have defeated the deſigns of his enemies, he only wrote, to the pope and the king of France letters, to no purpoſe. Wherefore, upon the arrival of the foreign troops, he was abandoned by all; and, though he publiſhed a proclamation, commanding his ſubjects to attack the foreigners, and ſet a price upon Mortimer's head, none of them regarded his orders. The earl of Kent, his own brother, went over to the queen; and, in this extremity, he reſolved to retire into the weſt, with the two Spencers, the earl of Arundel, chancellor Baldoc, Simon de Reading, and a few other adherents.

The queen lands in England, and is joined by the male-contents. Act. Pub.

Edward is deſerted by all. Act. Pub.

The queen publiſhes a manifeſto. Act. Pub. Walſing. In the mean while, the queen, whoſe army daily increaſed by the troops brought her, from all parts, iſſued out a manifeſto in her own, as well as in the names of Edward, her ſon, and the earl of Kent, ſetting forth the reaſons of their taking up arms. They pretended, that their ſole view was to free the church and ſtate, from the oppreſſions to which they were expoſed, by the male-adminiſtration of the king and the tyranny of the Spencers; adding, that theſe unworthy favourites, and their abettors, ought to be accounted enemies of the ſtate, ſince, by their pernicious advice and abuſe of the royal authority, they unjuſtly deprived ſome of their lives, and others of their eſtates and liberty, without the leaſt regard to the laws of the land, or the privileges of the people. This manifeſto was publiſhed, at Wallingford, October the 15th; whilſt the queen proceeded on her march, in purſuit of the king. 1326.

The king leaves Spencer, the father, at Briſtol, and thinks of retiring to Ireland. Walſing. Edward was, then, in no condition to withſtand his enemies; for not a man would expoſe himſelf to the queen's reſentment, or hazard his life and fortune for an unfortunate prince, whoſe circumſtances were, now, looked upon, as deſperate; and, therefore, he reſolved to retire into Ireland, and leave Spencer, the father, in Briſtol. He fancied, that the ſiege of that place would ſo long employ the queen, that he ſhould have leiſure to take ſome meaſures; and, accordingly, he embarqued, in a ſmall veſſel, for Ireland; but he was driven, by contrary winds, on the coaſt of Wales, where he was forced to land, and lie concealed in the abbey of Neath, till the wind became fair, or he could form ſome other deſign. Whilſt this unhappy prince could ſcarce find, in his own kingdom, a ſafe retreat, the queen over-ran the counties, with an amazing rapidity; and every one was eager to ſupply her army with neceſſaries. At length, ſhe came before Briſtol, where Spencer made but a faint reſiſtance; and, the city ſurrendering, after a few days ſiege, the old gentleman, 90 years of age, was, immediately, hung up, in his armour, without any formality.

He is driven on the coaſt of Wales, where he hides himſelf.

The queen takes Briſtol, and hangs Spencer, the father.

London declares for the queen. In the interim, the city of London, copying after the reſt of the kingdom, declared for the queen; and, in vain, did Walter de Stapleton, biſhop of Exeter, whom the king had left guardian of that city, endeavour to keep it for his maſter. His efforts only excited, againſt him, the fury of the populace, who, treating him with great indignity, at length, cut off his head; and the citizens, being likewiſe enraged againſt the king, became maſters of the tower, and releaſed all the priſoners confined by the Spencers.

The biſhop of Exeter is beheaded. Walſing.

Prince Edward is choſen regent. Act. Pub. The queen, during her ſtay, at Briſtol, received information, that the king had ſet ſail for Ireland; and, as he had not committed the government to any perſon, the lords, who attended the queen, made uſe of that pretence, to nominate, for guardian or regent of the kingdom, prince Edward, who, forthwith, entered upon the adminiſtration. After this, the queen went to Glouceſter, where the gates were opened to her; and here ſhe publiſhed a proclamation, inviting the king to come and re-aſſume the government; whereas ſhe not only was very far from having any thoughts of reinſtating the king, but very well knew, that he never would venture to place any confidence in her, by whom he had been ſo cruelly treated.

The queen, by a proclamation, invites the king to return.

The king is taken, and carried to Monmouth. Whilſt the queen was, at Glouceſter, a report being ſpread, that the king lay concealed, ſomewhere, in Wales, Henry of Lancaſter was detached in queſt of him; and his diligence, together

1326. together with a reward of 2000l. promiſed by the queen, to any one that ſhould apprehend Spencer, the younger, ſoon gained him intelligence of the place, where the king expected to remain, undiſcovered. He had with him only Spencer, chancellor Baldoc, Simon de Reading, and a few domeſticks, all the reſt having deſerted him, in his misfortunes; but, as the abbey of Neath was an improper place, to ſecure the priſoners, Henry of Lancaſter carried them to Monmouth-caſtle, till farther orders. The queen, hearing that the king, her husband, and her principal enemies were taken, held a council, to know how ſhe ſhould act, at this juncture; in which it was reſolved, that the biſhop of Hereford ſhould be ſent, to demand the great ſeal of the king, as well to put it out of his power to uſe it, againſt the queen, as to enable her to call a parliament, without which nothing could be done, in a legal manner. If what had, hitherto, paſſed diſcovered to the king the deſigns of his enemies, this laſt circumſtance fully convinced him, that he ſhould be no longer regarded, ſince, by reſigning the great ſeal, he ſhould, at once, be deprived of the exerciſe of the royal authority; yet he delivered it, without the leaſt ſigns of reluctance, and impowered the queen and the prince, his ſon, to uſe it, at their pleaſure, even in matters of mere grace; but this was the laſt act of authority performed by this prince, who, ſoon after, was removed to Kenelworth-caſtle.

A parliament is called, in the king's name.

As for the queen, having, now, the great ſeal in her poſſeſſion, ſhe uſed it to her own advantage, as well to order the payment of her debts, as to call a parliament, in the name of the captive king; but ſhe could not ſtay, till the meeting of the parliament, ſo great was her impatience to be revenged upon Spencer and the reſt of her enemies. The earl of Arundel * had already loſt his head, by her orders, at Hereford, where ſhe intended to ſacrifice the others to her vengeance; and, marching to that city, ſhe ordered the priſoners to be conducted, in a moſt ignominious manner, to expoſe them, all the way, to the inſults and curſes of the people. Upon her arrival, ſhe directly cauſed Spencer and Simon de Reading to be brought to their trials; the firſt of whom was hanged on a gibbet 50 foot high, and the other 10 foot lower. As for chancellor Baldoc, ſeeing he was in holy orders, and it was not ſafe to proceed againſt him, in the ſame manner, he was committed to the cuſtody of the biſhop of Hereford, who carried him to London; but, as he entered the city, the mob fell upon him, and, having terribly abuſed him, threw him into Newgate, where he died of the blows he had received.

1327. The parliament meets. Walſing.

The favourites and miniſters being, thus, puniſhed, according to their deſerts, for their pride and cruelty, the queen came to London, to take new meaſures, concerning the parliament which was to meet; and her entrance into the city was triumphant, amidſt the acclamations of the people, who called her their deliverer, and expreſſed their thankfulneſs, for the pretended ſervice ſhe had done the ſtate. The parliament meeting, in January, 1327, the firſt thing, recommended to their conſideration, was the depoſing of the king, for which each of the members was, by this time, ſo prepared, that it was unanimouſly reſolved, that the king ſhould be depoſed, and his ſon, Edward, placed on the throne, in his room. The heads of the charge, exhibited againſt him, were digeſted into ſeveral articles, of which ſome were highly aggravated, and others only bare repetitions, in order to ſwell the number; which, at large, are, as follows: 1327.

Edward is depoſed, and his ſon choſen, in his room.

'I. That the perſon of the king was unequal to the government; ſince he was continually led and governed by others, who gave him ill counſel, to the diſhonour of himſelf, and deſtruction of the holy church, and all his people; not conſidering, or knowing, whether it was good, or evil; nor would he redreſs theſe abuſes, when he was requeſted by the great and wiſe men of his realm, or ſuffer them to be amended.

'II. In all his time, he would not apply himſelf to good counſel, nor take it, nor to the good government of his kingdom; but he always gave himſelf to inconvenient works and employments, neglecting the buſineſs of his realm.

'III. By means of his imprudent adminiſtration, he loſt the kingdom of Scotland, with other lands and dominions in Gaſcoigne and Ireland, which his father left him, in peace and amity with the king of France, and many other great perſons.

'IV. By his pride and cruelty, he deſtroyed the holy church, and the eccleſiaſticks, impriſoning ſome, and diſtreſſing others; and he alſo put to an ignominious death, confined, baniſhed, and diſinherited many great and noble men of the land.

'V. Whereas he was obliged, by his oath, to do juſtice to all, he would not perform it, by reaſon of the covetouſneſs of him and his evil counſellors which were with him; neither did he duly regard the other points of the oath, which he made, at his coronation.

'VI. He abandoned his realm, and did, as much as was poſſible for him, to deſtroy it and his people; and, what is worſe, by his cruelty, and the default of his perſon, he is found altogether incorrigible. All which things are ſo notorious, that they cannot be contradicted.'

This act paſſing, Nemine Contradicente, young Edward was proclaimed king, in Weſtminſter-hall, by the name of Edward III; and then the archbiſhop of Canterbury preached a ſermon, on theſe words, "The voice of the "people, the voice of God;" in which he attempted to vindicate the proceedings of the parliament, and exhorted the people to pray

* Edmund Fitz-Alan, deſcended from a daughter of the family of the Albini, earls of Arundel, who was mortally hated by Mortimer; and it was laid to his charge, that, having married his ſon and heir to the daughter of Hugh le Deſpenſer, he had been privy to his counſels, and, among other things, had procured the death of Thomas, late earl of Lancaſter, with that of Gondomar de Valence, earl of Pembroke. Knighton.

1327. to the king of kings, in behalf of their new sovereign.

The pretended sorrow of the queen. Walsing.

When the news of this rigorous sentence was brought to the queen, she seemed to be extremely concerned, insomuch that she even burst out into tears; but her outward sorrow was far from being consistent with all the steps she had taken, to dethrone her husband; much less with her passion for Mortimer, of which she gave such publick proofs, that it was impossible to be mistaken. The prince, her son, whose youth rendered him less suspicious, was, perhaps, the only person that was affected with her counterfeit tears; who, prompted by his generous inclinations, solemnly vowed not to accept the crown, during the king his father's life, without his express consent. This vow, in some degree, disconcerted the measures of the parliament; for they were afraid, that Edward, the father, would persist in retaining the title of king, though deprived of all his authority; and, in this perplexity, it was judged absolutely necessary, to oblige him to resign his crown to the prince, his son. Accordingly, the bishops of Lincoln and Hereford were sent, to prepare him; and then the parliament nominated 12 commissioners, viz. three bishops, three earls, two barons, two abbots, and two judges; to whom was added judge Trussel, as the nation's particular procurator, to declare to him, that his subjects were no longer bound, by their oath of allegiance, and to receive his resignation. They shewed their resentment against the unhappy king, in nothing so much as in their choice of the two first prelates, whom he had, all along, regarded, as his enemies, and who, indeed, on this occasion, instead of giving him consolation, insulted over his misfortunes, in endeavouring to persuade him, that he was deposed, for his own good, and to ease him of the heavy weight of the government, that he might live more happily than he had, hitherto, done; but, as their malicious discourse made no great impression upon him, they roundly told him, that, unless he complied with the parliament, he would only render his condition still more unfortunate, and that his obstinacy would prove extremely prejudicial to his family; since, if he refused to resign the crown to his son, the nation was resolved to elect a king, that was not of the royal family. Upon this, they withdrew, in order to give him leisure to consider of his answer to the commissioners, who were coming to receive his resignation.

The parliament obliges the king to resign his crown. Knighton.

The state of Edward.

At the arrival of the commissioners, the unhappy king came out from his bed-chamber, in a mourning-gown, his countenance demonstrating his inward trouble; and, upon the very sight of that formidable power, which had just despoiled him of royalty, he fell into a swoon, from whence he could hardly recover; but he no sooner came to himself, than the commissioners told him their message, and represented to him the dangerous consequences of his refusal. Then, the wretched prince, with a sadness that could not be seen, without pity, answered, "That he submitted to "whatever was required of him, with the "greater resignation, as he could not but "own, that his sins were the sole cause of his "misfortunes;" adding, at the same time, "That he could not behold, without extreme "grief, the aversion of his subjects; but, if "his sorrow could admit of any comfort, it "was from the consideration of their good-"ness to his son, for which he returned them "his thanks."

1327.

He resigns the ensigns of royalty.

After this he proceeded to the ceremony of his resignation, by delivering to them the crown, sceptre, and the other ensigns of royalty; and then Sir William Trussel, addressing himself to the king, spoke, in this manner, making use of a form of his own, in a case where there was no precedent: "I William "Trussel, procurator of the prelates, earls, "barons, and people, in my procuracy named, "having, for this, full and sufficient power, "do surrender unto you, Edward, late king of "England, the homage and fealty of the per-"sons aforesaid, and do acquit the same, in "the best manner the law and custom can give "it, and do make this protestation, in the "name of all those that will not be in your "fealty or allegiance, for the future, nor claim "nor hold any thing of you, as king, but ac-"count you, as a private person, without any "manner of royal dignity." These words being pronounced, Sir Thomas Blunt, high-steward, broke his staff, and declared all the king's officers discharged from his service; and, thus, ended the reign of Edward II, in the 43d year of his age, having lasted 19 years, 6 months, and 15 days.

The character of Edward II.

This prince had so mean a genius, that he could not distinguish what was for his advantage, from that which was hurtful to him; and he followed his humour, regardless of the consequences, whilst he was altogether incapable of remedying the misfortunes, into which he thereby plunged himself. Though he had many failings, it may be said, that he was more weak than wicked; and, to sum up his character, in a few words, he exceedingly resembled his grandfather, Henry III. Edward, his father, a much wiser prince, and taught by the troubles of the two kings, his immediate predecessors, ever avoided, as a most dangerous rock, all occasions of quarrel with the nobility; chusing rather to give way a little, than hazard his quiet, to gratify his resentment; but the son wanted a sufficient capacity, to imitate so good an example, or to improve by his instructions. He surrendered himself entirely to his favourites, and chose rather to forfeit the affection of his subjects, than deny himself the satisfaction of heaping favours on those he loved; and his weakness drew on him the contempt of his subjects, which was soon changed into a downright aversion, when it appeared, that he sacrificed all to his passions; besides, he had the misfortune to have a beautiful and amorous wife, who, by indulging an infamous passion, compleated his ruin, for fear of being herself prevented. Doubtless, he was treated too severely by his subjects, whose insolence increased, in proportion

1327. to the decreaſe of their ſovereign's power; and one cannot obſerve, without admiration, that there was not a ſingle perſon willing to draw his ſword, in his defence. I will not preſume to determine, how far, in thoſe days, the rights of the people, with reſpect to the king, might extend; but I ſhall only remark, that this is the firſt inſtance, in the Engliſh Hiſtory, of a king depoſed by his ſubjects, at leaſt, ſince the conqueſt. Edward II. is charged with being given to drink; and ſome repreſent his fondneſs for Gaveſton, as a very criminal paſſion. Others, on the contrary, commend him for his continency; and, indeed, we do not find, that he had any miſtreſſes, or baſtards, like ſome of his predeceſſors. He founded Oriel-college and St. Mary-hall, in Oxford; and he alſo built a monaſtery, for friars, on his eſtate at Langley.

Edward II's iſſue.

He had, by Iſabella of France, two ſons and two daughters; and the eldeſt of his ſons was Edward III, his ſucceſſor; but the youngeſt, named John of Eltham, the place of his birth, died, in the flower of his age, in his brother's reign, without iſſue. Joanna, the eldeſt daughter, was married to David, king of Scotland; and Eleanor, the ſecond, was eſpouſed to Reynald, duke of Guelder.

An earthquake.

I ſhall conclude the hiſtory of this reign with two events, which I had no occaſion to mention, elſewhere; and the firſt was an earthquake, the moſt terrible that had ever happened, in Great-Britain. The ſecond was the ſuppreſſion of the order of the Knights-templars, both in England and all other chriſtian ſtates; which was firſt inſtituted, at Jeruſalem, in the reign of Baldwin IV, for the defence of the holy ſepulchre, and protection of the pilgrims that reſorted thither from all parts of Chriſtendom, Hugo de Paganis and Geoffrey de St. Ademar being the founders. The knights of this order were, at firſt, ſtiled, the Poor of the Holy City; and, afterwards, they received the name of Templars, becauſe their firſt houſe was near the Temple, and all their houſes were called Temples. This order was confirmed, in the council of Trent, 1127; and its rule was compoſed by St. Bernard.

The ſuppreſſion of the Templars.

After the deſtruction of the kingdom of Jeruſalem, about 1186, this order was diſperſed over all Europe, and increaſed prodigiouſly, by the liberality of the chriſtians; but riches ſoon corrupted the manners of the knights; and, in proceſs of time, their ſcandalous lives, together with an inſupportable pride, rendered them as odious, as they were eſteemed, in the beginning of their inſtitution. Philip the Fair, king of France, being diſobliged by thoſe of his kingdom, and not ſatisfied with puniſhing the offenders, attempted the ruin of the whole order, by means of Clement V, whom he had artfully gained; for, having ordered all the Templars in France to be ſeized, as well as the grand maſter of the order, who reſided in the iſland of Cyprus, and, by the pope's order, was come to Paris, on a charge exhibited againſt them, that, at their admiſſion into the order, they denied Jeſus Chriſt, and ſpit upon a crucifix, he cauſed 57 to be burnt, among whom was the grand maſter. To this were added accuſations of hereſy, ſodomy, and other numberleſs crimes; and, in complaiſance to the king of France, Clement V. urgently preſſed Edward II, to follow Philip's example. After much ſollicitation, he, at length, obtained, that all the Templars, in England, ſhould be ſeized, as they were, in France, in one day; and Edward, being prevailed with, in expectation of their eſtates, held a national ſynod, at London, in which they were condemned. However, they were not treated with ſo much rigour, as in France; for they were only diſperſed in the monaſteries, to do penance, and had a moderate penſion, out of the revenues of the order. The ſeverities, which they ſuffered, in France and England, would, doubtleſs, have been ſufficient, if the deſign had been only to chaſtiſe them; but their deſtruction was determined; for Clement V. cauſed ſtrict inquiry to be made, and many witneſſes to be heard, who accuſed not only ſome particular knights, but the whole order, of the moſt heinous enormities. Had theſe depoſitions been well atteſted, one could ſcarce have imagined it poſſible, that there ſhould be ſuch a deteſtable ſociety, among chriſtians; but every body was not equally convinced of the truth of theſe allegations, particularly, as to what concerned the order, in general. Theſe preparations being made, the pope convened, at Vienne in Dauphine, a general council, wherein he preſided, in perſon; and Philip was likewiſe pleaſed to be preſent, to promote the condemnation of the order; but the biſhops could not think of condemning men that were not convicted, or even ſummoned before the council, to anſwer for themſelves; ſo that the pope was obliged to uſe the plenitude of his apoſtolical power, in ſuſpending this order for ever, by a bull read, in the ſecond ſeſſion. As the council was not prepared for it, no one ventured to oppoſe the bull; and their ſilence, according to cuſtom, was taken, for an approbation. By the ſame bull, Clement reſerved to the holy ſee the diſpoſal of the eſtates of the Templars; and, ſoon after, he aſſigned them to the Hoſpitallers, or knights of St. John of Jeruſalem, called, at this day, knights of Maltha. Edward II, who had ſeized the eſtates of the condemned order, to no purpoſe, oppoſed the pope's grant to the Hoſpitallers, tho' he inſiſted on the prerogatives of his crown, by which all confiſcations were adjudged to him; and the troubles, in England, during his reign, would not permit him to keep poſſeſſion. Thus, the whole order of the Templars were made to ſuffer the puniſhment that was, doubtleſs, due to ſome of their members, but which, probably, was not deſerved by all, in general.

1327. A&. Pub. A&. Pub. Puteanus.

THE

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK X.

The Reigns of EDWARD III. and RICHARD II; containing the ſpace of 73 years: With a Diſſertation on the Salick Law, and the State of the Church, from 1272 to 1399.

11. EDWARD III. ſirnamed of Windſor.

1327. THE depoſing of Edward II. did not procure to the Engliſh all the happineſs they were made to expect; for, if it freed them from the troubles of the late reign, it involved them in others that were no leſs perplexing. The government of a weak and imprudent king was not more dangerous than that of a minor prince, under the direction of a paſſionate mother, and a young unexperienced miniſter, who was more preſumptuous, tho' not ſo able, as the Spencers; and, accordingly, the people ſoon found, that they had not gained much, by the change; but, fortunately for them, Edward's minority was of a ſhort continuance. As ſoon as the young prince took the reins of government into his own hands, he converted the misfortunes of the late reign into bleſſings, and the injuries, received from France and Scotland, into glory and triumphs; a remarkable inſtance, which ſhews, that the proſperity of a ſtate does not ſo much depend on its own ſtrength, as on the prudence of him that ſits at the helm; for the preſent reign is juſtly ranked among the moſt illuſtrious, in the Hiſtory of England.

Edward III. is proclaimed and crowned. Walſing.

The commiſſioners, ſent to Kenelworth, being returned, with Edward II's reſignation, the prince, his ſon, was again proclaimed, under the name of Edward III, and crowned, a few days after; when the queen and Mortimer, whoſe intereſt it was to render the whole nation accomplices of their violent proceedings, affected to cauſe a coronation-medal to be ſtruck, importing the univerſal conſent of the people to the preſent revolution. On one ſide, was the young king crowned, laying his ſcepter on a heap of hearts, with this motto, POPULO DAT JURA VOLENTI; and on the reverſe, a hand held forth, as it were ſaving a crown falling, from on high, with theſe words, NON RAPIT SED RECIPIT. 1327. J. Barnes.

Though Edward was only in his 15th year, he had already a mature judgment, and, conſidering his age, a very uncommon penetration; yet, in compliance to the laws of the land, the king muſt have governors, and the ſtate regents. The parliament choſe 12, out of the biſhops, earls, and barons, of whom Henry of Lancaſter was declared the chief; and the queen did not oppoſe this nomination; but, having the power in her own hands, ſhe ſeized the government, and ſhared it with none, except her creatures. Roger Mortimer, who had as great a ſway over her, as Spencer, the ſon, had over the late king, acted, as prime miniſter, and managed the affairs of the kingdom, at his pleaſure; and, the parliament being at the queen's devotion, ſhe procured the grant of a dowry, exceeding two thirds of the revenues of the crown. At the ſame time, The parliament names the regents.

100 marks,

1327. 100 marks, a month, were assigned, for the maintenance of the deposed king; a sum more than sufficient, for that purpose, that unhappy prince being treated, under his confinement, in a very unbecoming manner.

The parliament annuls the sentences passed, in the late reign. Act. Pub.

The animosity, the parliament shewed, in their proceedings against Edward II, encouraged such as were sufferers, whilst the Spencers were at the helm, to petition to be restored to their estates and honours; and their petitions met with a gracious reception. The parliament, willing to justify their late conduct, reversed all the judgments passed, in the preceding reign, as well against the late earl of Lancaster and his adherents, as against those that countenanced the designs of the queen; pretending, that they were illegal, and manifestly extorted, by the credit of the favourites. Perhaps, this induced some historians to affirm, that Edward III. was pleased to begin his reign, with a general pardon; but if, by this general pardon, be meant the reversing the foresaid judgments, the honour of it is not to be ascribed to the king, who did nothing, of himself; and it is certain, that, herein, the sole motive was, to disparage the late government, in favour of the queen's party. With the same view, the king was persuaded strenuously to sollicit the court of Rome,

Edward demands the canonization of the earl of Lancaster.

for the canonization of the earl of Lancaster, beheaded, at Pontefract; and he was made to say, in his letter to the pope, that the miracles, wrought at his tomb, evidently proved, that his death was a real martyrdom. In a word, all the steps, now, taken by the queen and parliament, tended solely to justify their usage of the late king; which, doubtless, would have been accounted highly criminal, if it had not been crowned with success.

The king of Scotland breaks the truce. Act. Pub.

The tranquillity England expected to enjoy, under the new king, who was in peace, or truce, with all his neighbours, was interrupted by an incursion of the Scots on the borders; for Robert, though in an ill state of health, and of a very advanced age, believed he ought not to suffer the minority of the king of England to pass, without reaping some advantage; and he was likewise afraid, that too long a repose might enervate his subjects, being, at the same time, sensible, that he was concerned with formidable enemies, who, in making a truce with him, had not departed from their pretensions. These are the most probable reasons of this rupture, which Buchanan vindicates, only by saying, that it is to be supposed Robert was determined by weighty motives; but, however that be, having put the earl of Murray and Sir James Douglas, at the head of 20,000 men, he ordered them to ravage the borders of England. Edward could not hear the news of this irruption, without an ardent desire of signalizing himself, in the defence of his kingdom; and, though they, who had the management of publick affairs, were not much inclined to war, they could not think of tamely suffering such daring insults; since their authority might have been shaken, if they had discovered any signs of weakness or cowardice, on the present occasion.

The opinion of the council concurring with the king's desires, an army of 60,000 men was raised, including the troops brought by John de Hainault into England; and, the whole army arriving, at York, Edward was just going to head them, when a sudden quarrel arose, between the English and Hainaulters, in which many were slain. As the English were the aggressors, justice could not be done to the foreigners, without disgusting the army; so that the court was obliged to stay longer, at York, than was, at first, intended, in order to compose this difference, before they took the field; which delay afforded the Scots leisure to pass the Tine, between Carlisle and Newcastle, and to ravage, in a barbarous manner, the country on this side of the river. They had 4000 men at arms; and the rest of the troops were mounted on little swift horses, that they might, the more easily, make incursions and retreat; but the news of this hastened the king's departure. Though he did not know exactly the situation of the enemy, he marched, in quest of them, guided only by the fire and smoke of the houses, still burning, in the road; yet, notwithstanding his expedition, he could not possibly overtake them; for, as they had no infantry, and were not encumbered with much baggage, they made such extraordinary marches, that they were at so great a distance from the English army, that they could not even be traced; insomuch that the king, despairing of meeting them, called a council of war; and, upon some confused advices, that the Scots had not yet repassed the Tine, it was resolved to expect them, beyond the river, near the place where it was thought they would pass, in their return to Scotland. This resolve was put in execution; but the English army had no sooner passed the Tine, than they were forced to return, for want of provisions.

1237. Edward raises an army. Walsing. Act. Pub.

The Scots ravage the borders.

Boeth. Buchanan.

During these marches and counter-marches, Edward, having never received certain intelligence of the enemy, was extremely uneasy; wherefore, he gave orders for it to be proclaimed in the army, that he, who should bring him the first certain account of the Scots, should be made a knight, with a pension of 100l. sterling. The prospect of this reward engaged so many people, in a diligent search after the enemy, that it was not long, before he obtained the desired information; though it was not without some confusion, that he heard they were not above two leagues distant. He advanced, immediately, towards them, in hopes of fighting, that very day; but he soon lost the pleasure of that expectation; for the Scotch generals, who were not ignorant of his approach, had encamped, over-against Stanhope-park, on a hill, at the foot of which run the river Ware, shallow, indeed, but full of rocks, which rendered the passage extremely difficult; and, how desirous soever Edward was of an engagement, he perceived, that he could not attack them, without exposing his army to manifest danger. It was no small mortification to a young prince, greedy of glory, to see the enemy so near, without being able to give them battle; yet he did not entirely despair of success.

Edward overtakes, but could not fight them.

J. Barnes's history of Edward III. Walsing.

1327. ceſs. As he judged of their courage, by his own, he ſent them word, that, if they would croſs the river, he would retire, at a convenient diſtance, and allow them time to paſs, and to chuſe their ground; or elſe that, on the ſame terms, he would come over to them; but the Scotch generals replied, that, the Engliſh army being thrice ſtronger than theirs, it would be great raſhneſs to accept either of the propoſals; that they were reſolved to keep their poſt; and that it was the king's buſineſs to diſlodge them, if he thought fit to attempt it. However, being apprehenſive, that Edward, amuſing them with his offers, deſigned to paſs the river, at ſome other place, they retired, in the night, and encamped, in a ſtill more advantageous ſituation; for they not only ſtill had the Were, in their front, but their flanks were defended by inacceſſible mountains and bogs, which diſpelled their apprehenſions of being attacked, even tho' the Engliſh had paſſed the river, elſewhere. Edward, being informed of their motion, followed them, with the Were between him and the enemy; and, having found them ſo commodiouſly poſted, he made them the ſame offer, as before, to which they returned the ſame anſwer.

A bold action of Douglaſs. Froiſſart. Buchanan. Knighton.

Whilſt the two armies lay, in view of each other, the lord Douglaſs, one of the Scotch generals, paſſing the river, at ſome diſtance from the two camps; with only 200 horſe, ſtole into the Engliſh camp, and he penetrated even to the royal tent, where he gave a terrible alarm. Probably, his intent was to carry off the king; but, being diſappointed, he retired, without much loſs. At length, after both armies had kept their poſts, a fortnight, the Scots decamped, in the night, and, by ſpeedy marches, which prevented the Engliſh from purſuing them, retreated into Scotland; and ſeveral aſcribed to Mortimer the ill ſucceſs of this campaign, ſuſpecting him of holding intelligence with the enemy, to facilitate their retreat, without fighting. Edward, being out of danger from the Scots, returned to York, extremely mortified, becauſe it was not in his power to revenge himſelf; where he disbanded his army, and, having made John de Hainault magnificent preſents, he ſent him back to his own country.

The Scots retire.

Act. Pub.

The tragical death of Edward II.

Whilſt the young king was employed, in this expedition, his father, ſtill cloſely confined in Kenelworth-caſtle, led a melancholy life, not being permitted to take the leaſt diverſion; and, though he wrote, from time to time, to his queen, intreating her to leſſen the hardſhips of his impriſonment, nothing was capable of moving that inexorable princeſs, in favour of a husband, whom ſhe herſelf had reduced to this miſerable condition, without deſerving, at leaſt, from her hands, ſuch barbarous uſage. If ſhe might have followed her own inclinations, ſhe would not have anſwered any of his letters; but, as it was her intereſt to deceive the publick, by this correſpondence, ſhe was very glad to continue it; and ſhe ſent him, now and then, ſome linnen, cloaths, and other inconſiderable preſents, to perſuade the credulous people, that ſhe ſacrificed her tenderneſs to the good of the ſtate. However, ſhe could not ſo eaſily deceive Edward himſelf, who was ſufficiently convinced, that ſhe was the ſole cauſe of his misfortunes; and, accordingly, ſhe never had the front to appear in his preſence; nor would ſhe ſo much as ſuffer the king, her ſon, to pay his duty to his unhappy father, leſt he ſhould learn what ſhe deſired he might be ignorant of, to the day of his death; ſo that, though the impriſoned king impatiently wiſhed to ſee them both, and often enquired, why they were ſo unkind, as to deny him that comfort, he could never obtain it.

1327.

De la Moore.

In the interim, the rigorous treatment of that unfortunate prince excited compaſſion in the breaſts of the Engliſh, who are naturally generous; and Henry of Lancaſter himſelf, who had the cuſtody of him, relented daily, to ſuch a degree, that he gave him ſome hopes of recovering his liberty; but the earl was ſwayed by another motive, beſides that of generoſity, viz. the irregular conduct of the queen, and the great credit of Mortimer, whoſe arrogance rendered him odious to all. As he took no care to conceal his ſentiments, the queen and Mortimer ſuſpected him of a deſign, to reſtore the old king; and this ſuſpicion, whether well or ill grounded, produced a fatal effect; for, to prevent the imagined danger, they reſolved to remove the captive king out of the hands of his preſent keeper, and entruſt him with ſuch as were firmly attached to them. Sir John Maltravers and Sir Thomas Gurney, who were, both of them, of a brutiſh diſpoſition, received orders, to remove Edward from Kenelworth to Berkley-caſtle; and it was ſcaree poſſible for the captive prince to fall into worſe hands. At firſt, they carried him to Corfe, then, to Briſtol, and, at length, to Berkley-caſtle; and, on the road, they expoſed him to 1000 indignities, cauſing him even to be ſhaved, in the open field, with cold water taken from a ſtinking ditch. How patient ſoever he had, hitherto, been, he could not, on this occaſion, forbear lamenting his misfortune; and, amidſt his complaints and reproaches againſt thoſe, who treated him ſo inhumanly, he ſaid, that, in ſpite of them, he would be ſhaved, with warm water; and, at the ſame time, he ſhed a torrent of tears. His enemies hoped, that the vexation and fatigue, he was made to endure, would put an end to his days; but, tho' his mercileſs guards uſed the moſt cruel, as well as inſolent means, for that purpoſe, the goodneſs of his conſtitution defeated their barbarous deſign. Theſe miſcreants, upon this diſappointment, ſent for freſh inſtructions; and they ſoon received poſitive orders to put that prince to death, who, though overwhelmed with miſery, gave continual uneaſineſs to the authors of his calamity. It is related, that Adam Orleton, biſhop of Hereford, one of the queen's miniſters, ſent, with theſe orders, a Latin letter, wherein, by a ſhameful equivocation, he, at once, adviſed them to murder Edward, and to refrain from the commiſſion of ſuch a crime; and, indeed, the words, aſcribed to him, will

Knighton.

Walſing.

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1327. bear both theſe ſenſes, according to the difference of the pointing *. The two keepers, immediately, upon the receipt of theſe orders, entered Edward's room, to put them in execution; and, finding him in his bed, they laid a pillow on his face, to prevent his being heard; after which, with an unparallelled cruelty, they thruſt a horn pipe up his body, through which they ran a red-hot iron, and burnt his bowels. In this horrible manner, did that unfortunare prince expire, with ſuch exquiſite torture, that, in ſpite of the precaution of his murderers, his cries were heard, at a diſtance; but, to conceal this execrable fact, the two executioners ſent for ſome of the inhabitants of Briſtol and Glouceſter; who, examining the body, and diſcovering no ſigns of violence, concluded, that he died a natural death; and this account, which was carefully atteſted by witneſſes, was, forthwith, diſperſed over the whole kingdom, to render it notorious.

Walſing. Knighton.

Walſing.

The misfortunes of the late king, whom his enemies ſo cruelly perſecuted, began to raiſe the pity of the Engliſh, when he was no longer formidable to them; but this pity was unactive, whereas their hatred was reſtleſs and impatient, till they accompliſhed his utter deſtruction. Indeed, it would be difficult to vindicate his whole conduct; but they cannot be charged with being partial, in his favour, who aſſure us, that his faults bore no proportion to his puniſhment. He ſuffered, in his own perſon, for not having the reſolution to puniſh his favourites; a neceſſary leſſon for all princes, though few are ſo wiſe as to learn it. The compaſſion, for his ſufferings, which could not always be concealed, roſe to that height, that, after his deceaſe, he was reverenced, as a ſaint; ſo eaſily do the people run, from one extream to another. His body was, immediately, interred, without any funeral pomp, in Glouceſter-abbey; but, ſome time after, the king, his ſon, ordered a ſtately tomb to be erected for him, in the ſaid church; and ſo far were his murderers from receiving, for their parricide, the reward they expected, that they were forced to fly, beyond ſea, to avoid puniſhment. The very perſons, that employed them, cauſed diligent ſearch to be made after them, to cover the ſhare they had in the crime; and, three years after, Gurney being ſeized at Burgos, and, by order of the king of Caſtile, carried to Bayonne, Edward commanded him to be conveighed to England; but, by ſome practices, not fully cleared in hiſtory, he was beheaded, at ſea. Maltravers ſpent his days, in exile, in Germany where he had retired; but divine vengeance did not ſtop here; for the queen, Mortimer, and their accomplices alſo felt its effects; and, perhaps, we are likewiſe to conſider, as conſequences of the ſame vengeance, the violent or untimely deaths of almoſt all the deſcendants of Edward III, as well as the civil wars which infeſted England, in the reigns of that prince's poſterity, as the ſequel will inform us.

Act. Pub.

Gurney is taken and beheaded. De la Moor. Walſing.

The death of Edward II. ſuppreſſed all the motions, which began to be obſerved in the kingdom; and the king, his ſon, who believed, that it was natural, having no longer any ſcruples, upon his father's account, embraced this opportunity, to ſolemnize, with Philippa of Hainault, his marriage, concluded by the queen, his mother, at Valenciennes; which ceremony was performed, at York, where the king came, in his return from his campaign; and, ſoon after, the new queen was crowned, with the uſual ſolemnities. 1328.

The marriage of Edward III. Walſing. Act. Pub.

The rejoycings, for the king's marriage and the queen's coronation, being over, Edward called a parliament, at Northampton, to conſult about two very important affairs; the firſt of which concerned the regency of France, which he claimed, upon the deceaſe of Charles the Fair, his uncle, who died, in the beginning of the preſent year; but I ſhall treat, on this point, in another place. The ſecond was the peace with Scotland, propoſed by king Robert; for queen Iſabella and Mortimer, who held the reins of the government, were extremely averſe to a war. On the other hand, the king of Scotland, being no longer able to ſuſtain the hardſhips of a war, was deſirous to ſpend, in tranquillity, the remainder of his days; and, beſides, his age and infirmities warning him of his approaching death, he was very glad to prevent, by a treaty with the Engliſh, the accidents which a war might occaſion, during the minority of his ſon, David, who was only ſeven years old. The parliament, being entirely in the queen's intereſt, readily conſented to enter upon a treaty, that was equally deſired by both the parties; and, the queen-mother and Mortimer, in the behalf of the Engliſh, and Douglaſs, for the Scots, negotiating this affair, a peace was ſoon concluded and confirmed by the marriage of David, prince of Scotland, with Joanna, Edward's ſiſter, though they were both children.

A peace between England and Scotland. Act. Pub.

The Engliſh, in general, were highly diſſatisfied to ſee a treaty begun, which, in all probability, could not redound to their advantage; though their uneaſineſs would have been removed, by the proſpect of the repoſe it was to procure them, if, to haſten the concluſion, Iſabella and Mortimer had not reſigned to Robert ſuch advantages, as he could not have expected, even after the gaining of many victories. Purſuant to their advice, Edward renounced all his pretenſions to Scotland, as well with reſpect to the ſovereignty, as the property; and, at the ſame time, he reſtored to the king of Scotland all the charters and inſtruments, which might prove the ſovereignty of the kings of England over that kingdom. Among theſe, was the famous act, called Ragman's Roll, ſigned by John Baliol and all the Scottiſh barons; which contained the rights of the crown of England; and this was followed by the reſtitution of the crown, ſcepter, and jewels, which Edward I. had carried away from Edinburgh, and, in a word, of every thing elſe,

Edward renounces his claim to Scotland. J. Barnes.

* Edwardum occidere nolite timere, bonum eſt.
Edwardum occidere nolite, timere bonum eſt.

that

1328. that might any way ſhew the ſovereignty of England over Scotland. Had all this proceeded from a motive of juſtice and equity, to repair, in ſome meaſure, the injuries done by Edward I. to the Scots, inſtead of being thought ſurpriſing, ſuch a chriſtian conduct ſhould have been highly commended; but, as people were fully convinced, that the queen and Mortimer did not act, upon ſuch principles, but, on the contrary, were prepoſſeſſed, in favour of the ſovereignty eſtabliſh'd by Edward I, every one was extremely diſpleaſed with this reſtitution. They ſaid, "That a "peace, neither honourable nor neceſſary, "was, by this means, dearly purchaſed; that, "by this ignominious treaty, all the money "expended, and all the blood ſpilt, in the "conqueſt of Scotland, were rendered entire-"ly fruitleſs; that the queen, who under the "pretence of the king her husband's incapa-"city, had depoſed him, evidently diſcover-"ed, how unfit ſhe was herſelf to govern the "ſtate; and that the faults of Edward II, "during his whole reign, were nothing, in "compariſon of thoſe ſhe had committed, in "the very firſt year of her adminiſtration."

Act. Pub. However, in ſpite of all theſe murmurs, the queen and Mortimer had credit enough, with the parliament, to cauſe the treaty to be confirmed, and the ſum of 30,000 marks, which Robert promiſed to pay, within three years, to be conſidered, as a ſufficient equivalent for whatever was reſtored to Scotland; and, thus, it often happens, that the very perſons, who pretend to reform the government, by extraordinary methods, afterwards demonſtrate, that they had nothing leſs in view than the good of the publick.

The nuptials of the princeſs Joanna. Walſing. Purſuant to the treaty, the nuptials of Joanna, Edward's ſiſter, were ſolemnized, at Berwick; and, quickly after, Mortimer, as a reward for his late pretended ſervice to his maſter, was, in full parliament, made earl of Marche; John of Eltham, the king's brother, was created earl of Cornwall, and James Butler, earl of Ormond.

The diſcontents of ſome lords. Walſing. Henry of Lancaſter and ſome other lords did not come to this parliament; being diſguſted, becauſe Iſabella and Mortimer uſurped all authority, contrary to the intent of the parliament, that nominated 12 barons, to manage the publick affairs. The tragical death of Edward II, and the late treaty with Scotland, furniſhing them with a plauſible pretence to complain, they, now, held private conferences, and projected a reformation of the government; but, as it was no eaſy matter to keep a confederacy ſecret, wherein they intended to engage a great number of perſons, it ſoon reached the ears of the queen and Mortimer. The

Henry of Lancaſter is attacked by the queen. earl of Lancaſter, whom they look'd upon, as author of the plot, and head of the male-contents, was the firſt victim they reſolved to ſacrifice to their ſafety; and an opportunity ſoon offered, which they thought it adviſable to embrace, to bring about their deſign. The earl had a private quarrel with the lord Holland, whom he regarded, as a mortal enemy to his family, and one of the chief authors of the death of earl Thomas, his brother; and 1328. ſome menaces, which he dropp'd againſt him, induced Sir Thomas Wythers, one of his domeſticks, to revenge his maſter; for, preſently after the breaking up of the parliament, Wythers killed the lord Holland, and took ſanctuary in the earl's palace, at Lancaſter, from whence repeated orders from court were unable to force him. The queen and earl of Marche, rejoicing that their enemy furniſhed them with ſo fair an occaſion, to exaſperate the king againſt him, repreſented to the young prince, that it was of the laſt importance, not to ſuffer a ſubject, of what quality ſoever, to protect criminals, and ſtop the courſe of juſtice; that this was, in reality, to act the ſovereign, and it was to be feared, that thoſe, who aſſumed ſuch a power, deſigned to enlarge it, at the expence of the royal authority, and to diſturb the peace of the kingdom; by which means, they perſuaded the young king to reſolve upon the chaſtiſement of this diſobedience.

He prepares for defence. The earl, being informed of theſe proceedings, prepared, for his defence, and formed an aſſociation, with Edmund, earl of Kent, and Thomas, earl of Norfolk, the king's uncles, the lord Beaumont, judge Truſſel, and ſome other lords; who were all reſolutely determined to defend themſelves, provided they were attacked; and, at the ſame time, they publiſhed a manifeſto, containing the motives of J. Barnes. their armament, which were all drawn from the publick good and grievances of the kingdom. They declared, that they had taken up arms, I. To oblige Iſabella to refund, into the treaſury, the revenues ſhe had procured to be aſſigned her, far exceeding the uſual dowry of the queens. II. To reſtrain the exactions and incroachments of thoſe that governed, in the name of the king. III. To bring to condign puniſhment the betrayers of their country, in the late war with Scotland. IV. To inquire, wherefore, the ordinance of parliament, eſtabliſhing 12 barons, to govern the ſtate, during the king's minority, was not put in execution. V. To cauſe ſtrict inquiry to be made, about the death of the late king, after he was, by private orders, removed from the cuſtody of thoſe, to whom he was committed by the parliament. VI. To call thoſe to an account, who had ſeized that prince's treaſures. VII. To find out, for the ſatisfaction of the publick, by whoſe advice, the king, during his minority, had renounced all his pretenſions to Scotland, and delivered up all the charters and inſtruments, relating to that kingdom. VIII. And laſtly, To bring thoſe to an account, who adviſed the king to marry the princeſs, his ſiſter, to David Bruce, an inveterate foe to the Engliſh nation.

Theſe articles, copies of which were induſtriouſly diſperſed, all over the kingdom, ſenſibly affected the queen and the earl of Marche, who were very plainly ſtruck at; but, inſtead, of juſtifying their conduct, which, indeed, was no eaſy task, they intimated to the king, that they, who had taken up arms, intended to deprive him of the crown; maliciouſly inſinuating, that his two uncles, with Henry of Lancaſter,

1328. caſter, grandſon to Henry III, had projected the excluſion of the iſſue of Edward II. from the throne, of which that prince was declared unworthy, as if the faults of the father ought, in reaſon, to reflect on the children. The young king, who did not, in the leaſt, ſuſpect the queen, his mother, reſolved, by force of arms, to reduce thoſe perſons to his allegiance, whom he, now, conſidered, as rebels; and he even began his preparations. In all appearance, this affair would have been attended with fatal conſequences, if the archbiſhop of Canterbury, zealouſly interpoſing, had not artfully hinted to the queen, that the manifeſto of the male-contents was ſo plauſible, that there was apparent danger of its inducing the whole nation, to eſpouſe their cauſe. The queen, at once, apprehending the archbiſhop's hints, was prevailed with to accommodate the difference, by an agreement, which was not very diſagreeable to the oppoſite party; for, as they were not yet in a condition, to carry things to the point they deſired, their intent, in publiſhing the manifeſto, was only to convince the queen of the great riſque ſhe run, in attempting to cruſh them; ſo that, without inſiſting any farther on their grievances, they accepted the pardon procured them by the archbiſhop for certain fines, and the baniſhment of Beaumont, Truſſel, and the murderer of the lord Holland, who were excepted in it; and, on this occaſion, the earl of Marche pretended to be a friend to the princes, tho' he was ſtill, in reality, their implacable enemy, and the earl of Kent, ſoon after, fell a ſacrifice to his reſentment.

1329. Robert, king of Scotland, dies, and is ſucceeded by David, his ſon. Walſing.

Robert, the valiant king of Scotland, who did not long enjoy the fruits of his late glorious peace with England, died, ſedate and eaſy, with the ſatisfaction of having freed Scotland from the dominion of the Engliſh, and of ſeeing his own ſon ſettled on the throne; and the Scots very juſtly rank him, among their moſt illuſtrious kings, as the reſtorer of their monarchy. This prince, on his deathbed, recommended three things, eſpecially, to thoſe he had appointed regents, during the minority of his ſon, David, then only eight years old; firſt, never to hazard a battle, in the kingdom; ſecondly, to make no long truces with the Engliſh, if the two nations ſhould come to a rupture; and, in the laſt place, to have always an eye over what paſſed, in England, to prevent their being ſurpriſed, unprepared.

The earl of Marche becomes more and more odious.

The earl of Marche, being ſtill ſupported by the queen-mother, acted more like a ſovereign than a miniſter; for he diſpoſed of all the offices, as well as of the publick revenues, with an authority, joined to an arrogance very common to court-favourites. The extraordinary credit of this lord rouſed the jealouſy of the Engliſh, who had as little eſteem for him, as they had formerly for Gaveſton, or Spencer; and Edmund, earl of Kent, the king's uncle, was the principal perſon, among thoſe that moſt freely diſcovered their ſentiments; for this prince, tho' he was naturally ſincere and generous, had, as well as Edward II, his brother, no great genius for publick affairs. However, 1329. being impoſed upon by Iſabella's artifices, he had joined with her, againſt his own brother, not, in the leaſt, ſuſpecting ſhe would have puſh'd things to ſuch an extremity; but the government was changed, before he had time to reflect on the conſequences of the queen's undertaking. The ſcandalous behaviour of that princeſs, the arrogance of the favourite, the ſudden death of the king, and the ill management of the publick affairs, at length, opening his eyes, he perceived, with grief, the injuſtice of the plot he had unhappily engaged in; and a generous man cannot, without pain, conceal his ſentiments. The earl, who was no politician, not being careful enough to hide his uneaſineſs at paſt tranſactions, and daily occurrences, had aſſociated with Henry of Lancaſter, during the late commotions; and this was ſufficient to induce Iſabella and the earl of Marche to haſten his ruin; but, with that view, they laid for him the moſt extraordinary ſnare imaginable, in which it is amazing, that he ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be taken. As his conduct was unblameable, it was neceſſary ſo to manage, that he ſhould render himſelf criminal, that his deſtruction might be thought the leſs ſurpriſing; and, therefore, his two adverſaries, by ſome who feigned to be his friends, inſinuated to him, that Edward II, his brother, was ſtill alive, and reported to be dead, only to prevent the troubles his adherents might raiſe; that he was ſtrictly guarded in Corfe-caſtle, and permitted to be ſeen by none but his domeſticks, who were confined with him. This pretended ſecret was ſupported with a variety of circumſtances, and confirmed by the teſtimony of ſeveral perſons of diſtinction; among whom were two prelates, that were deceived, as well as Edmund, or employed to deceive him. He had himſelf aſſiſted at the funeral of the late king; but the account he had now received, together with a like report ſpread, at court, by the artifices of his enemies, and his deſire that the thing might be true, eaſily prevailed on him to believe, that he might, poſſibly, have been impoſed upon, by counterfeit obſequies. In this belief, he reſolved to exert himſelf, to free the pretended priſoner from his captivity; and though, at firſt, he was in ſuſpence, on account of his oath to the king, his nephew, he ſoon found means to remove that ſcruple. It is ſaid, that, being commiſſioned to go to Rome, and demand the canonization of the late earl of Leiceſter, he took occaſion to conſult John XXII, about this affair; and it is added, but how truly I am not able to determine, that the pope not only approved of his project, but ordered him to put it in execution, under pain of excommunication. Edmund, being ſupported by the papal authority, without farther conſideration, departed from Avignon, intent upon uſing his utmoſt endeavours to free the king, his brother, whom he imagined to be ſtill in priſon; yet, as this imagination was founded only upon a report, the certainty of which was not well atteſted, he ſent a truſty friar to Corfe, to be aſſured of the truth. The contrivers of the plot had taken

The queen and Mortimer lay a ſnare for that prince.

He is made to believe, that Edward II. is ſtill alive. Walſing.

He reſolves to free him.

Walſing.

care

1329. care to have it whiſpered about, in the country, that Edward was ſtill a priſoner; ſo that the monk, upon his coming into thoſe parts, for private information, being prepoſſeſs'd by theſe groundleſs rumours, pretending buſineſs with the governor of Corfe, asked him, whether there was really any foundation for what was reported of Edward? The governor, having, beforehand, received his inſtructions, returned ſuch an anſwer, as confirmed the friar in his opinion; and it is even affirmed, that he ſhewed him, at a little diſtance, a perſon ſitting at a table, who was ſerved with great reſpect, by which means he fully convinced him, that he was not deceived. Edmund, upon the friar's report, no longer doubting the truth of this relation, came himſelf to Corfe, and demanded to be conducted to his brother's apartment; and the perfidious governor, ſeeming to be ſurpriſed at his knowing the ſecret, did not deny, that Edward was in the caſtle; though, at the ſame time, he told him, that he had poſitive orders to admit no perſon into his preſence. This confeſſion induced Edmund to repeat his inſtances; but, the governor being inflexible, he gave him a letter for the priſoner, wherein he aſſured him, that he would do all that was poſſible, to procure his liberty. This letter was directly carried to the queen, who ſhewed it to the king, her ſon, magnifying his danger, from his uncle's practices; and ſhe eaſily obtained leave to ſecure the prince's perſon; for he did not, in the leaſt, ſuſpect his mother to be herſelf the author of this conſpiracy. The king, having conſented to this propoſal, meaſures were, immediately, taken to apprehend Edmund, at Wincheſter, where the parliament was aſſembled; and, his impeachment being brought before the peers, his own letter was produced, which he could not diſown; nay, he confeſſed, that ſeveral lords, and particularly the archbiſhop of York and biſhop of London, were concerned in the plot, or, at leaſt, had adviſed him to haſten the execution. Upon this confeſſion, which proved a ſettled deſign to change the government, he was condemned to be beheaded; which ſentence was, ſoon after, executed; and, all that day, the king was ſo beſet by the queen, his mother, and the earl of Marche, that none could have acceſs, to ſue for the pardon of a prince ſo nearly related to him. It is even ſaid, that he was entirely ignorant of the ſentence paſſed upon his uncle, or of his execution, till it was too late; but, however that be, Edmund was brought upon the ſcaffold, to ſuffer the puniſhment to which he was condemned; tho', the executioner ſtealing away, from noon till evening, no one could be found to perform his office, when, at laſt, a perſon, out of the marſhalſea, ſevered his head from his body. This was the fate of the earl of Kent, in the 28th year of his age; who left two ſons, that died young, and two daughters, the youngeſt of whom was the greateſt beauty of her time; and her ſecond husband was the famous prince of Wales, her couſin, eldeſt ſon to Edward III. Edmund was the only perſon proſecuted, for the imaginary crime that occaſioned his death; though, according to his depoſitions, ſeveral others deſerved the ſame puniſhment; but the contrivers of the plot, having made that prince a ſacrifice, ſtudiouſly avoided too ſtrict an examination of matters, leſt they ſhould, thereby, diſcover what it highly concerned them to conceal; and it is even extremely probable, that ſeveral of theſe, impeached by Edmund, were tools employed by his enemies, to hurry him into deſtruction. 1329.

He is apprehended, Act. Pub. Walſing. Knighton.

condemned, and executed, March 19. Walſing.

Before I proceed, it will be requiſite to ſpeak of Edward's affairs with France, during his minority; for not only the order of time requires it, but it is very proper previouſly to clear the the origin of an affair, which is to be the principal ſubject of this prince's majority; wherefore, I muſt reſume the account of the diſputes, between the two crowns, where I left off, in the reign of Edward II.

The affairs of Edward with France.

The late treaty made, at Paris, by the mediation of Iſabella, did not fully end all the differences, between Edward II. and Charles the Fair; for the queen, whoſe ſole view was the ruin of the king, her husband, did not judge it adviſable to diſcuſs all the articles of theſe conteſts, leſt it ſhould obſtruct her main deſign; and, on the other hand, Charles being poſſeſſed of Agenois, did not think it expedient to urge, himſelf, the diſcuſſion of matters; ſo that the ſentence paſſed, at Paris, in the buſineſs of St. Sardos, which condemned the Gaſcoign lords to baniſhment, and decreed the demoliſhing of their caſtles, was ſtill in force; but the treaty, concluded by the queen, preſerved Edward's pretenſions entire, and left him at liberty to proſecute his right, in the court of peers. The reſignation of Guienne cauſed freſh difficulties; for Edward II. pretended, that Charles, in receiving the homage of the prince, his nephew, obliged himſelf to reſtore that whole province; which the king of France denied.

Edward III. was no ſooner on the throne, than, by the advice of his parliament, he ſent ambaſſadors to France, to negotiate an agreement, between the two crowns; and, ſhortly after, a new treaty was concluded, containing the ſix following articles.

A new treaty made at Paris. Act. Pub.

I. That both parties ſhould reſtore all their conqueſts, during the war.

II. That Edward ſhould pay the king of France 50,000 marks, ſterling, in ſatisfaction for his charges, on occaſion of the rupture.

III. That both ſides ſhould grant a general pardon.

IV. That Charles ſhould pardon the felony of the Gaſcoign lords, as to life and limbs, provided they ſubmitted to baniſhment.

V. That Edward ſhould engage to demoliſh their caſtles.

VI. That this treaty ſhould be void, unleſs ratified by the king of England, before Eaſter.

The court of England was too deſirous of peace, to neglect the performance of the laſt article; ſo that there was a good underſtanding between the two crowns, during the reſt of that year, both monarchs being equally ſollicitous to prevent a freſh rupture.

This affair was ſcarce over, before a new and more important quarrel involved the two king-

1329. doms in a war, which cauſed the effuſion of torrents of blood, and brought France, at laſt, to the very brink of deſtruction. Charles the Fair dying, on the firſt of February, 1328, without male iſſue, and leaving Joanna, his queen, big with child, there aroſe a great diſpute, about the regency of the kingdom, during her pregnancy; for Edward claimed it, as the nephew and neareſt relation of the deceaſed king; but Philip, ſon of Charles de Valois, and couſin-german to the ſaid king, founded his claim upon the Salick law, which, in his opinion, debarred the females and their deſcendants from the ſucceſſion to the crown; from whence he inferred, that neither had they any right to the regency, in prejudice of the male line. This conteſt was decided, in favour of Philip, by the peers of France; and it was partly on this occaſion, that Edward convened the parliament, at Northampton, on account, as was ſaid, of the peace with Scotland. He repreſented to them his reaſons, for claiming the regency of France; the injury that, he pretended, was done him, in the preference of Philip de Valois; and the diſadvantageous inference that might be drawn, from his excluſion, with reſpect to the crown of France, if the child, the queen was big with, ſhould not live, or be a daughter. Hiſtorians do not poſitively relate, what judgment the parliament paſſed, upon this nice and critical point; but, as the members were entirely attached to Iſabella and the earl of Marche, in all probability, they were not more ſcrupulous, concerning the affairs of France, than they had been, with reſpect to thoſe of Scotland. The difficulty of the undertaking, the ſtrength of the kingdom, and the king's age were objections not eaſily to be anſwered; and, beſides, it might ſo happen, that the preparations, to ſupport his cauſe, would be fruitleſs, if the queen dowager ſhould be delivered of a ſon; yet, in ſpite of theſe conſiderations, the young king could not be prevailed on to relinquiſh a right which he apprehended to be juſt; but, as he was ſtill a minor, he perceived, that it would be extremely difficult effectually to oppoſe the advice of the queen, his mother, his council, and the parliament; yet, if he tacitly deſiſted from his pretenſions to a regency, which was about to expire, he was reſolved to act otherwiſe, as to the crown itſelf, unleſs the point in diſpute ſhould be decided, by the birth of a prince. This evidently appears, from ſeveral of his letters to certain lords of Guienne, dated the 28th of March, about a month before queen Joanna's delivery; wherein, provided ſhe was brought to bed of a daughter, he aſſured theſe lords, that he deſigned to uſe all poſſible means, to recover the right and inheritance of the queen, his mother.

Mezerai. Froiſſart. Edward and the earl of Valois diſpute about the regency. It is adjudged to Philip. Act. Pub. The queen is delivered of a daughter.

In April, Joanna was delivered of a princeſs, whoſe birth would, from that moment, have occaſioned a bloody war, if Edward had been in a condition to proſecute his pretenſions. However, he demanded the crown of France, by his ambaſſadors; yet Philip procuring himſelf to be crowned, by vertue of the judgment that aſſigned him the regency, the king of England's ambaſſadors were not ſo much as admitted to an audience; but I ſlightly paſs over theſe particulars, becauſe it will be neceſſary to treat on them more largely, hereafter. It is ſufficient, at preſent, to obſerve, that Edward, not having it in his power to puſh this affair, choſe to let it lie dormant, till a more favourable opportunity; and ſeveral pieces, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, ſhew, that his ſilence argued nothing leſs than an intention to recede from his right. We ſee there, that, immediately after the coronation of Philip de Valois, he projected meaſures, in order to war againſt him; for his alliance, about this time, with the duke of Brabant and ſeveral lords, who promiſed to ſupply him with troops, clearly prove, that he had formed ſome grand deſign; and his letters to the lords of Guienne demonſtrate, that it was againſt France. In theſe letters, dated, September 16, 1328, he expreſly declared, that he intended to recover his mother's inheritance; whereas he had, then, no quarrel with France, in which the queen, his mother, was particularly concerned; ſo that the inheritance, he mentioned, muſt neceſſarily relate to the whole kingdom of France, ſince his conteſts with Philip, about Guienne, had not any relation to Iſabella's right. 1329.

Philip de Valois, being involved, in the beginning of his reign, in a war with the Flemings, was not very haſty, in demanding Edward's homage, for Guienne and Ponthieu; for it was not till April, 1329, that he cauſed him to be ſummoned to appear, in perſon, on that account. In Edward's preſent diſpoſition, he would gladly have been excuſed, from paying homage to a prince, whom he conſidered, as an uſurper of his right; but his council, reflecting on his youth, and the ſtate of the kingdom which abounded with male-contents, could, by no means, approve a refuſal, which, probably, would plunge him into great difficulties; whilſt the queen, his mother, and the earl of Marche did all that was poſſible, to prevent a quarrel with Philip. They repreſented to the king, that he would infallibly loſe all his dominions, in France, if he raſhly diſcovered his pretenſions to that kingdom, before he was able to ſupport them; but theſe remonſtrances would, perhaps, have proved ineffectual, if, for his ſatisfaction, an expedient had not been deviſed, unbecoming, indeed, the ſincerity kings ought to profeſs, but which his youth and paſſion hurried him to fall in with, without a ſtrict examination. It was ſuggeſted to him, that, by proteſting, before-hand, againſt the homage, he would not, in the leaſt, prejudice his claim; and, accordingly, he made, by a procurator, the following proteſtation, before his council: "That, by any homage whatever to be paid to the lord Philip de Valois, "now ſtiling himſelf king of France, by king "Edward of England, for the dukedom of "Guienne and earldom of Ponthieu, he did "not deſign to renounce his hereditary right "to the realm of France, or any way derogate "from the ſame; even though letters, to that "purpoſe, ſhould be ſigned with either of his "ſeals; and he farther proteſted, that he would "not

Philip ſummons Edward to do homage. Edward privately proteſts againſt the homage.

1329. "not do any homage to the lord Philip, of his "own free will, but ſolely for the juſt fear he "had of loſing the ſaid dutchy and earldom, "and to prevent other great dangers and irre-"parable loſſes." This declaration was ſigned by the king and council, though it was not communicated to Philip's envoy; who only received a general anſwer, that the king would perform, as ſoon as poſſible, his obligations to the crown of France.

How unwilling ſoever Edward was to do this homage, he reſolved upon it, leſt he ſhould too ſoon diſcover his grand deſign; but, to compenſate, in ſome meaſure, for the mortifying ſtep he was forced to take, he ordered a great number of lords to attend him, and, with a very ſplendid equipage, and a retinue of 1000 horſe, came to Amiens, where Philip expected him. On the day appointed, for doing his homage, he appeared before the king of France, in a robe of crimſon-velvet, embroidered with leopards of gold, having his crown on his head, his ſword by his ſide, and gold ſpurs on his heels; and the king of France received him, ſitting on his throne, with his crown on his head, his ſcepter in his hand, and in a robe of blue velvet, powdered with flower-de-luces of gold. Near him were the kings of Navarre and Majorca, with all the peers and principal lords of France, whom he had expreſly ſummoned, to be witneſſes of this authentick homage; and, before Edward's arrival, Philip pretended this ſhould be a liege homage, as, indeed, it ought to have been; but, in the conferences held, before the ceremony, matters were otherwiſe ſettled. Edward, proteſting that he was not perfectly informed of the manner of the homage, propoſed to do it, in general terms; but, at the ſame time, he promiſed, upon his honour, that if, upon conſulting his records, he found the homage to be full, he would give letters-patent of it, under his great ſeal. Upon that condition, Philip accepted the homage, in general terms; and this was really the manner, in which Edward did it, whatever ſome French hiſtorians have affirmed, to the contrary, who, doubtleſs, were miſ-led by bad memoirs. Edward's hiſtorian alſo ſays, upon no better grounds, that the king of France was juſt going to order him to be ſeized, had not the biſhop of Lincoln informed his maſter of it, who withdrew, without taking leave; for this cannot be true, ſince Philip could not have taken this reſolution, but upon Edward's refuſing to do full homage; and yet it is certain, that he readily conſented to receive it, in general terms. Moreover, they had ſeveral interviews, after the ceremony; and, before they parted, it was agreed, that Edward ſhould ſend ambaſſadors to France, to finiſh what the late treaty had left undecided.

Act. Pub.

Froiſſart.

Serres.

J. Barnes.

1330. The ſequel of the affairs of Edward with France.

As Edward ſtood diſpoſed, with reſpect to the king of France, he was not very forward to ſend the promiſed declaration; but, on the contrary, he tried to gain time, by propoſals of a double marriage of his brother and ſiſter, with the ſon and daughter of Philip. He even continued at London, almoſt a year, under various pretences, ambaſſadors ſent to preſs him to perform his promiſe; and, during that time, Edward was very urgent, in his turn, with the king of France, to put an end to their differences, about Guienne, purſuant to their late agreement. It was obvious, that Edward ſought only to gain time; and, accordingly, Philip, who impatiently bore all theſe delays, ſent him word that he would, not be his dupe. He diſpatched into Guienne the earl of Alenzon, his brother, who took and demoliſhed the caſtle of Xaintes, and plundered that town; and theſe unexpected hoſtilities produced a new treaty, between the two monarchs. Edward poſitively promiſed to ſend the declaration of homage, to pay the 50,000 marks, ſterling, he owed to France, and 60,000 Pariſian livres, for the aſſignment made him, by the king, his father, of Guienne. Moreover, he engaged to ſee the caſtles demoliſhed, belonging to the Gaſcoign lords condemned, in the reign of Charles the Fair; and, ſhortly after, he ſent the king of France letters-patent under his great ſeal, to confirm and ſpecify the homage he had done, at Amiens. He expreſly declared, that the homage was to be eſteemed full; and that the homages which he himſelf, or his ſucceſſors, dukes of Guienne and earls of Ponthieu, paid, hereafter, ſhould be done, in the ſame manner, and with the ſame formalities, as the king of France had expected. In theſe letters, there was a pattern, how the homage was to be performed; and, after he had ſent this authentick declaration, he took a journey to France, under the pretence of fulfilling a vow. In a conference with Philip, he obtained of him an abatement of 30,000 livres, Tournoiſe, for the damage done to the town and caſtle of Xaintes, and an abſolute pardon for the condemned Gaſcoign lords; but let us leave, for a moment, Edward's affairs with France, to ſee what paſſed, in England, during theſe negotiations; for we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to reſume the ſequel of theſe affairs, which are the principal ſubject of the preſent reign.

1330.

The downfal of queen Iſabella and Mortimer. Walſing.

Edward, ſoon after his return from Amiens, it is ſuppoſed, began to be ſuſpicious of the queen his mother's conduct; and, when it was perceived at court, that he grew weary of the guardianſhip of Iſabella and Mortimer, their enemies did all that was poſſible, to foment his jealouſy; and ſo many important things were inſinuated to him, that he reſolved, at length, to have a perfect information of his affairs. Thoſe, to whom he applied, repreſented to him, "That the earl of Marche "affected to out-ſhine his ſovereign, by a "magnificence too ſplendid for a ſubject; "that he diſpoſed of all the offices of the king-"dom to his creatures; that he was abſolute "maſter of the fortunes of the Engliſh, ruin-"ing ſome, and advancing others, at his "pleaſure; that Edward II. was murdered, "by his private orders; that the earl of Kent "loſt his life, by his ſecret practices; and, "finally, that, in all probability, the queen "and her miniſter had formed the deſign, of "keeping him always a minor, to ſecure the

"royal

1330. "royal authority." Some add, that it was intimated to him, that the queen, his mother, was big with child by Mortimer; but this is very unlikely, ſince, according to Froiſſart, the report of her being with child was ſpread over the whole kingdom. Theſe intimations fully convinced the king, of what he had, hitherto, only ſuſpected; and, now, calling to mind the ſudden death of the king, his father; the beheading of the earl of Kent, his uncle; the diſhonourable peace he was made to conclude with Scotland; the extravagant dowry of the queen, his mother; the credit, riches, and arrogance of the earl of Marche, and deteſting the wickedneſs of thoſe, who, under the pretence of the publick good, conſulted only the gratification of their paſſions, he reſolved to puniſh them. However, he ſtudiouſly concealed his purpoſe, till a proper opportunity offered, when the parliament was to meet at Nottingham; for, the court being come to that town, Iſabella and the earl of Marche lodged in the caſtle, with a guard of 180 knights, whilſt the king, with a ſmall retinue, lodged in the town; and, in ſpite of theſe precautions, Edward having gained the governor, entered the caſtle through a ſubterraneous paſſage, and came into his mother's apartment, accompanied with Montacute, and ſome other officers, who were reſolutely determined to loſe their lives, in his ſervice. At firſt, ſome noiſe was made, and two knights of the guard were killed, who, having leſs reſpect for the king than their companions, offered to reſiſt. The earl of Marche was apprehended, and, notwithſtanding the queen's cries and intreaties, to ſpare the gallant Mortimer, he was carried out, the ſame way Edward came in, and conducted, under a ſtrong guard, to the tower of London.

Act. Pub. Mortimer is ſeized and impriſoned.

Edward calls a new parliament. Act. Pub.

This maſter-piece of policy, proving ſo ſucceſsful, the king diſſolved the parliament, and ſummoned another; but, as the late parliament, regardleſs of the publick good, were entirely at the devotion of the queen and the earl of Marche, Edward bitterly complained, in his ſummons, of the members, and exhorted the people, to chuſe repreſentatives who were more cordially concerned for the welfare of the ſtate. The parliament met, at London, with diſpoſitions widely different from thoſe of the former; for moſt of the members, overjoyed to ſee the kingdom freed from the tyranny of the earl of Marche, had nothing in their view, but the reformation of the government, and the puniſhment of the earl, in proportion to his crimes; the common fate of court-favourites and miniſters, who abuſe their power; for, in ſpite of their grandeur, they muſt expect to find themſelves abandoned by all, whenever their affairs begin to decline.

1330. Edward, in his ſpeech to the parliament, inveighed, in general, againſt the queen and Mortimer; after which, he told them, that, with the conſent of his ſubjects, he intended to aſſume the reins of the government, tho' he was not yet arrived at the age preſcribed by the law; to which the parliament unanimouſly conſented, all the members being equally ready to ſecond his deſigns.

The queen is confined to Riſings. Walſing.

The king, upon his majority, in the firſt place, ſeized the exorbitant dowry of the queen, his mother, and reduced it to a penſion of 3000 l. per annum; and, at the ſame time, ſhe was confined to her houſe, at Riſings, leſt, by her intrigues, ſhe ſhould excite new troubles. Mezerai is miſtaken, when he ſays, that Edward haſtened his mother's death; for it is certain, that ſhe lived 28 years, in her confinement, where the king, her ſon, viſited her, once or twice every year, more out of decency than affection.

The earl of Marche is condemned and executed.

As for the earl of Marche, he was treated with the utmoſt ſeverity; whoſe impeachment, brought before the parliament, contained ſeveral articles, of which theſe were the chief: That he had ſeized the government of the kingdom, without authority, and contrary to the expreſs regulation of the parliament; that he had planted, about the king, ſpies upon all his actions, to prevent his freeing himſelf from the ſubjection under which he was kept by that miniſter; that he had procured the death of Edward II, by his expreſs orders; that he had contrived a treacherous plot, to take away the life of the late earl of Kent; that he had appropriated to his own uſe the 20,000 marks, paid by the king of Scotland; and, laſtly, that he had lived, in too familiar a manner, with queen Iſabella. For all theſe crimes, which were affirmed to be notorious, and, for proof of which, no evidences were ſo much as heard, he was condemned to die *; and his ſentence, that he ſhould, as a traytor, be drawn and hanged, on the common gallows, at Tyburn †, was executed, with the utmoſt rigour. It is very remarkable, that he was condemned, without being heard, as he himſelf had treated the Spencers; but this irregularity proved advantageous to his poſterity; for the ſequel will inform us, that Roger, his grandſon, obtained, afterwards, an act to reverſe this ſentence, as erroneous; and his deſcendants, in the female line, aſcended the throne of England.

Froiſſart.

The article of his impeachment, relating to his commerce with the queen, evidently proves, that the whole kingdom was offended at their familiarity; and, if it had not been notorious, it is not to be imagined, that the parliament would have ſo deeply wounded the honour of that princeſs, which could not but reflect on the king, her ſon. They, who have attempted

* The earl of Marche left four ſons, of whom Edmund, his eldeſt, died, in the flower of his age, leaving his ſon Roger, who was reſtored to his grandfather's eſtates and honours. The earl had likewiſe ſeven daughters, Katharine, wife of Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick; Joan married to James, lord Audley; Agnes to Lawrence de Haſtings, earl of Pembroke; Margaret to Thomas, ſon and heir of Maurice, lord Berkley; Maud to John, ſon and heir of John de Charleton, lord Powis; Blanche to Peter de Grandiſon; and Beatrix firſt to Edward, ſon and heir to Thomas of Brotherton, earl marſhal, ſon to Edward II, and afterwards to Sir Thomas de Brooſe. Dugdale.

† Then called Elms. now Tyburn; and his body, after hanging two days and two nights, was granted to the friars Minors, who buried it in their church, now, ſtiled Chriſt church.

her

1330. her vindication, from the little probability, that a perſon of her exalted rank ſhould ſo far forget herſelf, did not conſider, that, a few years before, the three daughters-in-law of Philip the Fair were equally regardleſs of their reputation, by the confeſſion of all the hiſtorians.

The birth of prince Edward.

Thus, Edward began, betimes, to wipe out the blemiſhes which had ſullied his minority, giving auſpicious preſages of the glory and proſperity of his reign; and, for a farther addition to the publick happineſs, Heaven bleſſed the young monarch with a ſon, whom the queen brought, this year, into the world; who was named Edward, after his father, and became, in his time, the moſt illuſtrious and moſt accompliſhed prince, England had ever produced *.

The king forms the project of conquering Scotland.

Edward having entered upon the adminiſtration of affairs, people were impatient to ſee, what ſteps the young prince would take; for his courage, capacity, and active ſpirit induced them to believe, that he would not, like the king, his father, chuſe an indolent life, but rather imitate his grandfather, Edward I. France and Scotland were equally concerned to obſerve his firſt proceedings; for the one might juſtly apprehend, that he would renew his pretenſions to the crown, procured by Philip de Valois, to his prejudice; and the other had no leſs reaſon to fear, that he would break through the diſhonourable treaty, wherein he was engaged by the queen, his mother, and Mortimer, during his minority. Though the king of Scotland was his brother-in-law, it was known, in thoſe days, as well as, at preſent, that the bond of affinity is not always a ſufficient bar to the ambition of princes; and, indeed, Edward had theſe two grand deſigns in his view; but, as it was impoſſible for him to engage, at once, in two ſuch conſiderable undertakings, he reſolved to begin with Scotland, that he might, after the conqueſt of that kingdom, attack France with the united forces of the two nations, which divided Great-Britain.

Act. Pub.

The treaty concluded, two years before, with Robert Bruce, ſeemed to lay an inſuperable obſtacle in his way; but ambitious princes never want pretences, to gratify their paſſions. Edward had one, which, to him, appeared juſt, or, at leaſt, ſufficient to authorize his deſign upon Scotland, viz. that he was betrayed by his mother and Mortimer, in the late treaty with Robert Bruce; yet he did not think fit to uſe it, till he was almoſt ſure of the ſucceſs of his enterprize. In order to accompliſh his ends, he employed Edward Baliol, ſon to John Baliol, who was placed on the throne of Scotland by Edward I, and afterwards depoſed, as a puniſhment, for his pretended rebellion; tho' it was now 38 years, ſince his father was dethroned. After ſo long an interval, the ſon, who, ſince his father's deceaſe, led an obſcure life, in France, little expected, that the king of England would preſs him to proſecute his right to the crown of Scotland; 1331. and yet this was, by Edward's order, inſinuated to him by the lord Beaumont, who, ſince his exile, reſided in France. Beaumont repreſented to him, that there was, now, a fair proſpect of his aſcending the throne of Scotland, uſurped by the Bruces; that David's minority afforded him an opportunity, which would no teaſily be met with, hereafter; and, in fine, that the king of England was diſpoſed to ſecond his endeavours. Baliol attentively liſtened to ſuch a flattering propoſal, and, to be aſſured, how far he might rely on the king, came into England, where he kept himſelf concealed; and, during that time, he treated with Edward, by the mediation of Beaumont, about the terms on which he was to engage in this undertaking. Edward's hiſtorian takes Barnes. a great deal of pains, to vindicate that monarch, in this diſingenuous proceeding, ſo directly contrary to the late treaty with Scotland; but they, who are unprejudiced, will hardly deny, that, on this occaſion, ambition was the ſole or real motive of his conduct; of which I ſhall, in the ſequel, give more than probable proofs.

Baliol prepares for his expedition.

As for Baliol, he thought, that he could not purchaſe, too dearly, a crown, to which he would never have aſpired, had he not been certain of a powerful aſſiſtance; and, on the other hand, Edward, who conſulted his own intereſt, more than that of Baliol, and intended to reap all the benefit of this enterprize, did not ſcruple to promiſe ſtill more than Baliol could have expected; and the articles of their agreement were no ſooner ſettled, than the Engliſh nobility were privately informed, that, in ſerving Baliol, they would pleaſe the king. Upon this, thoſe were gained to his party, who, having received lands, in Scotland, by the bounty of Edward I, had afterwards loſt them, by the revolutions in that kingdom; and, beſides, Baliol could depend, in Scotland itſelf, upon the aid of the old friends of his family; and, indeed, the placing this prince on the throne was the only way, to recover the offices and poſts from which they were removed, after Robert Bruce's advancement.

Edward pretends to keep the peace with Scotland. Act. Pub.

Whilſt Baliol was preparing for his expedition, Edward pretended punctually to obſerve the peace with Scotland; and he even publiſhed a proclamation againſt ſuch, as had engaged in the ſervice of Baliol; but this ſtep was taken, when it was too late to prevent them; and his ſole view was to perſuade the publick, that he was not concerned in an undertaking, of which he was the real author.

1332. Baliol lands in Scotland.

Baliol, being in readineſs, embarqued his little army, conſiſting of no more than 2500 men, and landed, at Kinghorn near Perth; from whence he ſent back his ſhips, to convince his troops, that they had nothing to truſt to, except their valour. However, his preparations could not be ſo ſecretly made, but the Scots had intelligence

* This year, the art of weaving woollen cloth was brought from Flanders into England, by John Kempe, to whom the king granted his protection; and, at the ſame time, he invited over fullers, dyers, &c. Rymer's Fœd.

1332. thereof; and ſcarcely were his men landed, when he heard, that Alexander Seaton was advancing, to give him battle, at the head of 10,000 men. The Engliſh had not any hopes of ſafety, but in victory; and, accordingly, expecting their enemies with an heroick reſolution, they fought with ſuch uncommon bravery, that the Scotch general, tho' his army was much ſuperior, was ſhamefully and totally routed. The earl of Fife, who followed Seaton, with a ſtill more numerous army, attempting to revenge this diſgrace, had no better ſucceſs; and Baliol, upon theſe two ſignal victories, proceeding farther into the country, met with another body of Scotch troops, whom he alſo defeated. Five days after, he fought Nigel Bruce, who attacked him with 10,000 men; but, in this laſt action, he gave no quarter, becauſe he would not be incumbered with priſoners.

Baliol becomes maſter of Perth. Knighton.

Four ſeveral battles, loſt in ſo ſhort a ſpace, intimidating the Scots, Baliol had leiſure to beſiege Perth, called alſo St. John's town, which he eaſily ſubdued; where he found a great quantity of warlike ſtores and proviſions, that he wanted extremely, in order to enlarge his conqueſts. His affairs obliging him to remove from Perth, Patrick Dunbar, earl of Marche, took advantage of his abſence, and beſieged that town; but, upon the firſt news of Baliol's marching, to relieve it, he raiſed the ſiege, though his army was ſuperior, in number, ſuch was the conſternation of the Scots, on the account of their former loſſes.

David, king of Scotland, retires into France.

Baliol's good fortune produced the uſual effects; for many Scotch lords and gentlemen came and ſwore fealty to him. This revolt, which threatened king David with a greater, forced the young prince to fly, with his queen, into France; and, in the interim, to influence the affairs of Scotland, Edward ſo managed matters, that ſeveral private perſons fitted out a fleet, in their own name, to give chace to that which the Scots had ſent to ſea, as their laſt refuge. The loſs of this fleet, which was deſtroyed by the Engliſh, entirely confounded David's adherents; and the earl of Fife, who was one of the principal, ſubmitted to the conqueror, whoſe example was followed by many others. Theſe remarkable ſucceſſes determined Baliol to cauſe himſelf to be crowned; and the ceremony was performed, at Scone, the uſual place of the inauguration of the kings.

He does homage to Edward, for Scotland. Act. Pub.

Baliol was no ſooner on the throne, than, purſuant to his treaty with the king of England, he did him homage, for the kingdom of Scotland, in the ſame manner, that his father had done it to Edward I, viz. with all the circumſtances denoting an entire ſubjection; and, in his letters-patent, he expreſly affirmed, that it was with the conſent of the king of England, and the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, that he recovered the poſſeſſion of his inheritance, of which he ſuppoſed, tho' without any grounds, that John, his father, was deprived by Robert Bruce. Moreover, he reſigned to Edward, in payment of the ſupplies received from him, the town and caſtle of Berwick, which were ſtill in the poſſeſſion of king David; offering likewiſe to marry Joanna, Edward's ſiſter, provided that princeſs's marriage with David Bruce could be annulled; and, laſtly, he promiſed to furniſh the king, his ſovereign, with aids of men and money, whenever required; from all which circumſtances, it evidently appears, that Edward was but too deeply concerned in this expedition, how much ſoever his hiſtorians may labour to vindicate his conduct. 1332.

Edward ſends an army into Scotland. Act. Pub.

Whilſt Baliol was purſuing his conqueſts in Scotland, Edward ſummoned a parliament, to demand a ſubſidy; pretending, that, by reaſon of certain commotions, in Ireland, of dangerous conſequence, it was neceſſary to ſend an army thither. The ſubſidy was readily granted; but, whilſt the troops, intended for this expedition, were on their march to embarque, they received orders, to advance towards the borders of Scotland. Edward repreſented to the parliament, that it was hazardous to leave the northern counties defenceleſs, whilſt their neighbours were in arms; and that his preſence was requiſite in thoſe parts; upon which, it was reſolved, that the Iriſh expedition ſhould be deferred; for, in all probability, the parliament voluntarily ſhut their eyes, being unwilling to obſtruct the king's deſigns.

1333. He complains that the Scots violated the treaty. Act. Pub.

In the mean while, Edward perceiving that, by the rapidity of Baliol's conqueſts, his project fully anſwered his wiſhes, immediately, pulled off the maſque; and, upon frivolous pretences, he complained, that the Scots had violated the treaty of peace; for it is manifeſt, that he wanted ſubſtantial reaſons, ſince he made uſe of one ſo very unlikely, in the then circumſtances of Scotland. The regent, left by king David, in Scotland, did not ſpare either excuſes, intreaties, or ſubmiſſions, to divert the impending ſtorm, but all to no purpoſe; for Edward, who had reſolved to take Berwick, ſoon after, beſieged that place; and he preſſed it ſo briskly, that he compelled the governor to ſign a capitulation, promiſing to ſurrender the town, unleſs it ſhould be relieved, within a limited time. During this interval, the regent, finding that Berwick could not be ſaved, without exerting his utmoſt force, levied an army, and advanced, with all expedition, to give the Engliſh battle; but Edward, being informed of it, expected him, at Halydon-hill, where was fought a bloody battle, which ended in the total rout of the army of Scotland. Seven Scotch earls were ſlain, on the ſpot, with 900 knights, 4000 gentlemen, and 32000 common ſoldiers, if we may believe the Engliſh hiſtorians; but the Scots own only 10,000, which, doubtleſs, is the moſt probable account; and this victory was followed by the ſurrender of Berwick, which the king annexed, for ever, to the crown of England.

The battle of Halydon.

Baliol holds his firſt parliament at Edinburgh, and reſigns ſeveral places to Edward.

Edward, pleaſed with the ſucceſs of this campaign, returned into his own dominions, leaving with Baliol a body of troops, to compleat the reduction of Scotland; who, being, thus, reinforced, took ſeveral towns, after which he held his firſt parliament, at Edinburgh. He cauſed whatever had been done, in favour of the

1333. the king of England, to be ratified; and all the Engliſh lords, who had ſerved him, recovered the lands they had loſt, in Scotland, or acquired others; moreover, all the acts of parliament paſſed, in the reign of Robert Bruce, were annulled, as wanting a lawful authority. Baliol was not contented with ſhewing his gratitude to Edward, by the ceſſion of Berwick, and doing him homage, but he alſo reſigned to him Roxburgh, Jedburgh, Selkirk, Dumfries, and the caſtle of Edinburgh, in reward, as he delared himſelf, in his letters, for his aſſiſtance, to recover his dominions.

1334. The Scots rebel againſt Baliol, and drive him out of Scotland.

Baliol, by means of this voluntary homage, and theſe extraordinary alienations, ſoon forfeited the eſteem and affection of his ſubjects; for it was obvious, that he was no more than Edward's inſtrument, to render himſelf maſter of Scotland; and, in this belief, they reſolved to ſhake off the yoke of their new ſovereign. Some of the great men, improving this general diſpoſition, headed a body of malecontents, and went, in queſt of Baliol, who was not, in the leaſt, apprehenſive of any ſuch deſign; and, having ſurpriſed and defeated him, they obliged him to fly, on an horſe without a ſaddle, to Carliſle, from whence he ſent his protector intelligence of his late misfortune.

Act. Pub. About the ſame time, Edward called a parliament, and repreſented to them, that he intended to go to the Holy-Land, with the king of France and ſeveral other chriſtian princes; but the news of the revolution, in Scotland, induced him to alter his pretended project; and, having procured the aid of money he demanded,

Edward marches into Scotland, and ravages the country. Knighton. he marched towards that kingdom, at the head of a powerful army, and penetrated, without any reſiſtance, to the northern counties, whilſt the Scotch army kept in poſts, where it was impoſſible to attack them; ſo that, for want of enemies to engage with, he returned into England; though he had hardly reached the borders, when Dunbar, the general of the Scotch army, ſallying out of his retreats, retook ſome places from the Engliſh. However, the ſeaſon not permitting the king to go, in queſt of his enemies, he ſent his troops into winter-quarters; and, that he might be at hand, he reſolved to paſs the winter, at Roxburgh.

1335. Another expedition into Scotland. Act. Pub. In the ſpring, he attacked Scotland, by ſea and land, advancing even as far as the northern ocean; but this incurſion did not prove very advantageous to him, as the north parts of Scotland could not be kept, without a ſtanding army there, ſuperior to that of the Scots; yet, finding that he could not allure them to a battle, he ſtaid, ſome time, at Perth, whilſt the earl of Cornwall, his brother, ravaged the weſtern counties of that miſerable kingdom. It is true, the Scots gained ſome advantage over 500 Engliſh archers, whom they ſurpriſed; and they alſo took the earl of Namure and the prince, his brother, who ſerved in Edward's

The regent of Scotland is taken by the Engliſh. Act. Pub. army; but the earl of Murray, being ſo generous as to releaſe his two priſoners, by carrying his civilities, a little too far, in waiting upon them himſelf to the frontiers, had the misfortune to be taken by a party of the garriſon of Roxburgh; which accident was fatal to the Scots, as it added, to the loſſes they had ſuſtained that of an able commander and a very skilful regent. 1335.

The pope and king of France endeavour to divert Edward from the war with Scotland. Act. Pub. In the interim, the pope and the king of France exerted themſelves, though indirectly, in the behalf of king David; for whilſt Edward continued at Perth, he received ambaſſadors from France, who, jointly with the pope's nuncio, preſſed him to perform his engagement, to carry his arms into Paleſtine. He plainly perceived, that their ſole view was to divert him from the war with Scotland; and, therefore, to prevent all farther ſollicitations, he expreſly told Philip's ambaſſadors, that, by God's grace, he was in a condition to make war againſt the Infidels, without their maſter's aſſiſtance, as ſoon as he had compleated the conqueſt of Scotland. This anſwer convincing the Scots, that he was reſolutely determined not to end the war, till he was abſolute maſter of the kingdom, the greateſt part voluntarily ſubmitted; being very ſenſible, that it was not poſſible for them to reſiſt any longer; and theſe obtained very favourable terms, whilſt others choſe rather to be expoſed to the laſt extremities, than be ſubject to the yoke of the Engliſh. After the campaign was over, Edward returned, in triumph to England, having ordered Perth, Edinburgh, and Sterling to be refortified, and committed the government of Scotland to the earl of Athol.

The Engliſh are defeated. The new general, who, tho' a Scotchman, had joined with Edward, in order to revenge ſome affronts received from his countrymen, had no ſooner the command of the Engliſh army, than he went and laid ſiege to Kildrummy; but Dunbar and Douglaſs poſted to its relief, and, though their army was not near ſo numerous, they defeated and ſlew the earl of Athol, and relieved the town; and, this ſucceſs animating the Scots, they flocked together, from all parts, under the conduct of theſe two generals, who made a very conſiderable progreſs.

1336. Edward ravages Scotland. Act. Pub. Edward, who thought he had effectually tamed the Scots, was, to the laſt degree, enraged, upon the news of this freſh revolt; and, as ſoon as the ſeaſon permitted, he marched, a fourth time, into the heart of Scotland, and ravaged, in a barbarous manner, the counties that had declared againſt him. In his return, he burnt the town of Aberdeen, and ſome other places of leſs note; and, leaving a ſmall army with Baliol, he ſet out for England, where he was called by more important affairs. This was Edward's laſt expedition into Scotland; and it was time for that unfortunate kingdom to enjoy ſome repoſe; for, ſince it was firſt invaded by Edward I, ſo much Scottiſh blood had been ſpilt, that it is extremely ſurpriſing, that, after ſo many loſſes, the Scots ſhould ſtill be able to contend for their liberty.

His deſigns againſt France. Edward's four expeditions into Scotland gained him, doubtleſs, great reputation; but, as that part of his glory might have been diſputed, by the conſideration of the ſuperiority of his troops, which were more numerous, better diſciplined, and more amply provided with all neceſſaries,

1336. neceſſaries, than thoſe of the Scots, he was willing to demonſtrate, in a larger and more noble field, that he was not afraid of engaging more formidable enemies; and, therefore, henceforward, neglecting Scotland, which he believed to be ſufficiently ſubdued, and which afforded him no more laurels, he reſolved to attack France, the moſt powerful ſtate of all Europe, and to do all that was poſſible, to wreſt the crown from Philip de Valois. I have already taken notice of his claim to that kingdom, from which he was excluded, by vertue of the Salick law; but, as he alledged, that this law was miſinterpreted, and as that was the cauſe of a long and bloody war, which often brought France into extreme danger, it was highly requiſite, before we proceeded to particulars, to ſhew the real foundation of that war; yet, as this matter requires a copious explanation, I muſt beg the reader's leave to refer him to the diſſertation, at the end of this reign, that the thread of the Hiſtory may not be interrupted. It is ſufficient, here, to ſay, in a word, that Edward pretended that the Salick law, in excluding females from the ſucceſſion to the crown, did not exclude their male iſſue; from whence he inferred, that the next male heir ought, of courſe, to ſucceed.

The Collection of the Publick Acts contains ſeveral pieces, evidently proving, that, altho' Edward ſeemed to ſubmit to the judgment given againſt him, in France, he was forming ſome great deſign, and that againſt France; and, among others, there is a letter to the inhabitants of Bayonne, poſitively promiſing them never to enter into a treaty with France, unleſs they were included, tho' he was not then in war with that crown; ſo that it was not Robert d' Artois, who, being expelled France, retired into England, that inſpired him with the thoughts of invading France, tho' this is unanimouſly affirmed by all the hiſtorians. However, I do not deny, that Robert d' Artois, who was diſguſted with Philip, by his councils, and, perhaps, by the conſideration of his friends, in France, induced Edward to haſten the execution of his project; but, ſince that prince is generally reputed the author of the king of England's undertaking, againſt France, it will not be improper to lay before the reader the reaſons, Robert d'Artois, a deſcendant from Lewis VIII, imagined he had, to complain of Philip; and, to this purpoſe, it will be neceſſary to preſent him with a view of the geneology of the houſe of Artois.

LEWIS VIII.

St. Lewis, king of France.	Robert I. earl of Artois.
Robert II. earl of Artois.	Maud Othenin, earl of Burg.
Philip of Artois d. before his father.	Joanna de B. Philip le Long. / Blanche de Burg. Charles the Fair.
Robert III. of Artois.	Blanche of France. Eudes, duke of Burg.

The ſtate of the earl of Artois's caſe.

Robert, earl of Artois, ſon to Lewis VIII, king of France, had a ſon and a daughter, viz. Robert and Maud. Robert II. was earl of Artois, and Maud married Othenin, earl of Burgundy, by whom ſhe had two daughters, Joanna and Blanche, who were eſpouſed to Philip le Long and Charles the Fair, kings of France; and Joanna had a daughter, named Blanche, who was wife to Eudes, duke of Burgundy. Robert II. had only one ſon, called Philip, who, dying before the earl, his father, left Robert, his ſon, the third of that name, but not earl of Artois; and Robert III. claimed the earldom, as grandſon to Robert II. and the next male heir; but Maud, his great aunt, alledged, that the ſucceſſion belonged to her, as ſiſter to Robert II, and ſo nearer, by one degree, than Robert III. The court of peers decided this affair, in favour of Maud, whoſe two daughters were married to the two younger ſons of Philip the Fair; and Robert d' Artois ſubmitted to the ſentence, during Philip's life and all the reign of Lewis Hutin; but he took up arms, in the regency of Philip le Long, and got poſſeſſion of Artois. When, from being regent, Philip aſcended the throne, the affair of Artois was again brought before the court of peers, and decided, once more, in favour of Maud; but, after the death of Charles the Fair, Robert de Artois was, of all the great men of France, the moſt active, in procuring the crown for Philip de Valois, his brother-in-law, and maintained the moſt ſtrenuouſly the authority of the Salick law; hoping, thereby, to eſtabliſh a precedent, concerning the earldom of Artois, and that, the Salick law being admitted, with reſpect to the crown, all its fiefs would be ſubject to the ſame law; and, therefore, depending upon this precedent, and the advantage of being brother-in-law to the new king, he revived the proceſs, and produced certain charters under the great ſeal, to confirm his right. However, Philip cauſed the charters to be examined ſo ſtrictly, that they were diſcovered to be counterfeit, for which a gentlewoman of Artois, the forger of them, was ſeverely puniſhed; and theſe charters, on which Robert founded his claim, being rejected, the earldom of Artois was adjudged to Blanche, daughter of Philip le Long, by vertue of her right from Maud, her grandmother. Robert, upon this, falling into a furious paſſion with the king, very harſhly upbraided him; and it is ſaid, that he even proceeded to menaces, which determined the king to proſecute him with the utmoſt ſeverity. He ordered him to be ſummoned before the peers; and cauſing, him to be condemned, for non-appearance, he commanded the ſentence to be publickly read in the ſtreets of Paris. Robert withdrew into Hainault; but, Philip interrupting him there, he took the deſperate courſe of throwing himſelf into the arms of the king of England; and, finding Edward finiſhing the war with Scotland, and forming projects againſt France, in all probability, he contributed, by his ſollicitations, to its being more ſpeedily put in execution.

1336.

1337. Edward makes an alliance with ſeveral princes.

Such an important war could not be undertaken, without extraordinary preparations, and the ſupport of powerful alliances, which might balance

1337. balance the ſuperiority France had, then, over England; Edward had, now, gained the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, the duke of Brabant, the earls of Guelder and Hainault, his brothers-in-law, the archbiſhop of Cologn, and ſeveral other German princes; nay, he did not neglect the private aſſiſtances of ſeveral lords of Germany, Flanders, Holland, Brabant, and Gaſcoigne, who promiſed to ſupply him with a number of horſe, in proportion to the ſums he remitted them; and all theſe troops, joined to the Engliſh, would have made a very formidable army, though all theſe alliances were far from being ſo advantageous to him, as that procured him, by Robert d' Artois, with James d' Arteville, a brewer of Ghent. The credit of that burgher was ſo great, in Flanders, that he had prevailed on the principal cities to revolt againſt the earl; and this prince was even reduced to the neceſſity of flying for refuge into France, till Philip, who had engaged to reſtore him, was in a condition to perform his promiſe. Edward, improving this juncture, offered his protection to the Flemings, who gladly accepted it, as they were apprehenſive of being oppreſſed by Philip; and this alliance was more beneficial, as, beſides the ſupplies he expected from the Flemings, it gave him an opportunity of aſſembling his army, in Flanders, and a means to open a paſſage into the enemy's country, from that quarter. The parliament *, who approved of his undertaking, having granted him large ſubſidies, to carry it on, he raiſed one of the fineſt armies that had ever been levied, in England; and, until his allies were prepared for action, he ſent part of his troops to the relief of the Flemings, whom their earl vigorouſly attacked, with the aſſiſtance of the French; but, upon the arrival of theſe troops, Guy, brother to the earl of Flanders, who was poſted in the iſle of Cadſant, was defeated and taken priſoner; and this auſpicious beginning of the Engliſh arms ſo diſconcerted the meaſures of the earl of Flanders, that the cities, which, till then, had been in his intereſt, declared againſt him.

Mezerai.

Prince Edward is made duke of Cornwall. Walſing.

Whilſt Edward continued his preparations, for this important war, the ſole object of his cares, he called a parliament, in order to ſettle the woollen manufacture, which was of very great conſequence to the kingdom; and, in this parliament, he created prince Edward, his eldeſt ſon, duke of Cornwall, who was the firſt, that bore the title of duke in England.

Edward writes to the pope againſt Philip. Act. Pub.

When the king was almoſt in readineſs for the war, he wrote to the pope and cardinals, to vindicate his enterpriſe, againſt France; complaining, in his letters, that though, after the death of Charles the Fair, his uncle, the crown was devolved to him, as the next heir, he was deprived of it, by a raſh and unjuſt ſentence; that the ambaſſadors ſent to Paris, to demand the crown, not only were not heard, but were menaced and put in danger of their lives; that, by taking from a minor the crown, which, of right, belonged to him, the peers of France acted, like robbers rather than judges; and that he proteſted againſt whatever was done, during his minority; and then he added, that Philip de Valois, not ſatisfied with uſurping the kingdom of France, had, without any declaration of war, unjuſtly ſeized Guienne and the earldom of Ponthieu, and united theſe two provinces to the crown; that he had countenanced the Scotch rebellion, inſtead of aſſiſting him, as he was obliged, by the bond of affinity; and, in fine, that, by his whole conduct, he had ſhewn himſelf to be his mortal enemy, and extremely uneaſy at every thing that tended to the honour of England. 1337.

Theſe letters being communicated to Philip, he replied, that, by the Salick law, as well as the judgment of the peers, Edward was excluded from the ſucceſſion to the crown of France, to which, otherwiſe, he could have no manner of right, ſince he was born, out of the kingdom; that, for his part, not only all the French had acknowledged him, for king, but Edward himſelf had ſubmitted to his authority; and that the homage he had done, in perſon, and confirmed, by his letters patent, was an undeniable proof, that he was himſelf convinced of the injuſtice of his pretenſions. Edward made anſwer, that his proteſtation, in the preſence of his council, before he performed homage, prevented its being, any way, prejudicial to his claim; that the fear of loſing his lands, in France, was the only motive to it; which, together with the conſideration of his minority, was more than ſufficient to annul it. As for theſe two reaſons, the firſt would ſcarce have been admitted, in a court of juſtice; but that was not the place, wherein this famous proceſs was to be decided. Edward, to ſhew his allies, that he was too far engaged in the conteſt, to recede, ordered the duke of Brabant, to demand the crown of France, in his name; and, at the ſame time, he made him his lieutenant-general, for that whole kingdom, commanding the French, whom he ſtiled his ſubjects, to pay him obedience.

Philip's anſwer.

Edward's reply.

The pope ſends two legates into England. Act. Pub.

To prevent the evils, into which a quarrel, of this nature, might involve all Chriſtendom, Benedict XII, then pope, was pleaſed very zealouſly to interpoſe; but, as Edward was the aggreſſor, he, firſt of all, ſent two cardinals, as his legates to that monarch, who, purſuant to their inſtructions, did all that was poſſible, to perſuade him to peace. However, they could not help diſcovering ſome partiality, in favour of France, becauſe of Edward's alliance with the emperor, the pope's avowed enemy; but, notwithſtanding this, the king aſſured them, that their mediation was agreeable to him, and that he would enter into a treaty, provided terms were propoſed, that were anſwerable to his rights. He even promiſed to defer the execution of his deſigns, till next March; but this was no mighty favour, ſince it was, now, December. He ſpent the remainder of the winter, in preparing his army and fleet, and eſpecially in ſtrengthening the league with new

* Soon after, the king iſſued out a commiſſion, for ſeizing the eſtates of the Lombard-merchants in England, who were become odious, by reaſon of their uſury and extortion; and he likewiſe ſeized the revenues of the alien priories, eſpecially, of the Cluniac and Ciſtercian orders. Rymer's Fœd.

1337. allies; among whom, we find, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, the count palatine of the Rhine, the duke of Auſtria, and the dauphin of Viennois, tho' they were, all three, according to the hiſtorians, the allies of France; which gives occaſion to preſume, that they, at firſt, engaged with Edward, but were afterwards gained by Philip. The dauphin had deſigned to erect his dominions into a kingdom; and he, doubtleſs, joined with Edward, in expectation of his uſing his intereſt with the emperor, to obtain his deſire; but, this project failing, he eſpouſed the quarrel of France. The earl of Hainault, being alſo willing to enter into the league, deſired, that Edward might have the title of vicar of the empire, in order to have a pretence to join forces with him, as general of the emperor's army; and, to ſatisfy the earl, and with a view of bringing over other German princes, Edward was pleaſed to demand that dignity of the emperor.

1338. Edward comes to Antwerp. When he had taken all the precautions, ſuggeſted to him by prudence, he embarqued, with a fleet of 500 ſail, and ſteered his courſe towards Antwerp, where he was called by important affairs; for it was neceſſary, that he ſhould be near his allies, to concert with them all proper meaſures, for the execution of his deſigns. Altho' his ambaſſadors had concluded alliances, in his name, with ſeveral princes, many things ſtill remained to be ſettled with them, before they could aſſemble their forces; and this, indeed, was the occaſion of retarding, for ſome months, the opening of the campaign; but this delay was not entirely fruitleſs. During that interval, Edward went and conferred, at Cologn, with the emperor, who ordered a patent to be drawn up, appointing him vicar of the empire; and this ſort of favour was attended with the promiſe of a powerful aſſiſtance, tho' it was afterwards very lamely performed. The Flemings having entered into the league, by means of James d'Arteville, became apprehenſive of being, one day, abandoned to the vengeance of their earl and the king of France; wherefore, Edward, to encourage them by his preſence, took a journey to Ghent, and granted the principal cities ſeveral privileges, in relation to their trade with England.

1339. He likewiſe engaged to make the marqueſs of Juliers a peer of England; and, accordingly, he afterwards created him earl of Cambridge. His power, as vicar of the empire, enabled him to erect the earldom of Guelder into a dutchy, and to grant the city of Cologn divers privileges, by which means he ſtrengthened his alliance with the archbiſhop; but none of his allies gave him ſo much trouble, as the duke of Brabant, who, fearing, that the two monarchs would be reconciled, at his expence, becauſe great princes often ſacrifice the intereſts of petty ones, who have ſerved them, reſolved to ſecure himſelf, before he joined in the league. However, Edward, to make that prince perfectly eaſy, beſides the money, with which he profuſely ſupplied him, gave him hopes of having, one day, for his ſon-in-law the duke of Cornwall, preſumptive heir to the crown of England; and he was even pleaſed to give it, under his hand, that he would not quit the Low-countries, till the war was compleated. 1339.

Edward borrows money, from all hands. Act. Pub. All theſe affairs, tho' of great importance, were not the ſole cauſe of Edward's long ſtay, in Brabant; but, as he was at exceſſive charges, he attempted, during that time, to borrow money of all the foreign princes; and he did not ſcruple even to apply to private perſons, and take up ſuch ſums as they were willing to lend, tho' never ſo inconſiderable; nay, it appears, from the Collection of the Publick Acts, that he pawned his crown to the archbiſhop of Triers, for 50,000 florins.

The birth of prince Lionel. Whilſt Edward was at Antwerp, his queen was delivered, there, of a prince, named Lionel; where he likewiſe received a letter from the pope, repreſenting to him, in ſtrong terms, the dangers to which he was expoſed, by his alliance with Lewis of Bavaria, who lay under the ſentence of excommunication; and he alſo upbraided him, for meanly accepting from the pretended emperor, the title of vicar of the empire, ſo much beneath his royal dignity; but, in ſpite of theſe remonſtrances, and though the pope threatened to proceed to extraordinary cenſures againſt him, he choſe rather to run that hazard, than interrupt the execution of his deſigns.

Edward enters Artois. All things being in readineſs, to open the campaign, which had been retarded, till September, Edward put himſelf at the head of 40,000 men, and encamped, between Marchienne and Doway; and then, marching towards le Cambreſis, he halted, ſome time, before the walls of Cambray; where he heard, that Philip was advancing with a formidable army, to give him battle. As this war was immenſely expenſive, and it was his intereſt to diſpatch it, with all poſſible expedition, he directly paſſed the Schelde, in order to meet his enemy; and, a few days after, the two armies being encamped, pretty near one another, about Vironfoſſe, Philip ſent a herald, to offer him battle, provided it ſhould be on a plain, where there was no incumbrance. Edward accepted the challenge, leaving it to Philip, to appoint the time and place; who fixed on the 22d of October, for the deciſion of this famous quarrel; but, whilſt both ſides prepared, with equal ardor, for an engagement, Philip was diſcouraged, by a letter from Robert, king of Naples. This prince, who was reputed to be a great aſtrologer, foretold him ill ſucceſs, wherever he fought the Engliſh; at leaſt, this is affirmed by ſeveral hiſtorians, who add, that, upon the credit of this prediction, Philip retired, not daring to hazard a battle; yet others maintain, and with greater probability, that this letter would not have induced him to take ſuch a ſtep, if the great men, who attended him, had not checqued his ardor, by more prudent counſels. It is ſaid, they repreſented to him, that, in the battle agreed upon, he run the riſque of loſing even his crown, whilſt Edward ventured only ſoldiers, moſt of whom were not his own; and that, upon this remonſtrance, he reſolved, though with great reluctance, to give his enemy this trifling advantage; but, when Edward perceived,

1339. perceived, that there was no likelihood of bringing Philip to a battle, he marched into Hainault. This is Froiſſart's account, who is accuſed, by the French, of being, on all occaſions, too partial to the Engliſh; but Nangis, a French hiſtorian, gives a quite contrary relation, by ſaying, that Edward retired firſt, being unwilling to hazard a battle; and this is not the only inſtance of the like contradictions, among the hiſtorians. However, it is not, in the leaſt, probable, that Edward, who paſſed the Schelde, to meet Philip, ſhould retire, for fear of fighting; but Philip's reaſons, for not venturing a battle, are very weighty; for the honour of a king, or general, conſiſts not in fighting, upon all occaſions, but only at a proper juncture; and they are never to hazard the loſs of a kingdom, without extreme neceſſity. However that be, the firſt campaign ended, without any blood-ſhed, except in Guienne, where the two parties made war upon each other; but, as nothing very material happened, I ſhall not loſe time, in relating the particulars.

1340. Edward aſſumes the title of king of France. Act. Pub.

It was impoſſible for Edward to return to England, ſo ſoon as he deſired; for, the king of France, mortified to ſee the advantages his enemy reaped, from his alliance with the Flemings, found means, by the artful inſinuations of his emiſſaries, to raiſe, in the cities of Flanders, a ſcruple for taking up arms againſt their ſovereign lord. This ſcruple, inflamed by the eccleſiaſticks, who, for the moſt part, eſpouſed the cauſe of France, had already made a deep impreſſion on the minds of the people; and, perhaps, it would have cauſed, in Flanders, ſome revolution prejudicial to England, had not James d' Arteville adviſed Edward to aſſume the title of king of France. This propoſal being debated in the king's council, it was approved, as a proper means to keep the Flemings in the league; and, indeed, it proved anſwerable to Edward's expectations. Purſuant to this advice, he ſtiled himſelf king of France, and quartered, with his own arms, the flower-de-luces of France; adding this motto, DIEU ET MON DROIT, by which he declared, that he placed his whole confidence in God, and the juſtice of his cauſe. This new title was not very ſurpriſing, ſince all his former proceedings were evident poofs of his deſign; and, ſome time after, he refuſed Philip the title of king, forbidding all his miniſters to give him any other, than that of earl of Valois. Moreover, he had appointed the duke of Brabant his lieutenant-general, in France, which ſufficiently ſhewed, that he thought himſelf the true king, though he had not then ventured to aſſume the name; but, having broken the ice, on account of the Flemings, he did not ſcruple to uſe the title of king of France, in all publick acts, and to mark this year, as the firſt of his new reign. He likewiſe iſſued out a declaration, notifying to the French, that, the kingdom of France being devolved to him, by the death of Charles the Fair, according to God's will, which he would not oppoſe, he was reſolved to act, as their ſovereign; He gave his new ſubjects all the uſual promiſes, on the like occaſions, offering his protection to all that, after the example of the Flemings, would acknowledge his authority; and, the ſame day, he publiſhed a manifeſto, containing a particular account of the pretended injuries received from Philip de Valois, and the propoſals of peace made by himſelf, in order that they might unite their forces againſt the Infidels. 1340.

He goes into England.

Though Edward had promiſed the duke of Brabant, that he would not quit the Low-Countries, till the war was compleated, it was impoſſible for him to perform his promiſe; for his affairs neceſſarily called him into England; but, to ſatisfy the duke, he left him, in hoſtage, four Engliſh lords of the firſt quality, beſides his queen and the new-born prince, who remained at Antwerp, as pledges of his return. After this, he paſſed into England, where he arrived, in February; and, preſently after, he called a parliament, which, upon granting him a conſiderable ſubſidy, procured the Confirmation of Magna Charta. Before they broke up, the lords and commons preſented an addreſs, praying that the title of the king of France, uſed in the Publick Acts, might have no influence over the affairs relating to England; and he, at once, complied with this requeſt. Though he had not, as yet, acquired one foot of land, in France, his new title was not diſpleaſing to the Engliſh, who fancied, that it increaſed the dignity of their ſovereign; but pope Benedict, on the other hand, exerted himſelf, to perſuade Edward to diſuſe that title, alledging he had no right to it, becauſe of the Salick law, concerning which, Philip had taken care to inſtruct him, to his advantage; but his exhortations proved altogether ineffectual.

Great preparations in England.

Though the firſt campaign had produced no remarkable event, Edward's preparations were a plain indication, that he expected greater matters, from the ſecond; for he had increaſed his fleet to 300 ſail of ſhips, fit for war, and his army was much more numerous than the former. Every thing being in readineſs, about midſummer, he embarqued for Flanders, though he had recieved intelligence, that the French fleet, conſiſting of 400 ſail, waited for him, in the way to Sluys. His eager deſire of glory rendering this news more joyful than ſurpriſing, he reſolved to open a paſſage, through the enemy, in ſpite of their ſuperiority; and, meeting them on the coaſt of Flanders, as he expected, he without heſitation, began the engagement; which was the greateſt and moſt memorable, that had been, hitherto, ſeen, in thoſe ſeas, and the firſt, wherein the king of England commanded, in perſon. The ſhips, for the moſt part, grappling one another, both ſides fought, without ſtirring, as if they had been, at land, from eight in the morning, till ſeven at night; and, if Edward's valour filled the ſoldiers with admiration, his conduct raiſed no leſs wonder in the mariners, who were amazed to ſee him give orders, with ſuch prudence and foreſight, that one would have thought he had commanded, at ſea, all his life. The preſence and reſolu- Act. Pub.

tion

1340. tion of the king, who appeared, wherever there was moſt danger, ſo animated his men, that they fought, with an aſtoniſhing bravery; and the French, on their part, gave proofs of great courage; but, after ſuſtaining, ſeveral hours, the efforts of the Engliſh, they were conſtrained, at laſt, to leap into the ſea, to avoid the ſword of their enemies. Of the whole French fleet, only 30 ſhips eſcaped, the reſt being either taken, or ſunk; ſo that Edward gained a moſt compleat and glorious victory. The Engliſh affirm, that the French loſt 30,000 men; but this terrible misfortune was long unknown to Philip, no one daring to carry him the news, till his buffoon, by an unlucky jeſt, gave him occaſion to diſcover it.

Edward beſieges Tournay. Act. Pub.

Edward's ſignal ſucceſs, in this engagement, afforded him an opportunity, of peaceably landing his troops, in Flanders, where he aſſembled the fineſt army, that was ever commanded by any king of England; for it conſiſted of 150,000 men, Engliſh, Germans, Flemings, and Gaſcoigns. With theſe numerous forces, he beſieged Tournay, after detaching 50,000 men, under Robert d'Artois, who poſted himſelf, near St. Omer, to favour the ſiege; but theſe laſt troops, being chiefly compoſed of the militia of Flanders, and entirely ignorant of military diſcipline, one day, without orders, to the number of 18,000, went and attacked the ſuburbs of St. Omer, for the ſake of plunder. The duke of Burgundy, who had thrown himſelf into that place, being unable to bear this bravado, ſallied out upon them, and ſlew above 3000; but this loſs would have been inconſiderable, had it not produced a fatal effect. The ſame night, the Flemiſh troops, ſeized with a panic conſternation, quitted their camp, in great diſorder, and ſhamefully retreated, ſome to their own homes, and others into Edward's camp; and ſome relate, that there was, on this occaſion, a battle, wherein Robert d'Artois was totally routed by the duke of Burgundy; but Froiſſart, a contemporary author, who gives us the above-mentioned account, ſeems more worthy of credit, than more modern writers.

Philip approaches Tournay. Walſing.

In the interim, Philip, at the head of an army, much ſuperior to that of Edward, advanced to the relief of Tournay, being accompanied by the kings of Navarre and Bohemia, with all the French nobility; not with an intent to engage, but only to harraſs the beſiegers, in order to force them to raiſe the ſiege. Edward was very ſenſible, how difficult it would be to take the town, whilſt the French army was ſo near; and, therefore, to oblige his enemy to alter his purpoſe, he diſpatched a herald, with a letter, challenging him to a ſingle combat, or offering to decide their quarrel by 100 on each ſide, or elſe by a general battle. The letter was directed to Philip de Valois, without any other title; to which Philip replied, Act. Pub. "He had ſeen a letter, addreſſed to one Philip "de Valois; but, as it was not for him, he re- "turned no anſwer; yet he took this occaſion "to acquaint him, that, with God's aſſiſtance, "he hoped, in a ſhort time, to expel him his "dominions."

1340. It was not eaſy to forward the ſiege of Tournay, by reaſon of the French army, which inceſſantly harraſs'd the beſiegers; and Edward lay three months, before the town, without making any conſiderable progreſs. However, he could not reſolve to raiſe the ſiege; but, tho' he was in great perplexity, he was freed from it by Joanna de Valois, his mother-in-law, ſiſter to the king of France, and widow to the late earl of Hainault. This princeſs, who had retired to the abbey of Fontenelle, after the deceaſe of her husband, interpoſed, in order to reconcile the contending monarchs, one of whom was her brother, and the other her ſon-in-law; and, at length, ſhe prevailed on them to conſent to a truce, from the 20th of September, to the 25th of June, in the following year; which was afterwards prolonged, for two years, by the pope's mediation. This truce was no ſooner ſigned, than Edward departed for England, with his queen, who had lived, three years, in the Low-Countries; where ſhe had been delivered of two princes, Lionel, at Antwerp, and John, at Ghent, who was afterwards ſtiled the duke of Lancaſter.

1340. Edward is in great perplexity.

A truce between the two kings. Act. Pub.

The emperor and duke of Brabant recede from the league. Act. Pub.

It was no ſmall mortification to Edward to be conſtrained, by the neceſſity of his affairs, to make a truce, which, in effect, diſconcerted all his meaſures; but three very weighty motives compelled him to take this ſtep, ſo very inconſiſtent with his vaſt deſigns. Firſt, the defection of the emperor and the duke of Brabant, who had both receded from the league; ſecondly, the exceſſive charge of ſupporting ſo numerous an army, for which the money, remitted from England, in leſs ſums than he expected, was far from being ſufficient; and, laſtly, this truce, in ſome meaſure, ſaved him the ſhame of raiſing the ſiege. Theſe reaſons were not only ſo cogent, as to induce him to ſign the truce, but alſo indiſpenſably engaged him to procure ſome reſpite, that he might remove the inconveniences occaſioned by the levity of his allies, and the exhauſting of his treaſure. As for the duke of Brabant, he amuſed him, for ſome time, with the proſpect of the foreſaid marriage; and he even demanded the pope's diſpenſation for it; but this affair, whether it was obſtructed by the king himſelf, or the court of Rome, came to nothing. The duke of Brabant, upon this diſappointment, withdrew his troops, tho' he did not openly break with the king; but, as to the emperor, the aid, Edward received from him, was ſo inconſiderable, that he would not have been a great ſufferer, by that loſs, had he not, in making a private peace with France, under the pretence that Edward concluded a truce, without him, alſo revoked his patent of vicar-general of the empire; which unexpected accident, cauſing ſome of the German princes to go from the league, obliged Edward to take other meaſures.

Edward's principal buſineſs, now, was to conſider of ways and means, to diſcharge his vaſt debts; and likewiſe to continue the war, when the truce ſhould be expired, without being expoſed to the like inconveniences. When he left England, he ſettled his affairs, in ſuch a manner, that he did not queſtion to receive punctually

1340. punctually the ſums he wanted, to pay his numerous army; but ſcarce had he begun the ſiege of Tournay, before he found himſelf in very great ſtraits, for want of money. Upon his arrival at London, he highly complained of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, whom he had appointed prime miniſter, in his abſence, charging him with maliciouſly obſtructing the levying of the ſubſidy granted by the parliament, though it was, by his advice and inſtances, that he engaged in the undertaking. He farther added, that, having laid ſiege to Tournay, upon his aſſurances, that nothing ſhould be wanting, he was abandoned, when he had moſt need for aſſiſtance; that he had not only violated his word, but even oppoſed all the expedients propoſed, to raiſe money; and, in a word, that he was the ſole cauſe of the length and ill ſucceſs of the ſiege of Tournay. The archbiſhop, having, thus, incurred the king's diſpleaſure, who was reſolved not to ſpare him, attempted to vex him, in his turn; and, with this view, he exclaimed againſt an extraordinary levy of money made, ſince the king's return, contrary to the liberties of Magna Charta, and threatened the collectors with excommunication. His intention was to raiſe a commotion, among the people; and, probably, he would have carried his revenge farther, if the parliament had not diſapproved his proceedings; but, as he was afraid of being abandoned, he choſe, though ſomewhat too late, to ſubmit to the king's mercy; and Edward very readily accepted his ſubmiſſions, to prevent a quarrel, which muſt have been prejudicial to him, on the account of his frequent occaſions for the clergy's aſſiſtance.

Act. Pub.

1341.

Benedict XII. is partial to France. He puts Flanders under an interdict. Walſing.

Some have imagined, that the archbiſhop was gained by the pope, who was very much byaſſed, in favour of France; and the pope, ſoon after, manifeſtly diſcovered his partiality, in putting all Flanders under an interdict, becauſe the Flemings had declared againſt the king of France, their ſovereign lord. The Flemiſh clergy ſo ſtrictly obſerved the interdict, that people were forced to ſend, into England, for leſs ſcrupulous prieſts, to celebrate divine ſervice; and the Flemings received theſe eccleſiaſticks, without any difficulty, pretending to evade the pope's cenſures, by alledging they were built upon an unjuſt foundation, ſince Edward was the real king of France, and Philip an uſurper.

A negotiation for a peace between the two kings. Act. Pub.

Edward's war with France ſucceeded ſo ill, that all his immenſe expences had not acquired him one foot of land, in the kingdom he had undertaken to conquer; and, after ſo ſo great, though fruitleſs, endeavours, there was no appearance of his ever meeting with better ſucceſs. Beſides, the truce affording his enemy leiſure to make preparations, he could have no hopes of ſurpriſing him; and yet it is not eaſy to determine, whether the negotiations for a peace, during the truce, were ſincere, on his part, or intended only to amuſe his enemy. However that be, if he really deſigned to make peace, the proſpect of freſh advantages, from the poſture of affairs in the dutchy of Bretagne, ſoon led him to reſolve to improve ſuch a favourable juncture; but the ſhare England had in the quarrel, about the ſucceſſion of that dukedom, obliges me to give ſome account of the caſe, which is briefly, as follows. 1341.

ARTHUR II. duke of Bretagne.

1. wife.			2. wife.
JOHN II. duke of Bret. died, 1341.	GUY, earl of Pontievre.	PETER died, without iſſue.	JOHN, earl of Montfort.
	JOANNA Charles de Blois.		

The affair of Bretagne.

Arthur II, duke of Bretagne, left three ſons, by his firſt wife, viz. John II, his ſucceſſor, Guy earl of Pontievre, and Peter; and, by a ſecond wife, he left a fourth ſon, named John, who was earl of Montfort, by his mother. John II. and Peter had no iſſue; but Guy, who died, in 1330, left a daughter, called Joanna, who was given by her uncle, John, in marriage to Charles de Chatillon, brother to Lewis, earl of Blois, who was generally ſtiled Charles de Blois. John II. dying, in 1341, there ſurvived two of the family, John, earl of Montfort, and Joanna, his niece, wife to Charles de Blois, who both claimed the dukedom; Joanna, by right of repreſentation, as daughter to Guy elder brother of John de Montfort, and the latter, as brother of the late duke, and conſequently, one degree, nearer than his niece. He alſo pleaded the advantage of his ſex; but this reaſon was of little weight, ſince Bretagne did not own the authority of the Salick law; and Charles had a great advantage over his competitor, as being nephew to Philip de Valois, who was to decide the affair. On the contrary, the earl of Montfort, immediately after the death of the duke, his brother, got poſſeſſion of Bretagne, and cauſed the greateſt part of his ſubjects to ſwear fealty to him; and he was, now, in England, where he had privately done homage to Edward, owning him, for king of France, and entered into an alliance with him. By this proceeding, he entirely forfeited that monarch's favour, who had no great kindneſs for him, before; yet Philip, obſerving the cuſtomary formalities, ordered the two competitors to be ſummoned before the court of peers, to defend their rights, and receive judgment. Montfort very imprudently repaired to Paris, fancying that what he had done, in England, was ſtill a ſecret; but, at his firſt audience, the king of France plainly told him, that he had no preteſinons to Bretagne, and upbraided him, for his homage to the king of England. Montfort confeſſed, that he had been in England, to ſee his friends, though he denied the homage; but Philip, being better informed than he imagined, commanded him not to ſtir from Paris, and appointed a day, for the judgment of the proceſs. It was eaſy for Montfort to apprehend, what danger both his cauſe and perſon were in; and, therefore, on a ſudden, he made his eſcape from Paris, diſguiſed like a merchant, and retired to Bretagne; yet his ab-

The diſpute between John de Montfort, and Charles de Blois. Walſing

They are both cited before the peers.

1341. fence did not prevent the decision of the affair, in the behalf of Charles de Blois, who was declared duke of Bretagne, and, immediately, admitted to homage. It is pretended, that the peers did not, on this occasion, proceed, in so regular a manner, as the nature of the cause required; but, though this decision was directly contrary to that, in the case of the earl of Artois, they alledged, that, usually in Bretagne, representation took place, but not in Artois. However that be, Philip, being highly incensed against the earl of Montfort, for doing homage to the king of England, confiscated his lands; but, to compensate this loss, Edward gave him, in England, the earldom of Richmond. Shortly after, John, eldest son to Philip de Valois, being commissioned to execute the decree given, in favour of Charles de Blois, entered Bretagne, at the head of a numerous army; upon which, Montfort retreated to Nantz, where he was, forthwith, besieged; but, presently after, the city being taken, and Montfort made prisoner, he was conducted to Paris, and committed to the great tower of the Louvre.

The earl of Montfort is taken prisoner.

His wife manages his affairs. Froissart.

This event would, doubtless, have ended the quarrel between the two candidates, had not Margaret of Flanders, wife to John de Montfort, undertook to support her husband's interests, in spite of the ill situation of his affairs; who came to London, with her son, a child only four years old, and renewed the earl her husband's alliance with Edward. By this new treaty, she positively engaged, to put the English in possession of all the places, still in her power; and, the more effectually to secure the assistance of England, she concluded a marriage, between her son and one of Edward's daughters, and left the young prince at the English court, to be educated, or rather as an hostage.

She renews the treaty with Edward. Act. Pub.

1342. Edward having, by this means, procured an entrance into Bretagne, he, directly, dispatched Robert d' Artois thither, in order to attack Philip, from that quarter; who quickly became master of Vannes, and then ordered Rennes to be besieged; but, whilst his forces were employed in the siege, the heads of the contrary party, knowing he staid, at Vannes, with a few troops, invested the town, and took it, by storm. Robert, being mortally wounded, very narrowly escaped to Hennebond, where he died of his wounds; but Edward, being extremely grieved, when he received the news of his death, swore to revenge it; and he perfomed his oath, with the utmost punctuality. Robert d' Artois's expedition into Bretagne gave Philip occasion to complain, that Edward had violated the truce; and, to be even with him, he caused hostilities to be renewed, in Guienne. Thus, the two monarchs prepared for a fresh war, by mutually accusing each other of breaking the truce.

1342. Edward sends Robert d' Artois into Bretagne, Act. Pub.

where he is killed.

Edward goes, in person, to Bretagne, where he besieges four towns. Act. Pub.

The earl of Northampton, who had taken the command of the English troops, in Bretagne, upon the decease of Robert d' Artois, was unable to make any progress, with so small an army; and yet it was of vast importance to Edward, to become master of that dutchy; wherefore, he resolved to go thither, in person, with a powerful reinforcement. Upon his arrival, he laid siege, at once, to Nantz, Rennes, Vannes, and Guingamp; but Philip resolved to drive them thence, at all adventures; and, with this view, he raised an army of 50,000 men, under the command of the duke of Normandy, his eldest son. The young prince, marching with the utmost expedition, had the good fortune to enter Bretagne, before any of the places besieged were taken; and his approach obliged Edward to raise these four sieges, and draw all his troops together, which were still inferior to the French. The two armies remained, the greatest part of the winter, encamped near each other, but so well intrenched, that neither of the leaders seemed to be inclined to engage; and the duke of Normandy was unwilling to run any hazard, because, having done what he wanted, he was in hopes of starving his enemies. Edward was equally averse to venture a battle, unless forced, against an army much superior to his own; but, whilst these two princes lay, thus, encamped, two legates from Clement VI, the new pope, had time to arrive, and negotiate, between the two crowns, a truce, for three years, wherein all the allies, on both sides, were included; and they also prevailed on the two kings to promise to send ambassadors to Avignon, to treat of a peace, by the pope's mediation.

1342.

1343. A truce for three years. Knighton. Walsing.

Whilst Edward was engaged in his wars with France, the Scots improved that diversion, to make an attempt to recover their liberty; and, since Edward quitted Scotland, king David's adherents had gained great advantages over Baliol, who commanded the English army, but had not sufficient forces to stop their progress. Robert Stuart, regent of Scotland, for king David, maintained, by his valour and conduct, the interests of the young exiled prince; and he was bravely seconded by William Douglas and some other lords, who still continued inviolably attached to their lawful sovereign. Though a body, commanded by Douglas, sustained a dreadful loss, Robert was still in a condition to keep his ground; and he even, shortly after, besieged Perth, or St. Johnston, the strongest place the English had, in Scotland. The siege lasted, three months, by reason of the besiegers great want of ammunition; but a seasonable supply, from France, enabled them, at length, to take the place. This loss obliged Baliol to abandon the center of the kingdom, and retire to the borders, where he sheltered himself, by means of the places he had resigned to the English; and the truce, concluded before Tournay, wherein Scotland was included, constrained Stuart to lay down his arms, for some time; but no sooner was the truce broken, on account of the affairs of Bretagne, than the Scots re-assembled and besieged Sterling, of which they became masters, after numberless assaults, without the least intermission.

The affairs of Scotland. Act. Pub.

The progress of the Scots, since 1339.

This progress convincing Edward of his mistake, in fancying that Scotland was no longer able to give him any disturbance, he was resolved to invade it, once more, by sea and land; and, therefore, he repaired to the frontiers, where he waited for his fleet, which was to join

Edward marches against Scotland, in 1343. Act. Pub.

1343. join him, at Newcaſtle; but a violent tempeſt, that held ſeveral days, rendered his ſhips unſerviceable, for the reſt of that year. This unfortunate accident hindered his entering Scotland, as it deprived him of the proviſions and ammunition, on board his fleet; and he could not expect to find any, in the enemy's country, becauſe the Scots themſelves deſtroyed them, to deprive his army of the means of ſubſiſtence. However, their ignorance of his ſtate freed him from his preſent perplexity; for, finding themſelves much inferior to that monarch, who threatened their country with utter deſolation, they humbly ſued for a truce, and Edward took care not to refuſe it; though, taking advantage of their terror, he would only grant it, upon this condition: That they ſhould own him, for ſovereign of Scotland, and renounce their allegiance to king David, provided that prince came not, in perſon, into that kingdom, before May next enſuing, with an army ſtrong enough to give battle. The king of France, upon this, lay under a neceſſity of aſſiſting his ally, more effectually than he had, hitherto, done, leſt he ſhould loſe the advantages, procured by the frequent diverſions of the Scots; wherefore, he ſupplied king David with men and money, and ſent him into Scotland, where he levied an army, conſiſting, as it is ſaid, of 60,000 men, Scots, French, Danes, and Norwegians; and, with theſe troops, marching towards the frontiers of England, he penetrated as far as Durham, which he beſieged. In a few days, he took the city, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword; and his intent was to make a farther progreſs; but, upon advice, that Edward was haſtening to give him battle, he choſe to retire, his generals repreſenting to him, that he could not remain any longer, in England, without hazarding a battle, which might, a ſecond time, endanger his kingdom. Whilſt he was marching back to Scotland, the garriſon of Werk-caſtle, belonging to the counteſs of Salisbury, attacking ſome of his troops that ſtaid behind, he was ſo highly exaſperated, that he reſolved to take the caſtle; and he ſtormed it, ſeveral times, but was bravely repulſed by the counteſs's people, who was herſelf in the place. This reſiſtance, and the news of Edward's approach, obliged him to deſiſt; and he could not retreat, at a more proper juncture, ſince Edward came, that very day, to the caſtle. He paid a viſit to the counteſs of Salisbury *, which has induced ſome hiſtorians to affirm, he fell deſperately in love with that lady; tho' it would not be difficult to confute their groundleſs aſſertions; but as his love, whether true or falſe, produced no material event, it will be needleſs to enter upon ſuch an enquiry. On the morrow, Edward continued his march, in queſt of the enemy; but, being informed, that the Scots were retired to Gedeour's foreſt, he ceaſed his purſuit. As his affairs were not yet in an agreeable ſituation, in Scotland, and this war was very unſeaſonable, with reſpect to his meaſures with France, he ſent David an offer of a two year's truce, which was accepted, with

Edward grants the Scots a truce. Knighton.

He pays a viſit to the counteſs of Salisbury. Froiſſart.

Philip's conſent; by means of which, the king of Scotland ſettled himſelf firmly on the throne, and the king of England had more leiſure to think of his other affairs. 1343.

Edward's thoughts, for many years, were ſo entirely engroſſed by military affairs, that he could not find time, to redreſs ſeveral grievances complained of by the people, and which juſtly deſerved a particular attention; but, the truce with France and Scotland affording him ſome reſpite, he called a parliament to conſult about means, to ſecure the welfare and tranquillity of the nation. During this ſeſſions, which continued, a conſiderable part of the winter, the parliament made it their principal buſineſs to enact ſeveral regulations, extremely beneficial to the people; and Edward was ſo far from oppoſing them, that he very ſolemnly confirmed all the liberties of Magna Charta; by which he ſhewed, that he was no leſs concerned for the good of his people, than for his own, or that of his ſucceſſors. Among the ſeveral acts paſſed, in this parliament, one of the moſt important was the ſtatute of proviſors, that is, an act againſt thoſe who brought proviſions, for benefices, from the court of Rome; for the former popes exceedingly abuſed the power they aſſumed, to diſpoſe of the benefices of England; nay, without ſtaying till they were vacant, they often conferred them on perſons, who were to take poſſeſſion, upon the death of the preſent incumbents, which raiſed loud complaints from the patrons. Clement VI. proceeding, in this particular, farther than any of his predeceſſors, the parliament was conſtrained to remonſtrate to him, about it, but to no manner of purpoſe; for, inſtead of reforming this abuſe, which was ſtill more intolerable, as all the benefices were beſtowed upon foreigners, the pope exhorted the king, in a letter, to withdraw the complaints againſt the proviſions, which, in his opinion, were an undeniable prerogative of the holy ſee. The parliament, upon this, deſpairing of any redreſs from the pope, reſolved to provide againſt this evil, by their own authority; and, accordingly, the foreſaid ſtatute was paſſed, which made it death, for any perſon, to bring, for the future, the like proviſions into the kingdom. Tho' this ſtatute extremely mortified the pope, he thought fit to be ſilent, being aſſured, that the king and parliament were reſolved to ſupport it, and contemn his cenſures. However, that his pretended right might not be entirely loſt, he feigned to take no notice of the ſtatute; but, altho' he afterwards granted, from time to time, ſeveral proviſions, it was with ſuch caution, that the abuſe was conſiderably leſſened, during the ſequel of this reign. On the other hand, the king being unwilling to occaſion an entire rupture with the court of Rome, was content with leaving the ſtatute in force, without a rigorous execution; but, in proceſs of time, under Edward's ſucceſſors, the popes returning to their former courſes, it became frequently neceſſary to renew this ſtatute, which was called the ſtatute of Præmunire, containing, beſides the pro-

Edward calls a parliament. Knighton.

Act. Pub.

* Named Joan; and ſhe was ſiſter to John Plantagenet, earl of Kent, and daughter to Edmund, late earl of Kent, king Edward's uncle. J. Barnes.

hibition

1334. hibition of proviſions, ſeveral other caſes, relating to the diſputes with the popes.

Prince Edward is created prince of Wales.

In this parliament, the king created Edward his eldeſt ſon prince of Wales, and inveſted him with a coronet and a ring of gold; who was then 13 years old, and gave very promiſing hopes of what he would prove, hereafter.

Edward prepares for a war with France.

Tho' Edward ſeemed wholly employed with domeſtick, he did not neglect foreign, affairs; for his mind was continually on the rack, to project means to renew the war with France, the very moment the truce was expired. He appeared, however, inclinable to peace, and continued, at the court of Rome, negotiations, which daily met with freſh obſtacles; but, whether his ſole deſign, by them, was, to amuſe his enemy, or he expected them to be unſucceſsful, he took care to make prepara-

Act. Pub. tions for war. He had reaped ſo little advantage, from his alliances with the princes of Germany and the Low-Countries, upon whom he conſumed ſuch immenſe ſums, to no purpoſe, that he reſolved to take another courſe; and, with that view, he diſpatched, into the Low-Countries and Germany, agents, with power to treat with all ſorts of perſons, that would ſupply him with men, or money. As all theſe aids, when joined in a body, would produce the ſame effect, at a much cheaper rate; ſo he expected to be able to diſpoſe of his troops more abſolutely, than he had done thoſe of the princes. Moreover, he hoped to perplex Philip's intrigues, by which he, on all occaſions, endeavoured to corrupt his allies; and, in order to draw into his kingdom multitudes of foreign lords, with whom he might, in perſon, negotiate, he found out an expedient, which could not fail of ſucceſs, becauſe it was entirely adapted to the taſte of that age. He ordered tournaments to be publiſhed, and gave an honourable reception to all perſons of diſtinction, that were pleaſed to be preſent, careſſing them, in ſuch a manner, that they could never ſufficiently admire his politeneſs, magnificence, and liberality; and, to render theſe entertainments the more ſolemn, and, at the ſame time, to free himſelf from the ceremonies, to which the difference of rank and condition would have obliged him, he cauſed a circular hall of boards to be run up, at Windſor, 200 feet, in diameter; where he feaſted all the knights, at one table, which was called the round table, in memory of the great Arthur, who, it is pretended, inſtituted an order of knighthood, by that name. The following year, he cauſed a more ſolid building to be erected, that he might continue, annually, the ſame diverſions; and, during that time, he treated with theſe ſeveral lords, about the ſupplies each of them could furniſh him with, in proportion to his forces. The Collection of the Publick Acts abounds with inſtances of treaties with private perſons, managed either by himſelf, or his agents; and Philip could not ſee, without jealouſy, Spaniards, Italians, Germans, Flemings, and even Frenchmen, flock to England, to aſſiſt at the tournaments; wherefore, ſuſpecting ſome ſecret deſign in theſe entertainments, to diſconcert Edward's meaſures, he cauſed the like to be publiſhed in his dominions. This method of oppoſing his enemy was, in itſelf, juſt and honourable; but, ſoon after, he uſed another, that was not ſo generally approved, though it was attended with remarkable conſequences. It is ſaid, that, having drawn to Paris, under the pretence of a tournament, Oliver de Cliſſon, and 10 or 12 other lords of Bretagne, attendants of Charles de Blois, he commanded their heads to be ſtruck off, without the leaſt formality of juſtice; but a letter, from Edward to the pope, about this affair, ſhews, that Philip did not allure theſe lords to Paris, but apprehended them, in Bretagne. As this action was the cauſe of breaking the truce, it will be requiſite to explain it; for we cannot otherwiſe diſcover, who was author of the rupture. Oliver de Cliſſon, a lord of Bretagne, having ſerved Charles de Blois, during the war, was taken priſoner by Edward, who having, probably, gained him, conſented, that he ſhould be exchanged for an Engliſhman; but, whether Philip had proof of his having changed ſides, or only ſuſpected it, he ordered him to be apprehended, in Bretagne, with 10 or 12 lords and gentlemen, and conducted to Paris, where they were beheaded. I believe I may venture to affirm, that theſe lords were apprehended, in Bretagne, becauſe the pope, in his anſwer to Edward's letter, wherein he vindicates Philip, to the utmoſt of his power, does not ſay ſo much as a word, to the contrary; but, perhaps, ſome of theſe lords and gentlemen were ſeized, at Paris, and the reſt, in Bretagne, by the king's order. The main difficulty, in judging rightly of this action of Philip's, is, that, according to Froiſſart, Argentre, and all the French hiſtorians, theſe lords had, all along, eſpouſed the cauſe of Charles de Blois; and yet Edward, in his letter to the pope, ſtiles them his adherents. They muſt, therefore, have changed ſides, either publickly, or privately, after the truce; which it is no eaſy matter preciſely to determine; tho' it does not appear, Edward could have had any reaſon to concern himſelf ſo much, in this affair, if theſe lords had only been his private adherents, whilſt outwardly they continued, all along, attached to France; and this, added to Edward's letter to the pope, ſeems to prove, at leaſt, that ſome of theſe lords openly declared for the earl of Montfort. Upon this ſuppoſition, it cannot be doubted, that Philip violated the truce, in commanding them to be ſeized, in Bretagne; but, if theſe lords are ſuppoſed to have been only Edward's ſecret friends, ſince the concluſion of the truce, the two following queſtions may be propoſed: Firſt, whether Philip might juſtly cauſe them to be ſeized, in Bretagne, during the truce? Secondly, whether, as ſovereign lord of Bretagne, he had a right to exerciſe ſuch a power over theſe lords, eſpecially, as the putting them to death, in ſo illegal a manner, was rather a murder than an act of juſtice? However that be, Edward alledged, that this action was a violation of the truce; whilſt Philip maintained, that Edward, to break it, made uſe of this unjuſtifiable pretence.

1243.

Philip beheads ſeveral lords of Bretagne. Act. Pub.

An explanation of this affair.

Edward

1344. Edward was ſo incenſed at the tragical death of the lords of Bretagne, that he was upon the point of beheading the Bretagne-priſoners of Philip's party; but, upon the remonſtrances of Henry of Lancaſter, he altered his reſolution. However, he ſent for Henry de Leon, one of the priſoners, and told him, with great emotion, that, though the death of his countrymen, beheaded at Paris, was a ſufficient reaſon to treat him with the ſame ſeverity, he was unwilling to copy after ſo bad an example, or to revenge himſelf on the innocent, but intended to puniſh the author of that barbarity; and then he added, that, though he might demand of him a ranſom of 30 or 40,000 crowns, he would releaſe him for 10,000, provided he would go, in his name, and defy Philip, and declare to him, that having violated the truce, by this barbarous action, he muſt prepare for war.

Edward ſends word to the king of France, that the truce is broken.

He ſends a defiance to Philip.

Edward, reſolving to puſh the war, with more vigour than ever, appointed the earl of Northampton his lieutenant-general in France; commanding him, at the ſame time, to defy Philip, and declare war againſt him, by ſea and land. Soon after, he ſent, into Guienne, Henry of Lancaſter, earl of Derby, to begin hoſtilities, till he ſhould be in readineſs to go thither himſelf; and, in the interim, he invited John de Montfort into England, who had made his eſcape from Paris, and received his homage, for Bretagne. He alſo received the homage of Jeoffrey de Harcourt, for his lands in Normandy confiſcated by Philip, and he engaged, by letters patent, either to recover his eſtate, or give him an equivalent in France, or England. Quickly after, he publiſhed a manifeſto, concerning all the injuries received from Philip de Valois; and he exhorted the French to acknowledge him, for ſovereign, promiſing to exempt them from taxes, and govern them, according to the laws and cuſtoms obſerved in France, under St. Lewis, his predeceſſor. He likewiſe wrote to the pope, to acquaint him with his reaſons to renew the war; but the pope's anſwer evidently ſhewed him to be a partial mediator; for he not only juſtified Philip's proceedings againſt the lords of Bretagne, and accuſed Edward of being the firſt violater of the truce, but even threatened to exert his apoſtolick authority againſt him. This was a convincing proof, that Edward could expect no favour from the pope; and, accordingly, he made no farther addreſſes to him, but only for form-ſake, and to keep up a decorum.

The earl of Derby begins the war, in Guienne. Froiſſart. Walſing.

Act. Pub.

1345. In the mean while, Philip laboured to diſengage the Flemings from the intereſt of England; but Edward, being informed of theſe practices, ſuddenly paſſed into Flanders, where he ſtaid, only three weeks; and, at his return, he pretended to have prevented the dangers, he had reaſon to apprehend, from the inconſtancy of the Flemings. However, we ſhall preſently ſee, that he had flattered himſelf too much, or the Flemings had deceived him; ſince it is certain that they never afterwards gave him any aſſiſtance.

Edward goes into Flanders. Act. Pub.

In the interim, the earl of Derby made a conſiderable progreſs, in Guienne, where he carried, by ſtorm, the town of Bergerac, which he gave up to be plundered; but the generoſity of that general, rarely imitated by thoſe of our age, deſerves to be honourably tranſmitted down to poſterity. Whilſt the Engliſh were intent upon plundering the town, a Welch knight chanced to light upon the receiver's office; where he found ſuch a quantity of money, that he judged it his duty to acquaint his general with it, imagining that he had naturally a right to ſo great a booty; but he was agreeably ſurpriſed, when the earl told him, with a pleaſant countenance, that he wiſhed him joy of his good fortune, and did not make his word to depend upon the greatneſs, or ſmallneſs, of what he promiſed. 1345.

This year, the Scots, at Philip's inſtigation, made an inroad upon the borders of England; but they were repulſed by Edward's troops, in the northern counties. Walſing.

John de Montfort, who aſſumed the title of duke of Bretagne, died, in September, leaving to the king of England the guardianſhip of his ſon, and to Margaret, his dutcheſs, the management of a very important war. Knighton.

1346. During theſe tranſactions, Edward loſt a very powerful ally, by the death of James d'Arteville, who was torn in pieces by the Flemings; and, his death entirely changing the poſture of affairs, in the Low-Countries, it was, by no means, proper to attack France, from that quarter; and, therefore, Edward reſolved to carry the brunt of the war into Guienne. The duke of Normandy had now entered that province, at the head of 60,000 men, to compleat the conqueſt of it; and, upon the approach of this formidable army, the earl of Derby retired to Bourdeaux; but, his retreat giving the duke of Normandy an opportunity of retaking ſeveral places, he was, at length, engaged in the ſiege of the caſtle of Aiguillon, ſeated upon the confluence of the Gironne and Lot. This ſiege was very remarkable, not only for the vigorous aſſaults of the beſiegers, who, for a whole week, ſtormed the town, three times a day, but for the brave defence of the beſieged; and Edward haſtened his preparations, for their relief, determining to oppoſe, in perſon, the duke of Normandy's progreſs.

The duke of Normandy makes a great progreſs, in Guienne. Froiſſart.

The famous ſiege of Aiguillon.

All things being in readineſs for his departure, he came to Southampton, bringing with him the prince of Wales, his eldeſt ſon, about 16 years of age, intending that he ſhould make his firſt campaign; and, before the troops embarqued, he aſſembled his principal officers, and "exhorted them ſo to behave, as to merit "his eſteem, and the rewards he deſigned for "thoſe that diſcharged their duty. He de- "clared, that his intent was to ſend back "his ſhips, the very moment he arrived in "Guienne; and, therefore, they could not "have the leaſt hopes of ſeeing their own "country again, unleſs they returned victori- "ous; adding, that, if any man's heart failed "him, he need only ſpeak freely, and he ſhould "inſtantly have his permiſſion to ſtay behind." This ſpeech being ſpread in the army, the ſoldiers cried out, that they were all, to a man,

Edward embarques for Guienne.

1346. ready to follow their ſovereign, wherever he was pleaſed to command them; and, ſuch a ſudden and unanimous reſolution, greatly raiſing his expectations, he embarqued his troops, deſigning to ſail for Guienne; but, being twice driven back by contrary winds, Geoffrey de Harcourt, who attended him, took occaſion to perſuade him to land in Normandy, a very plentiful country, which had been long exempted from the calamities of war; and Edward, purſuant to his advice, landed, at la Hogue in le Cotentin, where he was, by no means, expected.

Edward knights the prince of Wales. Act. Pub.

The moment of his arrival, he knighted the prince of Wales, his ſon, and ſeveral other young lords; and then he headed his army, conſiſting of 30,000 foot, and 2500 men at arms. He divided his troops into three bodies, who marched ſeparately, in the day, but commonly rejoined, in the evening, in order to encamp all together; and, in their firſt marches, they revenged, in a horrible manner, the death of the lords beheaded, at Paris. Valogne, St. Lo, Carentan, and Harfleur were the firſt towns that felt the fury of the Engliſh arms; and Ralph, earl of Eu, conſtable of France, then at Caen, attempting to oppoſe the Engliſh, with the militia of the country, ſerved only, by his being defeated and made priſoner, for a happy preſage of their future victories. After the defeat of the conſtable, Edward continued his march, through the biſhopricks of Liſieux and Evreux, burning and plundering whatever came in his way; and he never halted, till he came to Poiſſi, where he ſtaid, ſome days, to provoke Philip to engage, by ſending a herald to him with a defiance, which was not accepted; for Philip's deſign was to incloſe him between the Seine and the Oyſe. Had this project proved ſucceſsful, the Engliſh army would have been unavoidably ruined; but Edward, perceiving his intent, though ſomewhat too late, decamped from Poiſſi, in order to paſs the Somme, and take ſhelter, in Ponthieu; being ſenſible, that his enemy was advancing with an army of 100,000 men. He marched, a conſiderable way down the Somme, before he could find any paſſage; yet, at laſt, he was ſo happy as to diſcover the ford of Blanchetaque, by means of a priſoner, who was thoroughly acquainted with the country. This diſcovery appeared, at firſt, very advantageous; but Philip, foreſeeing that the enemy might take that rout to retire, detached Gondemar du Fay, with a body of 12000 men, to guard that ford, on which depended the ſucceſs of his deſigns; ſo that Edward was obliged, either to force the paſſage, or fight, with great diſadvantage, his enemy, who cloſely purſued him. However, coming to a reſolution, he ordered his troops to advance, who, being animated by the preſence of their king, leaped into the river, with ſo much intrepidity, that they began to vanquiſh their enemies, before they came to the charge. It is eaſy to conceive the difficulties of ſuch a paſſage, in the face of the enemy, when an army cannot enlarge its front, beyond the breadth of the ford, and is forced to march through the water, and, at the ſame time, handle their arms; but, in ſpite of all theſe obſtacles, the Engliſh, being in the ſight of their king, marched, as to a certain victory. It was impoſſible for the French to ſuſtain ſo furious an attack; and, after ſome attempts to repulſe the Engliſh, they were conſtrained to abandon that important paſſage, through which Edward, immediately, paſſed his whole army. The ſame evening, he encamped, at Creſſy; whilſt Philip croſs'd the Somme, at Abbeville, no more than three leagues diſtant. 1346.

He forces a paſs defended by the French.

Edward ſtays for Philip, at Creſſy. Froiſſart.

Edward, finding that he was cloſely purſued, and that he could not avoid fighting, ſtopped ſhort, in expectation of his enemies, and choſe an advantageous ſpot of ground, where he drew up his army; but Philip, believing that Edward's retreat was the reſult of his fear, did not doubt, if he could but come up with him, that he ſhould quickly vanquiſh him; and, accordingly, he marched, the very next day, from Abbeville, with an intent to attack him. The Engliſh army was divided into three bodies, the firſt of which was commanded by the prince of Wales; the ſecond was led by the earls of Northampton and Arundel and the lord Roſs; and the king kept, at ſome diſtance, with the third, to give aſſiſtance to thoſe that ſhould want it. Philip could not advance, in view of the enemy, till three in the afternoon, having marched, that day, three leagues, ſo that it was almoſt four o' clock, when the battle began; and he had alſo divided his army into three bodies, the firſt of which conſiſted of Genoeſe, under Antonio Doria and Carolo Grimaldi. As the chief ſtrength of his infantry lay in theſe troops, his deſign was, that they ſhould charge firſt; but, juſt as the battle was about to begin, a great and ſudden rain, ſlackening the ſtrings of the Genoeſe croſs-bows, rendered them unſerviceable. However, as they were now too far advanced, they found themſelves expoſed to a ſhower of Engliſh arrows, which made them give way; which being obſerved by Charles, earl of Alenſon, the king's brother, who ſupported them with a numerous body of horſe, that prince, who was ignorant of the cauſe, ſuppoſing it to be the effect of treachery, immediately, ordered the horſe to fall upon them, by which raſh action, he put the French army in diſorder; and, in the interim, the earl, giving himſelf no trouble, about the Genoeſe, nor regarding what paſſed behind him, attacked the firſt body of the Engliſh, commanded by the prince of Wales, and was received with a reſolution that he little expected; tho' he continued his endeavours, which only cauſed him bravely to loſe his life. Upon his death, the body, that was under his command, began, by degrees, to ſtagger; and, as they could not be ſpeedily ſupported, on account of the diſorder occaſioned by themſelves, among the Genoeſe troops, they were, at length, put to flight.

The battle of Creſſy.

The body commanded by Alenſon, is defeated.

The prince of Wales gaining ſo great an advantage, in this firſt onſet, Philip ordered a powerful body of horſe to advance, to repair the diſorder cauſed by the defeat of the firſt; ſo that the French had always the ſuperiority, in number, though the Engliſh ſtill maintained their ground. In all probability, the young prince,

1246. prince, who fought with an heroic valour, resolved to conquer, or die, would have been overpowered by numbers, if the earls of Northampton and Arundel had not come to his relief; whose approach drew thither more French troops, the small extent of the field not permitting the two armies to engage, all at once; and the fight was very obstinate. The valour of the prince of Wales, which filled the English generals with admiration, made them, at the same time, extremely uneasy, with respect to his person, by reason of the superiority of the enemies; wherefore, they speedily sent the king word, that it was time to come to the prince's relief. Edward, far from being moved at this message, enquired, whether his son was still alive; and, being told, that he was not only alive, but fighting with an astonishing bravery, he replied to the messenger, "Tell "my generals, since my son is alive, to send no "more to me; for the honour of this day "shall be his, and he must now merit his "spurs." This answer inspiring the prince with fresh vigour, he forced a passage through his enemies, who were ready to surround him; and he was so valiantly seconded by his troops, that the French gave way, and, at length, dispersed in confusion.

Philip had one body left, which had not yet engaged, commanded by himself; towards which the prince of Wales directed his steps, after routing the other two; and, in this last action, he acquired the greatest honour. Philip, incensed to see his two bodies routed and dispersed, performed wonders, to snatch the victory from the young hero, before it was compleated; and the king of Bohemia, though blind, would be present at the battle, causing his horse's bridle to be tied to those of two brave knights; who was slain, according to his wish, in fighting for France. His standard, on which were embroidered, in gold, three ostrich-feathers, with these words, ICH DIEN, that is, I SERVE, was taken and brought to the prince of Wales, who, in memory of that day, bore three ostrich-feathers, for his crest, with the foresaid motto; and, in the mean while, Edward, being posted, with his troops, on a rising ground, watched the proper time to charge, tho' he was unwilling to make too much haste, lest he should rob the prince, his son, of part of his glory; but, in this state of inaction, he struck terror into the French, who saw him ready to attack them, with advantage. Philip, for his part, after many fruitless attempts to repulse the English, having rallied some of his nobles and men at arms, threw himself into the midst of the battle, in order to invigorate his troops, by his example; and it must be confessed, that he gave signal proofs of an undaunted valour; for he was twice dismounted, and wounded, in his neck and thigh, before he suffered himself to be led, though with extreme pain, out of the field of battle; but, his retreat quite dispiriting those of his men that still maintained the fight, they were entirely routed, with the rest of the army. Then it was, that a terrible slaughter ensued of the flying troops, who were pursued, till the night was far advanced; and it is said, that, in this memorable battle, the English began, for the first time, to use cannon, a thing, hitherto, not so much as heard of, in France. Four pieces planted on a little hill, did great execution, among the French troops, and terrified them, to such a degree, that the success of this day is partly ascribed to the surprise of the French at this novelty; and France lost, in this battle, the king of Bohemia, the earl of Alenson, the king's brother, the duke of Lorrain, the earl of Flanders, the earl of Blois, 15 other great lords of the kingdom, 1200 knights, and above 80 standards. 1346.

The king of Bohemia is slain, and his banner taken.

When Edward perceived, by the precipitant flight of the enemy, that his victory was certain, he advanced, to demonstrate to his son his extreme satisfaction: "Dear son, "said he, embracing him in his arms, you "have behaved your self nobly, this day, and "truly deserve the crown, for which you have "fought." The young prince, out of countenance at the king's commendations, with a modest silence, fell on his knees, and asked his father's blessing, according to the custom practised in England; and the night of this glorious day was spent by the English, in rejoicings; but Edward published, in the camp, express orders, not to insult over the misfortunes of the vanquished, exhorting his army to return God thanks for the victory. On the morrow, some troops being detached to pursue the flying enemy, meeting a body of militia, who, being ignorant of what had happened, were marching to Philip's camp, slew 7000; and it is affirmed, that the loss France sustained, on the second day, exceeded that of the battle, as well by the defeat of the militia, as by the slaughter, or taking of the soldiers, who, in flying, were dispersed in the country. Edward praises his son. Froissart.

Edward continued, some days, near the field of battle, to bury the dead, and take care of the wounded, as well those of the enemy, as his own; and then, marching through le Boulonnois, he approached Calais, in order to besiege it. This place, being extremely well fortified, was no less incommodious to the English, than Dunkirk has been, in our own time; and, in becoming master of it, he would not only free himself from a very troublesome neighbourhood, but also open a passage into France. He invested it, on the 28th of September, and summoned the governor to surrender, threatening, in case of refusal, to put the garrison and all the inhabitants to the sword; but John de Vienne, the governor, replied, he acknowledged no other king of France but the person that committed to him the custody of the town, in whose service, he was resolved to live and die. Edward besieges Calais. Act. Pub.

The king, having taken an exact view of the fortifications of Calais, discovered, that it would be very difficult to accomplish the siege, by force; and, therefore, he, at once, determined to reduce the place, by famine. Accordingly, he drew round the town four lines of circumvallation, with regular fortifications, resolutelybent not to relinquish his enterprize,

till

1346. till he had taken the place. The governor, from his preparations, foreſeeing the length of the ſiege, ſent away all uſeleſs mouths, to prevent the want of proviſions; and tho', purſuant to the maxims of war, Edward was not obliged to take pity of theſe poor wretches, who were to the number of 1700, he received them into the camp, and permitted them afterwards to depart, where they pleaſed.

1347. The king of Scotland enters England. Act. Pub.

In the interim, Philip made uſe of all poſſible means, to raiſe the ſiege; and he could apprehend only two, proper for that purpoſe. The firſt, which was to attack the lines of the beſiegers, could not be ſo ſpeedily put in practice, as to render it probable, that the town would hold out, till he was able to relieve it; and the ſecond was to make a diverſion, in England, by the arms of the Scots. The latter appearing to be the moſt ſpeedy, he engaged the king of Scotland to make an inroad into England; and he did not queſtion, as all the Engliſh forces were employed in France, but the alarm, cauſed by this invaſion, would raiſe ſuch commotions, in England, that Edward would be forced to raiſe the ſiege. David, conſidering the intereſt of France, as his own, and readily following the ſuggeſtions of Philip, put himſelf at the head of 30,000 men, and advanced, as far as Durham; but this unexpected invaſion, even at ſuch a juncture, though it alarmed the Engliſh, did not diſhearten them; for, young Lionel, left by the king, his father, guardian of the realm, not being yet of age, to command an army, queen Philippa undertook to repulſe the enemy. With this view, heading the troops, drawn together from all parts, with amazing expedition, ſhe marched directly to the Scots, and offered them battle; and David was equally impatient to engage, fancying nothing more eaſy, than to put to flight undiſciplined troops commanded by a woman; whereas he not only had the mortification to loſe the day, but alſo to ſee himſelf a priſoner in the hands of the Engliſh *.

He is defeated and made priſoner by the queen.

Charles de Blois is defeated and taken.

Fortune was never weary of heaping favours on Edward; for, if his arms were victorious, in France and England, they were alſo ſucceſsful, in Bretagne; where Sir Thomas Dagworth, the commander of the Engliſh troops, in that country, twice defeated Charles de Blois, and took him priſoner, in the laſt battle, fought near la Roche de Rien.

Philip tries, in vain, to relieve Calais.

In the mean while, the ſiege, or rather blockade of Calais, was ſtill carried on, by ſea and land; for Edward had ſent for 700 ſhips, to guard the ſea; and, as nothing could be brought into the town, it was, at laſt, reduced to extremity. The king, diſcovering the deplorable condition of the beſieged, by an intercepted letter, ſent it, immediately, to Philip, and, at the ſame time, ordered the meſſenger to tell him, that the greateſt expedition was neceſſary, if he intended to relieve the place; upon which intelligence, Philip ſpeedily took the field, and approached the Engliſh camp, with an army of 150,000 men. He expected to draw the enemy out of his intrenchments, by offering him battle, ſeveral times; but Edward too well knew the impoſſibility of forcing his lines, to run any hazard; and, beſides, he had good reaſon to believe, that the town would quickly be at his mercy; ſo that, notwithſtanding all theſe defiances, he conſtantly anſwered, that his buſineſs there was to take Calais; and, if Philip thought fit to prevent him, he had nothing more to do, than to take the moſt proper meaſures. Philip, ſince he could not, without manifeſt danger, attack him in his intrenchments, nor draw him into the open field, ſent two cardinals with propoſals of peace; and he offered him Guienne, the earldom of Ponthieu, and a marriage between their children; but Edward replied, that Guienne and Ponthieu belonged to him; and that he ſhould ſoon become maſter of Calais; wherefore, he had no need of his bounties. This project failing, Philip propoſed to him, by a herald, to decide the quarrel, by a combat of ſix on each ſide; adding, that the king of France would appoint the time and place; but the earl of Derby anſwered, "That muſt be Edward, "then, becauſe he is the true king of France." This pretenſion, alone, was ſufficient to defeat the propoſal, to which, it is evident, Edward, in his preſent circumſtances, had no inclination; for his ſole intent was to take Calais, without putting that event to arbitration. A few days after, he was reinforced with 17000 men, brought him, by his queen, from England; and, if we may give credit to ſome Engliſh hiſtorians, this ſupply came very ſeaſonably, to enable him to be revenged on Philip. It is related, that he offered to fight him, in the open field, to fill up his trenches himſelf, and demoliſh his works, provided he might have ſufficient ſecurity, that nothing ſhould be conveighed into Calais, till after the battle; and that Philip, rejecting this propoſal, choſe to retire. Thus much is certain, that he did not judge it adviſable to attack Edward, in his intrenchments; ſo that the beſieged, deſpairing of relief, deſired, at length, to capitulate; but a capitulation, deferred, to the laſt, could not be of any great advantage. Accordingly, Edward refuſed the beſieged any terms, but that of life, which he was pleaſed to grant both to the ſoldiers and the inhabitants; yet he excepted out, of the latter, ſix of the principal burghers, for a ſacrifice to his vengeance, leaving them to chuſe the victims themſelves. This ſeverity created a great conſternation in the town; for it was extremely difficult to chuſe

1347.

Calais ſurrenders. Froiſſart.

* The Scotch king, though he had two ſpears hanging in his body, his leg almoſt incurably wounded, and his ſword beat out of his hand, diſdaining captivity, provoked the Engliſh, by opprobrious language, to kill him; and when John Copland, governor of Roxborough-caſtle, adviſed him to yield, he ſtruck him on the face, with his gantlet, ſo fiercely, that he knocked out two of his teeth; yet Copland conveighed him out of the field a priſoner. Upon his refuſing to deliver him to the queen, who, ſtaid, at Newcaſtle, during the battle, the king ſent for him to Calais, where he excuſed his refuſal ſo handſomely, that the king ſent him back, with the reward of 500 l. per annum, where he himſelf ſhould chuſe it, near his own dwelling, and made him a Knight-Banneret. Rymer's Fœd. Buchanan.

theſe

1347. these six persons; and yet this choice was to be, forthwith, made. History ought not to pass over in silence the generosity of Eustace de St. Pierre, one of the chief inhabitants; who, beholding fear and despair painted on the faces of his countrymen, voluntarily offered to be one of the six; and this extraordinary magnanimity affected the rest, to such a degree, that five more were presently found, who devoted themselves, for the preservation of their townsmen, after his example. These six illustrious burghers, resolved to appease the conqueror's rage, with their lives, went out, bare-footed, in their shirts, with halters about their necks, and presented to him the keys of the town; and they found him so highly incensed, that, in spite of the intercession of the prince of Wales, and of the great men about him, he commanded them to be led to execution; but, if he denied that favour to the pressing instances of his son, he could not find, in his heart, the same insensibility for the queen. This gracious princess, moved with the misfortune of these miserable men, falling down at his feet, intreated him, with tears in her eyes, to pardon them, for Christ's sake; and, notwithstanding his resolution, to the contrary, he could not see, in this prostrate posture, a queen, whom he so tenderly loved, without being overcome by her intreaties. The queen, not satisfied with saving the lives of these unhappy men, ordered cloaths to be brought them; and, after giving them an entertainment, in her own tent, she dismissed them, with a present to each of six pieces of gold; an action which did then, and ever will, redound to the honour of that generous princess.

Thus, the important town of Calais, after a year's siege, became subject to the English.

Edward turns the French out of Calais, and puts in an English colony. Act. Pub.

A few days after Edward had made his entry into Calais, he turned out all the inhabitants, in order to people it with English; and, probably, this precaution was the means of securing that place to the crown of England, for 200 years. The siege had been so tedious and fatiguing, that Edward thought it necessary to give his troops some repose, by consenting to a truce proposed to him, for one year; upon which, leaving a strong garrison, in Calais, he returned, in triumph, to England.

The flourishing condition of England.

Never had the English name been more glorious, than at present; nor had England ever enjoyed more compleat felicity. If the valour, wisdom, and good fortune of the king gave an extraordinary lustre to the kingdom, the singular qualities of the brave prince of Wales, heir apparent to the crown, afforded them a no less agreeable prospect, for the future; and the prodigious plenty, that, immediately, followed Edward's victories, seemed likewise to demonstrate, that Heaven took a peculiar care of the English.

1348. Edward refuses the imperial dignity. Act. Pub.

To increase still more the lustre of Edward's glory, ambassadors from Germany arrived, the next year, with offers of the imperial dignity; for the election of Charles IV, who was crowned, at Bonn, not pleasing all the electoral princes, some of them, being resolved to make a new choice, elected the king of England, whom the battle of Cressy, and taking of Calais, had rendered very famous; but Edward, not insensible how prejudicial the acceptance of this dignity, at a like juncture, had been to Richard, brother of Henry III, was too wise to plunge himself into the same difficulties; and, besides, he stood in need of all his forces and endeavours, to acquire the crown of France, which he apprehended to be a more substantial good; wherefore, he refused the honour designed him by the German princes. 1348.

1349. The corruption of manners in England. Knighton.

During the uninterrupted prosperity of the English, it is no wonder, that ease and plenty threw them into those excesses, that are the usual attendants of such a state. All the historians unanimously affirm, that an unbridled debauchery, now, prevailed in all parts of the kingdom; and that the women, laying aside their modesty, the great ornament of their sex, seemed to glory, in the loss of their virtue; for nothing was more common, than to see them riding, in troops, to the tournaments, dressed like cavaliers, with swords by their sides, and mounted on steeds adorned with rich trappings, without the least regard to their honour or reputation. The lives of the men were no less scandalous; but God did not suffer these disorders to pass long, with impunity. A terrible plague, after raging in Asia, and part of Europe, spread itself into France, and from thence into England, where it swept away one half of the nation; and London, especially, felt the effects of its fury, where, it is observed, in one year, above 50,000 persons were buried, in a church-yard belonging to the Cistercians.

Philip corrupts the governor of Calais.

Though this dreadful scourge had made no less havock, in France, Philip was intent upon great preparations, to renew the war, being resolved to do all that was possible, to recover Calais; but, rightly judging, that it would be extremely difficult to retake the town, by force of arms, he fixed upon a more certain method, by bribing the governor. The lords of Montmorency and Charny very readily undertook the execution of this project, notwithstanding the ignominy of the action; but what Mezerai affirms is very unlikely, that they thought it no great fault, to surprise the town, during the truce. However that be, they held a private correspondence with Aymeri de Pavia, the governor, who promised to surrender the place, for 20,000 crowns; and, this sum being remitted to him, he introduced, by degrees, into the town, 100 men at arms, and 12 French knights, whom he concealed in the castle. On the day appointed for the performance of his promise, the lords of Charny and Ribaumont lay in ambush, near the two gates of the town, with an intent to rush in, as soon as they were opened; and their measures were so well concerted, that they did not, in the least, doubt of success; but they were, after all, disappointed. A little before, Edward, receiving some intelligence of the plot, sent for the governor to London, and promised him a pardon, provided he would betray the French; upon which, he fully informed him

1349. of all the circumſtances of the plot, and the day agreed upon, to let the enemies into the town. Edward, having received this information, took care to come, the evening before, to Calais, attended by the prince of Wales, and 800 men, at arms; and, on the morrow, by break of day, he ſallied out, at one gate, and the prince of Wales, at the other, to attack the French, who were exceedingly ſurpriſed. The king, who was pleaſed to fight, on foot, under the banner of the lord Walter de Manny, engaged, in ſingle combat, with Euſtace de Ribaumont, a knight of Picardy, by whoſe fierce blows he was twice ſtruck down on his knees; but he was ſpeedily relieved by his own men, and even enabled to defeat Ribaumont's troop, and take him priſoner. Froiſſart.

In the interim, the prince of Wales vigouroufly charged the lord Charny, whom he, at length, defeated, and took priſoner; in which action, the French loſt 600 men, beſides a conſiderable number of priſoners, who, with their two leaders, were brought into the town, of which, a few hours before, they hoped to be maſters; and, though the ſtep they had taken was baſe and diſhonourable, Edward, conſidering that it was in obedience to their ſovereign, treated them in a very civil and obliging manner. He, even the ſame evening, entertained the principal priſoners, with a ſplendid ſupper, and vouchſafed to come and ſee them, whilſt at table; tho' he could not forbear upbraiding Charny, with the infamous means he had uſed, to diſpoſſeſs him, by treachery, and during the truce, of a place that was ſo fairly won, and at ſo dear a rate; and then, addreſſing himſelf to Ribaumont, he greatly applauded his valour, and made him a very valuable preſent of a ſtring of pearls, which he wore in his cap, as a teſtimony of his eſteem. He added, that, ſeeing he was a great admirer of the ladies, he deſired him to wear it in their company, aſſuring him, that he would not be leſs agreeable to them, on that account; and, after ſeveral other obliging expreſſions, he releaſed him, without a ranſom. Before he left Calais, he made John de Beauchamp governor, judging it imprudent to truſt any longer the cuſtody of that important place to a Lombard, who had been guilty of bribery; but this was not all the reward the traytor received, for his double treachery; for, the next year, he had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the French, who cauſed him to be torn in pieces, with four horſes.

The attempt upon Calais, unexpectedly, failing, Philip diſowned the authors; and Edward, not being prepared to renew the war, was, for the preſent, contented with that ſlight ſatisfaction.

Edward, having diſpatched his buſineſs, at Calais, returned to England; where, ſoon after, he inſtituted the famous order of the garter; which, according to the common opinion, owes its riſe to a trifling accident, tho', with reſpect to its conſequences very remarkable, if, in reality, it gave birth to this moſt noble order. It is affirmed, that Edward, being at a ball, where the counteſs of Salisbury, in dancing, dropped her garter, ſtooped to take it up; that, the lady imagining he had ſome other deſign, and expreſſing her ſurprize, he ſaid to her, in his own vindication, "Honi ſoit qui mal y penſe, "Evil to him that evil thinks;" and that, in memory of this accident, he inſtituted the order of the garter, to which he appointed, for a motto, his words to the counteſs. An origin, ſo unworthy of the luſtre, with which this order has, all along, ſhone, ſince its inſtitution, ſeems, at firſt view, ſo very offenſive, that ſeveral ingenious men have exerciſed their wits, to find out a more honourable; wherefore, ſome ſuppoſe, that the reaſon of Edward's inſtituting this order was, becauſe, on the day of the battle of Creſſi, he had given Garter, for the word; and others, becauſe, on that day, he ordered his garter to be fixed, at the end of a lance, for the ſignal of battle; whilſt, laſtly, ſome aſſert, that Edward only revived and regulated an order of knighthood, begun by king Richard I, at the ſiege of Acres in Paleſtine; for they tell us, that king Richard, reſolving to ſtorm the town, diſtributed to ſome of his principal officers certain leather-ſtrings, to be tied round the leg, to diſtinguiſh them, during the aſſault, and, in memory of that event, Edward inſtituted the order of the garter. However, all this is advanced, without ſufficient proof; and whatever attempts have been made, to give this order a different origin from the firſt above-mentioned, nothing has, hitherto, been found ſatisfactory, as to the reaſon of the motto, HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE; which agrees very well with the firſt circumſtance, but has not any connexion with thoſe ſubſtituted, in its room. It is no leſs uncertain, why the nights wear the garter, on their left rather than on the right leg; or why the founder choſe to put the order under the protection of St. George; but, doubtleſs, that great prince's deſign was to engage the preſent and future knights to diſtinguiſh themſelves by their valour and virtue. This, of all the like orders, has moſt ſtrictly adhered to the rules of its inſtitution; for, tho' it be more antient than thoſe of the golden fleece *, and Holy Ghoſt †, it has never degenerated, as to the number, which has, all along, been 26, including the ſovereign of the order, who is always the perſon

1349. The inſtitution of the order of the garter.

Cambden.

* An order of knighthood inſtituted by Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, at his marriage with Iſabella of Portugal, in 1429, which, at firſt, conſiſted of 24 knights, who were gentlemen of birth, and unblemiſhed reputation; but it is now common to all the princes of the houſe of Auſtria, as being deſcended from Mary of Burgundy, daughter to Charles the Hardy, the laſt duke of Burgundy. Chiflet.

† An order of knighthood, in France, inſtituted by king Henry III, in 1578; and the number of knights was limited to 100, beſides four cardinals and four biſhops, together with the great almoner, and the officers of the order, viz. a chancellor, treaſurer, regiſter, and king at arms; and he ordered the knights to wear a croſs of Malta, having a dove in the center of it; to which Henry IV, in 1598, added a collar made of trophies, from whence proceed flames, intermixed with crowned heads.

that

1349. that wears the crown of England; and the kings and other ſovereign princes, who have been, and ſtill are, deſirous of being admitted into this moſt noble order, clearly ſhew its great repute, all over Europe *.

Edward fights the Spaniſh corſairs. Act. Pub.

However glorious Edward had, hitherto, been, he hazarded his reputation, in an affair which, in all appearance, was beneath his notice; but the greatneſs of his courage would not ſuffer him to weigh, too nicely, ſuch conſiderations. The merchants, having complained of certain Spaniſh ſhips infeſting the coaſts of England, aſſembling ſuch of his ſhips as were ſooneſt ready, he went himſelf, to give chace to the corſairs, whom he fought and defeated; having taken 20 of their ſhips, ſunk many more, and diſperſed the reſt; and this action, tho', in itſelf, of ſmall importance, ſeemed to him ſo glorious, that, to perpetuate its memory, he ordered a gold coin to be ſtruck, whereon he was repreſented in a ſhip, with a cutlaſs in his hand.

1350. Philip de Valois dies, and is ſucceeded by John.

Philip de Valois died, before the expiration of the truce with Edward, on the 22d of Auguſt, 1350, being ſucceeded by his ſon, John, who renewed the truce, till Whitſuntide, 1354; but it was ill obſerved, on both ſides. In Bretagne, Gaſcoigne, and Picardy, frequent hoſtilities were committed, which occaſioned mutual complaints and even repriſals; and the earl

1351. The duke of Lancaſter makes inroads into France.

of Derby, honoured with the title of duke of Lancaſter †, was ſent to Calais with an army, as to an open war; for he made inroads into the French territories, and ravaged the country, from Calais to Terouenne. The greateſt advantage Edward reaped, from the violation of the truce, was the acquiſition of the town of Guiſnes, ſold him by the governor; and, when John complained of it, Edward replied, "That his father, Philip, by attempting to "purchaſe Calais, had taught the Engliſh ge-"nerals, that buying and ſelling was no breach "of a truce."

The Flemings recede from the league with Edward.

However, this advantage did not balance the loſs Edward ſuſtained, by the entire defection of the Flemings; though they had, hitherto, been firmly attached to his intereſts. Upon the deceaſe of the earl of Flanders, ſlain at the battle of Creſſy, they ſent deputies to Philip de Valois, to demand the ſon of their late ſovereign, under the pretence of putting him in poſſeſſion of his father's inheritance; but they no ſooner had the young prince in their power, than they contracted him to one of Edward's daughters; which would, doubtleſs, 1352. have been extremely prejudicial to Philip, if the earl himſelf, who was educated in France, diſdaining the thoughts of marrying into the family of his ſovereign's enemy, had not privately withdrawn from his ſubjects, and caſt himſelf again into his arms. From this very time, the Flemings began, by degrees, to be diſengaged from England; and they even approved of the marriage concluded by Philip, between their earl and the duke of Brabant's daughter, who had entirely deſerted Edward; but their inconſtancy occaſioned the ſtaple of the Engliſh wooll ††, ſet up in Flanders, to be removed into England, to their great damage, 1353. tho' to the benefit of the Engliſh.

1354. A propoſal of peace between the two crowns.

The king of France ſeemed to be impatiently deſirous, that the truce might be changed into a ſolid and laſting peace, to which Edward was not averſe; for he offered to reſign to the king of England Guienne, with the earldoms of Artois and Guiſnes, to hold them, in full ſovereignty, without homage to the crown of France; but, quickly after, to his own prejudice, as well as that of his kingdom, he abruptly broke off the negotiation, the reſult of which was only prolonging the truce, till April, in the following year.

It was obvious, that John's ſole view was to gain time, in order to make preparations, to carry on the war; and Edward, who plainly perceived it, ſtood in need of ſome reſpite, to ſettle ſome important domeſtick affairs. The obſtinacy of the Scots, in ſupport of their king, though a priſoner, fully convinced him, that it would be difficult to reduce Scotland, whilſt he was at war with France; wherefore, he was willing to patch up a peace with the Scots, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity, to renew the war; but this peace could not be made, without the releaſe of their king. Edward appointed commiſſioners ‡ to treat with the Scots, about king David's liberty; and this negotiation, which was prolonged, for ſome time, ended, at length, in a treaty concluded, at Newcaſtle, the 13th of July, 1354, by which Edward promiſed to free David, for a ranſom of 90,000 marks of ſilver. This treaty was ratified, ſoon after, by the prince of Wales, his ſon, tho' it was not executed, for reaſons mentioned, hereafter; ſo that David remained a priſoner, till 1357.

Edward, upon the concluſion of the treaty with Scotland, applied himſelf chiefly to the

* Cambden reckons, in his time, 22 kings, beſides the monarchs of England, and as many foreign dukes and princes; and he has alſo given us a catalogue of the firſt 26 knights, who are ſtiled the founders of the order, viz. Edward III, king of England; Edward, his ſon, prince of Wales; Henry, duke of Lancaſter; Thomas, earl of Warwick; Ralph, earl of Stafford; William Montacute, earl of Salisbury; Roger Mortimer, earl of Marche; Capdall de Buche; John l' Iſle; Bartholomew Burghwaſh, John Beauchamp; John de Mohun; Hugh Courtney; Thomes Holland; John Grey; Richard Fitz-Simon; Miles Stapleton; Thomas Walle; Hugh Wriotheſley; Niel Loring; John Chandos; James de Audley; Otho Holland; Henry Eme; Zanchet Dabridgecourt; and William Paynel.

† He was ſon to Henry, brother to Thomas, earl of Lancaſter, behcaded, in the reign of Edward II, who was ſon to Edmund, the younger ſon of Henry III; and, for his merit, he was advanced, by the general conſent of the parliament, and the king's ſpecial charter, to the title of duke of Lancaſter, being the ſecond that bore that title, in England.

†† Staple is a general term, ſignifying any town whither the Engliſh merchants were obliged, by act of parliament, to carry their wooll, cloth, lead, and tin, for the ſelling them, by the great; and the ſtaple of wooll was removed to Weſtminſter, Canterbury, Chicheſter, Briſtol, Lincoln, and Hull; and Calais. Rymer's Fœd.

‡ Thomas Hatfield, biſhop of Durham, and the lords, Henry Percy and Ralph de Nevil; and king David himſelf went, with Edward's leave, in 1351, into Scotland, and in 1353, as far as Newcaſtle, to treat with ſome of his nobility, about his ranſom, but could bring nothing to a concluſion. Rymer's Fœd.

affairs

1354. affairs of France; and, the truce being about to expire, he inveſted the prince of Wales, his ſon, with the dutchy of Guienne; whom he ſent thither, with orders to renew the hoſtilities. Some affirm, that John inveſted the dauphin, Charles, his ſon, with that dutchy, and, thereby, occaſioned a rupture; but there is no notice taken of this circumſtance, either in the French hiſtories, or in the Collection of the Publick Acts; and, beſides, it is evident, that that the war was not renewed, till after the expiration of the truce. Whilſt the prince of Wales was preparing to renew the war, in Guienne, the king, his father, landing at Calais, ravaged Boulonnois and Artois, without any reſiſtance; upon the news of which, the king of France ſpeedily aſſembled his forces, and, at the ſame time, ſent Edward a defiance, offering to fight him alone, or at the head of their armies; at leaſt, this is related by the French hiſtorians, who add, that Edward declined it, and, knowing that John was approaching to give him battle, retired into England. The Engliſh, on the contrary, maintain, that the defiance was ſent by Edward, and refuſed by John; but it is a wonder, that the Collection of the Publick Acts is ſilent, about this expedition of Edward, though, whenever the kings of England went, beyond ſea, a memorandum of the day, both of their departure and return, is ſcarce ever omitted; yet, ſince the hiſtorians of both nations mention Edward's going to Calais, a bare negative proof ought not, in reaſon, to invalidate their teſtimony. However, if Edward returned ſo haſtily, it is certain, that he was recalled by weighty motives; for the Scots, having taken Berwick, by ſurpriſe, it was very dangerous to leave in their poſſeſſion ſuch an important place, which gave them, at all times, an inlet into England.

The Scots ſurprize Berwick. Walſing.

Avesbury. Immediately after his arrival, he called a parliament, complaining of the treachery of the Scots, who, after a treaty concluded and ratified, abuſed his good faith, at the inſtigation of the king of France; and that aſſembly, convinced of the neceſſity of recovering Berwick, and the king's want of money, to continue the war with France, granted him 50 ſhillings, upon every ſack of wooll, ſold in the kingdom. It is ſaid, that this ſubſidy amounted to more than 350,000 marks, a year, ſo conſiderable was the woollen trade, in thoſe days; and, with this aid, the king ſpeedily raiſed an army, at the head of which he advanced to the borders of Scotland; but, upon his approach, the Scots quitted Berwick, having firſt demoliſhed the fortifications, which he revenged, by ravaging their country. This unexpected rupture ſurpriſed him the more, as he had juſt entered into a treaty with them, for releaſing their king, and only ſtaid, for the payment of the ranſom agreed upon; yet their proceeding cauſed him to take a new reſolution, with reſpect to the affairs of Scotland.

Edward retakes Berwick.

1355. The condition of Baliol. Baliol, notwithſtanding his expulſion, ſtill retained the title of king, but without any real power, and in ſo ſervile a dependence on the king of England, that he was conſidered only, as a ſubject; for, though Edward left him the command of his troops, they were ſo very few, that he was never in a condition to make any progreſs; ſo that he ſpent his days, in a melancholy manner, with a penſion of five marks, a day, allowed him by Edward, and ſome preſents, for his extraordinary expences. There are manifeſt proofs of his great dependence, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, particularly, in the frequent pardons, for hunting in Edward's foreſts; which ſhews, that he was no more than the ſhadow of a king, whom Edward employed, hitherto, as a mere tool, to compaſs his ends. Accordingly, Edward, now, laying aſide his former ſcruples, or rather pulling off the maſque, under which he had concealed his intentions, obliged that prince to reſign all his right to Scotland, for the annual penſion of 2000 l. ſterling; a poor recompence for a crown, had it not been an imaginary one, which Baliol was very willing to part with; but this reſignation proved fatal to king David, who, upon it, was more cloſely confined, and alſo deprived of the hopes he had conceived of recovering his liberty. 1355. Act. Pub.

Charles de Blois is releaſed. Act. Pub. Knighton.

Charles de Blois, a priſoner in England, ſince the battle of la Roche de Rien, was more fortunate than the king of Scotland, at leaſt, with reſpect to his liberty, though it was purchaſed at a vaſt expence; for he promiſed to pay Edward 700,000 crowns, for his ranſom, and left his two ſons, in hoſtage, for ſecurity of the payment.

1356. The prince of Wales ravages Languedoc. Walſing.

In the mean while, the prince of Wales rifled the ſouthern provinces of France, and eſpecially Languedoc; where he made a ſudden irruption, that rendered him maſter of Carcaſſone and Narbonne; and, meeting with a very great booty, he then returned to Bourdeaux. As the meaſures, to oppoſe his invaſion, were neglected, by reaſon of his retreat, he thought he might ſafely venture upon a ſecond; and no ſooner were his troops a little refreſhed, than he marched again, at the head of 12000 men, of whom not above 3000 were natives of England. He traverſed le Perigord and le Limouſin, entered Berry, and even appeared before Bourges; but the news of the king of France's approach, with 60,000 men, hindered his laying ſiege to that place, and forced him to take a compaſs, in order to retire to Bourdeaux; though John, foreſeeing his deſign, marched, with ſuch expedition, that he overtook him, near Poictiers. As it was impoſſible for the prince to retreat, he reſolved to intrench himſelf, at Maupertuis, in a poſt incumbered with vines and hedges, and of a very difficult acceſs; and two legates, ſent by the pope to the two monarchs, to perſuade them to peace, exerted their utmoſt endeavours, to prevent an engagement. They even prevailed on the prince of Wales to engage to repair all the damages done, in his incurſion, and not to bear arms againſt France, for ſeven years; but John's ſuperiority induced him to reject theſe offers, who expected the prince, with his whole army, ſhould ſurrender, at diſcretion; but the latter generouſly replied, that he would rather die, ſword in hand, than be guilty of an action

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1356. so inconsistent with his own honour, and the glory of the English name.

The battle of Poictiers. Froissart. Walsing.

The prince of Wales, finding that there was not the least prospect of an agreement, in a short speech to his troops, represented to them, "That victory did not depend on numbers, "but on valour; and that, for his own part, "he was resolved to conquer, or die, nor would "he expose his country to the disgrace of pay- "ing his ransom.". King John's generals unanimously advised him to starve this little army, cooped up in the middle of an enemy's country, where they would soon be reduced to the last extremity, for want of provisions; but he disapproved this advice, expecting a more transcendent glory, by the defeat of such a renowned prince, than to conquer, without fighting; and, therefore, flushed with the pleasing expectation of obtaining an easy victory, and revenging his subjects, he determined, without delay, to attack the enemy. He committed, at first, an egregious error, in causing his horse to dismount, and begin the fight; for, being unaccustomed to charge, on foot, they were unable to break through the English, who had the advantage of the ground, in a country full of hedges, through which there was a necessity of passing, in order to force the intrenchments. The dismounted cavalry being repulsed, with great loss, the infantry supplied their place, and met the same opposition; and, in spite of the king's efforts, who maintained the fight, four hours, animating his troops, by his voice and example, and exposing his person to the greatest dangers, after all, it was impossible for him to rout this handful of English, whom the necessity of conquering caused to fight desperately; being also invigorated by the example of the prince, who performed, that day, acts of wisdom and bravery, comparable to those of the most famous generals. Of four sons the king of France had with him, the three eldest retiring, betimes, with 800 lances, their retreat did exceedingly contribute to discourage the rest of the army; yet, in the interim, John, pushed on by despair, signalized himself, in all the most dangerous places, and drew upon him the bravest of his enemies. Though he found himself abandoned, he struck terror even into the boldest; but, in all probability, he would have sunk under the multitude of the enemies that surrounded him, if Denis de Morbeck, a knight of Artois, dispersing those who pressed him, the most vigorously, had not, at last, persuaded him to yield himself prisoner. He would have been extremely well pleased to deliver his sword to the prince of Wales; but, the prince being too remote, he was constrained to surrender himself to Morbeck, with Philip, his fourth son, about 13 years old, who had, all along, fought by his side. Though this unfortunate battle was so fatal to France, there were not above 6000 men slain; but, among that number, were 800 nobles, the duke of Bourbon, a prince of the blood, the duke of Athenes, constable of France, the marshal de Nesle, and above 50 other great lords of the kingdom.

John is taken prisoner. Act. Pub.

If the victorious prince distinguished himself, 1356. by his conduct and valour, on this glorious day, he was no less admired, after his victory, for his modest and generous behaviour to his prisoner. The evening after the battle, the king, supping, in the prince of Wales's tent, pressed him to sit at table with him; but he, very courteously declining it, stood and talked with him, all the while; and, as the king was complaining of his fate, the prince told him, in a free, though modest and unaffected manner, "That he had one great reason to be com- P. Æmyl. "forted, that the battle was not lost, by his "fault; that the English had found, to their "cost, that he was the bravest of princes; but "that God alone had disposed of the victory; "and, as he farther added, if your misfortune "has thrown you into your present disgrace, "you may, at least, rest assured, that an in- "violable regard shall be preserved for your "person; and you shall find in me a very re- "spectful relation, if I may be allowed to glo- "ry in that title." Such a surprising modesty, in a young victorious prince, little more than 25 years of age, melted the king into tears, and filled the hearers with admiration; but he no sooner recovered himself, than, turning to the prince, he said, with an air of satisfaction, "That, since it was his destiny to be van- "quished and taken, it afforded him great "consolation, under his misfortune, that he "had not behaved himself unworthily; and "that he was fallen into the hands of a prince "endowed with so much valour and generosi- "ty. On the morrow, solemn thanks were returned to God, in the English camp, for this signal victory; and the prince thanked his victorious troops, with such expressions, as ascribed to them the honour of the day, without the least mention of himself; after which, he marched for Bourdeaux, laden with an inestimable booty, and so many prisoners, that it would have been difficult for the English to defend themselves, provided they had been attacked.

The moderation and modesty of the prince of Wales. Froissart.

It is easy to imagine, how great joy this 1357. news spread over England; and how joyful it Froissart. was to Edward, in particular. God's protection of the prince of Wales was so visible, that he ordered publick thanksgivings, for this remarkable victory, to be returned to the Almighty, in all the churches of the kingdom; but the prince passed the winter, Truce for two years. at Bourdeaux, where two legates, that were Act. Pub. sent by the pope, pressed him so urgently, that he consented, with the approbation of the king, his father, to a truce, for two years, wherein all the allies of both crowns were included. In April following, he returned to England, bringing his prisoner along with him; and he was received, with the utmost demonstrations of joy; but he constantly refused all the honours that were offered him, being contented with those paid to the captive king. When they made their entry into London, the prince of Wales rode on a little black nag, by the king of France's side, who was mounted on a stately white courser, adorned

1357. with coſtly trappings; and one would have thought, that all the pomp * diſplayed, on this occaſion, was ſolely intended to do honour to the captive monarch; for, though Edward diſputed with him the title of king of France, he treated him, like a king; and, the ſight of the captive prince, reminding him of the inſtability of human grandeur, he received him with as cordial embraces, as if he had been his own brother, or was come, on purpoſe, to make him a viſit. In this noble and generous manner, the father and ſon ſtrove, with emulation, to comfort the unhappy king, by all the marks of reſpect, due to a great prince, in whatever condition fortune might have placed him; and it is reported, that, when Edward was firſt informed of the victory of Poictiers, he ſaid to his attendants, that his ſatisfaction, at ſuch a glorious ſucceſs, bore no proportion to the pleaſure cauſed by the generous behaviour of the prince. King John and prince Philip, his ſon, were lodged together, in the palace of the Savoy, with all the honourable freedom they could deſire; and the other captive lords met with the ſame obliging treatment.

The king of Scotland is releaſed. Act. Pub.

Edward's preſent glory was ſo much the greater, as it was very uncommon, ſince he had his two moſt potent enemies in his power; the king of France being confined, at London, and the king of Scotland, at Odiam, in Hampſhire. King David ſhould have, long ago, been releaſed, purſuant to the articles agreed upon, three years before; but, for the reaſons abovementioned, he ſtill was detained in captivity; yet, when he could leaſt have expected any favour from a victorious enemy, who had juſt reduced Scotland to an irretrievable ſtate, Edward, moved by the preſſing inſtances of the queen, his ſiſter, conſented to renew the treaty of 1354. Accordingly, he granted ſafe-conducts to ambaſſadors from Scotland, who, during a ſhort truce, obtained their king's liberty, upon much the ſame terms as in the former treaty; engaging to pay, for his ranſom, 100,000 marks, ſterling; namely, 10,000 every year, till the whole was paid; and, for ſecurity, David gave 20 hoſtages; and, at the ſame time, a 10 years truce was concluded, between England and Scotland. David was releaſed, upon theſe conditions, which he took care to ratify, as ſoon as he came into his kingdom, after an 11 years captivity; and, in all appearance, Edward, being then wholly employed, about his vaſt projects, againſt France, had loſt all thoughts of becoming maſter of Scotland; at leaſt, he judged it adviſable to defer the execution of that deſign to a more convenient ſeaſon.

1358. A magnificent tournament at Windſor.

Edward's late truces, with France and Scotland, having freed him from the trouble of foreign affairs, he applied his mind to the government of his kingdom; but, as nothing extraordinary happened, he ſpent part of his time, in diverſions, to which the king of France and the other chief priſoners were always invited. The tournament he held, at Windſor, on the 23d of April, 1358, to ſolemnize the feaſt of St. George, patron of the order of the garter, was the moſt ſumptuous and magnificent, that had ever been ſeen, in England; at which the duke of Brabant, with ſeveral other ſovereign princes, and an infinite number of knights of all nations, were preſent and ſplendidly entertained. 1358.

Queen Iſabella's death. Act. Pub.

This diverſion was followed by the funeral of queen Iſabella, the king's mother; who died, at the caſtle of Riſings, aged 63 years, after a 28 years confinement; and, if her marriage was fatal to the king, her husband, it was no leſs ſo to France, ſince it occaſioned a long and bloody war, which brought that kingdom to the very brink of deſtruction.

Geoffrey d' Harcourt, whom I formerly mentioned, on occaſion of the king's deſcent, at la Hogue, and who ſerved the king of Navarre, in Normandy, was there ſlain, about this time; and, as he had, by will, made the king of England his ſole heir, his lands being in the demeſnes of the king of Navarre, in Normandy, Edward took poſſeſſion, and gave them to the lord Holland.

Great troubles in France. Froiſſart.

Whilſt England enjoyed a profound tranquillity, France was in extreme deſolation, on account of the inteſtine troubles cauſed by the king's impriſonment; for, tho' Charles, the dauphin, John's eldeſt ſon, held the reins of the government, by the title of lieutenant-general, afterwards changed into that of regent, his regency was ſo diſturbed by the cabals of ſome factious men, who found their advantage, in the confuſion of affairs, that it was impoſſible to take effectual meaſures, to procure the king's liberty. The affairs of France were, then, in a deplorable ſituation; and Charles the Bald, king of Navarre, though ſprung from the family royal of France, raiſed daily commotions and tumults, in Paris, where he had a powerful party; by which means, the dauphin's power was ſo reſtrained, that, though a prince of great abilities, he knew not how to govern ſuch a divided ſtate. In the interim, the French lived in a ſort of anarchy; and the nobility and officers of the army oppreſſed the people of an inferior rank, eſpecially the peaſants, to whom they gave the nickname of Jaques Bonn homme; but, raillery and oppreſſion driving theſe miſerable wretches to deſpair, they aſſembled, in great troops, in le Beauvoiſin, reſolved to extirpate all the nobles. In a ſhort time, their number being conſiderably augmented, they became ſo formidable, that there was a neceſſity of drawing together all the forces of the kingdom, to diſperſe this army of ruſticks; which war, called the Jaquery, created the regent great trouble; and it was one of the principal cauſes, that pre-

* He was received by Henry Picard the lord mayor, the ſame that afterwards ſo magnificently entertained, at one time, the four kings of England, France, Scotland, and Cyprus, with the aldermen, &c. in all their formalities, with the city-pageants; and, in the ſtreets, as he paſſed to Weſtminſter, the citizens hung out all their plate, tapeſtry, and armour, ſo that the like had never been ſeen before, in the memory of man. Barnes.

vented

1358. vented his making preparations, to oppoſe the invaſion threatened by the Engliſh, as ſoon as the truce was expired.

A treaty, between the two kings, is rejected by the ſtates of France. Act. Pub.

During all theſe diſorders, king John, heartily tired of his confinement, in England, however eaſy, treated himſelf with Edward, about his liberty, tho' he could not obtain it, without yielding to the conqueror's terms; but, believing that he could not purchaſe, at too dear a rate, a freedom which might put it in his power to reſtore peace to his kingdom, he conſented to a treaty very diſadvantageous to France, by which he reſigned ſeveral provinces to the king of England. The general aſſembly of the ſtates meeting, on this occaſion, in 1359, found the conditions ſo hard, that they refuſed to ratify the treaty; which defeated all the hopes of the captive king; yet, plainly perceiving, that they had given a pretence to renew the war, they offered the regent all neceſſary aſſiſtance, to procure better terms, by arms, tho' they promiſed more than they
1359. performed. Edward loudly complained of being deceived; and, ſuddenly altering his carriage to king John, he confined him in the caſtle of Sommerton, and afterwards removed him to the tower of London; for, doubtleſs, he did not think it prudent to leave that prince, at London, upon his parole, as before, whilſt he himſelf ſhould be in the heart of France, where he reſolved to carry the war.

1360. He goes to Calais with a great army. Walſing.

The preparations, for this freſh expedition, were prodigious; and an army of 100,000 men, tranſported to Calais, was an evident indication of his deſign, to make a powerful effort to ſubdue France, during the troubles of that kingdom. When his forces were landed, at Calais, he divided them into three bodies; the firſt of which was commanded by the duke of Lancaſter, who had lately given his only daughter in marriage to John of Gaunt, the king's fourth ſon; the prince of Wales headed the ſecond, and the king himſelf commanded the laſt. With theſe numerous troops, conducted by the three moſt renowned generals, then in Europe, Edward marched into France, without any reſiſtance; for the dauphin, not being in a condition to appear in the field, was contented with providing his principal towns, with ammunition, unwilling to hazard a battle, with forces ſo unequal to thoſe of the enemy.

He ravages France to the very gates of Paris. Froiſſart.

In the interim, Edward traverſing Artois, entered Champagne, and approached Rheims, with an intent to ſurprize the city, where ſome, tho' without any grounds, affirm, he deſigned to be crowned; but that, being diſappointed, he fell upon Sens, which he eaſily ſubdued. The duke of Burgundy, finding that he could not ſave his country from plunder, obtained a ſeparate truce, for three years, upon the promiſe of paying 200,000 florins, and ſupplying the Engliſh army with proviſions; and le Nivernois followed the example of Burgundy; but la Brie and le Gatinois were ravaged. As Edward's aim was to draw the French to a battle, he did all that was poſſible, to provoke them; and he even went, about the end of lent, and encamped, within ſeven leagues of Paris, between Chartres and Mont le Herry; but, his approach not anſwering his expectation, he advanced to the very gates of the city; but, though the ſmoke of the villages, ſet on fire by the Engliſh, might be ſeen, from the walls, the dauphin, who was afterwards ſirnamed the Wiſe, being inſtructed by the fatal examples of the kings, his father and grandfather, took care not to venture the crown, upon the deciſion of a battle, where he had ſo little reaſon to expect ſucceſs. As he knew, that Paris was able to maintain a long ſiege, he kept himſelf ſhut up in the city; and all Edward's inſults could not induce him to alter his reſolution. However, he tried to free France from the impending danger, by making certain propoſals to his enemy; but they were ſcornfully rejected by Edward, who thought himſelf in condition to a give law, and preſcribe what terms he pleaſed. He ſeemed, at firſt, to have formed the deſign of beſieging Paris; but, afterwards perceiving it to be too difficult an undertaking, he marched back towards la Beauce. Cardinal de Langres, the pope's legate, attended him, in all places, and continually preſſed him to bound his ambition; but theſe remonſtrances were, then, to no purpoſe. Edward ſtaid, ſome time, in la Beauce, from whence he intended to lead his troops to the Loire; yet, in the interim, though his army ſtill paſſed through very plentiful countries, it was daily diminiſhed, by ſickneſs. It was, doubtleſs, a very great mortification to that monarch, to find, that, though he was in the heart of France, with ſuch a numerous army, he could not flatter himſelf with any one certain conqueſt; and this, perhaps, was one reaſon of his liſtening, at laſt, to the legate's ſollicitations, though his change is aſcribed to another cauſe. Froiſſart. One day, as he lay encamped, in the country about Chartres, a ſudden and dreadful ſtorm aroſe, accompanied with thunder and hail, of a prodigious ſize, which killed 6000 horſes and a 1000 men; which extraordinary accident was conſidered by the troops, as a ſign of God's wrath; and the king himſelf appeared to be poſſeſſed with the ſame opinion. Poſſibly, he was very glad, that this event furniſhed him with an opportunity, to ſhew his willingneſs to grant a peace to France, from a pure motive of generoſity, and, thereby, hide the ſhame of not being able, with ſo fine an army, to do any thing more than deſtroy the open country; but, however that be, in the midſt of the ſtorm, he turned his face towards the church of Chartres, which he diſcerned, at a diſtance, and, falling on his knees, made a vow to conſent to a peace, upon equitable terms. The legate, improving this diſpoſition, urgently preſſed him to execute his generous deſign, and prevailed on him to ſend plenipotentiaries to Bretigny, a village near Chartres, to treat of a peace, where the dauphin and his chief counſellors came, in the behalf of France; and, for England, the prince of Wales, with ſuch aſſiſtants as the king, his father, appointed. In a few days, a treaty was concluded, that gave ſome intermiſſion to the calamities of France; which, as it annulled all former treaties, and ſerved for a foundation

1360.

to

1360. new rights, makes a very remarkable epocha, in the Engliſh Hiſtory, with reſpect to the differences between the two crowns; and it is impoſſible to underſtand the relation of the ſucceeding events, without a perfect knowledge of the articles of this treaty, which are, at large, as follows.

THE TREATY of BRETIGNY.

Edward, eldeſt ſon to the king of France and England, prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter; to all thoſe who ſhall ſee theſe letters, greeting: We make you know, that, after all the debates and diſorders whatſoever, between our lord and father, king of France and England, on the one part; and our couſins the king, his eldeſt ſon, regent of France, and all thoſe it may concern, on the other part, for the good of peace, it is agreed, the eighth day of May, 1360, at Bretigny near Chartres, in the manner following:

'I. THAT the king of England, with his poſſeſſions, in Gaſcoigne and Guienne, 'ſhall, have, for him and his heirs for ever, 'all thoſe things which follow, to hold them, 'in the ſame manner the king of France, or 'his ſon, or any of his anceſtors, kings of France, 'held them: viz. thoſe in ſovereignty in ſove'reignty *, and thoſe in demain in demain, 'according to the time and manner, hereafter, 'declared, The city, caſtle, and earldom of 'Poictiers, with the whole land and country of 'Poictou; together with the fief of Thouars, 'and land of Belleville; the city and caſtle of 'Xaintes, and the whole land of Xaintonge, 'on this ſide, and beyond the river of Charente; 'the city and caſtle of Agen, and the land and 'country of Agenois; the city, caſtle, and 'whole earldom of Perigort, and the land and 'country of Perigeux; the city, caſtle, and 'whole earldom of Limoges, the land and 'country of Limoſin; the city and caſtle of 'Cahors, and the land and country of Cahor'ſin; the city, caſtle, and country of Tarbe, 'and the land, country, and earldom of Bigorre; 'the earldom, land, and country of Gaure; the 'city and caſtle of Angouleſme, and the earl'dom, land, and country of Angouleſmois; the 'city and caſtle of Rhodes; the land and coun'try of Rovergne: And, if there be any lords, 'as the earls of Foix, Armagnoc, Liſle, Peri'gort, and the viſcount of Limoges, or others, 'which hold any lands, within the bounds of 'theſe places, they ſhall do homage to the 'king of England, and all other ſervices and 'devoirs due, by reaſon of their lands, in the 'ſame manner they did, in time paſt.

'II. The king of England ſhall have all that 'any of the kings of England antiently held, in 'the town of Monſtrel upon the ſea, with their 'appurtenances.

'III. The king of England ſhall have all the 'county or earldom of Ponthieu entirely; ſave 'and except, that, if any things of the ſaid 'county or appurtenances have been alienated 'by the kings of England, for the time being, 'and to other perſons than the kings of France, 'the king of France ſhall not be obliged to re'ſtore them to the king of England; and, if the 'ſaid alienations have been made to the kings 'of France, for the time being, without mean, 'and he doth poſſeſs them, at preſent, they 'are entirely to be releaſed to the king of Eng'land; except the kings of France had them, 'by exchange for other lands of the kings of 'England, than both were to releaſe.: But, if 'the kings of England, for the time being, 'had alienated any thing to other perſons than 'to the king of France, and afterwards they 'came into his hands, he ſhall not be obliged 'to reſtore them. Alſo, if the things above'ſaid owe homage, the king of France ſhall 'conveigh them to others, who ſhall do it, for 'the king of England; and, if they do not owe 'homage, the king of France ſhall appoint a 'truſtee, or tenant, to perform the devoir, 'within one year after he ſhall depart from 'Calais.

'IV. The king of England ſhall have the 'caſtle and town of Calais; the caſtle, town, 'and ſeigneury of Merk; the towns, caſtles, 'and lordſhips of Sangate, Colongue, Hames, 'Wale, and Oye, with lands, woods, marſhes, 'rivers, rents, lordſhips, or ſeigneuries, ad'vowſons of churches, and all other appurte'nances lying between the meeſes and bounds 'following: namely, from Calais by the courſe 'of the river that goes before Graveling, and 'alſo by the courſe of the ſame river round a'bout Langle, and by the river which goes 'beyond the Poil, and by the ſame river that 'falls into the great lake of Guiſnes, and ſo to 'Fretun, and from thence by the valley about 'the hill Calculy, incloſing that hill, and ſo to 'the ſea, with Sangate and all the appurte'nances.

'V. The king of England ſhall have the 'caſtle, town, and county, or earldom of Guiſnes, 'with all the lands, towns, caſtles, fortreſſes, 'places, men, homages, lordſhips, woods, fo'reſts, and the rights of them, as entirely as 'the earl of Guiſnes, lately deceaſed, had them, 'at the time of his death; and the churches 'and good people, within the limits of the 'county of Guiſnes, of Calais, and Merk, and 'other places aboveſaid, ſhall obey the king of 'England, as they obeyed the king of France, 'or earl of Guiſnes, for the time being; all 'which things of Merk and Calais, contained 'in this and the preceding article, the king of 'England ſhall hold, in demain, except the he'ritages of the churches, which ſhall remain to 'them entirely, wherever they be; and alſo ex'cept the heritages of other people, of the coun'ry of Merk and Calais, lying out of the town of 'Calais, to the value of 100 livres of yearly rent, 'or under, of current money of the country, 'which ſhall remain to them: But the heri'tages and habitations, in the town of Calais, 'with their appurtenances, ſhall be to the king

* Inſtead of theſe words, In ſovereignty in ſovereignty, in the copy corrected by the two kings, at Calais, thoſe, In fee in fee, were inſerted.

'of

1360. ‘ of England, in demain, to diſpoſe of them, at ‘ his pleaſure; and alſo the inhabitants in the ‘ county, town, and lands of Guiſnes, ſhall en- ‘ joy all their demains entirely, and ſhall wholly ‘ be returned to them, ſaving what hath been ‘ ſaid concerning the borders, meets, and ‘ bounds in the preceding article.

‘ VI. The king of England and his heirs ſhall ‘ have and hold all the iſles adjacent to the lands, ‘ countries, and places above-mentioned; toge- ‘ ther with all other iſles, which he now holds.

‘ VII. The king of France, and his eldeſt ‘ ſon, the regent, for them, their heirs and ‘ ſucceſſors, as ſoon as they can, without de- ‘ ceit, and at fartheſt, by the feaſt of St. Mi- ‘ chael, in one year, after the ſame feaſt next ‘ coming, ſhall render, transfer, and deliver to ‘ the king of England, his heirs and ſucceſſors, ‘ all honours, obediences, homages, liegeances, ‘ vaſſals, fees, ſervices, recogniſances, rights, ‘ mere, and mixt empire, and all manner of ‘ juriſdiction, high and low, reſorts, ſafeguards, ‘ collations and patronages of churches, and all ‘ manner of ſeigneuries and ſovereignties, and ‘ all the right they have, or can appertain to ‘ them, by what cauſe, title, or colour of right ‘ ſoever, or to the kings and crown of France, ‘ by reaſon of the cities, counties, towns, ‘ caſtles, lands, countries, iſles, and places be- ‘ fore-named, and all their appurtenances and ‘ dependences, and every one of them, where- ‘ ever they are, without retaining any ‘ thing to them, or their heirs and ſucceſ- ‘ ſors, or to the kings or crown of France. ‘ And alſo, that the king and his eldeſt ſon ‘ ſhould ſend their letters patent to all the arch- ‘ biſhops, and all other prelates of holy church; ‘ and to the earls, viſcounts, barons, noblemen, ‘ citizens, and others of the cities, lands, coun- ‘ tries, iſles and places above-mentioned, that ‘ they ſhould obey the king of England and his ‘ heirs, and their certain command, in the ‘ ſame manner they had obeyed the kings and ‘ and crown of France; and by the ſame let- ‘ ters they ſhould quit and abſolve them after ‘ the beſt manner they could; from all faiths, ‘ homages, oaths, obligations, ſubjections and ‘ promiſes made by any of them, to the kings ‘ and crown of France, in what manner ſoever *.

‘ VIII. Alſo, it is agreed, that the king of ‘ England ſhall have the cities, counties, caſtles, ‘ lands, countries, iſles, and places before- ‘ named, with all their appurtenances and de- ‘ pendences, wherever they are; to hold to ‘ him, his heirs and ſucceſſors, heritably and ‘ perpetually in demain, as the kings of France ‘ held them, and in the ſame manner, ſaving ‘ what hath been ſaid, above, in the article of ‘ Calais and Merk; and alſo the cities, caſtles, ‘ counties, lands, countries, iſles, and places ‘ before-named, rights, mere and mixt empire, ‘ juriſdiction and profits whatever, which any ‘ kings of England held there, with their ap- ‘ purtenances and dependences; any aliena- ‘ tions, donations, obligations, or incumbran- ‘ ces, had, or done by any of the kings of ‘ France, in 70 years from that time, by what- ‘ ſoever cauſe or form; all ſuch alienations, do- ‘ nations, obligations, or incumbrances, are ‘ now, and ſhall be wholly annulled, repealed, ‘ and made void: And all things, ſo given, ‘ alienated, or incumbered, ſhall be really ren- ‘ dered and delivered to the king of England ‘ entirely, and in the ſame condition they were ‘ 70 years ſince, or to his ſpecial deputies, as ‘ ſoon as they may, without fraud; and at ‘ fartheſt, before Michaelmas next come twelve- ‘ months, to hold them heritably and perpe- ‘ tually, and to his heirs and ſucceſſors; ex- ‘ cept what is ſaid in the article of Ponthieu, ‘ which is to remain in force; and ſaving all ‘ things given and alienated to churches, which ‘ ſhall peaceably remain to them, in all coun- ‘ tries before and after-named, provided the ‘ parſons of the churches pray diligently for the ‘ kings, as for their founders, with which their ‘ conſciences ſhall be charged.

‘ IX. That the king of England ſhall have ‘ and hold all the cities, counties, caſtles, and ‘ countries above-named, which antiently the ‘ the kings of England had not, in the ſame ‘ eſtate as the king of France and his ſons hold ‘ them, at preſent.

‘ X. That if, within the limits of the coun- ‘ tries the kings of England antiently poſſeſſed, ‘ they ſhould now have any thing that was not ‘ then theirs, of which the king of France was ‘ in poſſeſſion, on the 19th of September, 1356, ‘ they ſhall be and remain to the king of Eng- ‘ land, and his heirs, as aboveſaid.

‘ XI. That the king of France and his eldeſt ‘ ſon, the regent, for them and their heirs, ‘ and for the kings of France and their ſuc- ‘ ceſſors, for ever, as ſoon as they can, without ‘ deceit, and at fartheſt before Michaelmas, ‘ 1361, ſhall render and deliver to the king of ‘ England, his heirs and ſucceſſors, and tranſ- ‘ fer to them all the honours, liegeances, obe- ‘ diences, homages, vaſſals, fees, ſervices, re- ‘ cogniſances, oaths, right, mere and mixt em- ‘ pire, all manner of juriſdictions, high and ‘ low, reſorts, ſafeguards, and ſeigneuries, which ‘ can or may belong, in any manner, to the ‘ kings, or crown of France, or to any other ‘ perſon, on account of the king, or crown of ‘ France, at any time, in the cities, counties, ‘ caſtles, lands, countries, iſles, and places a- ‘ bove-named, or in any of them, their appur- ‘ tenances and appendences whatſoever, or in ‘ perſons, vaſſals, ſubjects, or whoſoever of them, ‘ whether they be princes, dukes, earls, viſ- ‘ counts, archbiſhops, biſhops, barons, noble- ‘ men, or others, without reſerving or retain- ‘ ing any thing to them, their heirs, and ſuc- ‘ ceſſors, or to the crown of France, or others, ‘ whatever it be, whereby they, their heirs, and ‘ ſucceſſors, or any kings of France, or other per- ‘ ſon, under pretence of the king and crown of ‘ France, may challenge, and demand any ‘ thing, hereafter, from the king of England, ‘ his heirs and ſucceſſors, or upon any of the ‘ vaſſals and ſubjects aforeſaid, on account of

1360.

* The word, Reſorts, in this article, was omitted, in the corrected copy; and alſo theſe, And all manner of ſeigneuries and ſovereignties, without retaining any thing to them or their heirs and ſucceſſors, or to the kings or crown of France, and, In what manner ſoever.

1360. ‘ thoſe countries and places: Alſo all the be-
‘ fore-named perſons, their heirs and ſucceſſors,
‘ ſhall, for ever, be the liegemen and ſubjects
‘ of the king of England, his heirs and ſucceſ-
‘ ſors; and that he and they ſhall hold all the
‘ perſons, cities, counties, lands, countries, iſles,
‘ caſtles, and places aforenamed, and all their
‘ appurtenances and appendences, and they
‘ ſhall be and remain to them fully, perpetu-
‘ ally, and freely, in their ſeigneury, ſovereign-
‘ ty, obedience, liegeance, and ſubjection, as the
‘ kings of France had, and held them, in any
‘ time paſt; and that the ſaid king of England,
‘ his heirs and ſucceſſors, ſhall have and hold
‘ perpetually all the countries before-named,
‘ with their appurtenances and appendences,
‘ and other things before-named, with all per-
‘ petual franchiſes and liberties, as ſovereign
‘ and liege-lord, and as neighbour to the king
‘ and realm of France, without acknowledging
‘ any ſovereign, or performing any obedience,
‘ homage, reſort, ſubjection, and without do-
‘ ing, henceforward, any ſervice, or making
‘ recogniſance to the king, or crown of France,
‘ for the cities, counties, caſtles, lands, coun-
‘ tries, iſles, places, and perſons before-named,
‘ or for any of them *.

‘ That the king of France and his eldeſt ſon,
‘ the regent, for them and their heirs, and for
‘ the kings of France and their ſucceſſors, for
‘ ever, as ſoon as they can, without fraud, and
‘ at fartheſt before Michaelmas, 1361, ſhall
‘ render and deliver to the king of England,
‘ his heirs and ſucceſſors, and transfer to them
‘ all the honours, liegeances, obediences, ho-
‘ mages, vaſſals, fees, ſervices, recogniſances,
‘ oaths, right, mere and mixt empire, all man-
‘ ner of juriſdiction, high and low, ſafeguards
‘ and ſeigneuries, which can or may belong in
‘ any manner to the kings or crown of France,
‘ (ou a aucun autre perſon a cauſe du roy & de
‘ la coronne de France) at any time, in the ci-
‘ ties, counties, caſtles, lands, countries, iſles,
‘ and places above-named, or in any of them,
‘ their appurtenances and appendences, what-
‘ ſoever, or in perſons, vaſſals, ſubjects, or who-
‘ ſoever of them.

‘ XII. That the king of France and his eldeſt
‘ ſon ſhall renounce expreſly all reſorts and ſo-
‘ vereignties, and all the right they have, or can
‘ have, in all thoſe things, which by this treaty
‘ ought to belong to the king of England: And
‘ in like manner, he and his eldeſt ſon ſhall re-
‘ nounce expreſly all thoſe things, which by this
‘ treaty ought not to belong or be delivered to
‘ him, and all demands he makes of the king
‘ of France, and eſpecially to the name, and to
‘ the right of the crown of France, and to the
‘ homages, ſovereignty, and demain of the
‘ dutchy of Normandy, the dutchy of Tourain,
‘ the counties of Anjou and Main, the ſove-
‘ reignty and homage of the dukedom of Bre-
‘ tagne, and the homages and ſovereignties of
‘ the country and county of Flanders, and all o-
‘ ther demands he can or ſhall make of the king
‘ of France, for what cauſe ſoever, except what
‘ by this treaty ought to remain, and be deli- 1360.
‘ vered to the king of England and his heirs;
‘ and one king ſhall part with, releaſe, and tranſ-
‘ fer to the other perpetually all the right which
‘ either of them hath, or can have, in all the
‘ things which by this treaty ought to remain,
‘ and be delivered to each of them; and of the
‘ time and place, where and when the ſaid re-
‘ nunciations ſhall be made, the two kings
‘ ſhall agree and appoint, when they meet at
‘ Calais †.

‘ XIII. That, to the end this treaty may
‘ ſpeedily be accompliſhed, the king of Eng-
‘ land ſhall bring the king of France to Calais,
‘ within three weeks after Midſummer, there
‘ being no juſt hindrance, at his own expence.

‘ XIV. That the king of France ſhall pay to
‘ the king of England three millions of crowns
‘ of gold, of which two ſhall be of the value of
‘ a noble of Engliſh money; 600,000 crowns
‘ whereof ſhall be paid to him, or his deputies,
‘ within four months after the king of France
‘ ſhall arrive at Calais, and within a year fol-
‘ lowing 400,000 crowns to be paid at Lon-
‘ don, and ſo every year 400,000 crowns to be
‘ paid there, until the whole be diſcharged.

‘ XV. That, for the payment of the 600,000
‘ crowns at Calais, and for the delivery of the
‘ hoſtages hereafter named, within four months
‘ after the king of France ſhall be come to Ca-
‘ lais, the town, caſtle, and fortreſſes of Ro-
‘ chelle, the caſtles, fortreſſes, and towns of the
‘ county of Guiſnes, ſhall be rendered to the
‘ king of England, with all their appurtenan-
‘ ces and appendences; and the perſon of the
‘ king of France ſhall be delivered out of pri-
‘ ſon, who is not to arm himſelf or his ſubjects
‘ againſt the king of England, but is to perform
‘ the conditions of this treaty; and the hoſta-
‘ ges were the great priſoners taken, at the
‘ battle of Poictiers, and theſe following:

‘ Lewis, earl of Anjou, John, earl of Poic-
‘ tiers, the king's ſons, the duke of Orleans, the
‘ king's brother, the duke of Bourbon, the earl
‘ of Blois, or his brother, the earl of St. Paul,
‘ the earl of Alenſon, or Peter of Alenſon, his
‘ brother, the earl of Aarcourt, the earl of
‘ Portien, the earl of Valentinois, the earl of
‘ Briene, the earl of Vaudemont, the earl of
‘ Foreſt, the viſcount Beaumont, the lord of
‘ Coucy, the lord of Fienne, the lord of Preaux,
‘ the lord of St. Venant, the lord of Garen-
‘ cieres, the dauphin of Huvergne, the lord of
‘ Hangeſt, the lord of Montmorency, William
‘ de Craon, Lewis of Harcourt, John de Lig-
‘ ny. The names of the priſoners taken, at
‘ Poictiers, were theſe:

‘ Philip of France, the earl of Eu, the earl
‘ of Longueville, the earl of Ponthieu, the earl
‘ of Joigny, the earl of Sancerre, the earl of
‘ Dammartin, the earl of Ventadour, the earl
‘ of Salbruche, the earl of Auxerre, the earl of
‘ Vendoſme, the earl of Craon, the lord of
‘ Darnalt, or Rual, the marſhal of Danchan,
‘ or d' Andeneham, the lord of Aubigny.

XVI. ‘ That the priſoners aforeſaid, which

* This article was altered, and, at leaſt, two parts in three were left out of the corrected letter or copy.
† This article was entirely omitted, in the corrected copy.

come

1360. 'come to remain, in hoſtage, for the king of 'France, ſhall therefore be delivered out of 'priſon, without paying any ranſom, accord-'ing to the agreement, made before the third 'of May laſt paſt; and, if any of them be out 'of England, and not in hoſtage at Calais, 'within the firſt month after the ſaid three 'weeks, after Midſummer, without a juſt im-'pediment, he ſhall not be quit of his impri-'ſonment, but be forced by the king of France 'to return into England, and there remain pri-'ſoner, or pay the penalty by him promiſed 'and incurred, for not returning.

'XVII. That, inſtead of thoſe hoſtages, 'which ſhall not come to Calais, or ſhall die, 'or remove out of the power of the king of 'England, the king of France ſhall deliver o-'thers of the ſame quality, as ſoon as may be, 'within four months after the bailiff of Amiens 'and the major of St. Omer, upon the king of 'England's certificate, ſhall have notice there-'of; and the king of France, upon his depar-'ture from Calais, may have in his company '10 of the hoſtages, ſuch as the two kings 'ſhall agree upon, ſo as 30 may remain.

'XVIII. That the king of France, within 'three months after his departure from Calais, 'ſhall ſend thither, to remain in hoſtage, four 'perſons of the town of Paris, and two of e-'very town following, of St. Omer, Arras, A-'miens, Beauvais, Liſle, Doway, Tournay, 'Rheims, Chalons, Troyes, Chartres, Tho-'louſe, Lyon, Orleance, Campiegne, Rouen, 'Caen, Tours, Bourges; the moſt ſufficient of 'theſe towns, for the accompliſhment of this 'treaty.

'XIX. That the king of France ſhall be 'brought from England to Calais, and remain 'there, for four months, but ſhall pay nothing, 'the firſt month, for his guard and maintenance; 'but, for each of the other three months, he 'ſhall remain there, he ſhall pay 6000 royals, 'as they ſhall be then current in France, be-'fore his departure from Calais, and ſo after-'wards, for the time he continues there.

'XX. That, as ſoon as may be, within a 'year after the king of Franen is departed 'from Calais, John, earl of Montfort, ſhall have 'the earldom of Montfort, with all its appur-'tenances, doing liege-homage to the king of 'France, and his devoir and ſervice, in every 'caſe, as a good and loyal liege-vaſſal ought to 'do his liege-lord, on account of his earldom; 'and alſo his other heritages ſhall be rendered 'to him, that do not belong to the dutchy of 'Bretagne, doing homage and other dues be-'longing to them; and, if he will demand any 'thing, in any of the heritages belonging to 'that dutchy, out of the country of Bretagne, 'he ſhall receive good and ſpeedy reaſon from 'the court of France.

'XXI. Alſo, upon the queſtion of the de-'main of Bretagne, between John de Mont-'fort and Charles de Blois, it is agreed, that 'the two kings, calling before them, or their 'deputies, the principal parties, ſhall inform 'themſelves of their right, and ſhall endeavour 'to make them agree, about all that is in diſ-'pute between them, as ſoon as they can: 'And, if neither the kings, nor their deputies, 'can make an agreement, within a year after 'the king of France ſhall arrive at Calais, 'friends, on both ſides, may make the beſt 'agreement between them they can, and as 'ſoon as they can; and, if they cannot com-'promiſe the matter, within half a year, they 'ſhall make report thereof, and what they find 'concerning the rights of each party, and why 'the debate remains between them, to the two 'kings, or their deputies, and then they, as 'ſoon as may be, ſhall make an accord, giving 'their final ſentence, as to the right of each 'party, which ſhall be executed by the two 'kings; and, if they cannot end the contro-'verſy, in half a year, then the two principal 'parties of Blois and Montfort ſhall do what 'ſeems beſt to them, and the friends of both 'ſhall aſſiſt which party they pleaſe, without 'any hindrance of the ſaid kings, or without 'receiving any damage, blame, or reproach 'from them; and, if one of the parties will 'not appear before the kings, or their deputies, 'at the time appointed; and alſo, if the kings, 'or their deputies, ſhall declare an accord be-'tween the parties, and ſhall give their opi-'nion of the right of one party, and either of 'the parties will not conſent to, and obey the 'declaration, then the ſaid kings ſhall oppoſe 'him with their whole power, and in aid of 'the other which ſhall comply and obey; but 'the two kings ſhall not, in any caſe, in their 'proper perſons, or by others, make war upon 'one another for the cauſe aforeſaid, and the 'ſovereignty and homage of the dutchy ſhall 'always remain to the king of France.

'XXII. That all the lands, towns, coun-'tries, caſtles, and other places, delivered to 'the king, ſhall enjoy ſuch liberties and fran-'chiſes as they have, at preſent, which ſhall 'be confirmed by the ſaid kings, or their ſuc-'ceſſors, ſo often as they ſhall be duly re-'quired, if they be not contrary to this ac-'cord.

'XXIII. That the king of France ſhall ren-'der, or cauſe to be rendered, and confirm 'to Philip of Navarre, and to all his adhe-'rents, as ſoon as may be, without, de-'ceit, and at fartheſt within a year after 'the king of France ſhall depart from Calais, 'all the towns, fortreſſes, caſtles, lordſhips, 'rights, rents, profits, juriſdictions, and places 'whatever, which he, in his own right, or in 'right of his wife, or his adherents, held or 'ought to hold, in the kingdom of France: 'And that he ſhall not do them any damage or 'injury, or reproach them, for any thing 'done, before that time, and ſhall pardon 'them all offences and miſpriſions, for the time 'paſt, by reaſon of the war; and for this they 'ſhall have good and ſufficient letters, provid-'ed the ſaid Philip and his adherents return to 'their homage, perform their devoirs, and be-'have as good and loyal vaſſals.

'XXIV. That the king of England may 'give, for this time only, to whom he pleaſes, 'the lands and heritages that were Godfrey 'de Harcourt's, to hold of the duke of Nor-'mandy, or other lords of whom they ought

'to

1360. 'to hold, by homage and ſervices antiently 'accuſtomed.

'XXV. That any man, or country, under 'the obedience of one party, may, on account 'of this accord, go under the obedience of the 'other party; and he ſhall not be impeached, 'for any thing done, in time paſt.

'XXVI. That the lands of the baniſhed, 'and adherents of both parties, and the churches 'of both parties, and all thoſe that are diſinhe-'rited and outed of their lands, or charged with 'any penſion, tax, or impoſition, or otherwiſe 'in any manner charged, by reaſon of the war, 'ſhall be reſtored entirely to the ſame rights and 'poſſeſſions which they had, before the war be-'gan; and that all manner of forfeitures, treſ-'paſſes, or miſpriſions, done by them, or any 'of them, in that time, ſhall be wholly pardon-'ed; and theſe things are to be done, as ſoon 'as they well can, or at fartheſt within one 'year after the king ſhall leave Calais, except 'what is ſaid, in the article of Calais and Merk, 'and the other places named in that article; 'except alſo the viſcount of Fronſac, and John 'Gaillard, who are not to be compriſed in this 'article, but their goods and heritages ſhall re-'main, as they were before the treaty.

'XXVII. That the king of France ſhall de-'liver to the king of England, as ſoon as well 'he may, at fartheſt within one year after his 'departure from Calais, all the cities, towns, 'countries, and other places above-named, 'which, by this treaty, ought to be delivered 'to him.

'XXVIII. That upon the delivery of the 'the towns, fortreſſes, and whole county of 'Ponthieu; the towns, fortreſſes, and whole 'county of Montfort; the city and caſtle of 'Xainctes; the caſtles, towns, fortreſſes, and 'all the king held in demain, in the county of 'Xaintonge, on both ſides of the river Cha-'rente; the city and caſtle of Angouleſme, and 'the caſtles, fortreſſes, and towns which the 'king of France held in demain, in the coun-'try of Angouleſmois, with letters and com-'mands of releaſing of faith and homage to the 'king of England, or his deputies. He, at 'his own coſt and charge, ſhall deliver all the 'fortreſſes taken and poſſeſſed by him, his ſub-'jects, adherents, and allies, in the countries 'of France, Anjou, Main, Berry, Auvergne, 'Burgoigne, Champagne, Picardy, and Nor-'mandy, and in all other parts and lands of 'of the kingdom of France; except thoſe in 'the dutchy of Bretagne, and thoſe countries 'and lands which by this treaty ought to be 'and remain to the king of England.

'XXIX. That the king of France ſhall 'give up, and deliver to the king of England, 'his heirs, or deputies, all the towns, fortreſſes, 'caſtles, and other lands, countries, and places 'before-named, with their appurtenances, at 'his own coſt and charge: And alſo, if he ſhall 'have any rebels, that will not render and give 'up to the king of England any cities, caſtles, 'towns, countries, places, or fortreſſes, which 'ought to belong to him, the king of France 'ſhall be obliged to cauſe them to be delivered, 'at his own expence: And likewiſe the king 'of England ſhall cauſe to be delivered, at his 1360. 'expence, the fortreſſes that by this treaty 'ought to belong to the king of France. And 'the ſaid kings, and their people, ſhall be ob-'liged to aid one another, when they ſhall be 'required, at the wages of the party that ſhall 'require it, which ſhall be one florin of Flo-'rence a day, for a knight, and half a florin, 'for an eſcuyer, and to the others in the ſame 'proportion. And, for the ſurplus of the double 'wages, it is agreed, that, if the wages be too 'ſmall, on account of the rate of proviſions or 'victuals in the countries, they ſhall be ordered 'by four knights choſen for that purpoſe, two 'of one party, and two of the other.

'XXX. That all the archbiſhops, biſhops, 'and other eccleſiaſticks, by reaſon of their 'temporalities, ſhall be ſubject to that king un-'der whom they hold their temporalities; and, 'if they have temporalities under both kings, 'they ſhall be ſubject to each king, for the 'temporality they hold of him.

'XXXI. That good alliances, amities, and 'confederacies be made between both the kings 'and their kingdoms, ſaving the conſcience and 'honour of one king and the other, notwith-'ſtanding any confederacies they have made on 'this ſide, or beyond the ſea, with any per-'ſons, whether they be of Scotland, Flanders, 'or any other country.

'XXXII. That the king of France and 'his eldeſt ſon, the regent, for them and their 'heirs, kings of France, as ſoon as it may be 'done, ſhall declare themſelves, and depart 'from all the confederacies they have with the 'Scots; and promiſe, that they, nor their heirs, 'nor the kings of France, for the time being, 'ſhall give or do to the king or realm of Scot-'land, nor the ſubjects thereof, preſent and 'to come, any aid, comfort, or favour, againſt 'the king of England, his heirs and ſucceſſors, 'nor againſt the kingdom, nor againſt the ſub-'jects in any manner; and that they ſhall not 'make other alliances with the Scots, hence-'forward, againſt the kings and kingdom of 'England. And in like manner, as ſoon as it 'may be done, the king of England and his 'eldeſt ſon ſhall declare themſelves, and de-'part from all alliances they have with the 'Flemings; and promiſe that they, nor their 'heirs, nor the kings of England, for the time 'being, ſhall give or do to the Flemings pre-'ſent and to come, any aid, comfort, or fa-'vour againſt the king of France, his heirs and 'ſucceſſors, nor againſt his kingdom, nor a-'gainſt his ſubjects in any manner, and that 'they make no alliances with the ſaid Flemings, 'henceforward, againſt the kings and kingdom 'of France.

'XXXIII. That the collations and provi-'ſions made of benefices, vacant in time of the 'war, by one party and the other, ſhall hold 'and be good; and that the coſts, iſſues, and 'revenues, received and levied of any bene-'fices, or other things temporal whatever, in 'the kingdoms of France and England, by 'one party or the other, during the wars, 'ſhall be quitted by one party and the o-'ther.

'XXXIV. That

1360. 'XXXIV. That the kings aboveſaid ſhall 'be obliged to cauſe to be confirmed all the 'things aboveſaid by our holy father, the pope; 'and they ſhall be made ſure, and ſtrengthened 'by oaths, ſentences, and cenſures of the court 'of Rome, and all other places, in the moſt 'ſtrong manner that can be; and there ſhall be 'obtained diſpenſations, abſolutions, and let-'ters from the court of Rome, for perfecting 'this treaty, and they ſhall be delivered to the 'parties, at fartheſt within three weeks after 'the king ſhall be arrived at Calais.

'XXXV. That all the ſubjects of the ſaid 'kings, which come to ſtudy in the univerſi-'ties and places of ſtudy in the kingdoms of 'France and England, ſhall enjoy the privileges 'and liberties of thoſe places and univerſities, as 'well as they might have done, before the war, 'or as they do, at this preſent.

'XXXVI. That, to the end the things 'debated and treated of, as above, may be 'more eſtabliſhed, firm, and valuable, there 'ſhall be made and given the ſecurities which 'follow: Viz. letters, or inſtruments, ſealed 'with the ſeals of both kings and their eldeſt 'ſons, the beſt that can be made or directed 'by their council. And the ſaid kings, their 'eldeſt ſons, and other ſons ſhall ſwear, and 'alſo thoſe of their lineage, and other great 'men of their kingdoms, to the number of 20 'on each ſide, that they will obſerve and keep, 'and help in the keeping of the things treated 'and agreed, as far as ſhall concern them, and 'without fraud or deceit ſhall accompliſh them, 'without ever doing any thing to the contrary, 'and without any hindrance of the ſame. And 'if there ſhall be any of the kingdom of Eng-'land or France, which ſhall be rebels, and will 'not agree to the things aboveſaid, the ſaid 'kings ſhall uſe the power of their bodies, 'goods, and friends to bring ſuch rebels to obe-'dience, according to the form and tenor of 'the treaty. And farther, the ſaid kings, their 'heirs and kingdoms, ſhall ſubmit themſelves 'to the coercion of our holy father, the pope, 'that he may conſtrain, by ſentences, cenſures 'of the church, and all due ways, him that ſhall 'rebel, according to reaſon. And, according 'to theſe eſtabliſhments and ſecurities above-'ſaid, both kings and their heirs ſhall, by faith 'and oath, renounce all wars and contention. 'And if by diſobedience, rebellion, or power 'of any ſubjects of France, or any juſt cauſe, 'the king of France, or his heirs, cannot accom-'pliſh all the things aboveſaid, the king of Eng-'land, his heirs, or any for them, ſhall not make 'war againſt the king of France, his heirs, or 'kingdom; but both together ſhall endeavour 'to bring the rebels to obedience, and ac-'compliſh the things aboveſaid. And, if any 'of the realm or obedience of the king of Eng-'land will not render the caſtles, towns, and 'fortreſſes, which they hold in the realm of 'France, and obey the treaty aboveſaid, or 'for juſt cauſe cannot do that, which by 'this treaty they ought to do, the king of 'France, nor his heirs, nor any for them, ſhall 'make war upon the king of England, or his 'kingdom; but both together ſhall employ their 'power to recover the caſtles, towns, and for-'treſſes; and that all obedience and compli-'ance may be given to the treaty. And there 'ſhall be made and given on both ſides, ac-'cording to the nature of the fact, all manner 'of ſecurity that ſhall be known, or can be de-'viſed, as well by the pope, the college of the 'court of Rome, as otherwiſe, holding and 'keeping the peace perpetually, and all the 'things, as above agreed. 1360.

'XXXVII. That, by this preſent treaty all 'others, if any have been made before, ſhall 'be null and void, and never be of any advan-'tage to either party, nor cauſe any reproach 'of one to the other for not obſerving them.

'XXXVIII. The preſent treaty ſhall be ap-'proved, ſworn to, and confirmed by the two 'kings, when they ſhall meet at Calais; and, 'after the king of France ſhall be gone from 'thence, and be in his own power, within a 'month next following, he ſhall make letters 'patent of confirmation, and ſend and deliver 'them at Calais to the king of England, and 'receive ſuch and the like from the king of 'England.

'XXXIX. That neither king ſhall procure, 'or cauſe to be procured by himſelf or others, 'any injury, or moleſtation by the church of 'Rome, or any of the holy church, whoever 'they be, to, or concerning this treaty, to-'wards either of the kings, their coadjutors, 'adherents, and allies, whoever they be, or 'their lands or ſubjects, on occaſion of the war 'or other thing, or for ſervice the coadjutors, 'adherents, or allies of either ſide have per-'formed; or if our holy father will do it, of 'himſelf, both kings ſhall hinder it, as well as 'they can, without deceit.

'XL. The hoſtages that are to be delivered 'to the king of England at Calais, and the 'manner and time thereof, the two kings ſhall 'there direct *.

Remarks on the treaty of Bretigny.

The conditions of this treaty ſeem ſo hard, for France, that the reader can ſcarce forbear repreſenting to himſelf a triumphant king treading upon the neck of his vanquiſhed enemy; but, if we pretend to add the idea of an unjuſt conqueror exacting, from his enemy, terms entirely repugnant to reaſon and equity, we ſhall, doubtleſs, form a wrong judgment of this famous treaty. It muſt be remembered, that almoſt all the provinces, reſigned by France to England, belonged formerly to Edward's predeceſſors, not by conqueſt, or treaties extorted by force, but by a right of inheritance, immemorially received from their anceſtors; for it does not appear, that the king of France ever complained, that the dukes of Guienne, or the earls of Poictiers, had wreſted theſe countries from them, by compulſive methods. On the contrary, we have ſeen, in the hiſtory of the preceding monarchs, that Philip Auguſtus

* In the corrected inſtrument of this treaty, the words, Reſort and Sovereignty, are always omitted, with reſpect to the king of England's enjoying them, in the places which were to be delivered to him; whereas, in the uncorrected inſtrument, they are given to him.

1360. and St. Lewis diſpoſſeſs'd, by violence, John Lackland and Henry III, not only of the provinces in diſpute, but alſo of Anjou, Touraine, Maine, and Normandy; and the treaty, by which they were ſurrendered to France, was made, whilſt Henry III. was in captivity to the earl of Leiceſter; from which conſiderations, it is eaſy to perceive the foundation of this treaty. Edward, improving ſuch favourable junctures, aimed at the recovery of what France had, before, extorted from his anceſtors; and, if he likewiſe required Calais, the earldom of Guiſnes, and the ſovereignty of the provinces he recovered, it muſt be obſerved, that Edward had a right to demand whatever belonged to his predeceſſors, not to mention his claim to the crown itſelf. In this belief, he thought, that, in leaving to France, Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, with the homage of Bretagne, he gave an equivalent for Guiſnes, Calais, and the ſovereignty of Guienne; and, if to this ceſſion, be added his title to the crown of France, which, undoubtedly, he apprehended to be very plauſible, ſince he made it the ground of the war, perhaps, there will not be any great cauſe to exclaim againſt the unreaſonableneſs of this treaty. Edward cannot be blamed, for being willing to recover Guienne and all its dependences, without condemning Philip Auguſtus and St. Lewis, who took, by force, the greateſt part of that province from his anceſtors; and Philip de Valois, who ſeized the reſt, before the war was declared, on the frivolous pretence of Edward's refuſing to obey his order, prohibiting all his ſubjects and vaſſals to harbour Robert d' Artois. If Edward had received that prince, at Bourdeaux, he would have given room for ſome objections; but his being vaſſal, for Guienne, could not deprive him of the privilege of acting, as king of England. In fine, if it be alledged, that the foreſaid kings of France had a right to re-annex to the crown provinces, that were a part of the kingdom, under the ſecond race; I anſwer, that Hugh Capet granted them, in fee, to lords, from whom they were devolved to the kings of England, by lawful ſucceſſion. It can, therefore, only be pretended, that Philip Auguſtus had juſt reaſon to confiſcate Normandy, Poictou, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and that Guienne was juſtly forfeited by Edward III; but all this is much eaſier ſaid than proved; and, if a preſcription of 70 years is advanced, in favour of France, a much longer may be pleaded, in behalf of the kings of England, when theſe countries were taken from them.

If any one ſhould ſtill imagine, that Edward did not perform his vow, to conclude a peace upon equitable terms, let him farther conſider the poſture of the French affairs, at the time of this treaty. King John was a priſoner, at London, and the dauphin ſhut up, in Paris; whilſt an army of 100,000 Engliſhmen was in the center of the kingdom, to which no conſiderable body of troops could be oppoſed; and Edward was poſſeſſed of many places taken by himſelf, or his generals, ſince his invaſion. In a word, an univerſal conſternation was ſpread all over France; and inteſtine commotions deſtroyed all hopes of ever being able to expel the Engliſh. Theſe were very ſubſtantial advantages, which Edward actually enjoyed; ſo that he might juſtly expect to become maſter of that whole kingdom, and attain the end he propoſed, in beginning the war. What reaſon then, can be aſſigned, for his not improving ſo fair an opportunity? Certainly, it could proceed from nothing elſe but his willingneſs to be ſatisfied with a part, when he might have demanded the whole; and with a part that he believed might, in juſtice, be taken from France, by whom it was unjuſtly acquired. But to return to the Hiſtory. 1360.

This famous treaty, negotiated, in eight days, was approved by both kings; and John was conducted to Calais, in July, where he continued, four months, purſuant to the agreement. At his firſt meal, he was waited upon by Edward's four ſons, who treated him, with all poſſible reſpect, according to the king their father's orders; and theſe four months were ſpent, in drawing up all the neceſſary acts, as well for explaining as confirming and executing the treaty, that they might be all ſigned, the ſame day; for it was not till the 24th of October, that the two kings ſigned and ſwore to the treaty, at Calais. This affair being over, king John was releaſed, on the 26th of the ſaid month; and, juſt before his departure, Edward gave him a convincing proof of his friendſhip, in permitting him to carry with him prince Philip, his ſon, taken at the battle of Poictiers. Of all his children, this was his greateſt favourite; yet, though, of all the hoſtages, in Edward's hands, this was the chief, by reaſon of his father's affection for him, he very readily conſented, that he ſhould be one of the 10 that were to be freed, by the XXII article of the treaty of Bretigny; and the two monarchs, at parting, gave mutual tokens of cordial love and eſteem. John is conducted to Calais.

John no ſooner arrived at St. Omer, than he ratified, by his letters patent, and voluntarily ſwore to, all the articles of the treaty of Bretigny; from whence it appeared, that he was not compelled to ſwear, at Calais. He ſhewed, on all occaſions, that his intent was to perform his engagements, which, at laſt, he proved, in the moſt ſenſible manner, by putting Edward in poſſeſſion of the countries reſigned to him; and there was only ſome difficulty, relating to the earldom of Gaure, in Gaſcoigne, and the territory of Belville, in Poictou, about which the two kings could not agree. He ratifies the treaty, when in France. Act. Pub.

The peace between the two crowns ſeeming to be ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, Edward ſent Sir John Chandos into France, to command, in his name, in the countries belonging to him, with the title of lieutenant-general, who was one of the moſt accompliſhed lords, at that time, in England. He was affable and temperate, in peace, and brave, in war; and conſequently a perſon, in all reſpects, qualified for ſuch an honourable employ. As the king intended to gain the affection of his new ſubjects, he took care to ſend them a governor, whoſe prudence was extremely proper to produce that effect; beſides, he ſettled upon him a very handſome ſalary, 1361. John Chandos.

1361. salary, which enabled him to keep a ſplendid court, at Niort, in Poictou, where he reſided; and he inveſted him with power to pardon all ſorts of crimes, that, both by his outward luſtre and the diſtribution of his favours, he might procure for his maſter the love of the people, ſo lately brought under ſubjection to his authority.

Edward reſtores to the priories their lands.

Edward, finding that he was like to enjoy a laſting peace, reſtored to the alien-priors the lands taken from them, 20 years before, towards the charges of the war; tho' it very rarely happens, that princes voluntarily make reſtitution of what they have once acquired.

The plague ſtill raged in England, this year; which, among the reſt, deprived the kingdom of the duke of Lancaſter, the moſt beloved of all the Engliſh lords, being uſually ſtiled the Good Duke; and, accordingly, his death was greatly lamented. He founded the collegiate church of Leiceſter; and, in the ſame place, an hoſpital, for 300 poor men, which ſubſiſts to this day.

The marriage of the prince of Wales.

The prince of Wales, who never hought of marrying, during the war, in this peaceable time, eſpouſed Joanna of Kent, his couſin, counteſs dowager of Holland; who was daughter to Edmund, earl of Kent, beheaded by the intrigues of queen Iſabella and Mortimer; and ſhe was commonly called Joanna the Fair, on account of her extraordinary beauty.

1362. Edward makes Guienne a principality. Act. Pub.

The next year, the king, willing to give publick marks of his eſteem and affection for the prince, his eldeſt ſon, who had ſo highly exalted the glory of the Engliſh name, erected the dutchy of Guienne into a principality, under the name of the principality of Aquitaine; and then he ſolemnly inveſted the prince with it, obliging him only to pay, annually, in lieu of all ſervice, an ounce of gold to the crown of England.

The publick acts are to be in Engliſh. Walſing.

Edward ſpent the remainder of this year, in making ſeveral wiſe regulations, with the advice of his parliament, about domeſtick affairs; ſuch, for inſtance, was the decree, that, for the future, in the courts of juſtice, and in all publick acts, the Engliſh language ſhould be uſed, inſtead of the French or Norman, introduced by William the Conqueror.

In this parliament, the king declared, that, as he was arrived to his 50th year, he would have it ſolemnized, as a ſort of jubilee; wherefore, he granted a general pardon for all offences whatſoever, treaſon itſelf not excepted; and he confirmed Magna Charta, which was ratified, 10 ſeveral times, in his reign.

After Edward had performed what he judged neceſſary, for the publick, he was pleaſed to do ſomething, for his family, by creating Lionel, his third ſon, duke of Clarence, John of Gaunt, his fourth ſon, duke of Lancaſter, and the fifth, named Edmund, earl of Cambridge; and, in fine, having eſtabliſhed the ſtaple of wooll, at Calais, he took a progreſs into ſeveral counties, attended by the principal lords, and the French hoſtages, who partook of all the recreations, with which the people ſtrove to divert their ſovereign.

In the beginning of 1363, the prince of Wales departed for his government of Aquitaine; and he reſided at Bourdeaux, where he kept a royal court, being beloved and reſpected by all his ſubjects, who were extremely happy, under the government of ſo great a prince. 1363. The prince of Wales goes and keeps his court at Bourdeaux.

The ſame year was remarkable, for king John's return into England, where, it is pretended, he came to ſurrender himſelf priſoner again, to atone for the fault committed by the duke of Anjou, his ſecond ſon, in withdrawing from Calais, without leave; at leaſt, this is the reaſon generally aſſigned for this extraordinary proceeding. Some add, that his view was to confer, in perſon, with Edward, about the Cruſade, of which he was declared general by the pope; and there are hiſtorians, who have not ſcrupled to advance a much leſs noble motive of his return; alledging, that his paſſion for the counteſs of Salisbury was the real cauſe of this journey, though he made uſe of other pretences; but this is a romantick notion, and entirely groundleſs. Notwithſtanding all former enquiries, concerning this affair, the true occaſion of this prince's return is ſtill a ſecret; but that of love is the moſt improbable; and that of repairing the faulr of the duke of Anjou, though adopted by the generality of hiſtorians, is, in my opinion, without the leaſt foundation. To illuſtrate this point, it will be requiſite to relate ſome particulars, belonging to the Hiſtory, which I have reſerved for this place, though they were tranſacted, between the treaty of Bretigny and the preſent time. King John returns to England. Act. Pub. The pretended reaſons of his return. Froiſſart. Mezerai.

Among the 30 hoſtages in Edward's hands, beſides the burghers of ſeveral cities, there were four princes of the blood; viz. Philip, duke of Orleans, king John's brother; Lewis, duke of Anjou; John, earl of Poictiers, afterwards duke of Berry; and the duke of Bourbon; which four princes, commonly ſtiled, the Lords of the Flower-de-Luce, being tired of England, ſought all poſſible means, to return into France; though it was a difficult task, ſince, upon theſe four hoſtages, Edward chiefly relied, for the full performance of the treaty of Bretigny, and particularly for the payment of king John's ranſom. Nevertheleſs, by their ſollicitations, he was prevailed on to grant them their liberty, upon the following terms: I. Provided that, before the firſt of November, the territory of Belville and earldom of Gaure were reſigned to him, with 200,000 florins. II. That, before the departure of the princes, certain lands, in Poictou, ſhould be given him, for ſecurity. III. That, if the firſt article was not executed, by the time agreed on, the lands given in pledge ſhould remain to the king, for ever, and the four princes be obliged to ſurrender themſelves, in hoſtage, as before. There were ſome other articles; but they are of no uſe, in clearing this fact. John ratified this agreement; and the four hoſtages were conducted to Calais, where they ſtaid, upon their parole, till the execution of the firſt article; having alſo liberty to go out of the town, whenever they pleaſed, and even to be abſent, three days,

on

1363. on condition they came and lodged, within the walls, on the fourth. It appears from Edward's letter to the prince of Wales, inſerted in the Collection of the Publick Acts, that this agreement was not executed; which led the princes to deſpair of recovering their liberty, ſo ſoon as they expected. The duke of Anjou, more impatient and leſs ſcrupulous than the reſt, took advantage of this permiſſion to go out of Calais, to make his eſcape, and returned no more; and four other inferior hoſtages followed his ill example. It is aſſerted, that, on this account, king John came and ſurrendered himſelf priſoner, at London; namely, to repair the fault of the prince, his ſon; but, as the Collection of the Publick Acts does not give the leaſt hint, that this was the motive of his voyage, it may be juſtly diſputed; moreover, king John was, by no means, obliged to take this ſtep, even though all the hoſtages had made their eſcape, his whole engagement conſiſting in ſending the ſame hoſtages, or others of the like quality, in their room. Now, it is not ſaid, that the duke of Anjou abſented himſelf from his father's court, and conſequently it was eaſy to ſend him back; and, in a word, if John returned to London, as a priſoner, he would, in ſo doing, have freed all the hoſtages, ſince they were detained, at preſent, only as ſecurity for the payment of his ranſom. All the reſt of the articles of the treaty of Bretigny were executed, except that concerning Gaure and Belville, which did not require ſo great ſecurity; and yet, though John ſtaid, three months, at London, there was never any diſcourſe, about releaſing the hoſtages. Froiſſart, whoſe teſtimony is urged, does not affirm, that John ſurrendered himſelf priſoner again, but only that one of the motives of his voyage was to excuſe, and not to repair, the duke of Anjou's fault. The hiſtorian's own words are, as follows: "I was then informed, and on good "grounds, that king John deſigned and de"ſired to go and ſee king Edward, his brother, "in England, and could not be diſſuaded from "it, though he was ſufficiently adviſed to the "contrary: And, being told by ſeveral barons "and prelates, that he was about to commit a "great indiſcretion, he replied, He had found "ſo much honour, in the king of England and "his ſons, that he did not doubt their proving "his true and faithful friends, on all occaſions; "and, beſides, he was willing to excuſe the "duke of Anjou, his ſon, who was returned "into France." Nothing, in this paſſage, can import, that John returned to England, to yield himſelf priſoner; and, therefore, it is evidently a groundleſs aſſertion. As for the third motive, viz. his deſire to confer with Edward, about the Cruſade, it is much more probable; but, after all, even this is no more than a conjecture.

John is honourably received in England.

When Edward heard, that John was landed, at Dover, he ſent the princes, his ſons, with a numerous retinue of nobles, to receive him, and conduct him to London, where he paid all the reſpect due to his rank and merit. The king, of Scotland and Cyprus, who were then 1363. in England, added to the ſplendor of his reception, the former of whom came, to pay Edward a viſit, and the latter, to requeſt his aid againſt the Infidels. Upon ſuch an extraordinary occaſion, Edward took a pleaſure, in entertaining his illuſtrious gueſts, with all poſſible magnificence, and with all imaginable diverſions; and the mayor of London made a magnificent entertainment for the four kings, in the name of the city. The ſumptuouſneſs of Sir Henry Picard, citizen and wine-merchant, ought not to be paſſed over in ſilence; who invited all the four kings, with their retinues, to a feaſt at his own houſe, where they were ſplendidly entertained. King John lodged in the palace of the Savoy, as before, and was ſtill treated, at Edward's expence. About the middle of March, three months after his arrival at London, he was ſeized with a diſtemper, of which he died, on the 8th of April, 1364; and his death was greatly lamented by the king of England, who had a ſingular eſteem for his virtue. There is aſcribed to this prince a ſaying, worthy to be had in eternal remembrance by poſterity: "Though faith "and truth were baniſhed from the reſt of the "world, they ought, however, to be preſerved "in the mouth of kings." It is pretended, that this was ſaid, on the occaſion of his returning to England; but it may, with much more probability, be aſcribed to his ſincere performance of the treaty of Bretigny, in ſpite of the obſtacles thrown into his way by ſome of his counſellors, tho' Charles V, his ſucceſſor, did not follow the ſame maxims.

The battle of Avray.

Edward's good fortune not only ſhed its influence on himſelf and his ſubjects, but alſo on his allies; for, this very year, John de Montfort, his ſon-in-law, won the famous battle of Avray, againſt Charles de Blois, his competitor, who was ſlain. This victory decided the quarrel between the two houſes, who contended for the dutchy of Bretagne, and produced the treaty of Guerande, by which Bretagne was aſſigned to John de Montfort, who did homage for it to the king of France; and Bertrand du Gueſclin, who ſerved Charles de Blois, and became afterwards very famous, was taken in this battle by Sir John Chandos, commander of the Engliſh troops, in Montfort's ſervice.

1365. The fortune of Thomas Hackwood. Walſing.

The Engliſh name was, then, renowned, in all parts of the world. Some gallant Engliſhmen, who had attended Guy de Luſignan, king of Cyprus, into the Eaſt, performed wonders, and returned, laden with honours and riches taken from the Infidels; and, at the ſame time, Thomas Hackwood, an Engliſhman, who departed from England a journyman-taylor, taking afterwards to arms, ſignalized himſelf, in the Italian wars, by his valour and conduct, which raiſed him to the moſt exalted poſts; and he gained ſuch honour and reputation, for reſtoring, in thoſe parts, military diſcipline, that was almoſt entirely loſt, that, after his death, the Florentines erected, in their city, a black

1365. black marble-ſtatue, to his memory *. John Chandos and Robert Knolles diſtinguiſhed themſelves alſo, in a very ſingular manner, in all Edward's wars with France; and the fame of the Engliſh not only reached beyond the Alps, but flew likewiſe over the Pyrenæan mountains, as we ſhall ſee preſently.

1366. Urban VI. proudly demands the arrears of his tribute. Raynold.

Edward's great acquiſitions, in France, induced pope Urban VI, to think the preſent juncture very proper, to demand the tribute, promiſed, by king John Lackland, to the Roman church, and of which 30 years arrears was now due; and he required the payment, in ſuch an imperious manner, that he nominated, even before-hand, commiſſioners to ſummon Edward before him, in caſe of refuſal; but, the king's great ſpirit diſdaining ſuch haughty proceedings, he cauſed the pope's demand to be laid before the parliament, who declared, "That "the king of England could not bring his realm "in ſuch ſervitude, without the conſent of par-"liament; and that, if neceſſity compelled "king John to ſuch a proceeding, his engage-"ment was null, as being contrary to his co-"ronation-oath." This auguſt aſſembly, not ſatisfied with ſo particular a deciſion, came alſo to this vigorous reſolution: "That, if the "pope ſhould attempt, by any means whatſo-"ever, to proſecute his unjuſt pretenſions, "the nation ſhould oppoſe him, with all their "might." The firmneſs of the parliament obliged the pope to deſiſt; and it had not only a preſent effect, but prevented the kings of England from being ever after moleſted, on that account.

The affairs of Caſtile. Mezerai.

The prince of Wales reſided, three years, in Guienne, without exerciſing his valour, and even without any proſpect of doing it, for a conſiderable time; but, on a ſudden, he was drawn out of this ſtate of tranquillity, by the ſollicitations of Peter, king of Caſtile, ſirnamed the Cruel, who was lately expelled his dominions. No prince ever gave his ſubjects greater cauſe of diſcontent; for, being cruel to exceſs, and of an inſatiable avarice, he illegally put to death his great men, with the ſole view of confiſcating their eſtates. He conſulted only the gratification of his paſſions, without any regard to honour, or conſcience; and he even poiſoned Blanche de Bourbon, his wife, ſiſter to the queen of France, to marry Maria de Padilla, whom he had long kept, as his miſtreſs. Of his five baſtard-brothers, the eldeſt had lately been ſacrificed to his ſuſpicions; and the other four were in danger; but Henry, earl of Treſtamare, one of that number, being continually threatened with the ſame fate, rebelled againſt Peter, and engaged in his quarrel the king of Arragon, with the principal Caſtilian lords, who could no longer endure the tyranny of their ſovereign. He was, at firſt, repulſed by the tyrant, and forced to fly to the king of France, who promiſed to aſſiſt him; for, beſides Charles's deſire to revenge the death of the queen, his ſiſter-in-law, he was very glad to find employment for a multitude of idle ſoldiers, who, ſince the late peace, ſwarmed in France, and committed great diſorders. With this view, he raiſed an army, the command of which he gave to John de Bourbon, earl of Marche, the queen's couſin-german; and he was pleaſed, that du Gueſclin, whoſe ranſom he paid to Chandos, ſhould be concerned in this expedition. 1366.

Peter the Cruel is expelled his dominions.

With theſe troops, and the aid of the Caſtilians, Henry marched through Arragon into Caſtile; where the tyrant found himſelf immediately abandoned by all his nobles, except a ſingle knight; upon which defection, he would have retired into Portugal, but was denied entrance. In this extremity, he left Spain, and repaired to Bourdeaux, to implore the aid and protection of the prince of Wales; but, if the young hero had reflected on the unworthineſs of the prince, who deſired his aſſiſtance, he would, doubtleſs, have refuſed his requeſt; yet, conſidering only the honour of reſtoring a depoſed king, and, perhaps, being weary of an unactive life, he undertook to replace him on the throne. Accordingly, he levied an army of 30,000 men, and marched at their head towards Spain, loaded with promiſes from the Caſtilians, and flushed with the expectation of gathering freſh laurels; and, as he could not enter Caſtile, but by the way of Navarre, he took care to ſecure a paſſage, by a treaty with the king of that country; ſo that he marched, without interruption, to the frontiers of Caſtile. Henry, who was now crowned, at Burgos, receiving intelligence of the march of the Engliſh prince, advanced towards Navarre, with a numerous army, to oppoſe his paſſage; and he might, very poſſibly, have been ſucceſsful, by reaſon of the ſuperiority of his forces, had he been ſo prudent as to avoid a battle; but the prince of Wales, to provoke him, ſent him a very inſulting defiance, which Henry could not forbear to accept; and, the two armies approaching each other, the battle was fought, near Nejara, a little town on the frontiers of Caſtile. As the fields of Creſſy and Poictiers had ſeen the prince of Wales perform wonders, that of Nejara was alſo witneſs of his heroic actions; and, after a long ſtruggle, the Spaniſh army, tho' reinforced with a powerful body of French troops, was entirely routed. Bertrand de Gueſclin, with the marſhal D'Endreghen, were taken priſoners; and Henry, after this defeat, retired into Arragon, from whence he repaired to Languedoc, to implore the aid of the duke of Anjou, the governor.

He deſires the aid of the prince of Wales, who undertakes to reſtore him. Knighton.

Act. Pub.

1367. He marches towards Caſtile. Walſing.

The battle of Nejara.

Peter was, at firſt, ſo grateful, that, preſently after the battle, he threw himſelf at the prince of Wales's feet, to thank him, for reſtoring him to his crown; but the prince of Wales, lifting him up, immediately, and holding him in his arms, ſaid, "It was to God "alone he was indebted for the victory, and "not to a prince who was no more than a "weak inſtrument in his hand." The conſe-

Peter thanks the prince for his victory. Act. Pub. 1368.

* He is painted on the wall of the cathedral of that city, on horſeback, in armour, the whole of a green colour, with theſe two lines under his horſe's feet.

Johannes Acutus eques Britannicus, dux ſuæ ætatis
Cautiſſimus, et rei militaris peritiſſimus, habitus eſt.

And underneath, at a ſmall diſtance, theſe words: Opus Pauli Uccelli.

1368. quences of this ſignal ſucceſs was the reſtoration of Peter to the throne; and it was, now, time for that prince to think of performing his promiſes, and rewarding the valiant ſoldiers, who had hazarded their lives, in his ſervice; but, being no leſs perfidious than cruel, after he had long amuſed them with hopes of proviſions and money, he repaid them with black ingratitude. Want ſoon bred among the ſoldiers a mortality, which ſwept away great numbers; and the fear of loſing the reſt conſtrained the prince, who perceived, that he was baſely deceived, to retire, extremely diſguſted; being even forced to ſell his plate, to provide for the more preſſing occaſions of his army, till he could give them entire ſatisfaction; and, what was ſtill more unfortunate, during his ſtay in Spain, he contracted a diſtemper of which he never recovered.

The cataſtrophe of Peter.

This was the reſult of the prince of Wales's expedition; which was glorious, indeed, if we only regard the ſucceſs, but rather infamous, as to the cauſe he eſpouſed, ſince it was, purely, deſigned to reſtore to the throne the baſeſt of princes; and Heaven afterwards revenged both the Engliſh and Caſtilians. Du Gueſclin, paying his ranſom, joined Henry again; and they laboured, with the aſſiſtance of France, to bring a freſh army into the field. As ſoon as they were in readineſs, they re-entered Caſtile, and made ſo great a progreſs, that they were ſoon in a condition to beſiege Toledo; and Peter, flying to the relief of that city, was defeated, and compelled to retreat to the caſtle of Montiel, where he was directly inveſted; but, his caſe being deſperate, he reſolved to go to Du Gueſclin, in his tent, fancying that he would procure him tolerable terms, or help him to make his eſcape. However, unhappily meeting Henry, his brother, there, the two princes falling firſt to reproaches and then to blows, Henry threw his brother to the ground, and ſtabbed him with his dagger; and then he cauſed himſelf to be once more acknowledged king of Caſtile, without the leaſt oppoſition.

A difference between the end and beginning of Edward's reign.

Edward III. has, hitherto, appeared, on the theatre of the world, as one of the moſt glorious princes that ever ſwayed a ſcepter; but his latter years will preſent us with a very different ſcene. Fortune grew weary of favouring this monarch, in his old age, notwithſtanding her former careſſes; for ſhe robbed him, before his death, of all his glorious conqueſts, which were purchaſed, at ſo dear a rate; and theſe loſſes were attended with many other vexations.

Prince Lionel's ſecond marriage.

Lionel, duke of Clarence, Edward's third ſon, who was contracted to Violanta, daughter to John Galeazzo, duke of Milan, went to conſummate his marriage, with a ſplendid retinue, being honoured with the attendance of many young noblemen; and, for ſome time, there was nothing but entertainments and diverſions, that were daily renewed, in favour of a prince whoſe alliance was ſo honourable to the duke of Milan; which diverſions, ſo laviſhly procured him, haſtened his end. Five months after his marriage, he died in Mont-

His death. Walſing.

ferrat, in the 32d year of his age; and, by his firſt wife, the ſole heireſs of the earl of Ulſter, in Ireland, he left a daughter, named Philippa, of whoſe poſterity I ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak, hereafter. 1368.

1369. Charles V. forms the deſign of breaking the treaty of Bretigny.

Edward's grief, for the loſs of his ſon, was quickly ſucceeded by another, of which he was no leſs ſenſible; for the treaty of Bretigny was ſo diſadvantageous to France, that Charles V, who had himſelf made it, probably conſented to it, with no other view, than to break it, the firſt opportunity. The French were no better diſpoſed; which ſoon appeared, in all the difficulties they created, when the reſigned provinces came to be delivered to the king of England. King John was the only perſon that acted, with ſincerity, who, by his own authority, prevented theſe obſtacles from being carried too far; but Charles, his ſon and ſucceſſor, ſirnamed the Wiſe, no ſooner aſcended the throne, than he tried to evade what remained unexecuted of the treaty; for he even neglected to do Edward juſtice, upon the duke of Anjou's eſcape, nor would he deliver up the earldom of Gaure. The judgment, about the affair of Belville, referred to arbitrators, was delayed on various pretences; and king John's ranſom was deferred; or, if Charles paid any thing, after his acceſſion to the crown, it was but a ſmall part, in reſpect of what ſtill remained due. In the interim, Edward, having in his hands the dukes of Berry and Orleans, and ſeveral other hoſtages, could not imagine, that Charles thought of renewing the war, believing that his inability was the ſole cauſe of all theſe delays. Affairs proceeded thus ſlowly, from the death of John, till Charles was in a condition to take proper meaſures, to accompliſh his deſigns; who always pretended a willingneſs to compleat the execution of the treaty, and, under colour of paying his father's ranſom, to which he was obliged, heaped up money very liberally ſupplied by the ſtates, well knowing for what uſes it was intended. With this aid, he engaged ſeveral other German princes, in his intereſt; and, having brought his matters to maturity, he ſought a pretence, to break with England.

Edward diſguſts the lords of Guienne. Act. Pub.

When Edward was projecting a war with France, he judged it expedient to attach to his ſervice the principal lords of Guienne, by ſeveral grants which he revoked, immediately after the peace; but they were ſo exaſperated by this, that they wanted only a favourable opportunity, to ſhew their reſentment. In all probability, they would have long waited in vain, if Charles had not given them private intimations, that they ſhould be ſupported; but, being aſſured of his protection, nothing was wanting but a pretence to complain; and the prince of Wales, by laying upon Guienne a tax, called Feuage, or chimney-money, in order to pay the arrears due to the troops, levied for the Spaniſh war, inadvertently, furniſhed his enemies with the deſired opportunity, to declare themſelves. The lord d' Albret, the earls of Armagnac, Cominges, Perigord, and Carmaing, encouraging their vaſſals to complain

1369. complain of this new tax, brought their complaints to the prince, and addreſſed him, on that occaſion; and their remonſtrances were rejected, not only becauſe the prince was in want of money, but on account of the haughty manner, in which they were made. The lords, having gained the very point they wanted, under the pretence, that their prince would not do them juſtice, applied to the king of France, whom they ſuppoſed to be ſtill ſovereign lord of Guienne, and intreated him to grant them letters of appeal to his parliament. Charles, tho' he did not think it adviſable, as yet, to throw off the maſque, cheriſhed this diſpoſition, and, in the mean time, kept them, at Paris; but the journey of theſe lords, and their long
Walſing. ſtay, at the court of France, exciting the jealouſy of the prince of Wales, he ſent, from time to time, ſeveral letters to the king, his father, to warn him that ſome project was forming againſt him, at Paris, tho' to no purpoſe; for the king and his council, regardleſs of his remonſtrances, imagined, that the warlike prince, tired with an inactive life, only ſought an occaſion, to renew the war.

In the interim, the prince's diſtemper, daily growing more dangerous, turned, at laſt, to a real dropſy; and his ill ſtate of health, together with his father's infirmneſs, haſtened the reſolutions of the king of France. Accordingly, he granted the Gaſcoign lords the letters of appeal they requeſted, pretending, notwithſtanding his oaths, and all his father's reſignations and renunciations, that he was ſtill ſovereign of Guienne; and he founded his pretenſions on Edward's not having ſent his renunciation to the crown of France, purſuant to the treaty of Bretigny; but, that renunciation being only a conſequence of the full performance of the treaty, Edward did not think himſelf, as, indeed, he was not, obliged to make it, till the whole was executed, tho' he had abſolutely quitted the title of king of France, a convincing proof of the ſincerity of his intention. Moreover, Charles himſelf had not renounced the provinces yielded to England, by the treaty of Bretigny; which reciprocal renunciations were conſidered, as the ſeal of the treaty, after the two kings ſhould be ſatisfied about the execution. However that be, Charles, under this pretence, ſummoned the prince of Wales to appear before the court of peers, to anſwer for his pretended tyranny upon the people of thoſe provinces; but, the prince's high ſpirit not permitting him to bear this affront, without diſcovering his reſentment, he replied, that he would not fail to appear, but it ſhould be at the head of 60,000 men. In the mean time, Charles, amuſing Edward, expoſtulated with him, as if he were deſirous, that the affair ſhould be put in negotiation; and Edward anſwered, by giving words for words, not, in the leaſt, ſuſpecting, that he really intended to diſpute his ſovereignty over Guienne, ſo clearly ſettled in the treaty of Bretigny; and much leſs, that France was in a condition to renew the war; but he prepoſterouſly flattered himſelf. It was not the ſovereignty of Guienne only, that Charles deſigned to diſpute; for he likewiſe alledged, that the treaty of Bretigny was void, becauſe Edward had not prevented certain plunderers, that came out of his dominions, from entering France, nor had evacuated all the towns that were to be reſtored. On theſe accounts, he ordered war to be proclaimed by a footman, becauſe the prince of Wales had ſeized thoſe that brought him the ſummons; and, ſoon after, he publiſhed an edict, confiſcating all the lands held by the Engliſh, in France, which he annexed to the crown. 1369.

Charles ſummons the prince of Wales.

His anſwer.

The encomiums beſtowed on this prince, by the French writers, for ſo wiſely improving the junctures that offered, to recover his dominions, deſerve ſome reflections. Indeed, he acted with prudence, if ſincerity and honeſty are inſignificant terms; and the ſucceſs of his conduct freed France, for a time, from her unhappy condition; but, if we conſider it cloſely, this prudence is real perfidiouſneſs; for, even ſuppoſing, that Edward had not executed any one article of the treaty, his non-performance did not give Charles a right to proclaim war againſt him. The king, his father, and himſelf had expreſly renounced, with an oath, all violent methods, in the caſe of non-execution; and, beſides, he had not himſelf performed all the articles of the treaty, ſo that all he could reaſonably demand was a compenſation; but it was an open renouncing of good faith, to annul the whole treaty, under the pretence that ſome articles remained ſtill to be performed by England, when the caſe was the ſame, with reſpect to himſelf. Moreover, his pretences for a rupture were ſo frivolous, that the French hiſtorians, not being able to relate them preciſely, confine themſelves to generals; and the moſt plauſible pretence, alledged by Froiſſart, is this, "The prince of Wales be- "ing unable to pay the troops lately returned "from Spain, 6000 men disbanding them- "ſelves, and afterwards rejoining, committed "great ravages, in Guienne; and, the prince "deſiring them to depart his dominions, they "threw themſelves into all the neighbouring "provinces of France, and plundered them, "with impunity, it not being in the power of "the French to hinder them." Suppoſing Froiſſart's account to be fact, it was no leſs impracticable for the prince of Wales to go into France, and quell theſe roving plunderers, who had entered that kingdom; yet it appears that he did all that was poſſible for him, ſince he he impoſed on his dukedom the Feuage-tax, in order to pay his troops; but Charles made this very thing a pretence for a rupture. The ſame hiſtorian farther adds, that, Charles ordering the treaty of Bretigny to be examined, in his council, the chief debate ran upon the article, by which the two kings renounced all violent methods, in the caſe of non-execution; and that he was adviſed, upon that foundation, to proceed to hoſtilities, becauſe Edward inceſſantly made war upon France; but he does not tell us, how, or where, nor make the leaſt mention of any particulars. However, from the relation of that author, it is a very natural inference, that, before the treaty was examined, Charles had reſolved upon war; and that the Remarks on this rupture.

1369. the ſole intent of this examination was to find ſome pretence. Mezerai affirms, that Edward's not withdrawing all his troops out of the kingdom was the cauſe of this rupture; but he does not ſo much as name one place, where theſe troops remained.

From what has been ſaid, it evidently follows, that Charles's wiſdom was not a very ſcrupulous virtue; whether he ſigned the treaty, with an intent to break it, or did not form that deſign, till he met with a favourable juncture. It is, therefore, the effect, and not the cauſe, which occaſioned this prince's conduct to be ſo much admired; for, had he been as fortunate, as he was ſucceſsful, he would have re-plunged France into a gulph of miſery and, thereby, juſtly incurred the blame of the whole world, and, doubtleſs, of thoſe very authors, who have given him ſuch high commendations.

The ſtate of affairs between the two crowns.

Before I deſcend to the particulars of this ſecond war, it will be farther neceſſary to conſider the poſture of affairs, between the two crowns, at the time of the rupture. The French complained, that Edward had not ceaſed to make war againſt France, nor withdrawn all his troops out of the kingdom, purſuant to his engagements; but theſe are no more than general complaints; and, beſides, it is, to the laſt degree, improbable, that Edward, to whom this treaty was ſo beneficial, would have furniſhed France with a pretence to break it. The treaty it ſelf ſhews, that the Engliſh monarch's engagements were inconſiderable, in compariſon of his advantages; from whence it may be fairly preſumed, that, being a prince of great abilities, as all muſt acknowledge, he could not be ſo imprudent, as to raiſe any obſtacles himſelf againſt the execution of it; and, as for the pretended injury done the Gaſcoigns, by the prince of Wales, it plainly appears from the treaty, that Charles had no right to interpoſe.

The caſe was otherwiſe, with reſpect to the Engliſh. Indeed, king John's ſincerity can never be too much commended, who no ſooner returned into his dominions, than he ratified every article, ſeparately, by particular acts, and not only ſwore himſelf to the obſervance of the treaty, but obliged the dauphin, his ſon, who was to ſucceed him, to take the ſame oath; ſo that all defects, in his engagements, by reaſon of his captivity, were removed, by his ratifications, when at full liberty in his own kingdom. Moreover, he actually put Edward in poſſeſſion of the lands reſigned by the treaty, without any reſerve, and particularly thoſe held of Guienne; and, if he had not intended to give up the ſovereignty with the lands, is it to be imagined, that he and the prince, his ſon, ſhould make no exception to that ſovereignty, either in the treaty itſelf, or in ſome of the ratifications of each particular article? at leaſt, they would not have neglected to make a proteſtation, when Edward erected Guienne into a principality, and inveſted the prince, his ſon, without the participation of France. It muſt be confeſſed, that there was a diſpute, between the two kings, about two inconſiderable territories; but, to prevent a quarrel, for ſuch a trifle, the matter was referred to arbitration. As for the ranſom, king John's inability was the ſole cauſe of his not paying it, as ſoon as it became due; and Edward was ſo well ſatisfied of that prince's ſincerity, that he made no ſcruple to prolong the time of payment. On this account, when king John died, there remained ſtill to pay 200,000 crowns of the firſt million; and, expecting that John, or the dauphin, his ſon, would pay him, in time, Edward was no leſs moderate, with regard to the hoſtages. I have obſerved, he readily conſented, that prince Philip, afterwards duke of Burgundy, ſhould be one of the 10 to be releaſed by the XVIIth article of the treaty, tho' he might have refuſed it; and the reſt had, in England, all the liberty they could reaſonably deſire. The Collection of the Publick Acts abounds with licenſes granted them, to go and take care of their private affairs, in France; tho' the duke of Anjou, the earls of Granpre and Brenne, and the lords of Clere and Derval abuſed this favour; and Edward, notwithſtanding all his inſtances, could not procure the leaſt ſatisfaction, as to that article. 1369. Act. Pub.

The duke of Orleans, by the grant of certain lands to Thomas of Woodſtock, one of the king's ſons, obtained his own, with the freedom of Audreſel, another of the priſoners. Froiſſart.

The duke of Bourbon, having an opportunity to do the king ſome ſervice with the pope, was ſet at liberty, on the payment only of 12000 crowns, given, by the prince of Wales, to the perſon that took him, at Poictiers.

The affair of Belville being put to arbitration, Edward, relying on the ſincerity of the French, and the juſtice of his cauſe, was pleaſed, even after the duke of Anjou's eſcape, to promiſe to releaſe the duke of Berry and the earl of Alenſon, if the matter in diſpute was decided, in favour of France; and he carried his generoſity ſo far, that he permitted theſe two princes to return home, being ſatisfied with their bare word, that, if the affair was determined, in his behalf, they would return to England, and remain in hoſtage, only till he was in poſſeſſion of the territory in diſpute. The princes embraced his generoſity, and went to France; whilſt, in the interim, the affair was left undecided, and the hoſtages thought no more of returning.

The earl of St. Pol procured his liberty, by leaving his two ſons, in his room.

Charles d' Artois made his eſcape, without taking leave.

The lords of Luxemburg, Eſtampes, and Hengeſt died, in England; but Charles ſent no other hoſtages, in their ſtead, though he was often required.

The earl of Harcourt received leave, for a limited time, and returned no more.

Guy de Blois behaved, in the ſame manner; tho' he agreed afterwards with Edward, by giving him Soiſſons.

Montmorency, Boucherche, and Maulevrier had leave to go to France, and never returned; tho', in all probability, they gave the king ſome ſatisfaction, ſince we do not find any complaint

1369. complaint againſt them, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, from whence I have extracted theſe particulars.

As for the other inferior hoſtages, and the burgeſſes of the towns, of which Tholouſe neglected to ſend her's, Edward generouſly releaſed ſome; and the reſt either compounded for their ranſom, or died, in England.

As for king John's ranſom, near two millions ſtill remained unpaid; for, tho' Edward received of Charles, at ſeveral times, about 300,000 crowns, beſides the ſums paid by the king, his father, the whole amounted to little more than the firſt million, which was due, ſeven or eight months before.

It is evident, then, that Edward was the only perſon injured; and yet Charles alledged, that the treaty of Bretigny was void, by the non-performance of ſome articles, on the part of England, tho' they are not diſtinctly mentioned by any of the hiſtorians. Upon this foundation, he aſſerted, that France, being reſtored to her antient right, might juſtly confiſcate the provinces reſigned to England; but, having made theſe neceſſary remarks, it is time to reſume the thread of the Hiſtory.

Ponthieu is taken from Edward.

Edward was extremely ſurpriſed, that Charles, who did not paſs for a warrior, ſhould dare to enter into competition with a prince that had gained ſo many battles; and he was ſtill more aſtoniſhed, quickly after, when he heard, that the earldom of Ponthieu was ſeized, and the principal cities of Guienne were in arms againſt him. He called a parliament, which granted him a great ſubſidy, to ſupport ſuch a neceſſary war; and, by the advice of this aſſembly, he re-aſſumed the title of king of France, which he had quitted, ſince the peace. Upon the grant of this aid from his ſubjects, and a poſitive promiſe, to furniſh him with ſupplies, during the continuance of the war, he, firſt of all, ſent troops to the prince of Wales, to recover the cities of Guienne; and then he diſpatched the duke of Lancaſter, his fourth ſon, to Calais, with a numerous army; but the duke's progreſs ended, in ravaging the open country, without making ſo much as a ſingle conqueſt.

The death of the queen. Walſing.

The renewal of the war was not the only thing, that, this year, interrupted Edward's tranquillity; for the loſs of his queen exceedingly increaſed his affliction. He had lived with her, 40 years, in perfect union; and he had by her no leſs than 12 children. This excellent queen was extremely lamented by the people, who had always found her ready to relieve their neceſſities; and the poor, eſpecially, were great ſufferers by her death *.

1370. The death of Chandos.

The war was continued, in France, under the conduct of Chandos, who commanded, in Xaintonge and Poictou, and maintained his maſter's affairs, in thoſe parts, in a flouriſhing condition; but, this valiant general being ſlain, at length, in a battle, they began to decline, in theſe two provinces. 1370.

The caſe was much the ſame, in Guienne; for the prince of Wales, who, by reaſon of his illneſs, could do little more than give directions, was extremely weakened, by the revolt of the principal towns, depending on his principality of Aquitain; and Limoges, a city of great importance, was ſurpriſed by the French, or rather deſired to change maſters; but the diſloyalty of the citizens ſo exaſperated the prince, that, having received a ſupply of troops, brought him by the duke of Lancaſter and the earl of Cambridge, he beſieged the town, took it, by ſtorm, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword.

The prince of Wales's diſtemper increaſes.

This was the laſt martial exploit of that renowned prince, whoſe diſtemper obliged him to be carried in a litter; but, at laſt, finding himſelf utterly unfit for action, he reſolved to return into England; entertaining ſtill ſome ſmall hopes, that his native air would reſtore him to his health. After reſigning to the king his principality of Aquitain, which he could no longer govern, he departed, leaving the command of the army to the duke of Lancaſter; but, before his departure, he was afflicted with the loſs of Edward, his eldeſt ſon, in the ſeventh year of his age; a prince of very promiſing hopes, that ſeemed much more to reſemble his father and grandfather, than his younger brother, Richard, who ſucceeded them; and the prince of Wales took his ſon, Richard, with him, in order to have him educated, in England.

1371. He returns to England. Act. Pub.

The death of the king of Scotland.

David, king of Scotland, died, the laſt year, leaving his crown to Robert Stuart, his nephew, ſon to his eldeſt ſiſter; who was no ſooner on the throne, than he made an alliance offenſive and defenſive with France againſt England; but this league was kept ſecret, as Charles did not then ſtand in need of this aid, which, doubtleſs, he reſerved for a more preſſing occaſion.

The departure of the prince of Wales entirely ruined the affairs of the Engliſh, in Guienne; for the duke of Lancaſter and earl of Cambridge, being ſenſible, that it was impoſſible for them, with ſo few troops, to reduce the revolted towns, or effectually withſtand the French, reſolved to return into England, to ſollicit freſh ſupplies; but, before they departed, they married the two daughters, of Peter the Cruel, king of Caſtile, expelled and ſlain by Henry, his baſtard-brother. The duke of Lancaſter, eſpouſing Conſtantia, the eldeſt, immediately aſſumed the title of king of Caſtile and Leon, by which he ſhewed, that it was his intent to proſecute his wife's right †; but

1372. The duke of Lancaſter aſſumes the title of king of Caſtile. Act. Pub.

* She died, on the 15th of Auguſt, 1369, having been married, 42 years, and was interred in the chapel of the kings, in Weſtminſter-abbey, under a fair tomb of black touch-ſtone, with her portraiture on it, of alabaſter; and, about her monument, were placed the figures, and now remain the ſhields of arms carved and painted of 30 illuſtrious perſons. Among other works of charity, ſhe contributed largely towards the building and endowing of Queen's college, in Oxford, founded in 1340, by Robert Egleſfield, her chaplain and confeſſor.

† Pedro king of Caſtile, when he came to implore the aſſiſtance of prince Edward, brought two young daughters with him, who were left, as pledges for their father's performance of the conditions agreed on between him and that prince;

1372. but this proceeding obliged Henry to enter into a more cloſe alliance with France; and, as it was his intereſt to promote the humbling of England, he determined to aſſiſt Charles, with all his forces.

About this time, the Flemings, who had declared for France, were defeated, at ſea, by the earl of Hereford, who took 26 of their ſhips.

Gueſclin defeats the Engliſh.

However, this advantage bore no proportion to thoſe gained by du Gueſclin upon England, in Guienne and the neighbouring provinces; for this brave general, whom Charles had drawn from the king of Caſtile's ſervice, to make him conſtable of France, after expelling the Engliſh Limoſin, Perigord, and Rovergne, carried his progreſs ſo far, that he found himſelf in a condition to march into Xaintonge, and, at length, to beſiege Rochelle, with the aſſiſtance of a fleet ſent by the king of Caſtile, to block up the town, by ſea. Edward, upon the news of this, diſpatched the earl of Pembroke, with 40 ſhips, to throw ſuccours into the town; which precaution ſeemed ſufficient to ſave Rochelle; but, for ſome time, nothing had ſucceeded with the Engliſh. The earl of Pembroke, as he was about to ſail into the port, met the Spaniſh fleet, commanded by admiral Boccanegra, a Genoeſe, who fiercely attacked him; but, though the fight laſted two days, it ended, at length, in the entire defeat of the Engliſh fleet, the admiral and many officers being taken and ſent bound into Spain; which loſs compleated the ruin of the Engliſh affairs. Rochelle might have held out longer, were it not for the treachery of the mayor, who cauſed the garriſon to be drawn out of the citadel, under the pretence of a muſter, by means of a forged order of the king, which the governor, not being able to read, apprehended to be real; but, when the garriſon was come out, he ſhut the gates, and would not ſuffer them to re-enter; upon which, the town capitulated, and obtained ſuch advantageous terms, that ſhe rather became free than changed her ſovereign.

He beſieges Rochelle.

The earl of Pembroke is beaten, at ſea. Walſing.

Rochelle is taken.

Gueſclin beſieges Thouars. Froiſſart.

The loſs of Rochelle alarming Edward's adherents, in theſe parts, du Gueſclin marched into Poictou, where he took ſeveral towns, and, at length, formed the ſiege of Thouars, where the principal lords of the country had retired; which was ſo vigorouſly carried on, that the beſieged were, at laſt, conſtrained to capitulate, and promiſe to return to the obedience of France, if the king of England, or one of his ſons, did not come, before Michaelmas, with an army ſtrong enough to give battle. Such capitulations were very frequent, in thoſe days, when good faith was in greater repute than, at preſent; and, accordingly, they are no longer practiſed. The loſs of Thouars was of too great conſequence, to leave that place without relief, eſpecially as the king's honour was concerned; and Edward's extreme deſire, to ſave that town, and with it the reſt of Poictou, induced him to uſe his utmoſt endeavours. He 1372. ſoon aſſembled a fleet of 400 ſail, with which he would have gone, in perſon, to raiſe the ſiege; but, by reaſon of contrary winds, all his efforts proved abortive; for he was ſix weeks, at ſea, without being able to reach Poictou; and, at laſt, he was forced to return to England, after great fatigues and a vaſt expence, which almoſt exhauſted his treaſury; and he was ſcarce arrived at London, when he heard that the French were maſters of all Poictou.

1373. The affairs of Bretagne.

Edward's affairs, in Bretagne, were in no better ſituation; though the duke, his ſon-in-law, did all that was poſſible, to promote them. The people were tired of war, and extremely troubled to find, that, ſolely for the intereſt of the Engliſh, they were about to be replunged into their late calamities; and, on the other hand, the lords of Bretagne, bribed by French penſions, vigorouſly oppoſed their prince's deſigns, and treated, as enemies, the troops ſent thither by Edward, to ſupport the war. In this extremity, the duke, whoſe heart was entirely Engliſh, could not ſerve the king, his father-in-law, as he deſired, nor perform his late treaty; wherefore, he reſolved to go himſelf into England, to ſollicit a ſupply capable of procuring him greater authority, in his own dominions. Edward very evidently perceived the importance of this demand; but, not being able to do every thing, he was obliged to ſend back the duke of Bretagne, with fair promiſes only; whilſt he applied all his thoughts to reſtore the affairs of Guienne, which affected him, in a ſtill more ſenſible manner.

1374. The duke of Lancaſter goes to Guienne. Act. Pub.

Accordingly, he aſſembled an army of 30,000 men, the command of which he gave to the duke of Lancaſter, his ſon, ſtiled in England, king of Caſtile; who, landing at Calais, traverſed all France, without any reſiſtance, and came to Bourdeaux. From thence he advanced into upper Guienne, deſigning to expel the duke of Anjou, who had taken ſeveral towns; and he offered him battle, which the French prince accepted; but, tho' the time and place were appointed, both the generals, receiving intelligence of a truce concluded between the two crowns, retired.

1375. Froiſſart. Act. Pub.

Some time ſince, at the preſſing inſtances of the pope, the two monarchs ſent plenipotentiaries to Bruges, where the foreſaid truce was concluded, in order more ſedately to negotiate a peace; but the only fruit of their negotiation, was the prolongation of the truce to April, 1377; and, as ſoon as the truce was 1376. ſigned, the duke of Lancaſter led back his troops into England.

Though France recovered, in this war, whatever ſhe loſt, in the former, the particulars are very far from being equally entertaining; for, in the firſt, Edward's conqueſts were rendered illuſtrious by a naval engagement, in which the king commanded, in perſon; and the battle of Creſſy, where all the nobles of both kingdoms fought, in the preſence of the two kings,

prince; but, their father taking no care to perform them, and being killed, not long after, the young ladies were left in prince Edward's cuſtody. When they arrived at years of maturity, the duke of Lancaſter was adviſed to marry the eldeſt, being eſteemed the true heireſs to the crown of Caſtile; and the earl of Cambridge married Iſabella, the youngeſt.

and

1376. and gained by a prince no more than 16 years old, is one of the moſt ſurpriſing ſcenes, in hiſtory. The conqueſt of Calais, in the view of an army of 150,000 men, is no leſs amazing; and the victory of Poictiers, gained by an army of 12000 againſt 60,000, and the taking of king John, are events, which command admiration. In a word, the firſt war was ended by the moſt important and ſolemn treaty, ever made between the two crowns; but, in the ſecond, the two monarchs, contented with directing their affairs in the cabinet, never appeared at the head of their armies; and, as for the ſieges, excepting thoſe of Limoges and Rochelle, there was ſcarce one that deſerves to be related. The towns, loſt by the Engliſh, were taken, or ſurpriſed, with a wonderful rapidity; and ſome even ſurrendered, before the approach of the enemy. The loſſes, therefore, of the Engliſh, may be juſtly called a defeat, which affords but very little matter proper to ſatisfy the reader's curioſity; and, for this reaſon, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that, at the time of the laſt treaty, England had loſt whatever was acquired by the treaty of Bretigny, except Calais. This plainly proves, that acquiſitions, obtained by force of arms, ought not to be relied on, as has been, and is daily confirmed by numberleſs inſtances; for, ſooner or later, a ſuperior force wreſts them from the conqueror, or his children. Thus, France loſt, in the reign of John, what was conquered upon the Engliſh by Philip Auguſtus and St. Lewis, as did Edward III. alſo loſe the conqueſts made by himſelf, in France; and the ſequel of this Hiſtory will inform us, that one of Edward's ſucceſſors amply retrieved all theſe loſſes, and the French, in their turn, recovered, ſoon after, whatever was taken by the ſaid prince. Such frequent examples ought to teach princes to bound their ambition; but few are ſo wiſe as to make this improvement of them. If we inquire into the natural cauſes of Edward's loſing what he had acquired by the treaty of Bretigny, they will appear to be extremely obvious; for the revolt of the Gaſcoigns, the prince of Wales's diſtemper, Edward's old age, his too credulous reliance on the king of France's ſincerity, the prudence of Charles the Wiſe, who, without ſtirring from the cabinet, managed the whole war, with the conduct and bravery of Bertrand du Gueſclin, were the inſtruments in the hand of Providence, to produce this great revolution.

Edward falls in love with Alice Pierce. Walſing.

The Engliſh were, in ſome degree, comforted for all their loſſes, by the tranquillity enjoyed by the truce; and the king himſelf ſeemed to lay aſide his martial inclinations, for others, which ſomewhat endangered his reputation; for, in his old age, his paſſion for Alice Pierce had ſuch an aſcendant over him, that it led him to be guilty of weakneſſes unbecoming ſuch a renowned monarch. The money, raiſed for the war, was ſpeedily conſumed by this avaricious ſhe-favourite; which occaſioned an univerſal diſcontent, in the kingdom. The king, now, employed his thoughts, about nothing elſe, but the pleaſing of his miſtreſs; and entertainments were daily made, at an immenſe expence. Taxes were the more inſupportable, as the nation was entirely drained, by a continual war; and it gave them the greateſt uneaſineſs to ſee the money, deſigned for the payment of the national debts, expended in ſuch a vain and profuſe manner; but, above all, a tournament, held in Smithfield, gave great offence, where Alice Pierce, whom her old lover had ſtiled the Lady of the Sun, appeared by his ſide, in a triumphant chariot, and attended by many ladies of quality, each of them leading a knight by his horſe's bridle. 1376.

The parliament obliges the king to turn off his favourites and miniſters. Cotton. Walſing.

The king's coffers being empty, he called a parliament, to demand a ſubſidy; but his ſubjects, who had granted him ſuch powerful aids, for his glorious undertakings, had not the ſame zeal, to provide for his idle expences. Before they complied with his demand, the parliament bitterly complained of the miſmanagement of his miniſters, particularly of the duke of Lancaſter, his ſon, Alice Pierce, Latimer lord chamberlain, and others that were moſt in his favour; which petition was made, with ſo much warmth, that the king, finding that he could not reject it, without danger, granted their requeſt, leſt the parliament ſhould refuſe him the money he wanted; and it was not queſtioned, but the prince of Wales had ſecretly induced the parliament to take this ſtep, in order to remove the duke of Lancaſter, who was in too great credit with the king. The prince, perceiving that he was near his end, was not a little concerned about leaving his young ſon, Richard, to the mercy of an ambitious uncle, who might uſe his credit, to ſnatch the crown from him; and, indeed, Richard, by reaſon of his youth, was incapable of oppoſing the duke's deſigns, if they ſhould tend, as it was ſuſpected, to procure himſelf to be declared the king's preſumptive heir, after the deceaſe of his elder brother. This obliged the prince of Wales to ſecure, for his ſon, the protection of the parliament; who, for the ſame reaſon, probably, petitioned the removal of the duke of Lancaſter; and, during this ſeſſion, Edward, now in the 50th year of his reign, cauſed a general pardon to be publiſhed, to the great ſatisfaction of all his ſubjects.

A general pardon. Act. Pub.

The death and character of the prince of Wales. Walſing.

A ſorrow no leſs univerſal quickly ſucceeded the preſent joy, by the death of the prince of Wales, the moſt excellent prince England had ever produced; for he was poſſeſſed of all the virtues, in an eminent degree. He was a good ſoldier, and a great general, brave, without fierceneſs, bold, in battle, and yet extremely affable, in converſation, and of a modeſty which could never be ſufficiently admired. Such was his reſpectful behaviour to the king, his father, that he never once diſobliged him; and he was generous, liberal, and delighted with rewarding merit, wherever he found it; ſo that he wanted no qualification requiſite to form a perfect hero. The Engliſh commonly called him, the Black Prince, not for his martial exploits, as ſome have imagined, but becauſe he wore black armour; the news of whoſe death was received with inexpreſſible grief, tho' it was long expected; and the parliament, to demonſtrate their juſt ſorrow, for the loſs of

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1376. so glorious a prince, who had gained the affection and esteem of the whole kingdom, attended his corpse to Canterbury, where he chose to be interred. This renowned prince died, in the 46th year of his age, lamented by the king, his father, who shewed, upon this occasion, less firmness, than he had discovered, in all his other misfortunes; and the king of France himself, though he had no great cause for sorrow, to testify his respect for him, ordered a solemn service to be celebrated, at Paris, at which he was pleased to be present, in person. Prince Edward left but one legitimate son, about 10 years old, and two natural sons, who made no great figure, in history.

1377. The king recalls the duke of Lancaster and Alice Pierce. Walsing.

The late loss of the English was soon followed, by a fresh occasion of sorrow. The king recalled to court those, that were removed from his person; and Peter de la Moore, speaker of the house of commons, who, in presenting the foresaid petition to the king, had spoken somewhat too freely, against Alice Pierce, was, at her instigation, confined in Nottingham-castle. The duke of Lancaster re-assumed his old post; and all the other ministers were restored to their former offices; but though Edward gave the duke of Lancaster this express testimony of his affection and confidence, he cut him off from all hopes of being his successor; for he created Richard his grandson duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester, and, presently after, conferred on him the title of prince of Wales; and he even obliged the nobility to swear fealty to him, as to the heir apparent of the crown. Finally, the more effectually to prevent any of his uncles from ascending the throne, to his prejudice, he put him, as it were, in possession of the rank for which he designed him, by causing him to take place of them, in all publick solemnities; pleasing himself in, thus, honouring the memory of a son, whom he tenderly loved and perfectly esteemed, by doing justice to young Richard.

The troubles, on account of Wickliff. Walsing.

In the interim, John Wickliff, doctor of divinity in the university of Oxford, began to publish his belief, as to several articles of religion, wherein he differed from the received doctrine; but pope Gregory XI, being informed of it, condemned some of his tenets, and commanded the archbishop of Canterbury and bishop of London, to oblige him to subscribe the condemnation, and, upon his refusal, to summon him to Rome. It was very difficult to execute this commission; for Wickliff had, now, many followers in the kingdom, and for his protector, the duke of Lancaster, whose authority was very little inferior to that of the king. Nevertheless, the archbishop held a synod, at St. Paul's, in London, and cited Wickliff to make his appearance; and, he accordingly appeared, accompanied by the duke of Lancaster and the lord Piercy, marshal of England, who judged their presence necessary, to protect him. After he had taken his place, according to his rank, and been interrogated by the bishop of London, he would have answered, sitting; and, thereby, he occasioned a great dispute. The bishop insisted upon his standing, and uncovered; but the duke of Lancaster alledged, that Wickliff was there only, as a doctor, to give his vote and opinion, and not as a party accused. The contest grew so high, that the duke of Lancaster proceeded to severe menaces; upon which, the people, that were present, believing the bishop in danger, espoused his cause, with such heat and clamour, that the duke and earl marshal thought fit to withdraw, taking Wickliff with them; tho' this did not appease the tumult. Some incendiaries spread a report, that, at the instance of the duke of Lancaster, it was moved, that day, to the king in council, to abolish the office of lord mayor, deprive London of its privileges, and reduce it under the jurisdiction of the earl marshal; but, this highly enraging the people, they ran, immediately, to the marshalsea, and released all the prisoners; and, the number of the mutineers continually increasing, they posted to the duke of Lancaster's palace, in the Savoy, and, missing his person, plundered the house, and dragged his arms along the streets. The duke was so provoked at this affront, that he could not be pacified, but by the removal of the mayor and aldermen, whom he accused of not using their authority, to restrain the seditious. 1377.

Wickliff explains his notion of the eucharist.

To return to Wickliff. The bishops being assembled, a second time, the doctor declared before them his sentiments, about the sacrament of the eucharist, explaining the eating of the body of Christ, much in the same manner as Berengarius had done before him; but, though his opinion was contrary to the doctrine of the church, in those days, the bishops not daring to proceed rigorously against him, were contented with injoining him silence; and it is said, he promised obedience; however, the dispute was revived, in the following reign.

The king makes Richard a knight of the garter. Walsing.

Let us conclude this reign with Edward's last publick action, who, in an assembly of the knights-companions of the garter, at Windsor, conferred that order on Richard, his grandson, which was the only honour he could yet give him, after declaring him his successor. This great prince, who was, now, indisposed, soon after, fell so dangerously ill, that his life was despaired of; but, before he left the world, he had the mortification to see the world leave him. Alice, his favourite, who managed him, in his sickness, permitted very few to come into his room. When he was on the point of death, she seized every thing of value she could find, even to the rings on his finger, and withdrew; and all his courtiers and chaplains, following her example, deserted him, without vouchsafing to warn him of the little time he had to live, and of the account he was presently to give of his actions to God. There was only a single priest, who, chancing to see him abandoned, in his dying agonies, approached near the bed, to comfort him; and he addressed to him some exhortations, to which the king endeavoured to reply; but the only word, distinctly pronounced, was the name of Christ, just as he expired. Thus, died this illustrious prince,

1377. prince, at Shene, now Richmond, in the 65th year of his age, and the 51ſt of his reign *.

Edward's death and character.

He was very tall, but well-ſhaped, and of ſuch a noble and majeſtick aſpect, that his very countenance commanded reſpect and veneration; and, as to his temper and diſpoſition of mind, he was affable and obliging to the good, but inexorable to the bad. Inſtances of princes are extremely rare, in hiſtory, that ſo conſcientiouſly perform'd the duties of a ſovereign, as well thoſe of an honeſt man, and a good chriſtian; though, in this laſt particular, his conduct was not altogether blameleſs. His converſation was eaſy, and continually accompanied with gravity and diſcretion; and, being a friend to the poor, the fatherleſs, the widow, and all who were unhappily fallen into misfortune, he made it his buſineſs to procure them ſome comfort, in their affliction. No monarch, before him, had ever beſtowed honours and rewards, with more judgment, and greater regard to real merit; and, though his valour was notorious and admired by all the world, inſtead of ſwelling him with pride, he never diſcovered greater ſigns of humility, than in the courſe of his victories, which he conſtantly aſcribed to the ſole protection of Heaven. He underſtood, how to maintain the prerogatives of the crown, without incroaching on the privileges of the people; and, in all the former reigns, there had not been enacted ſo many ſtatutes, advantageous to the nation, as in the preſent; moreover, Edward, always agreeing with the auguſt body of the nation's repreſentatives, made that harmony inſtrumental, to curb the deſigns of the court of Rome. The glory of the prince of Wales, his ſon, added a new luſtre to his own; and his uninterrupted union with his queen increaſed his happineſs. He was never either too much elated, in proſperity, or dejected, in adverſity; and he ſhewed no leſs moderation, in his loſs of the provinces, that had coſt him ſo much toil and treaſure, than in his victories, which had gained him the poſſeſſion. In a word, he would have been an accompliſhed prince, if his ambition had not cauſed him to violate, in a diſhonourable manner, the treaty made with Scotland, in order to diſpoſſeſs a minor king, that was likewiſe his brother-in-law; and ſome add to this the rupture with France, and his pretenſions to the crown of that kingdom, which they entirely aſcribe to an ambitious motive; but the following diſſertation will aſſiſt the reader, in forming a judgment, about this conduct. As to his paſſionate love of Alice Pierce, in his old age, the blemiſh of it is much leſſened, by his other noble qualities; and one might, in ſome meaſure, excuſe him, by ſaying, that he conſidered this paſſion, at firſt, only as an amuſement, in his troubles; and that, having felt very little of the effects of love, in his youthful days, he was not ſufficiently careful to guard againſt it, in his old age †. 1377.

His iſſue.

Philippa of Hainault, his queen, brought him 12 children, ſome of whom died, before him; and Edward, prince of Wales, his eldeſt ſon, left only one ſon, who ſucceeded his grandfather. William, his ſecond ſon, died, in his infancy; and Lionel, duke of Clarence, who ended his days, in Italy, left only a daughter, named Philippa, by his firſt wife, an Iriſh lady ‡. John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, was twice married, in his father's life-time, and had children, whom I ſhall have occaſion to mention, in the following reigns; and Edward's fifth ſon was Edmund, ſirnamed of Langley, the place of his nativity; who was created earl of Cambridge, by the king, his father, and afterwards duke of York, in the reign of Richard II, his nephew. William, ſirnamed of Windſor, died young; and Thomas of Woodſtock, the ſeventh ſon, was made duke of Buckingham, by Richard II, and afterwards duke of Glouceſter.

Iſabella, eldeſt daughter to Edward, was married to Ingelram de Coucy, earl of Soiſſons; and Joanna was firſt contracted to the duke of Auſtria, but afterwards to Pedro ** the Cruel, king of Caſtile, before he was king; who died, at Bourdeaux, as ſhe was on her journey to Spain, to conſummate her marriage. Blanche lived only a few years ‡†; Mary was eſpouſed to John de Montfort, duke of Bretagne, and died, in 1363; and Margaret was wife to John Haſtings, earl of Pembroke ‡‡.

* He died of the ſhingles, on June 21, 1377; and he lies buried, in Weſtminſter-abbey, with the following epitaph upon his tomb:

Hic decus Anglorum, flos regum præteritorum,
Forma futurorum, rex clemens, pax populorum,
Tertius Edwardus, regni complens jubilæum,
Invictus pardus, bellis pollens Machabæum.
Proſpera dum vixit, regnum pietate revixit,
Armipotens rexit: Jam cœlo (cælice rex) ſit!
Tertius Edwardus fama ſuper æthera notus.
Pugna pro patria.
M CCC LXXVII.

† King Edward rebuilt Windſor-caſtle, of which ſtructure the famous William of Wickham was the ſurveyor; and he likewiſe founded King's-hall, in Cambridge, now a part of Trinity-college, and the collegiate chapel of St. Stephen's, at Weſtminſter, for a dean and 12 ſecular canons. Rymer's Fœd.

‡ Elizabeth de Burgh, in whoſe right, he was created earl of Ulſter, in Ireland; and William de Burgh, her father, eſpouſed Maud, daughter to Henry, ſon of Edmund, ſecond ſon to Henry III.

** She was married, by proxy, and entitled queen of Spain, but died of the plague, as ſoon as ſhe came into that country; ſo that the king, her ſpouſe, coming to meet her, to ſolemnize the nuptials, accompanied her to church, only at her funeral, in 1348. She was born in the tower, 1335; and all the Engliſh hiſtorians unanimouſly affirm, that ſhe was contracted to Alphonſo XI, king of Caſtile; but that it was to his ſon Pedro, ſirnamed the Cruel, is undeniably evident from Rymer's Fœd.

‡† She was ſtiled de la Tour, by reaſon of her being born in the tower of London.

‡‡ This lord, being ſent to raiſe the ſiege of Rochel, was taken by the Spaniards, and, after two years captivity, ſold to a nobleman of France; but, after he had agreed with him, for his ranſom, he was, at his departure, poiſoned at a banquet, 1375.

A DISSERTATION on the SALICK LAW, and the DISPUTE between PHILIP of VALOIS and EDWARD III.

THE Salick law, at preſent, is generally taken to be a fundamental law of the monarchy of France, that excludes the females, and their deſcendants, from the crown; and in this ſenſe it is that Bodin ſays, this law was the foundation of the monarchy; Marca, that it was a privilege and cuſtom peculiar to the French; and Thuanus, that it was the Palladium of France. I might cite numberleſs other French authors, who give into the ſame opinion; and this idea of the Salick law is the reaſon, that moſt people, believing that it always had a particular relation to the ſucceſſion of the crown of France, ever ſince the eſtabliſhment of that monarchy, cannot conceive, how Edward III, ſon to a princeſs of France, could, with the leaſt colour, diſpute the crown of France with Philip de Valois, deſcended, in the male line, from Hugh Capet; not conſidering, that they take for granted a thing not conteſted, indeed, at preſent, but which, at the time of this famous diſpute, was the only point in queſtion between the two kings. Since the deciſion of that point, the preſent notion of the Salick law is juſt and certain; but I will venture to aſſert, that it was, then, doubtful; which I hope to demonſtrate, in a very clear and convincing manner.

By the Salick law, Edward, the next male heir of Charles the Fair, was deprived of the ſucceſſion; and the regency, or, to ſpeak more properly, the crown was adjudged to a more diſtant relation. It will, therefore, be neceſſary, for the better underſtanding this proceſs, to know, what is meant by the Salick law; which term, tho' it is in every one's mouth, ſo very few have any knowledge of; and, about which, the French themſelves are not agreed, though they eſteem it to be a fundamental law of their monarchy.

Some, as the famous Jerom Bignon, affirm, that it is in vain to look for the Salick law, among records, becauſe it is a law of nature; and, if there are any nations, where it does not take place, they are examples more worthy of wonder than imitation *. Some pretend, that Pharamond, the firſt king of the Francs, decreed, by an expreſs law, that the females ſhould not ſucceed to the crown, which has, ever, ſince been inviolably obſerved; but others attribute this law to Clovis; and Mezerai aſſerts, that the ſucceſſion of the males to the crown of France was only eſtabliſhed, by an inviolable cuſtom. This confuſion of ideas, concerning the Salick law, exceedingly perplexing this ſubject, I ſhall endeavour to illuſtrate this point, in order to conveigh to the reader a true notion of the famous conteſt, between the two kings.

Before the Francs ſettled, in that part of Gaul, they have ſo long poſſeſſed, they were diſperſed, by troops, in Germany and the Low-Countries, and received ſeveral names, from the different parts they inhabited; for ſome were called Salians, from the river Sala which ran through the country †; whilſt others were named Chamavi, Catti, Attuarians, Ripuarians, or Ribarols. Each of theſe colonies had laws, common, doubtleſs, to all the Francs, and probably ſome that were particular; of which the laws of the Salians and Ripuarians are ſtill extant; and, among the Salian laws, we find this:

" De terra vero Salica, nulla portio ad Mu-
" LIEREM tranſit, ſed hoc VIRILIS SEXUS
" acquirit."

This law manifeſtly relates to private inheritances; and the title de Alodio, under which it is placed, puts it out of diſpute. Accordingly, this is the opinion of numberleſs authors, as well French as others, whoſe names it would be needleſs to recite; and Mezerai was, queſtionleſs, of the ſame opinion, who ſays, that the ſucceſſion of the males to the crown was not eſtabliſhed, by any written law. Nothing plauſible can be advanced by thoſe, who found the excluſion of the females upon the foreſaid paragraph of the Salian law, unleſs that the ſucceſſion to the crown is included in the law, which ſettled the ſucceſſion to the inheritances of the noble families; which opinion is likewiſe embraced by father Daniel, in his Hiſtory of France. He pretends, that the rule, about the ſucceſſion to the crown, is contained in that particular article of the Salian or Salick law, that includes all the laws of the Salian Francs; but, as what this able hiſtorian affirms, in the reign of Clovis, is of great ſervice to clear up this matter, I ſhall tranſcribe part of it, here, to ſave the reader the trouble of conſulting him.

' It was then, probably, that Clovis pub- Edit. d'
' liſhed the famous Salick law; tho' I am ſen- Amſt.
' ſible that moſt of our hiſtorians aſcribe the 1720.
' honour of it to Pharamond; but I follow
' here the opinion of one of our beſt cri-
' ticks ‡.

‡ Hadr. de Valois.

' Many ſpeak and hear of this law, with-
' out knowing its meaning; and it is general-
' ly believed, that it concerns ſolely, or chiefly,
' the ſucceſſion of the males to the crown of
' France, by determining the qualifications of
' thoſe who may put in their claim. This no-
' tion is unjuſt, in ſeveral reſpects; for, of the

* One may juſtly affirm, that there is no beginning nor end of the Salick law; for it is the law of nature born with men, and not written, as Ariſtotle obſerves, The law of nature and nations is not written. Bignon. Rapin.

† There are 12 different opinions, about the etymology of the term Salick; but that, from the Salians, whoſe name is derived from the river Sala, in my opinion, is the moſt probable. Limnæus de Jure Imp. Roman. Germ. Rapin.

' 72 ar-

'72 articles of this law, there are only three 'or four lines of the 62d, that relate to this 'point; and, moreover, they do not par-'ticularly concern the ſucceſſion of the males 'to the crown, but belong, in general, to all 'the noble families, whoſe rights they regu-'late, as well as thoſe of the royal family. 'The words runs, thus: "As for the SALICK "LAND, no part ſhall deſcend to the FEMALE, "but all ſhall go to the MALE."

'By Salick land, is meant the lands of the 'nobles of the nation; and, beſides, according 'to ſome, the lands of conqueſt, ſuch as were 'almoſt all thoſe of the French monarchy, on 'this ſide of the Rhine. The principal occa-'ſion of this popular notion was the great diſ-'pute formerly between Philip de Valois, and 'Edward III, king of England. ----- Beſides 'this famous conteſt, the little uſe made of 'this law, at preſent, which is ſeldom cited by 'our lawyers, upon other accounts, was the 'cauſe of this common perſuaſion of its being, 'thus, limited; but, in reality, it contained 'numberleſs regulations, with reſpect to all 'ſorts of affairs.

'I am apt to believe, that what we, now, 'have of the Salick law, is no more than an 'abſtract of a larger code, abridged on purpoſe, 'that the people and judges might more eaſily 'learn the ſubſtance and principal points; and 'that becauſe, in the preſent book of the Sa-'lick law, the Salick law itſelf is quoted with 'certain forms, not to be found in that book. '----And this alſo leaves no room to queſtion, 'that it was, at firſt, compoſed in the language 'of the Francs; and that, afterwards, the ab-'ſtract was tranſlated into Latin, for the uſe of 'the Gauls, to whom it was to be common, 'in ſeveral articles, with the Francs; which is 'the abſtract or abridgment that has been 'tranſmitted to us.

Thus, we have three different opinions, of three learned criticks, concerning the Salick law; namely, the law which renders women incapable of ſucceeding to the crown. Bignon affirms, that it is a law of nature, which ought to be common to all nations; but, according to father Daniel, the Salick law is no other than an abridgment of the Salian laws, publiſhed by Clovis. As for the particular law, ſettling the ſucceſſion to the crown of France, he pretends, that it is a mere chimera, a vulgar error; and he adds, tho' without alledging any proof, that the excluſion of the females, with reſpect to the crown, derives its whole force, from that particular paſſage of the Salick code, which ſettles the inheritance of the noble families, and conſequently, in his opinion, the inheritance of the royal family, that is, of the crown. According to Mezerai, the Salick law, or the law that ſettles the ſucceſſion, is not a written law, but an inviolable cuſtom, which is inſtead of a law; but, to ſet this matter in a true light, I ſhall examine theſe three opinions, and point out the objections that may be produced againſt them.

Firſt, as to the opinion that ſuppoſes the Salick law, or the excluſion of the females, and their deſcendants, from the ſucceſſion to the crown, to be a law of nature, I own, it might, with ſome reaſon, be maintained, that nature requires ſtates and kingdoms to be governed by men, if the Salick law extended no farther; but, ſince it reaches to the excluſion of the male-heirs of the women of the royal family, in my opinion, nature does not appear in that extenſion. Moreover, if the Salick law was a law of nature, it would be practiſed in all ſtates; or, at leaſt the exceptions, if any, would be very few; and yet it is, on the contrary, manifeſt, that, of all the independent kingdoms of Europe, eſtabliſhed by the northern nations, France alone follows this pretended law of nature; for all the other ſtates, Spain, Portugal, Naples, Sicily, Bohemia, Hungary, Swedeland, Denmark, England, and Scotland, admit of the female ſucceſſion. Whilſt France, then, is ſaid to follow nature, all the other ſtates deviate from her law, which I conceive to be abſurd; wherefore, in the third place, the Salick law has, all along, been accounted, as it is, at preſent, a law peculiar to France; and, it does not appear, that Philip le Long, or Philip de Valois, ever pretended to urge it, upon any other foundation.

As for father Daniel's opinion, tho' I prefer his Hiſtory to any other written by the French hiſtorians, I cannot forbear ſaying, that it is not only groundleſs, but improbable; and it is eaſy to demonſtrate, that the paragraph of the Salick code, on which he founds the excluſion of the females, and their deſcendants, has not any relation to the ſucceſſion of the crown, from the very title under which it is placed; viz. the 62d, de Alodio, which ſettles the inheritance of the Alodial lands. However, it muſt be, firſt, obſerved, that Alodial lands were lands of inheritance, not held of any other lord; which diſtinguiſhes them from thoſe termed Beneficia, that were diſtributed among the nobles, on condition of perſonally ſerving the ſtate, upon certain occaſions, of which women were incapable; and theſe were the lands called Terra Salica, becauſe they were conſidered, as belonging properly to the collective body of the nation, being held by private perſons, on the ſole condition of ſerving the ſtate. This being ſuppoſed, the whole title of the Salick law, where the paragraph is inſerted, runs, thus:

TIT. 62. DE ALOD. 10.

" 1. Si quis homo mortuus fuerit, & filios non " dimiſerit, ſi pater aut mater ſuperfuerint, ipſi " in hæreditatem ſuccedant.

" 2. Si pater aut mater non ſuperfuerint, & " fratres vel ſorores reliquerit, ipſi hæreditatem " obtineant.

" 3. Quod ſi nec iſti fuerint, ſorores patris " in hæreditatem ſuccedant.

" 4. Si vero ſorores patris non extiterint, ſo-" rores matris ejus hæreditatem ſibi vendicent.

" 5. Si autem nulli horum fuerint, quicunque " proximiores fuerint de paterna generatione, " ipſi in hæreditatem ſuccedant.

" 6. De terra autem Salica, nulla portio hæ-" reditatis mulieri veniat, ſed ad virilem ſexum " tota terræ hæreditas perveniat."

From

From whence it appears, I. That the Salick lands were Alodial, like the other, that is, were the real patrimony of the poſſeſſor. II. That the intent of the ſixth paragraph was to diſtinguiſh the Salick, from the common Alodial lands, the former being liable to military ſervice, which women could not perform; but, as the ſenſe of the ſixth paragraph muſt, I think, be ſtrangely wreſted, to extend it to the ſucceſſion of the crown, the moſt, that can be pretended, is, that the king's own demeſnes were ſubject to this law.

But, more fully to ſhew, that this article does not relate to the ſucceſſion to the crown, it muſt be remarked, that there are two original editions of the Salick law, one procured by Herold, and the other by Fr. Pithou; in the latter of which, this ſixth article of title 62 is imperfect, there being no more than what is inſerted above, whereas, in the other edition, the paragraph runs, in the following manner:

" De terra vero Salica in mulierem nulla " portio hæreditatis tranſit, ſed hoc virilis ſexus " acquirit, hoc eſt, Filij in hæreditate ſuccedunt. " Sed ubi inter nepotes & pronepotes, poſt " longum tempus, de Alode terra contentio " ſuſcitatur, tunc non per ſtirpes, ſed per ca- " pita dividantur."

I cannot imagine, if we conſider the whole paragraph, how it can, with the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon, be applied to the ſucceſſion to the crown.

Beſides, in all probability, when the Salick law was made, the Francs had not yet a king; for there is not the leaſt appearance of any ſuch thing, in the ſeveral articles of this law; and the preambles alſo ſufficiently prove, that the Francs were not ſubject to a ſovereign power.

This is the beginning of the Salick law, according to Herold's edition.

" IN CHRISTI NOMINE.

" Incipit Pactus Legis Salicæ.

" Hi autem ſunt qui legem Salicam tracta- " verunt, Wiſagaſt, Arogaſt, Salegaſt, & Win- " dogaſt, in Bodham, Saleham, & Widham.

According to the other edition.

" Incipit Tactatus Legis Salicæ.

" Gens Francorum inclyta, auctore Deo con- " dita, dum adhæc ritu barbarico teneretur, in- " ſpirante Deo, inquirens ſcientiæ clavim, juxta " morum ſuorum qualitatem, deſiderans juſti- " tiam, & cuſtodiens pietatem, dictavit Salicam " legem, per proceres illius gentis, qui tunc " temporis ejuſdem aderant rectores. Electi " de pluribus viri quatuor, his nominibus Wiſo- " gaſtus, Bodogaſtus, Sologaſtus, & Wodo- " gaſtus, in locis cognominatis, Soleheim, Bo- " doheim, & Widoheim, qui per tres mallos * " convenientes, omnes cauſarum origines ſolli- " cite tractantes, diſcutiendo de ſingulis, ſicut " ipſa lex declarat, judicium decreverunt hoc " modo. At ubi, Deo favente, rex Francorum " Clodovæus, florens & pulcher, & inclytus pri- " mus recepit catholicum baptiſmum, & deinde " Childebertus & Clotarius, in culmen regale, " Deo protegente, pervenerunt, quicquid in " Pacto † habebatur minus idoneum, fuit per " illos lucidius emendatum & ſanctius decretum. " Vivat qui Francos diligit, &c."

In all likelihood, this preamble was placed before the Salick law, between the reigns of Clothaire II. and Charlemain; and, perhaps, before the time of Dagobert, ſince he is not mentioned, though he made ſome alterations in this law, as well as Clothaire and Childebert.

Another preamble made, in the time of Charlemain.

PROLOGUS LEGIS SALICÆ.

" Placuit atque convenit inter Francos & " eorum proceres, ut propter ſervandum inter " ſe pacis ſtudium, omnia incrementa veterum " rixarum reſecare deberent, & quia cæteris " gentibus juxta ſe poſitis, fortitudinis brachio " præeminebant, ita etiam legum auctoritate " præcellerent, & juxta qualitatem cauſarum, " ſumeret criminalis actio terminum. Extite- " runt igitur inter eos, electi de pluribus qua- " tuor viri, his nominibus, Wiſogaſtus, Bodo- " gaſtus, Salogaſtus, & Widogaſtus, in villis " quæ ultra Rhenum ſunt, Saleheim, Bodoheim, " & Widoheim, qui per tres mallos convenien- " tes, omnium cauſarum originem ſollicite diſ- " cutiendo, tractantes de ſingulis, judicium de- " creverunt hoc modo."

EX CODICE. M. S.

" Marchomiris quoque dedit Francis id con- " ſilium, & elegerunt Faramundum ipſius filium " & levaverunt in regem ſuper ſe crinitum. " Tunc habere leges cœperunt, quas eorum " proceres gentiles tractaverunt, his nominibus " Wiſogaſtus, Arogaſtus, Salogaſtus, in villis " quæ ultra Rhenum ſunt, in Botagin, Selecagin, " Widecagin.

" Anno ab incarnatione Domini noſtri Jeſu " Chriſti DCCXCVIII, dominus Carolus, rex " Francorum inclytus, hunc libellum Tractatus " Legis Salicæ ſcribere juſſit."

How comes it to paſs, if the authors of theſe prefaces were of opinion, that the Francs had a king, when the Salick law was made, that they have not taken the leaſt notice of him? For, as to the abſtract of the chronicle, it is a ſeparate piece, added by the author of the laſt preface, becauſe it treated on the ſame ſubject; but, if the Francs had not a king, how can the ſixth paragraph of the 62d title be applicable to the ſucceſſion to the crown of France.

It may be farther objected to father Daniel's opinion, that, admitting the article, " De terra " vero Salica", to relate to the crown, as well as private inheritances, if it be true, that this law was abrogated, under the third race of the kings of France, with reſpect to the Salick lands or great fiefs, it may, by parity of reaſon, be inferred, that it was likewiſe annulled, with regard to the crown; whereas it is undeniably evident, that the dukedoms, earldoms, and, in a word, all the great fiefs of the crown

* i. e. Publick aſſemblies. Rapin.
† i. e. in the law termed, Pactus Legis Salicæ. Rapin.

deſcended

descended to the females. Normandy, Guienne, Ponthieu, and Montreuil fell to the kings of England, by the women; and the case was the same with the earldom of Tholouse, Provence, and Bretagne. The succession of the earldom of Flanders always devolved to the next heir, without any preference of sex, since the time of Charles the Bald; and all these examples actually subsisted, at the time of Lewis Hutin's death, when the Salick law was, for the first time, urged in favour of the males; and large portions of the Salick lands fell to women, purely, by right of inheritance. Where was, then, the observance of the article, "De "terra vero Salica nulla portio ad mulierem "transit?"

The history of the earls of Flanders, at the Hague. 1698.

The only ways of answering this objection are these two that follow: First, by alledging, that the Salick lands, or great fiefs of the crown, never descended to the women, unless when there was no male heir in the family; but this reply has no foundation. Not to repeat what has been said, about the earldom of Flanders, in the very time of Philip de Valois, Artois was adjudged to Maud, to the prejudice of Robert de Artois, grandson, by his father, to the last duke; as was also the dutchy of Bretagne, to the wife of Charles de Blois, though earl Montfort, brother of the late duke, was alive; and, supposing this law was not annulled, when Hugh Capet ascended the throne, it was, at least, abrogated by that monarch, in granting, in fee, to the nobility the great fiefs, without excluding the females.

The other way of answering the objection is by asserting, that, though the law was repealed, as to the Salick lands, it was not so, with respect to the succession to the crown, where it was always inviolable; but is it to be imagined, that a law should be abrogated, in the undoubted sense of the words, and yet remain in force, in a disputable sense, which is taken for granted, without the least proof? Moreover, I shall, in the sequel, evidently prove, that there never had been any occasion to repeal it.

A third objection, against father Daniel's opinion, may be drawn from his own preface to the History of France; wherein he maintains, article III, that the crown, after being hereditary, in the first race, became elective, in the second, and was hereditary, in the third, only by way of association practised by the first kings of that race, from Hugh Capet to Philip Augustus. If so, where shall we find the observance of the Salick law, as it relates to the crown, from Pepin the short to Lewis VIII? How could it subsist, in an elective kingdom, where it was in the power of the great men to place whom they pleased on the throne, and even to chuse kings not of the royal family, as, for instance, Ralph and Eudes? Hear father Daniel's account of this affair.

The last page of the preface.

"It is extremely probable, that Hugh Ca-
"pet, having confirmed the dukes, earls, and
"other lords in their usurpations, not only for
"themselves, but their posterity, obtained also
"from them the establishment of the hereditа-
"ry succession to the crown, in his family; but,
"suspecting their levity, he associated his son,
"Robert. Robert did the same, by his son,
"Henry; and the custom of associating conti-
"nued, till Philip Augustus, who, believing he-
"reditary right to be sufficiently established, by
"the succession of several of his predecessors,
"from father to son, down to Hugh Capet,
"whose reigns, for the most part, were very
"long, took no care to associate Lewis VIII,
"his son."

I shall, now, examine the opinion of Mezerai and those, who, with him, found the Salick law, that is, the exclusion of the females, and their descendants, only upon an inviolable custom; but it will be previously necessary to remove all ambiguity, as to that term; for it may signify either a negative, if I may be allowed to use that expression, or a positive custom. By a negative custom, I mean that to which no instance, to the contrary, can be produced; and which, however, does not form or establish any right. For example, there never was, in England, a lame or a one-handed king; now, though it should be asserted, in the strongest terms, that this is a custom that was never violated, if, unfortunately, the only son of a king of England should become lame, or lose a hand, would this be a valid reason to exclude him from his father's succession? The case is the same, as to the inviolable custom of France, taken in this sense; for it is not a necessary consequence, because there never was, in France, a queen that wore the crown, by her own right, that the females have no right to the succession; no more than it can be said, in England, that a lame or a one-handed man cannot ascend the throne, because there never was, in that kingdom, a lame or a one-handed king. I call a positive custom, that which is grounded upon some law, or, at least, upon examples and precedents, which demonstrate it to have been inviolably practised, and to have served for a rule, on certain occasions; and, in this sense, doubtless, Mezerai uses that term, since he confounds it with the Salick law, and attempts to produce an instance of its being observed. The question, then, is, whether there was, in France, any such positive custom, before Philip le Long, who, in support of his right, pleaded the Salick law, whether he, thereby, meant the paragraph of the Salick code above-mentioned, or an inviolable custom; but is it not extremely surprising, that, for 900 years, from Pharamond to Philip le Long, this inviolable custom, though it serves for a fundamental law to a great kingdom, should not even be mentioned by a single author? I believe I may affirm this for certain fact, though I have not read all; because it seems to me impossible, that, of so many learned men, who, from the reign of Philip le Long to this day, have diligently sought after proofs, in defence of the Salick law, not one should have been so happy as to discover, in the antient authors, any passages countenancing, or, at least, alluding to, this written or unwritten law; for, of all the testimonies that are alledged, there is not so much as one, but what is later than the time of Philip le Long. I am not insensible, that this objection has already been answered, by

affirming that Marculphus, who lived, in the middle of the VIIth century, mentions the Salick law, in his Formularies; but this is a fallacy. No one ever pretended to diſpute the exiſtence of the Salick law, as it means the Salian or Salick code, in general; but the point to be proved is the exiſtence of this particular law, termed the Salick law, by which women, and their deſcendants, were deprived of the right of ſucceeding to the crown, before the reign of Philip le Long. Marculphus frequently mentions the former, in his Formularies; but he is altogether ſilent, about the latter, which is the point in diſpute. This unwritten law, this inviolable cuſtom, therefore, is to be founded upon examples and precedents, by which it was eſtabliſhed, or, at leaſt, confirmed; and it ſhould be ſhewn, that, before the reign of Philip le Long, there were inſtances of women, and their deſcendants, being excluded from the crown, by vertue of the Salick law, or inviolable cuſtom; and this is what remains to be examined.

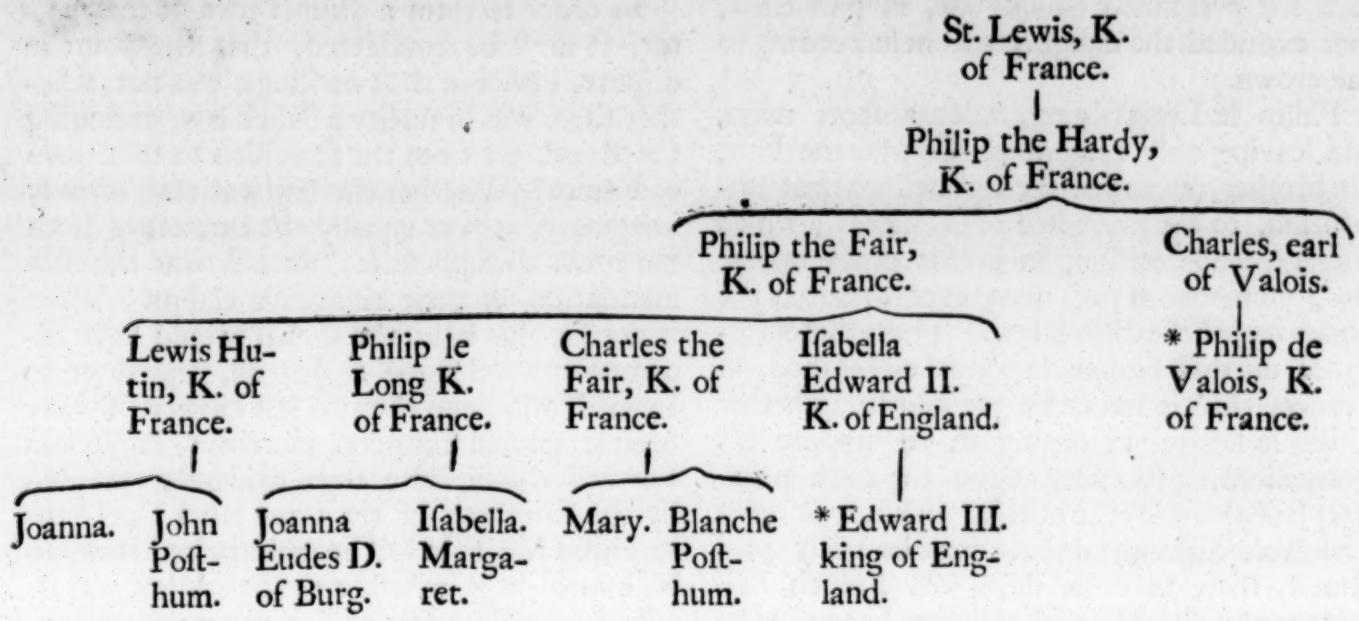
To begin with the third race, from Hugh Capet to Philip le Long, no ſuch caſe could happen; becauſe the kings of that family ſucceeded, from father to ſon.

In the ſecond race, it is impoſſible to find any inſtance, in favour of the Salick law, or inviolable cuſtom; though, on the contrary, a precedent might be produced, in favour of the females, from various princes, deſcended from Charlemain, by the female line, dividing the French monarchy, and poſſeſſing ſeveral parts of Charlemain's ſucceſſion; but, as this was at a time, when there were only two princes alive of that emperor's family, viz. the emperor Arnold, a natural ſon, and Charles the Simple, who might alſo be accounted, as ſuch, I ſhall not inſiſt upon it.

The firſt race affords three precedents, which may favour the cuſtom in diſpute. The daughters of Childebert I, king of Paris, did not ſucceed their father; but Clotaire I, their uncle, poſſeſſed his brother's kingdom. Soon after, Cherebert, king of Paris, dying without male iſſue, Gontran, Sigebert, and Chilperic, his brothers, ſhared the ſucceſſion, who did not leave any part to his daughters; and Gontran, having only one daughter, left his kingdom to Childebert II, his nephew. If it could be proved, that all this was done, in conſequence of the Salick law, or inviolable cuſtom, theſe precedents would amount to the moſt valid proofs; but, unhappily, not a ſingle author, before Philip le Long, ſpeaks, on this occaſion, of the Salick law, or cuſtom. Indeed, Mezerai, who wrote, 1200 years after, boldly aſſerts, that Clotaire ſucceeded his brother, by vertue of the Salick law; and that this is the firſt inſtance of its obſervance; but, at the ſame time, he ſays, that Clotaire impriſoned his nieces, leſt they ſhould diſpute with him their father's ſucceſſion. The ſame thing fell out, in the ſucceſſion of Cherebert; for his brothers, by force, ſeized his kingdom, without alledging the Salick law, to ſupport their right. Accordingly, preſident Fauchet, on account of the violence practiſed, on both theſe occaſions, gives up theſe two precedents, and confines himſelf to the third, which is the moſt plauſible: Gontran, having only one daughter, adopted Childebert II, his nephew, and left him his kingdom; but this daughter was a nun; and, moreover, from Gontran's believing it in his power to leave his ſucceſſion entire to Childebert II, without giving any ſhare to Clotaire II, who was likewiſe his nephew, and Childebert's brother, in all appearance, it may be inferred, that he did not conſider himſelf, as bound by any law; and that there was not, then, any ſettled rule, with reſpect to the ſucceſſion. It will be ſaid, perhaps, that, in appointing Childebert, the eldeſt of the two brothers, for his ſucceſſor, he only followed the diſpoſition of the law or cuſtom; but the whole hiſtory of the firſt race evidently ſhews, that the eldeſt had no privilege; and that the kingdoms, of which the French monarchy, then, conſiſted, were always divided among the brothers. However that be, it is not ſufficient to prove, that Gontran did a thing conformable to the pretended diſpoſition of the Salick law or cuſtom; but it muſt alſo be made appear, that he did it, with an intent to obſerve that cuſtom or law, which I think impoſſible. It would entirely alter the caſe, if the law was perfectly known, or the cuſtom undeniably eſtabliſhed by former precedents; which might give occaſion to preſume, that Gontran intended to conform himſelf to it; but, if we inquire into what paſſed, during the firſt race, with reſpect to the ſucceſſion, we ſhall find nothing fixed or ſettled, as to that point; and that force and arms were more concerned in it than laws. This is ſo certain, that it is even doubtful, according to father Daniel, whether the children ought to be preferred to the brothers; which queſtion was not fully decided, till long after the beginning of the ſecond race; and it is manifeſt, then, from what has been ſaid, that the opinion, that there was, in France, before the time of Philip le Long, a law or cuſtom excluding the daughters from the ſucceſſion to the crown, cannot be ſupported by any undubitable teſtimony, or indeniable matter of fact.

Having explained the meaning of the Salick law, which, though it be a common term, is generally miſunderſtood, it will be neceſſary, in order fully to clear this matter, to ſhew, how the practice of this law was eſtabliſhed, in France; but, that the reader may the better underſtand this ſubject, I ſhall preſent him with the following part of the genealogy of the kings of France; which will alſo be of uſe to diſcover the occaſion of the conteſt, between Edward and Philip de Valois.

St. Lewis,



Lewis Hutin, dying, in 1316, left, by Clemence of Burgundy, his wife, only one daughter, an infant, named Joanna; but, his queen being big with child, the crown was not diſpoſed of, till after her delivery; becauſe, if the queen was delivered of a ſon, he was to ſucceed his father, not by vertue of the Salick law, but by a law common to all ſtates, purſuant to which the males have always the preference to the females of the ſame degree. In the interim, Philip le Long, the eldeſt of the deceaſed king's two brothers, was appointed regent; I ſay, appointed, in the words of father Daniel, who does not inform us, by whom he was appointed. Philip was, then, at Lyons, intent upon procuring a conclave for the election of a new pope; which was the reaſon of his not coming to Paris, till three weeks after the deceaſe of the king, his brother; where he found a party already formed againſt him, at the head of which was Charles, earl of Valois, his uncle, who deſigned to diſpute the regency with him, and was in poſſeſſion of the Louvre. However, Philip, at his arrival, diſlodged him; and, the next day, he aſſembled the parliament, who unanimouſly adjudged the regency to him, for 18 years, provided the queen was delivered of a ſon.

In the interim, as the queen might chance to have a daughter, Eudes, duke of Burgundy, uncle, by the mother's ſide, to Joanna, daughter of the late king, was preparing to proſecute his niece's right; and, at length, the queen was brought to bed of a prince, named John, who lived but a few days. Upon this, Philip, founding his claim upon the Salick law, pretended that the crown was fallen to him; and, as he had a powerful party, and was unwilling to have his title diſputed, he repaired to Rheims, in order to be crowned; but the duke of Burgundy, oppoſing the coronation, proteſted, in the preſence of the peers, that he would maintain Joanna's right, to whom he alledged the crown belonged, both by natural and civil law; and, that, at leaſt, the coronation ought to be deferred, till the pretenſions of the young princes were duly examined. Though the earl of Valois had attended Philip to Rheims, he was known to be in the duke of Burgundy's intereſt; and, on the other hand, Charles, earl of Marche, the king's own brother, who was of the ſame party, left Rheims, the morning before the ſolemnity. If the Salick law could be proved to be owned and admitted, before that time, I confeſs, the oppoſition of theſe princes would be of very little weight; but, as that proof is extremely difficult, as I have already ſhewn, it may be inferred, from the oppoſition of the princes of the blood themſelves, and contrary to their own intereſts, that this law, was not, then, eſteemed to be inconteſtable.

Philip, upon the duke of Burgundy's proteſtation, and prince Charles's retreat, ordered the gates of Rheims to be ſhut, during the ceremony of his coronation, to prevent an interruption, or leſt other peers might abſent themſelves; and, a few days after, he held an aſſembly, at Paris, at which were preſent a great number of lords, almoſt all the prelates, the principal burgeſſes of Paris, and the univerſity. It was this aſſembly that examined the laws of the ſtate, decided that the females were incapable of ſucceeding to the crown, and approved and confirmed the king's coronation; tho' it might be demanded, whether ſuch an aſſembly had power to make ſuch a deciſion; but, as the French nation has thought fit to receive it, this inquiry is entirely needleſs. I ſhall only remark, that it was, now, almoſt 900 years, ſince the eſtabliſhment of the monarchy; and yet this is the firſt time it was expreſly decided, in France, that the daughters were incapable of ſucceeding to the crown.

Notwithſtanding this deciſion, queen Clemence, widow to the late king, the earl of Marche, his brother, the earl of Valois, his uncle, the duke of Burgundy, a prince of the blood, and their adherents did not fail to diſcover their uneaſineſs, at Philip's acceſſion to the throne; but the new king, to free himſelf from it, brought over the duke of Burgundy, the head of the party, by giving him his eldeſt daughter in marriage, with the earldom of Burgundy, for her portion; upon which, the party diſperſed, and the Salick law paſſed, thenceforward, for a law as antient as the monarchy; tho' great care was taken to confound, as has been done, ever ſince, the Salick law, in general, or the collection of Salick laws, with

with the pretended Salick law, in particular, that excluded the daughters from ſucceeding to the crown.

Philip le Long dying, after a ſhort reign, and leaving only daughters, Charles the Fair, his brother, aſcended the throne, without oppoſition, to the prejudice of his nieces; which was a ſecond deciſion, in favour of the males; and, from that time, none ever diſputed the authority of the Salick law. Thus, the obſervance of this famous law was eſtabliſhed, in France, tho' it was not yet known, whether Philip le Long, in urging it, to ſupport his pretenſions, proceeded upon the ſixth paragraph of the 62d title of the Salick law, or upon inviolable cuſtom; and it may be fairly preſumed, that, in thoſe days, the French had very confuſed notions of this law, ſeeing, even after its being inconteſtably owned, for authentick, the moſt learned cannot agree, upon that ſubject.

I come, now, to the famous conteſt, between Philip of Valois and Edward III. Charles the Fair died, in February, 1328, without any male iſſue; but, his queen finding herſelf with child, the ſame rule was obſerved, as after the death of Lewis Hutin; that is, the crown was not diſpoſed of, till the queen's delivery. However, tho' ſhe was ſeven months gone with child, it was neceſſary to appoint a regent, to take care of the government, in the interim; which occaſioned the great diſpute, between Edward III, nephew, by his mother, to Charles the Fair, and Philip earl of Valois, couſin-german to the ſaid monarch. This was an affair of the greateſt conſequence; not only as the regency was to be long, provided the queen was delivered of a ſon, but as it was obvious, that the judgment given, for the regency, would be a ſtrong precedent, for the crown, if ſhe chanced to have a daughter; wherefore, the affair was very warmly conteſted, on both ſides, not before the ſtates general, as ſome have aſſerted, without any foundation, but before an aſſembly of great men, purpoſely convened, on that occaſion. Edward inſiſted on his being the next male heir of the late king; but Philip adhered to the Salick law, which, he affirmed, not only excluded the daughters, but likewiſe their deſcendants, from the ſucceſſion to the crown, and conſequently from the regency. Philip carried the cauſe, as to the regency, and was afterwards crowned, upon the queen's being delivered of a daughter, in April; and as Edward did not proſecute his right, till ſome years after, the queſtion, between them, no longer concerned the regency, but the crown itſelf. All the French hiſtorians ſtile Edward's pretenſions chimerical; and the Engliſh, on the other hand, exclaim againſt the injuſtice that was done him. The buſineſs, then, at preſent, is to examine the rights of both parties, independently of the events, and Philip's poſſeſſion; which will be the only way to enable us to judge, whether the war, occaſioned by this affair, was juſt, or unjuſt, or whether, as I believe, there were, on both ſides, ſufficient reaſons, to juſtify the attack and the defence.

In order to form a diſtinct idea of this matter, it muſt be conſidered, that the point in diſpute, between the two kings, was not, whether there was in reality a Salick law, excluding the daughters from the ſucceſſion to the crown of France? Whether the law was real, or only imaginary, it was equally the intereſt of both monarchs to ſuppoſe it; ſince it was the ſole foundation of their reſpective claims. Were it not for this law, the crown would have inconteſtably belonged to Joanna, daughter to Lewis Hutin; and the two laſt kings muſt have been accounted uſurpers; moreover, Philip and Edward would have been evidently excluded by the daughters of the three laſt kings, ſons to Philip the Fair. The main point, then, to be known, was, whether the Salick law was limited to the perſons of the daughters, to exclude them from the ſucceſſion, or whether it extended to all their poſterity; and this was a query, that had never been decided, becauſe the ſame caſe had never happened, ſince the beginning of the monarchy. Philip alledged, that Edward could pretend to the crown, only by right of repreſentation, as ſon to Iſabella; and that, by repreſenting his mother, he could not derive a right, which ſhe had not herſelf; but Edward took care not to found his claim upon repreſentation. He inſiſted, on the contrary, on proximity of blood; affirming that he was the next male heir, capable of ſucceeding to the crown.

Indeed, it cannot be imagined, what uſe he could have made of repreſentation, which ſerves only to put a diſtant relation, in the place of the perſon repreſented; for he had no occaſion to be brought nearer, being nephew to the late king; whilſt Philip de Valois was only couſin-german. Accordingly, in all the pieces in the Collection of the Publick Acts, about this affair, there is not ſo much as one, where he pleads the right of repreſentation, but always that of nearneſs of blood; and yet almoſt all the French authors, that have treated on this ſubject, combating a mere chimera, ground their reaſonings upon the impertinency of this repreſentation, though, after all, it was never urged by Edward. The Engliſh alſo, falling into the like error, ſtrenuouſly oppoſe the exiſtence of the Salick law, little conſidering, that it was no leſs neceſſary for Edward than for Philip; ſo that it may be affirmed, both ſides have miſtaken the true ſtate of the queſtion.

But, to have a juſt notion of this matter, a man muſt fancy himſelf contemporary with this conteſt, and conſider that the point in debate was never decided. Each party, therefore, was at liberty, before the deciſion, to explain and comment upon the Salick law, as he thought would beſt anſwer his purpoſe; whereas, now, it would be ridiculous to diſpute about the interpretation of a law, acknowledged by the French, and admitted, as then explained by Philip; and which they have, ever ſince, obſerved.

The buſineſs, then, in order to decide this new query, was fully to underſtand the meaning of the Salick law; with reſpect to which there was reaſon, as I have ſhewn, to doubt, whether

whether it ever exiſted; but, ſuppoſing its exiſtence, the queſtion was to be decided, either according to the paragraph of the Salick code, "De terra vero Salica, &c." which gave no light to the point in queſtion, or according to the inviolable cuſtom of France, for 900 years, though there had never been occaſion to put it in practice; but, if, upon either of theſe foundations, a man grounded a judgment, he muſt, of courſe, meet with great difficulties. Could he ſay, that, from the paragraph "De terra "Salica," it was evident, that the male iſſue of the daughters were to be excluded from the ſucceſſion to the crown? or that this law, ſo long diſuſed, with reſpect to the Salick lands, and the eſtates of the nobles, had preſerved its full force, with regard to the crown? On the contrary, if a man founded his judgment upon cuſtom, how could he know, whether it was the deſign of the firſt eſtabliſhers, whoever they were, to exclude from the ſucceſſion the male heirs of the daughters, as well as the daughters themſelves? He could have no precedents nor examples, to direct him, ſince the ſame caſe had never happened. It is, therefore, raſhneſs, in my opinion, abſolutely, to decide, now, againſt either of the competitors, and more ſo, peremptorily to pronounce the pretenſions of either to be extravagant; which is the more unjuſt, as they both ſupported their claims by very plauſible reaſons, the ſubſtance whereof I am about to relate, if part of theſe reaſons have not, ſince, been fathered upon them.

Edward alledged, that all former deciſions, about the Salick law, concerned only the perſons of the daughters, and could not be extended to their male iſſue, without proving it to be the intent of the law; but this was impoſſible, on account of the time, between its eſtabliſhment and the firſt occaſion of putting it in practice: That, indeed, the excluſion of the daughters was built on very ſpecious reaſons, drawn from the weakneſs of their ſex, and the temper of the French nation, which would never venture to be governed by a woman; but that theſe reaſons could not be produced againſt their ſons: That formerly, among the Oſtrogoths of Italy, who followed the ſame cuſtom, there was an inſtance, that plainly proved, that the excluſion of the daughters might ſubſiſt, without that of their male heirs: That, upon the death of Theodoric, Amalazonta, his daughter, was not placed on the throne, becauſe ſhe was a woman; yet that did not prevent Athalaric, her ſon, tho' an infant, from ſucceeding to the crown. He farther added, that the Salick law was an extraordinary law, contrary to the law civil and natural; wherefore, it was to be reſtrained within due bounds, rather than extended, as if the females of the royal family were to be puniſhed, for ſome atrocious crime, which deſervedly drew down vengeance on all their poſterity. If the French believed women unworthy, or unfit, to govern them, he did not pretend to oppoſe that law; but why ſhould all the poſterity of the princeſſes of the blood ſuffer a puniſhment, from which the daughters of the peers, and the other great men of France were exempted, as well as their deſcendants? Finally, to interpret the Salick law, ſo as to deprive the male iſſue of the women of a natural right, was to make a new law, under the pretence of explaining the former.

Philip replied, that Edward, owning the authority of the Salick law, was greatly miſtaken, in limiting the intent of that law, to the hindering the kingdom of France from being governed by a woman; but that there was another, and no leſs eſſential end, namely, to prevent the crown from devolving to foreigners: That the French had willingly ſubmitted to Hugh Capet and his houſe, but never intended to ſubject themſelves to other families; and that a new contract was neceſſary to receive a foreign king: That the deſign of the French manifeſtly appeared, in their not conſidering the deſcendants of the princeſſes of the blood, as preſumptive heirs of the crown; and conſequently, that it was not indifferently the next male heir, which was to ſucceed, but the next deſcended, from father to ſon, from Hugh Capet.

It is extremely ſurpriſing, that, among ſo many authors as have treated on this famous conteſt, not one, at leaſt that I know of, except father Daniel, underſtood the true ſtate of the queſtion, between the two kings; but they have all amuſed themſelves, with combating chimeras, and made the parties alledge arguments foreign to the purpoſe, and ſometimes even contrary to their real intereſts. Some make Philip urge very valid reaſons, againſt the right of repreſentation, which it is certain Edward never intended to uſe; whilſt others alledge, in Edward's behalf, the moſt ſpecious arguments, againſt the Salick law, tho' it was manifeſtly his intereſt to ſupport it. I am, therefore, apt to believe, that the harangue, Paulus Æmilius puts into the mouth of Robert d' Artois, in defence of Philip's right, is a mere invention of the hiſtorian; ſince the orator does not confine himſelf to the true caſe, though, in all probability, Robert d' Artois was not ignorant of the ſtate of the queſtion. Paſquier, though a famous civilian, and well acquainted with the hiſtory of France, and, in a word, all the writers, as well Engliſh as French, are guilty of the ſame error; and, as for father Daniel, after truly ſtating the controverſy, and briefly relating the reaſons of Philip de Valois, without giving his own opinion, he makes Edward's pretenſions to be conſidered, in the courſe of his hiſtory, as chimerical.

This caſe was never decided, as to the crown, but only with reſpect to the regency; and it cannot be denied, that, in this judgment, Philip had a great advantage, as the judges were all his relations and friends, and his competitor was a minor and foreigner. Philip afterwards took it for granted, in imitation of Philip le Long, that the judgment, which adjudged him the regency, gave him alſo a right to the crown; and, by that, the queſtion was really decided. He was ſo greatly prejudiced, in favour of his own right, that he ordered the hands and feet of a burgher of

Compiegne to be cut off, for maintaining that Edward's title was better than his; but we cannot ſay, what the iſſue would have been, if the deciſion of the affair had been referred to the ſtates of the realm; which ſeveral thought to be the only means, firmly to eſtabiiſh Philip's right. All that can be affirmed is, that the eſtabliſhment of the Salick law, in favour of Philip le Long, and its confirmation, by Charles the Fair's acceſſion to the throne could not have prejudiced Edward; for the ſole buſineſs was, either to limit the Salick law to the perſons of the daughters, or to extend it to all their poſterity; which had never been decided, before.

My intent, in what has been ſaid, as well concerning the Salick law, as the diſpute, between the two kings, was, I. To rectify moſt people's miſtaken notions of this law. II. To ſhew preciſely, wherein conſiſted the diſpute between the two competitors. III. That this affair, having its difficulties, was not eaſily to be determined, by law. IV. and Laſtly, that both the monarchs had very plauſible reaſons; and conſequently it was a juſt matter of proceſs. This would have occaſioned too great a digreſſion, in the body of the Hiſtory; but, as the war, cauſed by this quarrel, was of a long continuance, and renewed by ſeveral of Edward's ſucceſſors, I imagined that it would not be unacceptable to the reader to know the origin and foundation of it; nay, it may be ſaid, that this quarrel is not yet ended, ſince, from the time of Edward III, the kings of England have, all along, borne, and ſtill bear the title of kings of France.

12. RICHARD II. ſirnamed of Bourdeaux.

1377. EDWARD III, having finiſhed his glorious life, Richard, his grandſon, had naturally a right to be his ſucceſſor, as repreſenting the late prince of Wales, his father; but, though Edward himſelf had ſo ordered it, many were apprehenſive, that the execution of his laſt will would meet with mighty obſtacles. Richard had three uncles, who might have ſupported their pretenſions to the crown, with ſpecious and illuſory reaſons; and the young prince could claim it, only by right of repreſentation, of which there had been no precedent, at leaſt, with reſpect to the crown, ſince the Norman conqueſt. However lawful this right might be, as to private perſons, by the general diſpoſition of the laws, it did not neceſſarily follow, that it was inconteſtable, concerning the crown; for, in France, the ſucceſſion of the kingdom was not regulated by the laws of private eſtates. In Spain, the kings, who, for a century, had ſucceeded to the crown of Caſtile, were the deſcendants of a prince that obtained it, in prejudice of his nephews, ſons to his eldeſt brother; nay, a natural ſon was, then, in actual poſſeſſion, though, among private perſons, baſtards had no right to the inheritance of their fathers. In Artois, the aunt, by the judgment of the peers of France, was preferred to the nephew, who repreſented his father; and a quite contrary deciſion of the ſame court, with reſpect to Bretagne, had occaſioned, in that dukedom, a war, which, at length, was ended, to the advantage of the uncle againſt the niece, and Edward himſelf had eſpouſed the cauſe of the former. This was ſufficient to give the duke of Lancaſter, the eldeſt of the three brothers, a very plauſible pretence, if he had deſigned to ſeize the crown, as was ſuſpected by the late prince of Wales, his brother, the king, his father, himſelf, and all England; beſides, Richard's youth, who was only in his 11th year, and the expiration of the truce with France ſeemed to furniſh the duke with farther motives, to demand the crown, which he was better able to defend than a minor prince; but, on the other hand, if the duke of Lancaſter ſhould have entertained ſuch a thought, he might have been diverted from it, by conſidering the diſpoſition of the Engliſh, as to young Richard, whom the memory of his illuſtrious father, rendered extremely dear to them, and for whom the king, his grandfather, had intended the crown. Whether this conſideration prevented his uncles from taking advantage of his minority, or they acted purely upon the principles of moderation and equity, inſtead of ſupplanting him, they were the firſt to do him homage; the duke of Lancaſter, ſtiled, in England, king of Caſtile, ſatisfied his ambition, with governing the ſtate, during Richard's minority; and the princes, his brothers, were no leſs inclined to perform their father's laſt will; ſo that Richard was crowned, without oppoſition, on the 16th of July, 24 days after Edward's deceaſe. 1377. Richard is crowned.

At this coronation, we meet with the firſt mention in Hiſtory of a champion, who appeared compleatly armed, in Weſtminſter-hall, where the king dined, and, throwing his gantlet on the ground, challenged all perſons, who ſhould diſpute the king's title to the crown; but the original of this cuſtom, which is ſtill preſerved, is unknown; yet it is certainly of a more antient date than the coronation of Richard II, ſince Sir John Dimmock, who then performed the office of champion, was admitted to it, by vertue of a right annexed to a manor, he held, in Lincolnſhire. The king's champion. Walſing.

Immediately after the ſolemnity, the young king created Thomas of Woodſtock, his uncle, earl of Buckingham, and Guiſchard d' Angouleſme, his governor, earl of Huntingdon; and, at the ſame time, he conferred the title of earl of Nottingham upon John de Mowbray, and that of earl of Northumberland upon Henry Piercy, who was likewiſe earl marſhal. Richard confers ſeveral honours. Act. Pub.

Edward's truce with France was expired, ſince April the 1ſt; and yet no preparations were made by the Engliſh, to renew the war; for,

1377. for, whether the late king's illneſs occaſioned this negligence, or it was prepoſterouſly imagined, that France, with the great advantages ſhe had gained, would reſt contented, there was, in England, an amazing ſecurity; whereas, in France, Charles V. was diligently preparing to improve this indolence, to his own advantage. He no ſooner heard, that Edward was incapable of acting, than he diſpatched orders to levy troops, on all ſides; ſo that, when he received the news of his death, he was in a condition to bring five armies into the field.

Charles V. brings five armies into the field.

He ſent the firſt into Guienne, to compleat the expulſion of the Engliſh out of that province; the ſecond into Auvergne; the third into Bretagne; the fourth into Artois; and the fifth he kept with him, in order to aſſiſt the reſt, in caſes of neceſſity. Beſides theſe armies, he had alſo equipp'd a powerful fleet, which was ordered to infeſt the coaſt of England; and, the Engliſh being wholly unprepared, the French, landing in ſeveral places, burnt Haſtings, Portſmouth, Dartmouth, Plymouth, and defeated ſome troops aſſembled by the prior of Lewis, in order to put a ſtop to their ravages. They were repulſed at Wincheſter; but they landed in the iſle of Wight, where they plundered all the inhabitants; and, after a fruitleſs attempt to take Carisbrook-caſtle, retired, with their booty.

The king's uncles govern the ſtate.

All this happened, whilſt the Engliſh were employed, in placing Richard on the throne; and, in the interim, they had neither fleets nor troops, to oppoſe the enemies. The duke of Lancaſter and the earl of Cambridge, the king's uncles, by reaſon of his minority, aſſumed the reins of the government; but they exerciſed their authority, with great caution, leſt they ſhould create any prejudices againſt them, that might be detrimental to them, in the approaching parliament. The duke of Lancaſter had incurred the ill-will of the Engliſh, by the abuſe of his power, in the late reign, and eſpecially of the Londoners, by cauſing them to be puniſhed, for the tumult raiſed, on Wickliff's account; and though, ſince the king his father's death, he had been reconciled to the city, that proceeding was conſidered, only as the effect of his policy, and it was feared that he would behave, as imperiouſly as ever, if he was entruſted with the adminiſtration. As he was no ſtranger to the ſentiments of the people, he was extremely circumſpect in his conduct, to prevent his being excluded from the regency, to which he aſpired; but all his precautions were ineffectual; and the little care the two princes took, to guard the coaſts, was openly complained of, without conſidering that they had neither fleet, troops, money, nor even any lawful authority to raiſe extraordinary forces. Another accident contributed very much to incenſe the people againſt them; for, the Scots having taken, by ſurpriſe, the caſtle of Roxborough, the loſs was aſcribed to the negligence of thoſe, who governed the kingdom.

The parliament, that met, in October, firſt of all, took care to appoint ſeveral governors to the king, during his minority, and ordered that his three uncles ſhould be regents of the kingdom; but they joined with them ſome biſhops and temporal lords, being apprehenſive of the danger of truſting the perſon and affairs of a minor king, ſolely to the management of the neareſt relations, who might have ſelfiſh views; but this was a great mortification to the three princes, and particularly to the duke of Lancaſter, who had flattered himſelf with the hopes of being ſole regent. 1377.

The parliament appoint regents.

This affair being ſettled, the parliament granted the king a ſubſidy, for the ſupport of the war; but it was clogged with this condition, that the money ſhould be lodged in the hands of Philpot and Walworth, two eminent aldermen of London, who were ordered to take care, that it ſhould be expended only in repulſing the French and Caſtilians in league againſt England. Moreover, it was declared, that this ſubſidy ſhould not be drawn into a precedent; but that, for the future, what ſhould be neceſſary, for maintaining his houſhold, and defraying the charges of the war, ſhould be ſupplied out of his ordinary revenues. After this, the parliament admitted an accuſation againſt Alice Pierce, the late king's favourite, who, being convicted of ſeveral miſdemeanours, received a ſentence, by which all her eſtate was confiſcated to the king's uſe, and herſelf condemned to baniſhment; but this politick and intriguing woman quickly found means to be recalled by the king, and reſtored to her eſtate. Before the parliament broke up, Richard confirmed king John's two charters; and he gave his aſſent to ſeveral acts, relating to the conteſts England had with the court of Rome.

A ſubſidy is granted to the king, upon hard conditions.

The duke of Lancaſter was not, without reaſon, debarred from the ſole management of affairs; for he was of a proud and haughty temper, which would not ſuffer him to have much regard for his inferiors, eſpecially in caſes wherein his intereſt was concerned; and, preſently after the breaking up the parliament, he gave a proof of his violent temper by an action, which ſhewed what he was capable of, if the whole power had been lodged in his hands. As he had ſome pretenſions to the kingdom of Caſtile, he thought it adviſable to gain to his intereſt the young earl of Denia, a Caſtilian lord, then at London; whoſe father, being taken, at Najara, by two Engliſh knights, was brought into England, where he had remained, ſeveral years, in the cuſtody of thoſe who took him priſoner; but, at length, by leaving his ſon, in hoſtage, he obtained leave to return home, where he died, before his ranſom was paid. The duke of Lancaſter, hoping to procure friends, in Caſtile, by means of the young captive earl, ſo managed, that the king ordered the two knights to releaſe him; but, as there was no mention of the ranſom, they concealed their priſoner, and obliged him to promiſe, that he would not diſcover himſelf. This diſobedience exaſperating the duke of Lancaſter, he ſent the two knights to the tower; from whence, however, they made their eſcape, and took ſanctuary in the church of Weſtminſter, but to no purpoſe; for, the duke of Lancaſter, ſending ſoldiers into the church, to

1378.

Violence is committed by the duke of Lancaſter. Walſing.

1378. to bring them away, one of the knights was retaken, and the other, defending himſelf, was ſlain, with a monk who too warmly took his part. The archbiſhop of Canterbury excommunicated all that were concerned, in the violation of the church's privileges; but the duke's authority put a ſtop to the proſecution of this affair; and, ſome time after, the king taking upon him to pay the Spaniſh earl's ranſom, it was diſcovered, to the people's great admiration, that the young lord, not to be forced to violate his promiſe, had, all along, attended, in a footman's habit, the perſon to whom he had paſſed his word.

The money granted by the parliament, is put into the duke's hands. Walſing.

In the interim, the duke of Lancaſter, being mortified to ſee the money granted the king, by the parliament, in the hands of two citizens of London, neglected the equipment of the ſhips, for the defence of the coaſts; but, this affected negligence occaſioning many complaints, he pretended, that he could not form any project, leſt it ſhould be diſapproved by thoſe, who had the management of the money; and, in fine, he ſo importuned the other regents, that the two aldermen were ordered to deliver into his hands the ſums they were charged with. Upon this, he promiſed, that the coaſts ſhould be better guarded, and the merchant-men protected; yet he ſtill delayed, a conſiderable time, ſending out a fleet, becauſe he expected from Bayonne ſome ſhips, which were to join thoſe he equipped.

The king of Navarre delivers Cherbourg to the Engliſh.

Whilſt the fleet was preparing, the earls of Arundel and Salisbury received orders to go to Normandy, and take poſſeſſion of Cherbourg, which the king of Navarre had promiſed to ſurrender to the Engliſh; but they had ſcarce left the coaſts of England, when they were met by ſome Spaniſh men of war, who fiercely attacked them, and did them ſome damage; yet, in ſpite of this obſtacle, they planted a garriſon in Cherbourg, which afforded the Engliſh an inlet into Normandy, as Calais did into Picardy.

Philpot defeats a Scotch pyrate.

Before the fleet, intended for the guard of the coaſts, was quite ready, one Mercer, a Scotch pyrate, perceiving that the Engliſh took no care of the northern ſeas, entered the port of Scarborough, and carried away the merchant-men that lay there; and, upon this ſucceſs, he long cruiſed in thoſe ſeas, taking conſiderable prizes. The damage, ſuſtained by the merchants, on this occaſion, cauſed freſh complaints againſt the duke of Lancaſter, who ſo ill performed his promiſe; and Philpot before-mentioned, to the laſt degree, incenſed to ſee the Engliſh merchants expoſed to the ravages of this pyrate, undertook, at his own expence, what the duke neglected to do, with the publick money. He fitted out ſome ſhips, and, with 1000 ſoldiers, went in queſt of the Scotch pyrate, whom he defeated; and, taking him priſoner, he returned in triumph to London. This action, tho' it gained him the applauſes of the people, offended the regents, who apprehended it to be of dangerous conſequence, to ſuffer a private perſon to engage in ſuch an undertaking, without the permiſſion of the government; but he made ſuch a handſome defence, and with ſo much modeſty, that he was diſmiſſed, without farther trouble. 1370.

A ſchiſm in the church.

The late ſchiſm cauſed in the church, by the double election of Urban VI. and Clement VII, employed the parliament, for ſome time, which met, in October, 1378. France was in the intereſt of Clement; and, perhaps, that was the chief reaſon of England's declaring for Urban; however, as the matter is ſtated by the partiſans of Clement themſelves, it cannot be denied, that his election was very irregular.

The riſe of it.

Gregory XI. leaving Avignon, upon certain pretended revelations, to reſide at Rome, died, March the 7th, 1328; and, of the 23 cardinals then in being, ſix remained at Avignon, one was a legate, and the other 16, of whom 12 were Frenchmen, and four Italians, were at Rome, at the time of Gregory's death; and theſe laſt, having entered the conclave, to proceed to the election of a pope, were greatly embarraſſed. Their intent was to chuſe a Frenchman; but, foreſeeing that the people of Rome would oppoſe it, they reſolved to give them a ſeeming ſatisfaction, by pretending to elect an Italian; tho' they agreed firſt among themſelves, that, as ſoon as they were at full liberty, they would elect another, who ſhould be the true pope; a project which could ſcarce fail of creating a ſchiſm. Purſuant to this agreement, of which we could have no certainty, but by their own confeſſion, they elected the archbiſhop of Bary, a Neapolitan, who aſſumed the name of Urban VI; and the election was notified to all Chriſtian princes, as canonical, even by the cardinals the electors, who, for ſome time, acknowledged Urban, for head of the church; but, whether in conſequence of their agreement, or, as ſome affirm, becauſe Urban treated them too imperiouſly, theſe very cardinals, leaving Rome, on pretence of great heat, convened at Anagnia, and elected one of the cardinals of Avignon, who ſtiled himſelf Clement VII; and theſe two elections, by the ſame perſons, long employed the moſt eminent divines in Europe, and occaſioned a ſchiſm, which continued, above 30 years. It ought not to ſeem ſtrange, that it was ſo difficult to decide, which of the popes was head of the church; for it would have been much eaſier, to produce good reaſons to reject them both; yet the ſchiſm divided all Chriſtendom, each ſtate declaring for one or other of the two popes, not ſo much on account of the right of the parties, as for political reaſons. France, whoſe intereſt it was, that the pope ſhould reſide at Avignon, eſpouſed the cauſe of Clement; but England thought it more advantageous to adhere to the pope of Rome.

The duke of Lancaſter undertakes to reſtore the duke of Bretagne.

Whilſt the two pontiffs darted their ſpiritual thunders againſt each other, the duke of Lancaſter, at length, equipp'd his fleet, according to his engagement, not only to guard the coaſts, but to reſtore the duke of Bretagne, diſpoſſeſſed by the king of France, with the connivance of the lords of Bretagne, whom he had brought over to his intereſts. This unfortunate prince, being abandoned by moſt of his ſubjects

1378. ſubjects, came into England, towards the end of Edward's reign, to demand his aſſiſtance; but, upon the death of his father-in-law, he retired to the earl of Flanders, his relation and ally. During his ſtay in that country, a French envoy, being ſtopped on his way to Scotland, by the earl's order, Charles pretended it was done, at the duke of Bretagne's inſtigation, and inſiſted upon the earl's diſmiſſing him from his court; who, not believing that his vaſſalage obliged him to that condeſcenſion, furniſhed the king, by his refuſal, with the pretence he was apparently ſeeking, to be revenged on the duke, another way. He ſent into Bretagne an army, to compleat the ruin of that unhappy prince, who was unable to reſiſt him; and England was too much concerned to ſupport him, not to make ſome effort, in his favour. The duke of Lancaſter, finding his fleet ready for ſea, embarqued himſelf, and ſet ſail for Bretagne, where he beſieged St. Malos'; but he met with ſo many obſtacles from Du Gueſclin, the general of the French army, in thoſe parts, that he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege.

The duke of Bretagne delivers Breſt to the Engliſh. Walſing.

This ill ſucceſs would, perhaps, have diſcouraged the Engliſh, had not the duke of Bretagne repaired to England, and offered to deliver to the king the town of Breſt, during the war, on condition that he would furniſh him with proper ſupplies; but this beneficial propoſal inſpired the king's council with freſh hopes; and, indeed, if the Engliſh had wiſely improved their advantages, they might have invaded France from four ſeveral quarters, viz. Guienne, Picardy, Normandy, and Bretagne, by means of Bourdeaux, Calais, Cherbourg, and Breſt, which afforded the Engliſh ſo many inlets into that kingdom. Richard's council, accepting the duke of Bretagne's offer, entered into a treaty with him, on the terms, propoſed by himſelf; and, the parliament approving the reſolutions of the council, granted a very conſiderable ſubſidy, to put ſuch an advantageous project in execution; and, beſides the party the duke of Bretagne ſtill had, in his own country, ſeveral of his adverſaries began to wiſh for his reſtoration, being unable to bear the inſolence of the French; but, as the fortified places were in the hands of the friends of France, the duke's adherents could undertake nothing, unleſs ſupported by the Engliſh, who were, with all poſſible expedition, preparing the promiſed ſupplies.

The Scots take Berwick. Buchanan.

In the interim, the king of France, concerted meaſures, to divert the impending ſtorm, by procuring, from the ſide of Scotland, a diverſion, to hinder the Engliſh from carrying their arms abroad; for the king of Scotland, gained by the preſents and promiſes of the French monarch, on a ſudden, broke the truce, and took Berwick-caſtle, by ſurpriſe, that town having been diſmantled, in the former wars. The earl of Northumberland, governor of the northern counties, aſtoniſhed at the loſs of that place, which was imputed to his negligence, ſo ſpeedily drew together a body of troops, that he arrived at Berwick, before the Scots had notice of his deſign; and, immediately after, inveſting the caſtle, he ſeized a bridge, the only paſs by which ſuccours could be thrown into the place, and ſo vigorouſly puſhed the ſiege, that, in nine days, he took it, by ſtorm. Douglaſs, advancing to raiſe the ſiege, found himſelf diſappointed, and haſtily retired into his country, to avoid a battle; but he was purſued by the earl of Northumberland, who, to retard the retreat of the enemy, detached a body of 600 men, under the command of Muſgrave, with orders to amuſe them, without engaging too far; yet, whilſt he followed them himſelf, with the reſt of the army, he received intelligence, that his detachment was fallen into an ambuſh, and entirely defeated. Henry Piercy, his ſon, ſignalized himſelf, both at the ſiege of Berwick and in the late action, and gave extraordinary proofs of his valour, which gained him the ſirname of Hotſpur; but the plague, beginning to rage in the northern counties, obliged the two nations to a ſtricter obſervance of the truce, without a new treaty. 1379.

In the mean while, the preparations, for the aſſiſtance of the duke of Bretagne, were diligently carried on; but, as the expence roſe higher than was expected, the parliament granted the king another ſubſidy, the burden of which was entirely borne by the nobility and clergy. The archbiſhops, biſhops, dukes, earls, and mitred abbots were taxed, at 10 marks a-piece, beſides 40 pence to be paid by the abbots, for each of their monks; and, the reſt of the clergy and nobility, with all that had places, being rated, in proportion to their incomes, the ſubſidy produced very conſiderable ſums.

The king of France confiſcates Bretagne. Walſing.

The king of France was furiouſly enraged againſt the duke of Bretagne, for attempting to recall the Engliſh into his country; at leaſt, he made that a pretence to ſummon him before the court of peers, where the duke took care not to make his appearance; but the widow of Charles de Blois ſent agents to the king, to repreſent to him, that he had not any right to confiſcate Bretagne, it not having been originally a fief of the crown of France; and ſhe maintained, that, if any of the former dukes had thought fit to ſubmit to any perſonal ſervices to the kings of France, they could not ſubject the dukedom, without the conſent of their ſubjects; yet the court, regardleſs of theſe remonſtrances, decreed the confiſcation of Bretagne to the king's uſe. This proceeding convincing the Bretons, that Charles's quarrel was not ſo much with the duke as the dutchy, they were apprehenſive of falling under the dominion of France, and that their country would be made a province of that kingdom; which apprehenſion occaſioned an aſſociation of the great men, that ended, at length, in recalling their lawful ſovereign. The duke, upon the receipt of this agreeable news, haſtened his return into his dominions, in expectation of the Engliſh ſuccours; and he was received by his ſubjects, with great demonſtrations of joy; but, in the interim, the principal places being in the hands of his enemies, he earneſtly intreated the court of England to ſend him ſome troops, to ſupport him, till a more powerful ſupply ſhould be ready.

1379. dy. Accordingly, the council diſpatched ſome ſhips, with troops; but they were, for the moſt part loſt, in a violent ſtorm.

The war continues between France and England. Walſing.

In the mean while, the French and Engliſh continued the war, in ſeveral places, but without coming to a deciſive battle; and, if the governor of Cherbourg gained ſome advantage over the French, they, quickly, after took ſeveral merchant-men, belonging to the Engliſh.

1380. The parliament, which met, in October, 1380, granted the king a new aid, to continue the war with France and Scotland, as well as to aſſiſt the duke of Bretagne; which parliament is famous for a ſtatute againſt the bloodſuckers, who had long devoured the kingdom; I mean, the foreign eccleſiaſticks, who, by this ſtatute, were rendered incapable of holding any benefice, in England; but, as this, probably, would not be ſufficient to curb the court of Rome, who did not think herſelf bound by acts of parliament, another ſtatute was enacted, to render the pope's favours, in this reſpect, fruitleſs to foreigners; for, by this act, all the king's ſubjects were prohibited, on ſevere penalties, to farm benefices conferred on ſtrangers by the court of Rome. This was properly attaining the ſame end, another way; for, the pope uſually giving Engliſh benefices to his domeſticks, to Italian biſhops and cardinals, they could neither reſide on their benefices, nor find any farmers in the kingdom; and, at the ſame time, the parliament petitioned the king to expel all foreign monks, leſt they ſhould corrupt the Engliſh, by impreſſions deſtructive to the good of the ſtate.

An act againſt alien eccleſiaſticks.

The earl of Warwick is ſole governor to the king. Walſing.

The parliament, having, thus, regulated the eccleſiaſtical affairs, removed all the king's governors, as well to retrench the great expence, as becauſe their number was prejudicial to his education; and, inſtead of theſe lords, Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, was appointed to have the ſole care of educating the king.

Commiſſioners are appointed to inquire into the ſtate of the king's revenue.

Such was the miſmanagement of Richard's revenues, ſince his acceſſion to the throne, that the houſe of commons, being deſirous of knowing on whom the blame was to be laid, appointed 84 commiſſioners, to examine to what uſes the revenues of the crown had been applied, and to lay their report before the next parliament, which was not to meet, under a twelvemonth.

Engliſh ſuccours are ſent into Bretagne.

Shortly after, the ſuccours intended for the duke of Bretagne being ready, the command was given to the duke of Buckingham, the king's uncle; who landed at Calais, in order to go to Bretagne, by land; and, perhaps, he would have found it difficult to perform his enterprize, with an army conſiſting only of 8000 men, had not the duke of Burgundy, who cloſely followed him, with much more numerous forces, received expreſs orders from the king of France, his brother, not to attack the Engliſh. That monarch had a more effectual way to be rid of his enemies, namely, by a reconciliation with the duke of Bretagne, who could have no proſpect of peaceably enjoying his dutchy, whilſt France was his enemy; and, for this reaſon, the duke of Buckingham, meeting with little reſiſtance, committed great ravages, upon his rout; but, in the interim, the king of France died, leaving for his ſucceſſor Charles VI, his eldeſt ſon, about 12 years of age. His death might have been very beneficial to the Engliſh, if the duke of Bretagne had inviolably adhered to their intereſts; but that prince, taking advantage of the confuſion of the court of France, in the beginning of a minority, ſpeedily concluded a treaty with the new king, who granted him whatever he could deſire. 1380.

Upon this agreement, the Engliſh met with a cold reception, in Bretagne; and, though the duke did not openly declare himſelf, at firſt, becauſe the Engliſh were in poſſeſſion of Breſt, it was obvious, that he did not intend to make uſe of them, ſince all the towns denied them admittance; but, at length, he diſcovered his mind to the duke of Buckingham, and, making the beſt excuſe he could, provided him with ſhips, to return into England. The Engliſh are ſent back. Froiſſart.

A truce with the Scots. Walſing.

The plague, which raged, at the ſame time, in England and Scotland, occaſioned the truce to be renewed, between the two kingdoms, till the following Eaſter.

A parliament. Walſing.

Though it was agreed, that the parliament ſhould not meet, under a twelve-month, ſome unexpected affairs obliged the king to convene it, in November, in order to demand a freſh ſupply of money, which was accordingly granted, to enable him to execute the reſolutions of his council, with reſpect to Portugal; but, whereas the nobility and clergy had ſupplied the former ſubſidy, this was a poll-tax, from which no perſon was exempted, not even the very monks and nuns; for all, above 15 years old, were to pay 12 pence a head.

They reſolve to aſſiſt Portugal againſt Caſtile. Act. Pub.

It is extremely ſurpriſing, that, whilſt England was actually engaged in war with France and Scotland, the king's council ſhould leave it unprovided, by ſending troops to the king of Portugal, who was in war with Caſtile; but private intereſt had the aſcendant over that of the publick, which is uſually the caſe, in the councils of kings, eſpecially, during minorities. The motive of this reſolution, in appearance, ſo diſagreeable to the ſtate of the kingdom, was this: Ferdinand, king of Portugal, had undertaken a war againſt John, king of Caſtile, ſon to Henry the Baſtard, in which he had been ſo unſucceſsful, that, inſtead of making conqueſts upon his enemy, he had drawn him into his dominions. In this extremity, he courted the alliance of the Engliſh, in order to obtain ſuccours againſt the Caſtilians, their common enemies; and, though it was altogether improper to ſend troops ſo far, when England could ſcarce defend her own coaſts, the duke of Lancaſter's credit was ſo great, in the council, that it was reſolved, Ferdinand ſhould be aſſiſted. This reſolution was made, under the pretence of hindering the growth of the king of Caſtile, a mortal foe to the Engliſh; but the duke of Lancaſter's private advantage was the ſole motive. This prince, who had aſſumed the title of king of Caſtile, on account of his marriage with Conſtantia, eldeſt daughter to Peter the Cruel, hoped, by ſending troops into Portugal,

1380. gal, to promote his own affairs; and, therefore, after the parliament's approbation of the intended expedition, and the grant of a ſupply, to carry it on, he cauſed the command of the troops to be given to the duke of Cambridge, his brother, deſigning ſpeedily to follow him, in perſon, with greater forces. In the interim, as the truce with Scotland was about to expire, the council, by his direction, reſolved to propoſe to the king of Scotland the prolongation of it, that the ſending the troops into Portugal might not be obſtructed; and, to forward this negotiation, he undertook it himſelf, and, forthwith, repaired to the frontiers of the two kingdoms, where he was met by the Scotch ambaſſadors; however, whilſt he was treating with them, there happened, in England, affairs of far greater conſequence than the truce with Scotland, or the war with Caſtile.

1381. The inſurrection of Wat Tyler.

The poll-tax, impoſed by the parliament, was levied, in ſo gentle a manner, that the collectors excuſed many perſons; but, as there are too many, who make it their buſineſs to inrich themſelves, at the expence of the publick, there were ſome that perſuaded the king and council, that, if more rigour was uſed, the tax would bring in much greater ſums, and even offered money, to have the management of it. In all probability, they were Flemings that farmed the tax, and obliged themſelves to give the king a certain ſum, for the produce of it; and the new collectors, appointed by theſe farmers, levied the tax, with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs. One that collected, in Kent, demanding of a tyler, at Deptford, named Walter, 12 pence, for one of his daughters, the father affirmed, that ſhe was not arrived at the age ſet down in the act of parliament; upon which, the inſolent collector, as theſe ſort of people generally are, attempting to know the truth, by an indecent action, the father, with his hammer, knocked out his brains. All the ſpectators applauded the action, and promiſed to protect the murderer, commonly called Wat Tyler *; and the ſpirit of rebellion did not only ſeize the inhabitants of Deptford, but all the meaner ſort of the county of Kent, who were ſoon followed by thoſe of Eſſex. The poll-tax was not their ſole grievance; for the people of thoſe parts had long been in a ferment, which, being inflamed by this accident, broke out into an open rebellion. They complained of the little care to hinder the frequent deſcents of the French, who had committed great ravages in thoſe two counties; and to this was added a general diſcontent againſt judges, and all the agents of the law, who ruined families, by their extortions. The nobles and gentry were no leſs deteſted by the peaſants, by reaſon of the right of villainage, which was extremely abuſed; and the populace were, to the laſt degree, incenſed againſt the duke of Lancaſter, whoſe negligence they conſidered, as the cauſe of all their calamities. Theſe complaints being ſpread in thoſe parts, and countenanced by the ſeditious, or, according to ſome, by the monks, who thought themſelves injured by the poll-tax, to which they were liable, produced an amazing effect; for, in a ſhort time, Wat Tyler, whom the ſeditious choſe, for their chief and protector of the poor people, appeared at the head of above 100,000 men, breathing revenge on the nobles and profeſſors of the law. Thus, attended, he marched directly to London, freeing, in his rout, all the priſoners in the publick jails; and, among the reſt, John Ball, a prieſt of Maidſton, who, by his ſeditious ſermons †, perſuaded the people, that, as all men were equally the ſons of Adam, it was their duty to reduce the world to a perfect equality. Purſuant to this maxim, they reſolved to diſpatch all the nobility, and thoſe that were diſtinguiſhed by their poſts; and, without farther conſideration, they cut off the heads of all the lords, gentlemen, judges, counſellors, and lawyers, that fell into their hands. After this, they took a ſolemn oath, that they never would own, for king, any man, named John; which reſolution ſprung from their hatred to the duke of Lancaſter, who bore that name, and was ſuſpected of aſpiring to the crown.

1381.

He is at the head of 100,000 men.

They behead the nobles and judges.

Richard, hearing that the rebels were come as far as Black-Heath, where Wat Tyler reviewed his army, ſent to know their demands; who replied, that they had affairs of great importance to communicate to the king, and deſired to have a conference with him. This inſolent requeſt being debated in council, ſome were of opinion, that the king ſhould comply with the rebels; alledging, that, ſince he was not in a condition to withſtand them, gentleneſs was the only way to reclaim them; but Simon Sudbury, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Robert de Hales, prior of St. John's and high-treaſurer of England, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, maintaining that it was not ſafe for the king to venture his perſon with ſuch a rabble; and, accordingly, the requeſt of the ſeditious was rejected, and with menaces, little agreeable to the preſent ſituation of the court. The news of this ſo furiouſly enraged the rebels, that they directly marched towards London, and entered Southwark, parted from the city by the Thames; and, having plundered the ſuburbs, without great interruption, they endeavoured to enter the city. London-bridge had then gates, which, being ſhut, at their approach, might have ſtopped, for ſome time, their impetuoſity, if the mob, who preſently ſided with them, had not opened them, in ſpite of the magiſtrates; upon which, they entered into the city, where they committed all the ravages that could be expected from ſuch a numerous body, guided ſolely by their fury. The duke of Lancaſter's palace was reduced to aſhes; and the houſes of ſuch, as they apprehended to be their enemies, were given up to be rifled, tho' their leaders, pretending not to be ſwayed by avarice, would not ſuffer their people to appropriate to themſelves any part of the booty,

The king ſends to know what they would have.

They march to London.

They enter the city, and commit great barbarities.

* Walſingham ſays, he was called Walter Helier, or Tyler.

† His text was this proverbial rhyme:

" When Adam dalfe and Eve ſpan,
" Who was then a gentleman?" Walſing.

and

1381. and even threw into the fire, which consumed all their plundered riches, a man that would have retained a piece of plate. In this universal confusion, London was like a town taken, by storm; for the archbishop's palace, the temple with all the writings preserved there, and the houses of the judges, lords, and principal citizens were devoured by the flames. This unruly mob took care to accomplish their oath, to extirpate all appearances of grandeur or distinction; but the Flemings, above all others, were exposed to their fury. They dragged them from the churches, where they had taken sanctuary; and, upon their not being able to pronounce certain words, very difficult for foreigners, they were, immediately, massacred.

They seize the tower, and behead the archbishop and treasurer. Walsing.

The rebels, having given these first marks of their fury, approached the tower, which might have been easily defended, had not the terror, spread in the garrison, caused them to open the gates; and, finding there the archbishop of Canterbury and the treasurer, they, without any process, cut off their heads. Upon this, they divided themselves into three bodies; for Wat Tyler continued about the tower, with 30,000 men; Jack Straw, another of their captains, advanced into the city, with the rebels of Essex, to the number of 60,000; and the rest, under the conduct of another leader, lodged themselves upon Mile-end-Green.

The Essexians accept the king's offers. Walsing.

In the interim, the king and council, after long debates, how to put a stop to these furious proceedings, could discover no better expedient, than to offer the rebels an authentick charter, confirming the privileges of the people, and a general pardon for all crimes committed, since the insurrection; which offers the Essexmen readily accepted, though they were now in the heart of the city; and, leaving some of their leaders to forward the charters and pardon, they returned to their habitations.

Wat Tyler rejects them. Walsing.

However, Wat Tyler was not so tractable, though he pretended, that his sole view was to obtain equitable terms; yet, as he seemed willing to enter into a negotiation with the king himself, Richard, with a few attendants, came to Smith-field; from whence he sent a knight, to desire him to come and confer with him. Wat insolently replied, that he would come, when he thought proper; yet he advanced, immediately, at the head of his troops, but so slowly, that the king, being impatient, and willing to press him to make haste, dispatched the same knight to him again, tho' it had like to have cost him his life. Wat Tyler was just entered Smith-field, when the knight delivered the king's message, without alighting, not imagining that he would insist on that ceremony; but the proud leader so highly resented this want of respect, that he would have killed him, if the king, who was himself advancing, had not cried out to the knight to dismount.

The king's conference with Tyler.

In Wat Tyler's interview with the king, being both on horseback, he made such extravagant proposals, that Richard was utterly at a loss, what to reply; for he demanded, that all the antient laws should be abolished, and the government modelled, according to certain fantastical notions framed by himself; and, even whilst he made these demands, he, every now and then, lifted up his sword, as it were to threaten the king, if he did not, immediately, comply with what he had proposed; but that this brutish insolence so raised the indignation of William Walworth, mayor of London, who attended the king, that, without considering to what danger he exposed his master, he discharged such a blow on the rebel's head, with his sword, that he laid him dead at his feet. 1381.

The king is in great danger. Walsing.

This imprudent, tho' resolute, action had a natural tendency to ruin the king, and all his attendants; and, indeed, the rebels, when they saw their leader on the ground, encouraged each other to revenge his death, and even bent their bows, to shoot at the king and his retinue; but Richard prevented the danger, by a bolder and more prudent action than could be expected from a prince only 15 years old; who, turning to the rebels, cried with a loud and courageous voice: "What, my lieges! "will you then kill your king? Be not de- "jected, for the loss of your leader; for I my- "self will, now, be your general; follow me "into the field, and you shall have all the "satisfaction you can possibly desire." Upon these words, he gently turned his horse, and, putting himself at their head, rode towards St. George's-fields; and the young king's resolution had such an effect on the minds of the rebels, that they altered their first purpose, and followed him, without delay; but they were no sooner come into the fields, than they perceived, on their march towards them, a troop of 1000 armed citizens, raised by the mayor, under the command of Sir Robert Knolles, an officer of great reputation. They were so extremely terrified at this sight, falsly concluding that all London was in readiness, to attack them, that the foremost ranks threw down their arms and begged quarter; which proceeding struck such a terror into the rest, tho' they were ignorant of the cause, that, in a few moments, the whole multitude was dispersed, without the effusion of any blood, except that of their leader.

The rebels throw down their arms. Knighton.

This event is, in many respects, so singular and extraordinary, that it is matter of the greatest amazement. An insurrection, indeed, is not so very surprising; yet that it should be headed by such a person, as Wat Tyler, is unusual, though parallel instances may, possibly, be found, in other histories; but it is, doubtless, very extraordinary, that a single man, as the mayor of London, should dare to kill this leader, attended by 30,000 men. It is still more astonishing, that a young prince, but 15 years old, should have the resolution discovered by Richard, on this occasion; and that his boldness should produce so good an effect. In fine, that such a numerous multitude, just glutted with blood and slaughter, should disperse, on a sudden, by a panick fear, at the sight of a few armed citizens, is what cannot be considered, without ascribing the cause to the Almighty, who holds the hearts of the people in his hand; and, indeed, it will appear,

1381. appear, preſently, that nothing leſs than a ſort of miracle could, at that time, prevent the utter deſtruction of England.

1381.

The like inſurrections in other counties. Knighton.

It was not only in the counties of Kent and Eſſex, that the ſpirit of rebellion poſſeſſed the people; for, whilſt Wat Tyler and Jack Straw advanced towards London, John Ball and John Wraw, two ſeditious prieſts, ſtirred up the populace of Suffolk, where they ſoon aſſembled 50,000 men; who committed, in thoſe parts, numberleſs barbarities, as if they were ambitious of exceeding in cruelty, thoſe who exerciſed their fury, in London. Sir John Cavendiſh, chief juſtice, fell a ſacrifice to their rage; and they burnt all the antient charters, in the abbey of St. Edmundsbury, and in the univerſity of Cambridge.

The inſolence and cruelty of Litteſter.

At the ſame time, Litteſter, an ale-houſe-keeper, at Norwich, headed another body of rebels in the county of Norfolk, and cruelly put to death all the judges and lawyers, that fell into his hands; and, as for the lords and gentlemen, he was ſo inſolent, as to oblige them to ſerve him, on the knee; but, if any one ſcrupled to ſubmit to that indignity, they, immediately, ordered him to be beheaded. Thus, he treated the earl of Suffolk, who would not feign to approve of their rebellion; but, as it was impoſſible for the king's council to take ſpeedy and effectual meaſures, to remedy theſe diſorders, it was neceſſary that private perſons ſhould, of themſelves, uſe their endeavours, without ſtaying for orders from court, to free themſelves from the impending danger. Henry Spencer, biſhop of Norwich, a prelate of great courage, tho' not of a military profeſſion, thinking it his duty to do ſomething more than barely offer up prayers, on ſuch a preſſing occaſion, which equally threatened clergy and laity, headed a few loyal ſubjects; and, attacking the rebels, he made a terrible ſlaughter; but, the two leaders, Wraw and Litteſter being taken, in the fight, the firſt was beheaded, upon the ſpot, and the other ſent to London, to receive the juſt reward of his crimes.

The Puniſhment of the rebels. Walſing.

Theſe commotions being appeaſed, ſooner and more happily than could be expected, the king, by advice of his council, reſolved to chaſtiſe the guilty; and, accordingly, the lords received orders to raiſe, in every county, troops of known loyalty, and bring them to London. In a ſhort time, was drawn together an army of 40,000 men; which being divided into two bodies, one marched into the county of Kent; and, at the head of the other, the king went himſelf, to puniſh the people of Eſſex, who began to ſtir again, upon the revocation of the charter and general pardon; but, as they had not leiſure to concert juſt meaſures, being prevented by the king's diligence, they were eaſily defeated. Great numbers were ſlain, and many others reſerved, for publick examples; and, among the latter, was Jack Straw, companion to Wat Tyler, and head of the Eſſex-rebels; who confeſſed, that their deſign was to murder the king, extirpate all the nobility and clergy, except the Mendicant friars, part England into ſeveral kingdoms, make Wat Tyler king of Kent, aboliſh all the antient, and make new laws. Poſſibly, theſe projects were framed only, in general, and over their bowls, whilſt they were on their march to London; but, however that be, ſuch a deſign, managed by heads, very incapable of putting it in execution, could ſcarce fail of producing the ruin of the authors. It is ſaid, that beſides thoſe that fell, with their arms in their hands, above 1500 died by the halter; and judge Treſilian was commiſſioned to go into the revolted counties, to try the guilty. As the number was extremely great, he had an opportunity to gratify his cruel and revengeful temper, in puniſhing the unfortunate wretches, with the utmoſt ſeverity; and the barbarities he exerciſed, during his commiſſion, may juſtly be compared to thoſe practiſed, by a judge of the ſame character *, in the reign of James II.

A vindication of the Wickliffites. Walſing.

Some would father this rebellion upon the Wickliffites, who were commonly called Lollards, but without any foundation; for it is certain, that religion had no concern in this inſurrection, ſince the duke of Lancaſter, an open protector of Wickliff, was the principal object of the malice of the rebels; and Wickliff, who, then, reſided on his living of Lutterworth, in Leiceſterſhire, was never queſtioned, on that account. All that can be alledged, to give the leaſt colour to this accuſation is, that John Ball, a Franciſcan friar, one of the ring-leaders of the rebels, was, a little before, impriſoned, by the archbiſhop of Canterbury's order, for preaching the new doctrine; but it cannot be inferred from thence, that Wickliff's followers excited theſe commotions; beſides, inſurrections, cauſed by a religious zeal, are ſeldom appeaſed, in ſo ſhort a time as this, which laſted only a month, from the beginning to the end.

The duke of Lancaſter is unjuſtly accuſed.

The duke of Lancaſter was on the northern borders, when the rebellion broke out, in Kent, which lies at the other extremity of the kingdom; who, upon the firſt news ſpeedily concluded a three years truce with the Scots; but, being apprehenſive of expoſing himſelf to the fury of his enemies, if he returned to court, and alſo of giving the northern counties a pretence to imitate the ſouthern, if he ſtaid in England, he choſe to retire into Scotland, where he continued, till the ſedition was appeaſed. The king of Scotland offered him 20,000 men, to ſuppreſs the rebels; but he refuſed them, leſt, by introducing foreigners, he ſhould occaſion a general revolt in the kingdom; yet theſe precautions could not prevent his enemies from ſpreading a report, that he intended to march to London, at the head of a Scotch army, and ſeize the crown, tho' he eaſily cleared himſelf from this groundleſs aſperſion.

The king's marriage. Act. Pub.

Whilſt, by this unexpected inſurrection, Richard found himſelf in danger of loſing his crown and life, his ambaſſadors negotiated his marriage, in Germany. From the year 1379,

* Judge Jeffreys.

1381. he had been deſirous of eſpouſing the daughter of Barnabas, duke of Milan; but, this project miſcarrying, he demanded, in 1380, a princeſs of Bavaria, daughter to the late emperor Lewis; which negotiation had no better ſucceſs than the former. At laſt, on May 2, 1381, his marriage with Ann of Luxemburg, ſiſter to the emperor Wenceſlaus, was concluded, at Nuremberg; and this princeſs, arriving in England *, a little after the troubles were appeaſed, was received, in a very pompous manner, agreeable to the king's humour, who was extremely fond of ſuch ſolemnities.

1382. The death of the earl of Marche.

Edmund, earl of Marche, grandſon to Roger Mortimer beheaded, in the beginning of the reign of Edward III, died, in February, 1382, in his government of Ireland; who had married Philippa, only daughter to Lionel, duke of Clarence, third ſon of Edward III, and by her had a ſon, named Roger, who ſucceeded him, in his honour of earl of Marche.

The parliament which met, about the end of the year 1381, and was prorogued, on account of the queen's arrival, ſat again, the following year; and ſome hiſtorians affirm, that, in this parliament, an act was paſſed, impowering the biſhops to impriſon hereticks, without the king's licenſe; but others, and with more probability, maintain, that the commons refuſed to paſs the bill, and that the biſhops obtained that power of the king alone. This laſt opinion is confirmed by the complaints made afterwards by the commons to the king, as of a breach of privilege; but, however that be, it is certain, that, before this time, the biſhops had no ſuch power, without the king's expreſs conſent, for every particular caſe; and, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, we find the like permiſſions granted by Edward III, to the biſhop of London and others. It is manifeſt, that theſe permiſſions would have been needleſs, had the biſhops enjoyed this privilege, without the king's conſent; and, moreover, in a commiſſion of the ſame ſort directed by Richard II, to the univerſity of Oxford, extant alſo in the Collection, no notice is taken of any ſtatute upon that ſubject, though it was a conſtant cuſtom, when the king acted, by vertue of an act of parliament, to mention it, in his letters patent or orders; which evidently appears in the foreſaid Collection.

Richard's character.

Richard, being, now, in his 17th year, began more plainly to diſcover his inclinations, which, hitherto, had been reſtrained by the authority of his governors. Having a vaſt conceipt of his own merit, he thought himſelf no leſs capable of governing the ſtate than Edward III. was, at his age; but there was a wide diſparity between theſe two princes. Edward, when very young, with an uncommon penetration, had none but noble and generous inclinations, tending to his own glory and the happineſs of his ſubjects; whereas Richard, minding only trifles, was entirely devoted to his pleaſures. He affected pomp and magnificence, more than any of his predeceſſors; and he conſumed his revenue, in idle and ſuperfluous expences. He was exceedingly ſwayed by flatterers; and he expreſſed no leſs affection for thoſe that applauded his paſſions, than averſion for ſuch as adviſed him to lead a life worthy a great prince. As he was not, in the leaſt, inclined to war, he in council always preferred negotiation to vigorous reſolutions; and, as ſoon as he was out of his childhood, he was obſerved to chuſe favourites, whoſe temper and diſpoſition ſuited with his own, or, at leaſt, who artfully feigned to approve of all his proceedings. Among theſe were Alexander Nevil, archbiſhop of York, Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, a young man full of vivacity, whoſe youthful ſallies were extremely pleaſing to his maſter, Michael de la Pole, a merchant's ſon of London, and judge Treſilian, who never wanted reaſons, to countenance whatever was agreeable to the king. Theſe favourites, who, on all occaſions, flattered him, were amply rewarded, for the leaſt petty ſervices; whilſt thoſe, who managed the publick affairs, and took all the pains, were very little regarded. This behaviour was diſpleaſing to the people; but an accident, towards the end of this year, entirely alienated their affections from their ſovereign. One of the abovementioned courtiers obtaining of the king a conſiderable grant, Richard Scrope, the chancellor, refuſed to annex the great ſeal to the patent; and he even expreſly told the perſon who ſollicited him, that the duty of his office would not ſuffer him to ſet the ſeal, committed to his cuſtody by the parliament, to all the king's grants, till he had acquired a little more experience. Richard, incenſed at this refuſal, ſent for the great ſeal; but he refuſed to deliver it, alledging that he did not hold it of the king. This reſolution ſtill farther exaſperating the young prince, he went himſelf to the chancellor, to require his obedience; upon which, the chancellor gave him the ſeal, declaring that he would ſerve him no longer, in any publick poſt, but content himſelf with maintaining, in all other reſpects, the allegiance due from a ſubject to his ſovereign. Richard kept the great ſeal, ſome days, in his hands; and, leſt another chancellor ſhould obſtruct, in the ſame manner, his inconſiderate grants, he annexed the ſeal himſelf to ſeveral patents; after which he delivered it to Robert Braybrook, biſhop of London, who, probably, was not ſo ſcrupulous as his predeceſſor. This action, extolled by the favourites with the higheſt encomiums on the king's ſteadineſs, diſguſted the reſt of the nation; and the king, henceforward, was conſidered, as a prince capable of falling into great exceſſes, unleſs timely care was taken to bridle his paſſions.

1382.

The biſhops power of impriſoning hereticks is revoked.

Accordingly, in the next ſeſſions of the parliament, the houſe of commons reſolved to remove this inconvenience, ariſing from the too great authority the king began to aſſume; for

* She arrived at Dover, about the latter end of December, and was married to the king, in the chapel-royal at Weſtminſter, on January 14, being alſo crowned, quickly after; but, inſtead of Richard's having any dowry with her, he gave the emperor no leſs than 10,000 marks, or 80,000 florins, for his alliance; and he was likewiſe at the whole charge of her coming over. Tyrrel. Walſing. Rymer's Fœd.

the

1382. the power of the bishops, to imprison heretieks, was apprehended to be very destructive to liberty, since it tendered the clergy, in a manner, absolute masters of the honour and fortune of private persons. The complaints, from all parts, obliged the commons to present a petition to the king, to revoke a concession to which they had not given their consent; and Richard, being in want of money, durst not reject their request; but some pretend, that, by the artifices of the clergy, this revocation was razed out of the parliament-rolls, where it is not to be found.

Urban VI. publishes a Crusade against Clement VII. Froissart.

The schism still continued, in the church, to the great scandal of the Christians, who were at a loss to know, which of the two popes was to be regarded, as Christ's vicar; but Urban, whose party was strongest, spiritual weapons proving insufficient, judged it more advantageous to use temporal arms; wherefore, he published, against Clement and his adherents, a Crusade, of which Henry Spencer, bishop of Norwich, was declared general. The pope, by this bull, granted the same indulgences to all that would engage in this undertaking, as to those who bore arms against the Infidels; and, upon the publication of this Crusade, the English nobility, gentry, people, and clergy entered into it, with the same ardor, as if they had been to wage war with the enemies of the christian name; for, whilst they waited for the approbation of the parliament, which was not at all questioned, every one diligently prepared, to obtain the promised indulgences, either by serving, in person, in the war, or contributing money for promoting the same.

During these preparations, the earl of Cambridge returned from Portugal, extremely dissatisfied; because the king of Portugal made use of the English succours, to procure a beneficial treaty with the king of Castile, to whom he even gave Beatrix, his only daughter, promised to the earl of Cambridge's eldest son; for, by this means, the English prince lost all hopes of obtaining for his son the crown of Portugal, and placing the duke of Lancaster, his brother, on the throne of Castile.

1383. The success of the Crusade.

The parliament, which met, in the beginning of the year 1383, not only approved of the Crusade published by Urban, but also granted a considerable subsidy, on that account; and, every thing being in readiness, the bishop of Norwich embarqued the Croises, consisting 50,000 foot and 2000 horse. Upon his arrival at Calais, he held a council of war; and the majority were for entering France, since, according to the tenor of the bull, the Crusade was intended against Clement and his adherents. This was, probably, the reason, why the court of England had engaged so cordially in the affair; but the general, on private motives, not discovered, in history, caused it to be resolved, that the war should be carried into Flanders, under the pretence that Flanders was a fief of the crown of France, though the earl of Flanders had owned pope Urban. Thus, contrary to the intention of the court, and, doubtless, of the pope himself, the Croises invaded Flanders, and took Graveling, Bourbourg, Mardike, and Dunkirk. The earl of Flanders, surprised at this sudden attack, levying some troops, with all possible expedition, was so rash, as, with 12000 men, to offer the Croises battle, who had received a powerful reinforcement from the Gantois; but, by this imprudent boldness, he had the misfortune to see this army, his only refuge, entirely routed; and, in this extremity, when his country was on the point of being utterly destroyed, he had no other way, to free himself from this danger, but to apply to the court of France. He represented to the young king's council, how much it was the interest of France to save Flanders, especially as, in all appearance, it was not the intent of the Croises to rest satisfied with that single conquest; and the court of France, to prevent Flanders from falling into the hands of the English, resolved to assist the earl. Charles VI, with a numerous army, marched against the Croises, who were besieging Ypres; and, upon his approach, raising the siege, they retired to Bourbourg, where they were invested. The bishop-general, for want of provisions, would have been at a loss to extricate himself out of this perplexity, had not the duke of Bretagne, by his mediation, obtained leave for the Croises to retire, upon restoring the places they had taken. Thus, ended the Crusade, undertaken for the sole interest of Urban, though neither the pope nor England received the least advantage; but, upon the bishop's return, the king ordered the temporalities of his see to be seized, and several of his principal officers imprisoned, for not observing their instructions. 1383.

The French and Scots ravage England. Froissart.

Whilst the Croises were employed, in ravaging Flanders, England greatly suffered, in her turn, by the frequent descents of the French, and incursions of the Scots; and, having no army, to repulse these enemies, the king was obliged to call a parliament, who granted him a subsidy to continue the war with Scotland, the conduct of which was committed to the duke of Lancaster; but the king of Scotland, upon the news of the preparations against him, sued for a peace, tho' it was absolutely refused.

A truce with France. Walsing. Froissart.

In the interim, the duke of Bretagne endeavoured to reconcile the two crowns of France and England; and, after many sollicitations, he, at length, prevailed with the two kings, to send their plenipotentiaries, between Calais and Boulogne; but the result of this negotiation was only a truce, for 10 months, in which the kings of Scotland and Castile, if they requested it, were to be included. The duke of Burgundy, uncle to the king of France, undertook to answer, within a limited time, for the king of Scotland; but, the earl of Flanders, his father-in-law, dying, in this interval, his care, to take possession of his dominions, induced him to forget, or neglect, his engagement. In the mean time, whether the English thought the Scots would not be included in the treaty, or were desirous of reaping some advantage, from the expence they had been at, the duke of Lancaster went and ravaged Scotland, to the very gates of Edinburgh; but this incursion obliged the king of Scotland to desire to be included

1383. ded in the truce, which was granted, by the mediation of the duke of Burgundy.

1384. Soon after the duke of Lancaſter's return, a certain Iriſh monk came to court, then at Salisbury, and diſcovered to the king a ſecret of great importance, viz. that the duke of Lancaſter, his uncle, had conſpired to murder him, and ſeize the crown; which accuſation was attended with too many probable circumſtances, for Richard to doubt of the truth of it; but the duke, without the leaſt emotion, vindicated himſelf, as to each article, ſo as to give Richard ſeeming ſatisfaction. However, he ordered the accuſer to be taken into cuſtody, either to puniſh him, or examine him more ſtrictly; but, when he was to be brought before the council, it was found that he was hanged, over-night, in the priſon, without any poſſibility of diſcovering the author of this outrage. This accident proved very injurious to the duke of Lancaſter, ſuch were the people's prejudices againſt him; though it was no leſs probable, that the monk was murdered by the authors of the accuſation, than that it was done by the duke's orders.

The duke of Lancaſter is accuſed of conſpiring againſt the king. Walſing.

He is farther ſuſpected.

Another accident, ſoon after, confirmed the people in the ſuſpicion, raiſed by the monk's report, againſt the duke of Lancaſter: An alderman of London, a ſpecial favourite of the duke, being charged with conſpiring againſt the king, was convicted, after a ſtrict examination; yet, though the duke was abroad, his cloſe friendſhip with the criminal, and the endeavours of his friends, to prevent the ſentence, and afterwards to obtain the king's pardon, occaſioned ſevere reflections on the duke's character; who was then upon an ambaſſy to Paris, where he ſpent 50,000 marks, in procuring only the prolongation of the truce, for ſome months.

The project of deſtroying the duke of Lancaſter. Walſing.

If the duke of Lancaſter was not beloved by the people, he was no leſs deteſted by the favourites, who could not hope to diſpoſe of all things, at their pleaſure, whilſt he preſerved his credit with the king; for it is the known practice of moſt favourites, not to ſuffer about their maſter any, except their own creatures. Accordingly, theſe, conſidering the duke of Lancaſter, as a troubleſome inſpector, and incapable of condeſcending to court them, believed that they ought, above all things, to be rid of that prince; wherefore, they all acted in concert, to create in the king ſuſpicions againſt this uncle, as a very dangerous enemy. Richard, who neither did, nor would, ſee any thing but with their eyes, ſuffered himſelf to be ſo prejudiced, that he conſented to a reſolution of accuſing the duke of high-treaſon; and judge Treſilian, a man of a cruel and daring temper, undertook to draw up the articles of accuſation, and manage the evidences; even offering to try him, as a private perſon, though, by the laws of the land, he could be only judged by his peers. As this conſpiracy could not be ſo ſecretly projected, as to eſcape the duke's notice, he thought it imprudent to deliver himſelf into the hands of his enemies, who were intent upon his ruin; and, therefore, regardleſs of his vindication, he withdrew to his caſtle of Pontefract, where he aſſembled ſome troops, and made other preparations for his own defence, in caſe of an attack. Though he had not many friends; yet, being perſecuted by the miniſters, who were ſtill more hated than himſelf, it was not difficult to find a ſufficient number of people to join him; and a civil war was upon the point of being kindled in the kingdom, when the princeſs of Wales, the king's mother, interpoſed, to make peace, before hoſtilities were commenced. She ſucceeded, at length, after many journies and fatigues; and Richard, convinced of the falſhood of the ſuſpicions, ſuggeſted to him, againſt the duke, his uncle, reſtored him to his favour. 1384.

1385. During theſe broils, no preparations were made for the war, though the late truce with France and Scotland was about to expire; for it was imagined, that it might be renewed; but the king of France had other deſigns; and, as the court of England was in a perfect ſecurity, he reſolved to improve it, by making a vigorous effort, from which he expected great advantages. With this view, he ſent a powerful army into Guienne, to compleat the conqueſt of that dukedom, before the Engliſh ſhould be in a condition to oppoſe it; and, at the ſame time, he ſent the king of Scotland an aid of 1000 men at arms, under the command of John de Vienne, who was to make a diverſion, in the north, to favour the deſcent of the French, in the ſouthern parts of the iſland. The alarm, taken by the Engliſh, at all theſe preparations, turned to their ſafety; for the court gave ſuch preſſing orders to levy troops, and the orders were executed, with ſuch ardor and diligence, that, if we may believe the hiſtorians, Richard quickly found himſelf at the head of 300,000 men. He detached 60,000, under the command of the duke of Lancaſter, to march into Scotland, whilſt, with the reſt, he himſelf lay in expectation of the French, upon the ſouthern coaſt; but, upon the duke of Lancaſter's approach, the Scots, from ravaging the borders of England, retired to the center of their kingdom, leaving the Engliſh general at liberty to revenge his countrymen, by his ravages in Scotland, where he had purſued them. The great army aſſembled, by Richard, defeating the king of France's hopes of ſucceſs, he deferred the execution of his project, to a more convenient ſeaſon; and, by this means, Richard had leiſure to march towards Scotland, with the choice of his army. In all probability, he would have entirely ſubdued that kingdom, ſince the king of Scotland was unable to withſtand him, if, by the favourites jealouſy of the duke of Lancaſter, who commanded under him, he had not irrecoverably loſt ſo fair an opportunity. The Scots, perceiving that the king of England only amuſed himſelf with ravaging the country, about Edinburgh, began to recover from their conſternation, cauſed by his formidable forces; but, being too weak to attack him, to oblige him to quit Scotland, they reſolved upon making a diverſion, in England. Purſuant to this reſolution, they removed, at a greater diſtance from the Engliſh army, to induce

France prepares to exert itſelf. Walſing. Act. Pub.

The duke of Lancaſter marches into Scotland. Knighton.

1385. induce the king to believe, that it was to avoid a battle; but, by ſpeedy marches, they came into Cumberland, where they made horrible ravages. Whilſt they were on their march thither, Richard never ſo much as inquired after them; but, fancying that they were fled, and ſatisfied with the advantages already gained, he determined, not being fond of war, to return into England. He received intelligence, by the way, of the Scots entering Cumberland, and might eaſily have cut off their retreat; yet, in ſpite of all the duke of Lancaſter's endeavours, to perſuade him to a vigorous reſolution, he choſe rather to follow the earl of Oxford's advice. This favourite perſuaded him, that the duke of Lancaſter only ſought to expoſe him to danger; and, this counſel correſponding with his own ſuſpicions and inclinations, he neglected going in queſt of the enemy, whilſt all, except the favourites, were ſo amazed at his conduct, in overlooking the calamities of his ſubjects of Cumberland, that they loudly murmured, and conſidered him, as a prince regardleſs of the good of the publick.

The lord Holland kills the lord Stafford. Walſing.

Whilſt the king was on his march to London, the lord Holland, his half-brother, quarrelling with the earl of Stafford's eldeſt ſon, killed him, and took ſanctuary in Beverly-abbey; but this action was ſo heinous, that, notwithſtanding the ties of blood, Richard reſolved to abandon the murderer to the rigour of the law; and, though the princeſs of Wales, their common mother, interceded for her ſon, ſhe could never obtain his pardon. This refuſal ſat ſo heavy upon her mind, that ſhe died with grief, a few days after; yet, whether the king was ſorry, for being ſo cruel to his mother, or the murderer found a more powerful interceſſor, the princeſs was ſcarce in her grave, before he granted the pardon ſhe had ſued for, to no purpoſe.

The fear of the French invaſion being vaniſhed, the duke of Lancaſter demanded aſſiſtance of the king, to proſecute his right to the crown of Caſtile; and there could never happen a more proper opportunity, to obtain his deſire. Ferdinand, king of Portugal, dying, without leaving any legitimate children but Beatrix, queen of Caſtile, the king, her huſband, pretended, that the crown of Portugal was devolved to his queen, by the deceaſe of the king, her father; but the Portugueſe, not bearing the thoughts of living in ſubjection to the Caſtilians, placed on the throne John, natural ſon to the late king. As it was next to impoſſible, that this quarrel ſhould be decided, without arms, the king of Caſtile entered Portugal, and, advancing as far as Lisbon, beſieged the city; but, meeting with a braver defence than he expected, he was conſtrained to retire. In the next campaign, he loſt a battle, which obliged him to quit Portugal, ſtill hoping to accompliſh his ends, by the aſſiſtance of France; and the new king of Portugal, finding that his enemy was about to receive aid from the king of France, diſpatched ambaſſadors to England, to negotiate an alliance with Richard, offering to acknowledge the duke of Lancaſter, for king of Caſtile, and

Froiſſart.

ſupport his right, with all his forces. The preſent poſture of affairs, in England, had a natural tendency to forward the negotiation of the Portugueſe ambaſſadors; for Richard, prejudiced againſt the duke, his uncle, heartily wiſhed his removal, his favourites repreſenting him, as a formidable relation, and a very troubleſome governor. They told him, moreover, that it was his intereſt to dethrone the king of Caſtile, an avowed enemy to the Engliſh; which was the more practicable, as the king of Portugal was willing to make a powerful diverſion. The duke of Lancaſter haſtened, with all poſſible ardor, the concluſion of this affair, expecting, with the forces of England, and aſſiſtance of Portugal, to ſucceed in his deſigns; and all theſe conſiderations prevailed on the king's council, to give a favourable hearing to the king of Portugal's propoſals, and to promiſe the duke of Lancaſter an aid proportionable to the importance of the undertaking. Purſuant to this reſolution, the king called a parliament, to demand a ſubſidy, on that account; and the commons readily granted it, expreſſing great earneſtneſs for this expedition, not ſo much out of love to the duke, as to remove him out of the kingdom, where it was continually feared, that he would, at laſt, occaſion troubles fatal to the ſtate; and, the clergy refuſing to pay their quota of the ſubſidy, they petitioned the king to ſeize their temporalities. Richard, who would not quarrel with the clergy, for his uncle's ſake, refuſed to comply with the requeſt of the commons; tho' his moderation procured him, from the clergy, what force would ſcarce ever have extorted from them. Thus, the duke of Lancaſter, ſecure of the parliament's aſſiſtance, made, as king of Caſtile, a league offenſive and defenſive with the king of Portugal, and prepared for the war, with all poſſible expedition.

1385.

Act. Pub.

The earl of Marche declared heir to the crown.

In the ſame parliament, Roger Mortimer, earl of Marche, was declared preſumptive heir to the crown, provided Richard died, without iſſue; who was ſon of Philippa, only daughter to Lionel, duke of Clarence, third ſon to Edward III, and grandſon to Roger Mortimer, earl of Marche, executed, as a traytor, in the late reign; but the ſentence, paſſed upon him, was afterwards repealed, becauſe the formalities, preſcribed by the laws and cuſtoms of the realm, were not obſerved at his trial.

The king confers new honours on his uncles and favourites. Walſing.

Before the breaking up of the parliament, the king conferred on the earl of Cambridge, his uncle, the title of duke of York; and on the earl of Buckingham, his other uncle, that of duke of Glouceſter. It was neceſſary for him to promote theſe two princes to higher degrees of honour, unleſs he would leave them below the earl of Oxford, whom he created, at the ſame time, marqueſs of Dublin, and, ſoon after, duke of Ireland; who was the firſt that bore the name of marqueſs, in England; and Michael de la Pole, another of the king's favourites, was made earl of Suffolk, and lord chancellor.

1386. The king of Armenia comes into England.

In the beginning of the year 1386, Leo, king of Armenia, expelled his dominions by the Turks, came to England, to confer with

1386. Richard; deſigning to procure a firm and laſting peace, between France and England, in expectation that, afterwards, the two crowns would join all their forces, to reſtore him to his kingdom; but, if his project miſcarried, he, at leaſt, obtained from Richard a conſiderable preſent, and an annual penſion of 1000 l.

The duke of Lancaſter ſets out for Spain. Walſing.

The duke of Lancaſter, having finiſhed his preparations for his Spaniſh expedition, embarqued at Portſmouth, with an army of 20,000 men, among whom were 2000 men at arms; and he carried with him Conſtantia of Caſtile, his wife, and his two daughters, Philippa and Cathanina, the firſt of whom he had by Blanche of Lancaſter, and the other by Conſtantia; being alſo accompanied by the king and queen to Portſmouth, who wiſhed them good ſucceſs, and preſented them with two gold crowns. The duke, ſetting ſail, made ſome ſtay at Breſt, and obliged the duke of Bretagne to raiſe the ſiege of that town, which all his ſollicitations had not, hitherto, been able to recover from the Engliſh; and then, purſuing his voyage, he arrived, Auguſt the 9th, at Coruna, where he landed his troops. Upon his arrival, he made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places in Gallicia, and, at laſt, of Compoſtella, where he paſſed the winter; and, whilſt the ſeaſon prevented him from continuing his progreſs, he concluded a marriage, between Philippa, his eldeſt daughter, and the king of Portugal, and ſpent the reſidue of the time, in projecting the next campaign.

Great preparations in France, to conquer England.

As England, upon the duke of Lancaſter's departure, deprived of her beſt troops, would be, probably, defenceleſs, the king of France reſolved upon a freſh effort, to conquer that kingdom; and he made ſuch prodigious preparations, that all Europe expected, with aſtoniſhment, the ſucceſs of this undertaking. He had prepared 900 tranſport-ſhips, and cauſed a wooden fort to be made, which could be taken in pieces, for the defence of his army, after landing; and, if the duke of Berry, his uncle, purely, to render the project abortive, becauſe, as an hiſtorian remarks, he was not the author, had not too long delayed his coming, the French would have found England unprovided with troops for her defence; but, the duke not repairing to Sluice, till the 14th of September, Richard had leiſure ſo to prepare, as to have no reaſon to dread the mighty efforts of his enemies; and, in all likelihood, the great diligence of the Engliſh, rather than the ſeaſon, which was not too far advanced, for ſo ſhort a paſſage, obliged the king of France to ſend his troops into winter-quarters.

Richard raiſes a great army. Walſing.

The grand deſigns of France were no ſooner known in England, than troops were levied, with ſuch ſpeed and ſucceſs, that an army of 200,000 men were drawn together; and part of theſe forces were put into the places moſt expoſed, whilſt the reſt ſtood ready to prevent the landing of the enemies; but, as this army was to be maintained, as well as raiſed, which could not be done, without a vaſt expence, a parliament was called, to conſider of ways and means. The king demanded a ſubſidy, proportionable to his wants, which the parliament were very willing to grant; but they could not think of leaving the money in the power of the king and his favourites, among whom the marqueſs of Dublin and the earl of Suffolk were the chief; for theſe lords were, ſo univerſally and exceſſively, odious, that, in order to ruin them, the parliament did not ſcruple to hazard the loſs of the whole kingdom. 1386.

They preſented an addreſs to the king, deſiring that the treaſurer and the earl of Suffolk, the chancellor, might be removed from their places; and that all thoſe might be called to an account, through whoſe hands the publick money had paſſed, affirming, that the king would find, in the confiſcation of the eſtates of the miſmanagers, ſums ſufficient to anſwer the exigences of the ſtate. Richard, ſurpriſed at this addreſs, in the preſent poſture of affairs, received it, with an indignation, which it was impoſſible for him to conceal; and he anſwered very ſharply, that the parliament ought to mind the buſineſs, for which they were called, and not meddle with what did not concern them; raſhly adding, that, "To pleaſe the parliament, he would not "turn out the meaneſt ſcullion in his kitchen." At the ſame time, he withdrew to Eltham, without ſtaying for a reply.

The king demands a ſubſidy, in an imperious manner.

Though the king could not doubt, but ſuch an offenſive anſwer would extremely exaſperate the commons, he ſent, a few days after, the chancellor himſelf, to order them, in an imperious manner, to grant the deſired ſubſidy; upon which order, hitherto, unuſual, in affairs of this nature, the two houſes uniting, as having one common intereſt, ſent the king word, that they would proceed to no buſineſs, till he returned to his parliament, and his miniſters were puniſhed, according to their deſerts. This reply, to the laſt degree, incenſing the king, he commanded the two houſes to ſend to him 40 of their members, to give an account of their proceedings; but the parliament, inſtead of complying, would have come to an open rupture, if the moſt prudent had not prevailed on them, though with extreme difficulty, to ſend to the king the duke of Glouceſter, his uncle, and the biſhop of Ely. Theſe two lords, arriving at Eltham, told the king, in the name of both houſes, that, as the ſovereign had power to aſſemble them, they had alſo a right to require his preſence, in his parliament; adding, that it was enacted by an old ſtatute, that, if the king abſented himſelf, 40 days, from his parliament, without a lawful cauſe, the members might return to their habitations; which they were reſolved to do, if the king perſiſted to deprive them of the honour of his preſence. To this vigorous declaration Richard replied, in a furious paſſion, and with great imprudence, that he plainly perceived his ſubjects were reſolved to rebel againſt him; and, therefore, he had nothing more to do, than to deſire the aſſiſtance of the king of France, to reduce them to their allegiance. The lords made anſwer, that the king of France was the moſt mortal enemy of the Engliſh nation, as appeared from his preſent endeavours to deſtroy them; and

1386. and that the king's desperate resolution could only proceed from the pernicious advice of his evil counsellors, whose sole view was to set him at variance with his faithful subjects. Upon this, they withdrew, affirming that their orders extended no farther, than to intreat him to return to his parliament, who solely consulted the welfare of him and the kingdom.

The king consents to the removing of his favourites.

The deputies being retired, Richard came to more moderate resolutions; for, probably, the ministers and favourites dreaded the consequences attending a rupture with the parliament. In this disposition, he repaired to the parliament, and, with a good grace, granted all their requests; for the chancellor was not only removed from his office, but summoned to appear and give an account of his administration, wherein he was notoriously guilty of many misdemeanors; and, as for the marquess of Dublin, lately made duke of Ireland, he was sent thither, with a pension of 3000 marks, his whole estate being confiscated, by order of parliament. This done, the two houses appointed 14 commissioners, to take care of the publick affairs, jointly with the king; and they authorized the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Arundel, to examine the publick accounts, and to what uses the king's revenue had been applied. A few days after, the chancellor, being found guilty of mismanagement, was forced to restore all the grants he had received from the king; which were so excessive, that Richard himself, who had never computed them, being surprised, upbraided his favourite, for abusing his good-will.

The French fleet are lost, in a storm.

Towards the end of this session, the agreeable news came, that the French army were separated, and their fleet so damaged by a storm, as not to be fit to put to sea again, for a considerable time; for, of the powerful fleet prepared by the French, the greatest part of the ships foundered, at sea, or were lost, on the English coasts; and, among the latter, were found some laden with plank, for building the fort above-mentioned.

Richard recalls his favourites, who stir him up to revenge. Knighton.

The parliament breaking up, as soon as the apprehensions of the invasion were removed, the king quickly recalled to court the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, and the archbishop of York; and he even affected to caress them, more than before their disgrace, and load them with fresh favours. The favourites re-assumed their former post, with hearts full of revenge, especially, against the two commissioners of the publick accounts, who had occasioned their condemnation; and they easily made the young king believe, that they had suffered, for his sake, and that the designs of their enemies were pointed, not so much at the ministers, as at the king himself. They represented to him, "That accusing the counsellors is an evident "proof, that the sovereign is judged incapa- "ble of governing; and that the readiest way, "to discredit a prince, is to persuade his sub- "jects, that he makes use of ill ministers." These insinuations, frequently repeated, made so deep an impression on the king's mind, that he resolved to free himself from the subjection of the parliament; but the favourites intimated to him, that it would be very difficult to accomplish it, whilst the duke of Gloucester was at the head of the factious; and, by this means, they induced him to consent to all their plots, for his uncle's destruction. Having obtained the king's approbation, they could find no better way, to compass their ends, than to poison the duke and some other of their principal enemies, at a feast to which they were invited by the city of London; but, as they durst not execute this conspiracy, without securing the mayor, he gave the duke of Gloucester intelligence of it, who came not to the feast. 1386.

The ruin of the duke of Gloucester is determined. Walsing.

He escapes being poisoned.

Had it been as easy for the favourites to destroy their private enemies, as it was to excite the king's hatred against them, there would hardly have been left, in the kingdom, a lord capable of protecting them; but, in a government like that of England, particularly, during a minority, it is next to impossible for the king and his ministry to do whatever they please; and the favourites, then, continually afraid of being themselves prevented, were obliged to have recourse to secret ways, to ruin their enemies, in the interim, prejudicing the king against his best subjects, till being of age, he might act, with a more absolute authority. The earls of Arundel and Nottingham, admirals of England, embarquing, in the beginning of the spring, took a fleet of French, Spanish, and Flemish merchant-men, and brought some of them to England, laden with wine; and they afterwards, sailing to Bretagne, relieved Brest, besieged by the duke. However, this signal service only exposed them to the king's indignation; and, when they returned from their expedition, he would not vouchsafe even to speak to them; for, it was intimated to him, by his ministers, that the taking of these ships would infallibly plunge him into troubles, which would exceedingly embarrass him; but the two earls, greatly offended at this uncivil reception, resigned their commission, which was given to the earl of Northumberland. 1387.

The favourites stir up the king against their enemies.

The duke of Ireland divorces his wife, cousin to the king. Walsing.

Thus, did the favourites stir up their master against the principal lords, expecting to reap the fruit of their artifices, when the king should be of age, of which he wanted but a little; but an accident, that fell out, soon after, hastened the execution of their projects. The duke of Ireland, presuming upon his influence over the king, had the insolence to divorce his wife, daughter to the lord Coucy, and grand-daughter to Edward III, in order to marry Lancerona, maid of honour to the queen, a Bohemian of mean extraction; and, though this divorce reflected a dishonour on the royal family, Richard did not discover the least concern; but the duke of Gloucester, highly resenting this affront, declared, that he would revenge it, the first opportunity. The duke of Ireland resolved to prevent him; and, with this view, having concerted the means with the king, he feigned to go into Ireland, taking the road to Wales, where the king was pleased to accompany him; but this pretended voyage was only to consult, more privately, how to execute their design of assuming an arbitrary power, of which the duke of Gloucester, the earls of Arundel, Warwick,

1387. Warwick, Derby, and Nottingham were to feel the effects. The reſult of this conſultation was, that the king ſhould raiſe an army, to terrify theſe lords, and then call a parliament, the election of which ſhould be ſo managed, that the members ſhould be entirely devoted to him; and that he ſhauld cauſe to be paſſed all ſuch acts, as were neceſſary to ſecure him an unlimited power.

Richard communicates his deſign to the ſheriffs, Walſing.

Purſuant to this reſolution, they went to Nottingham, where the king ſent for all the ſheriffs, ſome of the principal citizens of London, and all the judges; and, when they were aſſembled, he repreſented to them, that he intended to raiſe an army, to chaſtiſe ſuch lords, as he named to them, among whom was the duke of Glouceſter, and demanded of the ſheriffs, what number of troops each of them could furniſh him with; adding, that he deſigned to call a parliament; and he ordered them to ſuffer no repreſentative to be choſen, that was not in the liſt he ſhould give them himſelf. The ſheriffs replied, that it was not in their power to execute his orders; that the people were ſo well affected to the lords he had mentioned, that there was no proſpect of levying an army againſt them; and that it was ſtill more difficult to deprive the people of their right, of freely electing their repreſentatives in parliament. However, the judges * were not ſo ſcrupulous; who, when the king asked them, whether he had not power to turn out the 14 commiſſioners appointed by parliament, and annul ſuch acts, as were prejudicial to him? anſwered, "The king was "above the laws." Nevertheleſs, being required to ſubſcribe their opinion, ſome endeavoured to be excuſed, but were compelled to it, by the menaces of the favourites; and it is affirmed, that one of the judges ſaid aloud, after ſigning, "No action ever better deſerved "hanging, than that he had done, on this oc-"caſion." The opinion of the judges being, thus, extorted, Richard, immediately, iſſued out commiſſions to levy an army; but ſo few were willing to ſerve him, that he was conſtrained to deſiſt from his project; and, enraged at this diſappointment, he returned to London, after a fruitleſs declaration of his deſigns, which rendered him ſtill more odious to the publick.

who refuſe to engage in the plot.

The duke of Glouceſter tries to appeaſe the king. Walſing. Knighton.

A plot of this nature, ſo openly contrived, and not put in execution, very rarely fails of proving fatal to the authors. The duke of Glouceſter and the other lords of his party plainly perceived, that, if the king and his favourites had not already ſacrificed them to their animoſity, it was not for want of will but of power; and the only remedy left, in their opinion, was a recourſe to arms; but the duke of Glouceſter thought, that, before he made uſe of this violent method, he ſhould try, once more, to remove the king's prejudices, and, therefore, he ſent the biſhop of London, with reſpectful aſſurances of his allegiance, and an offer to clear himſelf, by oath, of the crimes falſly laid to his charge. Richard appeared, at firſt, inclinable to admit of this juſtification; but the earl of Suffolk preſently made him alter his ſentiments, by telling him, even before the biſhop, that he would never be ſafe on the throne, whilſt the duke of Glouceſter was alive; but the biſhop of London, being greatly provoked by theſe words, told the favourite, that, as he was condemned by the parliament, and held his life, merely, by the king's grace, it became him, leſs than any man, to accuſe loyal ſubjects. The king was ſo highly offended at the prelate's boldneſs, that he commanded him to depart from his preſence; upon which, the proſcribed lords, believing that a vigorous defence was the only way left, to ſcreen them from the deſigns of the court, reſolved, at length, to take up arms; and, having a great intereſt in the people, who conſidered them, as their protectors, they ſoon drew together an army of 40,000 men, with which they marched directly to London. 1387.

The king's deſign is fruſtrated. Walſing.

The diligence of the lords diſconcerted all the meaſures of the king and his miniſters; wherefore, Richard reſolved to go to France, and reſtore to king Charles Calais and Cherbourg, in order to procure a powerful aid, to reduce his rebellious ſubjects, as he was pleaſed to term them; but the ſudden approach of the lords obliged him to have recourſe to other means, to free himſelf from the preſent difficulties; and the beſt way, in his opinion, was to amuſe the male-contents, whilſt the duke of Ireland raiſed an army, in Wales. Purſuant to this reſolution, he ſent word to the male-content lords, that he was ready to grant them all their reaſonable demands, and ſhould be, on the morrow, in Weſtminſter-hall, where they might come and preſent their petition; which propoſal was gladly embraced by the lords; who, taking care not to be ſurpriſed, repaired to the place appointed, where they found the king ſeated on a throne, in his royal robes, expecting their coming. As they approached the throne, they fell on their knees, in a ſuppliant poſture, tho', in reality, it was not ſo much to ask pardon, as to obtain of him the puniſhment of his miniſters; and, the biſhop of Ely, who was chancellor, asking the reaſon of their taking up arms, they replied, that it was ſolely with a view to procure the good of the king and kingdom; adding, that they ſhould always maintain an inviolable regard to the king's perſon, and that their intent was only to bring the traytors about him to condign puniſhment; and they named, in particular, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, the archbiſhop of York, judge Treſilian, and one Brembar, an alderman of London, who was of the ſame cabal. The king gravely anſwered, that, in the next parliament, juſtice ſhould be done to all; and then he upbraided them, for their preſumption, intimating, that it was in his power to cruſh them, though, out of pure condeſcenſion, he vouchſafed to give them a favourable audience. After this, he took the duke of Glouceſter by

* Namely, Sir Robert Treſilian, chief-juſtice; Sir Robert Belknap, chief-juſtice of the common-pleas, Sir John Holt, Sir Roger Fulthorp, Sir William Burgh; and John de Lockton, the king's ſerjeant at law. Knighton.

the

1387. the hand, and, bidding them all riſe, promiſed, that their complaints ſhould be conſidered; but, intending only to amuſe them, he ordered a proclamation to be publiſhed, to juſtify their appearing in arms, in order to induce them to diſmiſs their troops; but they were too well acquainted with the character of the king and his miniſters, to rely on their bare word. As they were apprehenſive of being, on a ſudden, oppreſſed, when they ſhould be no longer feared, they reſolved to continue in arms, till the parliament was aſſembled; and they quickly perceived the neceſſity of this precaution. The duke of Ireland, having very ſpeedily levied an army, in Wales, marched, with all expedition, to the king's aſſiſtance; and, had he been able to approach London, it might hinder the citizens from joining the confederates. To prevent this danger, the earl of Derby, eldeſt ſon to the duke of Lancaſter, marching with part of the army, met the duke of Ireland, in Oxfordſhire; where he gave him battle, and gained an eaſy victory over a general who was nothing leſs than a warrior. In the beginning of the fight, the duke, afraid of falling into the hands of his enemies, took to flight, entirely regardleſs about what became of his army; and, all his baggage being taken, in a casket, was found a letter from the king, commanding him to march to London, with all poſſible ſpeed, and promiſing him to live and die with him. This defeat breaking all the king's meaſures, the duke fled into Holland, and, after ſome ſtay at Utrecht, he went and lived, at Louvain, where he died, three years after. The earl of Suffolk would have retired to Calais; but the governor, not daring, at ſuch a juncture, either to arreſt or protect him, choſe to ſend him back to the king; and, in the interim, Richard, uncertain, how the victorious lords would treat him, took refuge in the tower. He had the more reaſon to fear, as a Frenchman was ſeized, at that time, bringing him a ſafe-conduct to come to Charles, at Boulogne; and it was farther diſcovered, by a letter found upon the ſame perſon, that Charles expected to be put in poſſeſſion of Calais and Cherbourg, and had even advanced part of the ſum, he was to give for theſe two places.

1388. A conference of the lords with the king. Walſing.

The confederate lords, upon theſe diſcoveries, entering London with their whole army, demanded a conference with the king; and Richard would fain have been excuſed; but, in his preſent condition, being apprehenſive of ſtarving in the tower, he durſt not refuſe it. At this interview, they ſharply upbraided him with the Nottingham-plot to deſtroy them; with his deſign to render himſelf abſolute, by means of an army; with his attempting to have a parliament at his devotion; with his orders to the duke of Ireland, to march to London, whilſt he was amuſing them with empty promiſes; and, laſtly, with his treaty with the king of France, to reſign Calais and Cherbourg. Richard anſwered theſe reproaches, with a ſhower of tears, which moved the lords; who imagined, that the king's ill conduct proceeded only from his want of experience, and the evil counſels of his favourites; and they entertained hopes of his being reclaimed, as theſe counſellors were removed; wherefore, it was agreed, that the king ſhould, on the morrow, come to Weſtminſter, to ſettle with them the affairs of the government. However, they were ſcarce out of the tower, before he ſent them word, that he would not confer with them; which fickleneſs ſo highly incenſed them, that they, forthwith, acquainted him, that, unleſs he came to Weſtminſter, the next day, according to his promiſe, they would go themſelves, and proceed to the election of a new king. This peremptory declaration threw him into ſuch a conſternation, that he not only came to the place of conference, but even conſented to the baniſhment of his two principal favourites, with the archbiſhop of York, the biſhops of Durham and Chicheſter, and ſeveral other lords and ladies, who had countenanced the deſigns of the court; but, as for the judges, whom they deſigned to puniſh with the utmoſt ſeverity, they were taken off the benches, in Weſtminſter-hall, and ſent to the tower. 1388.

The parliament meeting, in February, 1389, ſeveral perſons were accuſed of high-treaſon, and ſentenced to various puniſhments. Treſilian, Brembar, and ſome other knights and gentlemen were hanged, at Tyburn; and the reſt of the judges, with the biſhop of Chicheſter, received the ſame ſentence; but, their lives being afterwards granted to them, they were baniſhed to Ireland *; moreover, the two favourites and the archbiſhop of York were condemned to exile, and their eſtates confiſcated to the uſe of the king. The parliament meets.

The parliament having, thus, paid what was thought due to juſtice, two acts were paſſed, the firſt of which prohibited the aſcribing to the king the late commotions; and the other granted a general pardon to both the parties. The king renewed his coronation-oath, as if he begun a new reign; and all the lords not only did him homage, but alſo repeated their oaths of allegiance. This parliament, called the Mercileſs, did not break up, till the 4th of June. A general pardon.

During the troubles in England, the Scots advanced, as far as Newcaſtle, under the command of Sir William Douglas, and committed great ravages, on the borders; but theſe commotions were no ſooner appeaſed, than Henry Piercy, ſirnamed Hotſpur, ſon to the earl of Northumberland, marched againſt the Scots, and giving them, battle, ſlew Douglas, with his own hand; but the earl of Dunbar, falling upon him, during the engagement, with a body of freſh troops, the Engliſh army was, at length, defeated, and Hotſpur taken priſoner. The Engliſh are defeated by the Scots.

* They had allowances made them out of the exchequer, for their maintenance, as follows: Fulthorp, 40 l. per annum; Burgh, 40 marks; Belknap, 40 l. and Cary and Lokton, 20 l. per annum a-piece. Rymer's Fœd. Knighton.

1388. About the ſame time, the earl of Arundel, whom the parliament had made high-admiral, went to the aſſiſtance of the duke of Bretagne, attacked by the king of France; but, this aid obliging Charles to enter into a treaty with the duke, the Engliſh were diſmiſſed; and the earl of Arundel, in his return, took from the French 80 freighted ſhips, and plundered the iſles of Ree and Oleron; after which, he ſailed with his fleet to England; and, ſoon after, the two crowns agreed upon a three years truce, wherein the Scots were included.

The exploits of the earl of Arundel. Walſing.

1389. Since the laſt parliament, England enjoyed uninterrupted tranquillity; for the new miniſters took care to give the king prudent advice; but, though the king's council was happily changed, it was not ſo eaſy to alter his temper. Richard, full of his own merit, was extremely concerned to be under the direction of others, when he was of age to hold the reins of the government himſelf; and, upon his entering into his 22d year, he called his council, ordering all the members to be preſent. When they were aſſembled, he asked them, how old he was; to which it was replied, that he was, at leaſt, 20 years of age; upon which he made anſwer, "I will govern my kingdom my-"ſelf; for the condition of a king ought not "to be worſe than that of his ſubjects, who "are at liberty, at that age, to manage their "own affairs." Having, thus, declared his intentions, he commanded the chancellor to deliver him the great ſeal, which he gave to the biſhop of Wincheſter; and, at the ſame time, he turned out the biſhop of Hereford from being treaſurer, and removed from the council-board the duke of Glouceſter, his uncle, the earl of Warwick, and ſome others, whom he diſliked, appointing ſuch to ſucceed them, as he believed to be more obſequious to his will. This proceeding was not, in itſelf, ſurpriſing, becauſe it was in his power to make theſe alterations; but, however, it was obſerved, that he had never given leſs ſigns of prudence, which thoſe, of his age, are ſuppoſed to have, than in the choice of his new miniſters, who were, by no means, qualified for their poſts; and, it was not long, before diſorder and confuſion were viſible, in the publick affairs. The favourites, in the firſt place, took care to inſinuate to the king, that the duke of Glouceſter had ill deſigns upon his perſon; but the duke ſo fully vindicated his innocence, that the king was aſhamed of giving credit to ſuch a groundleſs charge; tho' he would not ſuffer the duke to proſecute his accuſers, who were even confuted, in his preſence.

1389. Richard aſſumes the government. Walſing.

1390. In the mean while, the duke of Lancaſter returned from his Spaniſh expedition, who was repreſented to Richard, as a no leſs formidable enemy; whoſe progreſs, in that country, at length, obliged the king of Caſtile to make a treaty with him, promiſing to pay down 600,000 livres, with an annual penſion of 40,000, during the lives of him and his dutcheſs; and this treaty was followed by a marriage of the princeſs Catharine, the duke's daughter by Conſtantia, with Henry, eldeſt ſon to the king of Caſtile, on account of which the duke and dutcheſs reſigned their pretenſions to that crown. 1390.

The return of the duke of Lancaſter. Walſing.

Richard, upon the duke of Lancaſter's arrival, received him with ſuch careſſes, as gave a fair proſpect of a happy union in the royal family, for the future; and the hope of this was confirmed, by the reconciliation procured by the duke of Lancaſter, between the king and the duke of Glouceſter; a reconciliation, in all appearance, ſo ſincere, on the king's ſide, that all the world was deceived; yet, notwithſtanding theſe ſpecious appearances, the duke of Lancaſter's preſence was extremely diſagreeable to the king, who was willing, at any rate, to purchaſe his abſence. To compaſs his ends, he made him the richeſt preſent that a king of England could, then, make a ſubject, by inveſting him with the dutchy of Guienne, with the ſame privileges that were granted to the late prince of Wales, the king's father; for, as he never had any affection for him, this valuable preſent could be made with no other view than to remove him from England.

The king is reconciled to his uncles. Walſing.

Shortly after, the earl of Derby, eldeſt ſon to the duke of Lancaſter, went and carried arms, in Pruſſia, where he ſignalized himſelf, by many gallant exploits; but, whilſt this prince laboured to acquire a reputation, by his martial atchievements, Richard paſſed his time, in ſham-fights; and, conſuming immenſe ſums, in tournaments, he gave occaſion to compare him, tho' exceedingly to his diſadvantage, with his couſin, the earl of Derby, who was in great eſteem *.

The earl of Derby ſerves in Pruſſia.

1391. Whilſt the king was intent upon theſe diverſions, the parliament revived and confirmed a ſtatute, enacted in the reign of Edward III; by which it was made high-treaſon, to bring into the kingdom proviſions from the court of Rome, without the king's licenſe. A nuncio, ſent to England, on that account, loudly complained of this act, and even threatened, that the pope would proceed to extremities; but his menaces were incapable of obliging the parliament to annul it; and all he could obtain was a reprieve, for this new ſort of offenders, till the enſuing parliament.

1391. The ſtatutes againſt the proviſions are revived.

Though a terrible plague, and a famine no leſs intolerable, then, afflicted England, the king retrenched none of his diverſions, or extravagant expences; for he is ſaid to entertain daily 6000 perſons; and he valued himſelf upon ſurpaſſing, in magnificence, all the ſovereigns of Europe, as if he had been poſſeſſed of an inexhauſtible fund of treaſure. In his kitchen alone, 300 domeſticks were employed; and the queen had as many women, in her ſervice. The courtiers ſo eaſily obtained whatever they requeſted, that the king's favours were the leſs valued; and, in a word, he affected, in every thing, a profuſeneſs, which

The king's exceſſive expences.

* This year, was ſlain, at a tournament, John Haſtings, the laſt earl of Pembroke, of that family; in which it is remarkable, that none of the ſons ever ſaw his father, the father dying always, before the ſon was born. Walſ.

muſt,

1391. must, of courſe, be vaſtly chargeable to his ſubjects, and, by a neceſſary conſequence, draw on him their averſion.

1392. As his revenues were inſufficient for ſo many expences, he reſolved to try to procure ſome aſſiſtance from the Londoners; and, being contented, at firſt, to ſee how they ſtood affected, he only borrowed 1000 l. but, how inconſiderable ſoever this ſum was, he was refuſed, in a very mortifying manner, even to the cutting in pieces, by the populace, an Italian merchant, who offered to lend the money himſelf. Richard highly reſented this affront; and he, ſoon after, found an opportunity to revenge it; for, under the pretence of puniſhing a tumult of little conſequence, raiſed by a baker's apprentice, he deprived the city of all her privileges, took away her charter, and removed the courts of juſtice to York. Indeed, he reſtored the whole; but the Londoners were obliged to redeem their charter, with a preſent of 10,000 l. and two gold crowns. However, though they paid dearly, for refuſing to lend the king 1000 l. it was nothing in compariſon of the prejudice the king himſelf received; for, by this proceeding, he entirely forfeited the affection of the citizens, who made him ſenſible, afterwards, how dangerous it is for a king of England to have London, for his enemy.

Richard takes away the charter of the Londoners, which he reſtors for money. Act. Pub.

1393. In the beginning of the year 1393, deputies arrived at London, from the Engliſh ſettled in Ireland, imploring aid againſt the natives*; who, for ſome time, by their frequent inſurrections, ſhewed, that they were deſirous of ſhaking off the yoke of the Engliſh. Theſe diſorders ſhould have had a ſpeedier remedy; though Richard, too much addicted to his pleaſures, had entirely neglected the affairs of Ireland; but, at laſt, the rebellion roſe to ſuch an height, that he could not, without hazarding the loſs of the iſland, any longer delay ſending ſuitable ſupplies. The duke of Glouceſter offered his ſervice, to ſuppreſs the rebels; but the king, afraid of truſting him with the command of an army, reſolved to go himſelf; and, with this view, he called a parliament, which granted him a large ſum, as well for the Iriſh war, as for the charges of an ambaſſy of the dukes of Lancaſter and Glouceſter, who were to negotiate a final peace with France. However, the latter affair came to nothing by an accident, which prevented the meeting of the plenipotentiaries, between Ardres and Guiſnes, according to agreement; for king Charles, who was, from time to time, ſeized with a diſtemper, that deprived him of his underſtanding, being come to Abbeville, on purpoſe to convince the Engliſh, that he was in his ſenſes, fell into one of his uſual fits; which relapſe occaſioned the deferring of the negotiation to a more convenient ſeaſon.

A rebellion in Ireland. Walſing.

The king's preparations, for his voyage to Ireland, were ſomewhat interrupted, in the beginning of the year 1394, by the funerals of his queen, and of the dutcheſſes of Lancaſter and York, who died, about the ſame time; and it is affirmed, that the queen, being a great favourer of Wickliff's doctrine, had ſhe lived any longer, would have preſerved the Lollards †, that is, Wickliff's followers, from many of the calamities they afterwards endured; for the departure of the duke of Lancaſter, their chief patron, to take poſſeſſion of Guienne, did not a little contribute to forward the deſigns of their perſecuting enemies.

1394. 1394. The death of the queen.

How much ſoever Richard lamented the death of the queen, he, purſuant to his reſolution, ſet out for Ireland; where he arrived, in September, and, at firſt, made ſome progreſs againſt the rebels; but, the ſeaſon not permitting him to proceed, he went to Dublin, where he held a parliament, whilſt the duke of York aſſembled another, in England, which granted a ſubſidy, for the ſupport of the Iriſh war.

The king goes to Ireland, and makes ſome progreſs againſt the rebels.

Richard was preparing to take the field again, when the archbiſhop of York and biſhop of London came from England, to intreat him, in the name of the clergy, to haſten his return; and they even intimated, that the leaſt delay might bring an irreparable damage to religion. The foundation of this alarm was, that, in the late parliament, the Lollards had ſollicited a reformation of the church; and, as they had many friends in the kingdom, and in the parliament itſelf, the clergy were apprehenſive, that they would proceed to a reformation; wherefore, the two deputed prelates ſo magnified the danger religion was in, that Richard, immediately, embarqued for England, leaving to the earl of Marche the conduct of the war. Upon his arrival at London, he concerted meaſures with the clergy, to ſuppreſs the Lollards; and he compelled Sir Richard Story publickly to abjure their doctrine, threatening to puniſh him with death, if ever he relapſed.

1395. The deſigns of the Lollards oblige the clergy to ſend to the king. Walſing.

Shortly after, was brought into England, by the king's order, the corpſe of the duke of Ireland, who died, at Louvain; and, this object reviving Richard's affection, he cauſed the coffin to be opened, that he might, once more, have the pleaſure of ſeeing the man whom he had ſo tenderly loved. Then he ordered him a magnificent funeral; which he was pleaſed to honour, with his preſence, as Edward II. had formerly done, as to that of Gaveſton; but, the nobility declining to ſhew that reſpect to a favourite, whom they had ſo much reaſon to deteſt, Richard, like Edward II, was attended, at the funeral pomp, with only ſome of the clergy ‡.

The corpſe of the duke of Ireland is brought into England.

* King Edward III. received from that kingdom 30,000 l. per annum; but, after his death, the Engliſh, ſettled there, flocked to England, in ſuch multitudes, that the reſt not only remained expoſed to the depredations of the natives, but it coſt the king 30,000 marks a year, to preſerve the Engliſh pale, in that iſland; upon which he ordered all that belonged to Ireland, to repair thither, on pain of death. Walſing.

† They were ſo called, either from Walter Lollard, a German, who flouriſhed, about the year 1315, or from the word Lolium, ſignifying darnel or tares; becauſe they were reputed, as tares ſowed by the devil, in the field of God's church.

‡ He received a hurt, by a wild boar, in hunting, of which he died; and he was brought to England, in November, and buried, at Earl's Coln, in Eſſex, being ſucceeded in his eſtate and honour of earl of Oxford, by Alderic de Vere, his uncle. Knighton. Dugdale.

Whilſt

1396. Whilſt the king was employed in his Iriſh expedition, the duke of Lancaſter, who went to Bourdeaux, to cauſe his ſovereignty to be acknowledged, met with unexpected obſtacles; for the Gaſcoigns maintained, that it was not in the king's power to alienate their country, which, they alledged, was inſeparably united to the crown of England; and they farther ſaid, that, if they were once ſeparated from England, they ran the riſque of loſing the ſole protection, capable of preventing their falling under the dominion of France; and, therefore, they aſſerted, that the alienation in diſpute was equally prejudicial to themſelves and the crown of England. It was objected, that they were not ſo ſcrupulous, with regard to the prince of Wales, the king's father; but they replied, that the firſt alienation, being made, in favour of the next heir to the crown, was to be only, for a time, whereas this might eaſily happen to be, for ever; and, after ſeveral conteſts on this ſubject, the king reſolved, at length, to revoke the grant, to which the duke of Lancaſter, being unable to help it, readily ſubmitted. To comfort him, in ſome meaſure, for this loſs, he permitted him to marry Catharine Rowet, widow to Sir Thomas Swinford *. The duke had long kept her, as his miſtreſs, and had by her ſeveral children, that were legitimated by the king and parliament, by the name of Beaufort; and, ſome time after, the king created the eldeſt earl of Somerſet †.

Richard marries the king of France's daughter. Walſing.

Before the duke of Lancaſter's return, the king had ſent ambaſſadors to France, to demand in marriage Iſabella, daughter to Charles VI; but the court of France, at firſt, rejected this propoſal, becauſe the princeſs was no more than ſeven years old, and, moreover, was promiſed to the duke of Bretagne; yet, in ſpite of theſe difficulties, the marriage was concluded, in a ſecond negotiation, and likewiſe a 28 years truce, between the two crowns. Soon after this, both the kings met, between Ardres and Calais, under tents pitched, on purpoſe; where the two courts diſplayed all their magnificence; and, at the ſame time, the treaty was ſigned and the nuptials ſolemnized ‡; on which occaſion, it is ſaid, that Richard expended 300,000 marks, a far greater ſum than that of 200,000, which he received, in deduction of what was promiſed him with his queen. The duke of Glouceſter diſliked both the marriage and the truce; and he even roundly told the king, that it would have been more adviſable to attempt, by a vigorous war, to recover what England had loſt, in France, than to enter into an alliance with a crown, that had, all along, procured more advantages, by treaties with the Engliſh, than by the ſucceſs of its arms.

1397. The king's illegal ways to raiſe money. Walſing.

Richard's uſual expence, with the charges of his late marriage, having entirely drained his exchequer, and obliged him to borrow large ſums, there was a neceſſity of having recourſe to extraordinary ways, to fill his coffers; for, though the parliament, in the beginning of the year 1397, granted him a very conſiderable ſubſidy, it was not ſufficient to diſcharge his debts; and, beſides, he increaſed the expence of his houſhold, on account of a report, that the electoral princes intended to raiſe him to the imperial dignity. As he was aſhamed to demand a freſh ſupply from the parliament, he, again, borrowed or rather extorted money from the rich; for there was not a lord, biſhop, gentleman, or wealthy burgeſs, whom he did not oblige to lend him money, though they were very ſenſible, that he never deſigned to repay it. However, tho' this method of exacting money from the people had been always conſidered, by the Engliſh, as one of the greateſt violations of their privileges, it occaſioned no commotion; for every one was intimidated, and, though this injuſtice was highly reſented, it was borne with patience, in expectation that it would prove the laſt. 1397.

He delivers up Breſt and Cherbourg. Act. Pub.

The caſe was quite otherwiſe, with reſpect to the reſtitution of Cherbourg to the king of Navarre, and of Breſt to the duke of Bretagne; for, though theſe two places did not, originally, belong to England, the Engliſh had been at ſuch a great expence, in aiding the princes to whom they appertained, that they might have been juſtly detained, till the whole was repaid; wherefore, this occaſioned a general diſſatisfaction, and the more, becauſe it brought the king but an inconſiderable ſum, which was alſo ſquandered away, in ſuperfluous expences. Indeed, Richard pretended, that his engagement to reſtore theſe places, after a peace, or a long truce with France, rendered this reſtitution neceſſary; tho' it was notorious, that the king of Navarre and the duke of Bretagne had failed him, firſt; but, however that be, the duke of Glouceſter apprehended this fault to be ſo prejudicial to England, that he could not forbear upbraiding the king, in very ſharp terms. Richard, by his anſwer, evidently ſhewed, how much he was offended at his remonſtrance; and this accident revived his former hatred of the duke of Glouceſter, which, being rather ſtifled than extinguiſhed, diſcovered itſelf, from time to time, notwithſtanding his care to conceal it. He complained to the dukes of Lancaſter and York, that the duke of Glouceſter preſumed to controul his actions; and he dropped ſome expreſſions, from whence they concluded, that he ſuſpected all three of having ill deſigns upon him. The two princes proteſted, that they had an unſhaken loyalty for him, and did not doubt but the duke, their brother, had the ſame, though his haſty temper cauſed him ſometimes to ſpeak, with too much warmth; and the king ſeemed ſatisfied with their juſtification; yet his being ſo eaſily pacified bred

The duke of Glouceſter reproaches him with it.

* She was born, in Haynault, being daughter to Sir Pain Rowet, or Ruet, a knight of that country; and ſhe was, in her youth, brought up, in the duke of Lancaſter's houſe, and waited on his firſt wife, Blanche, but afterwards became the duke's concubine. Froiſſart.

† They were ſirnamed Beaufort, from the caſtle of Beaufort, in France, which came to the duke, by his firſt wife.

‡ They were married, October 31, in St. Nicholas's church at Calais, by the archbiſhop of Canterbury; and ſhe was crowned, January 7. Rymer's Fœd.

in

1397. in them ſuſpicions, which induced them to leave the court, and retire to their eſtates. Their withdrawing, probably, paved the way for the duke of Glouceſter's ruin, as it gave his enemies an opportunity to inflame the king's diſpleaſure againſt him, and to determine him, at length, to be rid of ſo troubleſome an inſpector; but, as they could find nothing in his conduct, that might expoſe him to the rigour of the law, and, beſides, it would be of dangerous conſequence to take that courſe, to deſtroy him, Richard reſolved to make uſe of a ſpeedier and more effectual method. Accordingly, he came, one morning, to his uncle's country houſe, and, finding him in bed, deſired him to riſe, immediately, and accompany him to London; pretending that he wanted him in a very important affair, which he would impart to him, on the road. The duke, preſently, mounting his horſe, rode by the king, who diſcourſed with him, about the pretended affair; but, at length, they came to a hollow way, where the duke was, on a ſudden, ſurrounded with ſome horſe-men, and carried on board a ſhip, which lay ready in the Thames, to conveigh him to Calais. When the king arrived at London, he ſent for the earls of Warwick and Arundel, and, after he had familiarly talked with them, ſome time, he ordered them to be apprehended and ſent to the tower; and he treated the lord Cobham in the ſame manner, with ſome others whom he intended to get rid of; but, in the interim, hearing that the people began to ſtir, he iſſued out a proclamation, declaring, that theſe lords were taken into cuſtody, for new miſdemeanours, and promiſing, that they ſhould be proceeded againſt, according to law.

This proclamation having ſomewhat appeaſed the people, the king ſummoned all the peers of the realm to Nottingham, under the pretence of conſulting them, about the manner of proceeding againſt the priſoners; though he was, in this reſpect, already determined, and his intent was to ſound them, rather than to ask advice. The affair being debated in council, the lords, fearing to incur either the king's indignation, or the hatred of the publick, if they came to any reſolution, declared it to be of ſuch a nature, that it could only be decided by the authority of the parliament; which was the very thing the king wanted; for he had, before, taken all neceſſary meaſures to have a parliament at his devotion. Some time ſince, he had changed all the ſheriffs of the kingdom, and ſuffered none, that would not promiſe to be ſubſervient to his deſigns; and he had uſed the ſame precautions, with reſpect to all officers that had credit and power, in the boroughs and counties. Thus, by means of the magiſtrates, and perſons in publick poſts, he had cauſed ſuch perſons to be elected, as were agreeable to his inclinations; and, if any were choſen, that he had not, previouſly, ſecured, the ſheriffs were ordered not to return them, but to cauſe others to be choſen, in their room; moreover, the houſe of commons being the ſole judges, in the affair of elections, he was fully aſſured, that ſuch a parliament would approve, or reject, whom he pleaſed. 1397.

The king gets a parliament at his devotion.

It muſt not be thought extremely difficult for a king of England to put ſuch a project in execution; for experience has ſince confirmed, on numberleſs occaſions, that, by the like practices, it is very poſſible to cauſe repreſentatives to be choſen, devoted to the court. However, hiſtorians obſerve, that it was in this parliament, that ſuch methods were, firſt, uſed; but it muſt alſo be added, that it was one of the principal cauſes of Richard's deſtruction, as will be ſeen, hereafter; and, indeed, it is impoſſible, that a nation can ſee their liberties in the hands of men, whom they have not themſelves freely choſen, without deſiring to be delivered from ſuch an oppreſſion.

The biſhop of Exeter's ſpeech upon the abſolute power of the king. Walſing. Act. Pub.

The parliament being, thus, compoſed, the biſhop of Exeter opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, labouring to prove, that the regal power was abſolute; and that all, who endeavoured to limit it, deſerved the ſevereſt puniſhments. Purſuant to this principle, which met with a general approbation, the parliament repealed the act of grace, paſſed, nine years before, in favour of the duke of Glouceſter, the earls of Warwick and Arundel, and all their adherents; and they likewiſe annulled all the acts, which appointed the 14 governors to the king, as being extorted, during his minority.

The unjuſt and violent proceedings of the parliament. Cotton. Walſing.

If the parliament of 1386 deſerved to be termed the Mercileſs, I know no name black enough for the preſent; who, by a manifeſt prevarication, ſacrificed, to the paſſions of the king and his miniſters, the moſt diſtinguiſhed lords of the kingdom, as well as the liberties and privileges of the people. Thomas Arundel, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was impeached of high-treaſon, for being one of the commiſſioners appointed by the parliament of 1386, to inſpect the adminiſtration of the publick affairs; and, for this new ſort of offence, the archbiſhop was baniſhed, and his eſtate confiſcated to the uſe of the king. After this, the earls of Arundel and Warwick were accuſed of the ſame crimes, for which, nine years before, the king had granted a pardon, and ſentenced to die by this truly mercileſs parliament; and Froiſſart tells us, that the king would be preſent at Arundel's execution; but another hiſtorian adds, that the ſpectacle remained ſo deeply imprinted in his memory, that his ſleep was frequently interrupted by dreams, repreſenting to him the earl covered with blood, and upbraiding him with his injuſtice. Perhaps, to this alſo contributed the rumour, that ſeveral miracles were wrought, at the tomb of the deceaſed, and that his head was miraculouſly rejoined to his body; for, though, to prevent the ill effects of this falſe notion, the king had ordered the corpſe to be taken up and expoſed to publick view, 10 days together, in a church, it was impoſſible to cure the people of their prepoſſeſſion. The earl of Warwick, who voluntarily confeſſed himſelf guilty, without taking advantage of the pardon, was treated with leſs ſeverity,

1397. his puniſhment being changed into perpetual baniſhment, in the iſle of Man; and, as to the duke of Glouceſter, in all probability, the king was apprehenſive, that it would be very dangerous to put him to death publickly, or that the parliament would refuſe to ſacrifice ſo conſiderable a perſon; but, however that be, he had taken care, as was afterwards known, to Act. Pub. have him privately ſtrangled, at Calais. In the mean while, his enemies gave out, that he died of an apoplexy, and, before he expired, confeſſed himſelf guilty of treaſon againſt the king; upon which report, without any examination of the grounds, the duke's whole eſtate was confiſcated to the uſe of the king.

The king gratifies ſeveral lords. Walſing.

It was next to impoſſible but theſe ſeverities ſhould produce ſome alteration, among the nobility; and, therefore, Richard took care to gratify the principal lords, and particularly the princes of the blood. He created Henry, earl of Derby, his couſin, eldeſt ſon to the duke of Lancaſter, duke of Hereford; Edward Plantagenet, earl of Rutland, eldeſt ſon to the duke of York, duke of Albemarle; and Thomas de Holland, earl of Kent, duke of Surrey. John de Holland, earl of Huntingdon, the king's half-brother, was made duke of Exeter; Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, duke of Norfolk; and Sir William le Scroope, earl of Wiltſhire. Laſtly, out of complaiſance to the duke of Lancaſter, the king honoured John Beaufort, his eldeſt ſon, by his third wife, who was already earl of Somerſet, with the title of marqueſs of Somerſet; and he, moreover, diſtributed, among theſe lords, the forfeited eſtates of the duke of Glouceſter, and of the earls of Arundel and Warwick.

The parliament is adjourned to Shrewſbury. Walſing.

In thoſe days, the parliament very rarely ſat, above one ſeſſion, unleſs the buſineſs required a ſhort prorogation; but this was ſo agreeable to the king's inclinations, that, inſtead of diſſolving it, he was pleaſed to adjourn it to Shrewsbury; a town, in the neighbourhood of Wales, where he had many friends, ſeemingly more proper for his deſigns than London, where he knew he was not beloved.

1398. The extraordinary proceedings of the parliament at Shrewſbury. Cotton.

The new ſeſſion was only a continuation of the late extraordinary proceedings, at Weſtminſter; for the parliament ſtrove to carry the prerogative royal to a greater height, than any monarch of England had ever pretended to ſtretch it, and eſtabliſhed maxims, that were deſtructive of the conſtitution and the liberties of the people. They approved, as conformable to law, the opinions, for which, nine years before, the judges were condemned; and, accordingly, the judges, who attended, during the ſitting of the parliament, decided, that, "When the king propoſed any articles to be "debated in parliament, it was high-treaſon "to bring in others, before theſe were diſ-"patched." By this and the like deciſions, the caſes of high-treaſon were ſo multiplied, that it was ſcarce poſſible to avoid being guilty of that crime, without making the king's will and pleaſure the ſole rule of action; and, at laſt, under the pretence of diſpatching buſineſs, the parliament appointed a certain number of commiſſioners, whom they inveſted with the authority of the whole houſe. Thus, by an unprecedented act, the whole power of the nation was devolved to the king, 12 peers, and ſix commoners; and, to render more valid theſe irregular proceedings, the king cauſed them to be confirmed by the pope's bull, which was publiſhed, in all the counties of the kingdom. 1398.

Cheſhire is made a principality.

During this ſecond ſeſſion, Richard brought into Shrewsbury a numerous guard of the militia of Cheſhire, who expreſſed ſuch an ardent zeal for his ſervice, that, to gratify the county, he erected it into a principality.

Remarks on the Engliſh conſtitution.

Let us ſtop here, a moment, and reflect on the conſtitution of the Engliſh government. It is certain, that the inſtitution of parliaments is extremely advantageous to the people, who, without that, would, long ſince, have fallen into a fatal ſlavery; but, on the contrary, it cannot be denied, that theſe aſſemblies become ſometimes very dangerous, when influenced by popular factions, or the cabals of an ambitious prince. Accordingly, it has often happened, that, inſtead of procuring the good of the kingdom, they have produced confuſion and the ſubverſion of the laws, ſometimes by by too much depreſſing the royal prerogative, at other times, by ſtretching it farther, than is conſiſtent with the welfare of the ſtate; and, in ſuch caſes, the evil is ſo much the harder to be cured, as the proceedings of the parliament are ſuppoſed to flow from the unanimous conſent of the whole nation. On this account, it ſeldom happens, that this diſorder can be remedied, without means as violent as thoſe that produced it, which generally occaſion civil wars; and this is one of the principal cauſes of the domeſtick troubles that have, all along, afflicted England, more than any other European ſtate.

It may be likewiſe remarked, that the violent method practiſed by Richard, to attain to arbitrary power, viz. forced elections, and, the opinions of the judges, was exactly copied, in our own time, by one of his ſucceſſors, and doubtleſs, with the ſame intention; but we may add, that the attempts of both theſe monarchs only promoted their own deſtruction, and that their deſigns had the ſame fatal iſſue; which we ſhall preſently ſee, with reſpect to Richard II, in the ſequel of his reign.

Richard lives in a deceitful ſecurity.

All things ſeemed to contribute to the ſupport of the king, in the enjoyment of the deſpotick power he had lately aſſumed; for they, who were moſt capable of oppoſing him, had ſuffered a tragical death, or were baniſhed the realm; and the reſt were brought over, by places, grants, or other favours. The great officers of the crown, with the governors of the towns and counties, were all at the king's devotion; and all the magiſtrates of the towns and country were ready to do all that was poſſible, to increaſe the regal power; yet, after all, Richard was greatly miſtaken, in fancying that this new acquired power was ſafe, ſince the people were againſt him, and even deteſted him, for his violent actions. It is farther probable, that many of his adherents, out of weakneſs

1398. weakneſs or prudence, only concealed their real ſentiments, till an opportunity offered, to free the kingdom from the yoke it groaned under; and a proper juncture preſented itſelf, ſooner than the king imagined; for, being ſwayed by his paſſion, he had not the prudence to keep within ſome bounds, an error which princes, of his character, very rarely fail of committing. As they are continually ſurrounded with flatterers, they fondly conclude, that all the reſt of the people entertain the ſame ſentiments; and it is, for the moſt part, too late, before they perceive, that the ſmall numbers, they have gained, is a poor defence againſt the fury of an inraged nation. Indeed, for a while, five or ſix hundred perſons, who compoſe the parliament, and ſome hundreds of magiſtrates in the towns and counties, appear to make the body of the nation, and the remainder are accounted, as nothing; but a time comes, when every individual perſon is taken into the account; and then the number of thoſe, that are in office, is infinitely ſmall, in compariſon of the bulk of the nation.

A quarrel between the dukes of Hereford and Norfolk. Walſing.

Richard, incapable of making theſe reflections, ſuffered himſelf to be blindly directed by his paſſion, which led him to conſider, as a great advantage, all opportunities of exerciſing the arbitrary power he thought to have ſo firmly eſtabliſhed; and, towards the end of the year 1398, he gave a ſignal proof of the little regard he deſigned to have for his ſubjects, on occaſion of a quarrel between two of the principal lords of his court. The duke of Hereford, eldeſt ſon to the duke of Lancaſter, overawed by the examples of the duke of Glouceſter, his uncle, and the other lords, whom the king had ſacrificed to his reſentment, limiting his deſires, made it the height of his ambition, to keep in his favour, and carefully endeavoured to avoid giving any cauſe of ſuſpicion; and it was, probably, with this view, that, fearing the duke of Norfolk had laid a ſnare for him, in ſpeaking to him very diſreſpectfully of the king, he informed Richard of the ſame. The duke of Norfolk, denying that he uttered any ſuch words againſt Richard, and the duke of Hereford maintaining his accuſation, it was ordered, that the affair ſhould be decided, by ſingle combat, Coventry being the place appointed for the duel; and the king intended to be preſent at it; but, juſt as the two dukes were entering the liſts, Richard, under the pretence of avoiding the effuſion of blood, but, in reality, to be rid of theſe two lords, at once, commanded them to proceed no farther; for, though only one of them could be guilty, he baniſhed them both, the duke of Norfolk, for life, and the duke of Hereford, for 10 years. The former died, ſoon after, at Venice, und the other retired into France; but this act of authority was no leſs contrary to the privileges of the nobility, than what the king had, hitherto, done, with reſpect to the nation, in general; for, by the laws of the land, theſe lords could only be tried by their peers.

Not long after the duke of Hereford's being ſent into exile, his father, the duke of Lancaſter, died, little lamented by the people, and ſtill leſs by the king; and, by the death of this prince, his honours and eſtates, which were very conſiderable, fell to the duke of Hereford, his ſon, to whom, before his departure, the king had remitted four years of his baniſhment. Moreover, he had granted him letters patent, impowering him to take poſſeſſion, by his attorney, of all the fees, that ſhould fall to him, in his abſence, with a ſuſpenſion of homage, till his return; yet, immediately after the deceaſe of the duke, his father, the king, by a ſentence, no leſs unjuſt than the former, decreed, that his baniſhment ſhould be perpetual, and confiſcated all his eſtate.

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The ill ſtate of the kingdom.

The laws and liberties of England were in a deplorable ſtate, by reaſon of ſuch acts of deſpotick power; and, the dukes of Lancaſter and Glouceſter and the earl of Arundel being dead, Warwick ſent away, the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the dukes of Hereford and Norfolk in exile, there was ſcarce a man in the kingdom able to oppoſe the arbitrary power uſurped by the king. The duke of York alone, the king's uncle, might have defended the nation's intereſts; but, as he loved his eaſe, he was an improper perſon to engage in ſuch an undertaking. Richard, therefore, being above all reſtraint, gave himſelf up to a ſoft and effeminate life, entirely regardleſs of the good of the publick; whilſt, in the interim, his miniſters, neglected their affairs, and ſaw, without the leaſt concern, the Engliſh nation, ſink into the utmoſt contempt. The Scots often violated the truce, by incurſions upon the borders, being very ſure, that the court of England would overlook their inſults; and the Engliſh poſſeſſions, in France, were almoſt reduced to nothing, the places, which might, one day, have contributed to repair theſe loſſes, being alſo ſold, without any occaſion. The merchant-ſhips were daily plundered, by the corſairs of France and the Low-Countries, as no means were uſed to protect the trade; and, amidſt theſe diſorders, the miniſters, of whom the earl of Wiltſhire was the chief, ſought only to augment the king's revenues, by borrowings, new taxes, and ſtill more illegal methods. Pretences were no longer made uſe of to demand ſubſidies; for the whole buſineſs of the miniſters was only to find effectual means, to extort money from the people, to whom the very demanding it was thought to be too great an honour; and, at length, having practiſed various expedients, no leſs unjuſt than extraordinary, to ſupply the king's prodigious expences, and ſatisfy the avarice of his miniſters, a method was uſed, which could not fail of procuring large ſums. As the late parliament had reverſed the pardon granted, in 1386, to the duke of Glouceſter's adherents, accuſations were exhibited againſt them; and, by the judgments upon theſe accuſations, 17 counties were condemned, as guilty of treaſon, and the eſtates of all the inhabitants adjudged to the king. In this extremity, the principal gentlemen and burgeſſes were conſtrained, to avoid the ſeizure of their eſtates, to give blank obligations, which the king

Froiſſart.

Act. Pub.

1398. king cauſed to be filled with what ſums he was pleaſed to exact; and, by what was inſerted in theſe notes, which were called Ragmans, every perſon was obliged, under rigorous penalties, to ſupport the ſtatutes of the Shrewſbury-parliament, and all the ſubſequent acts; or, in other words, they entirely threw themſelves upon the king's mercy. It was impoſſible, that ſuch a tyrannical government ſhould not incur the hatred of the nation, againſt the prince and his inſtruments; and it was alſo very viſible, that theſe oppreſſions created, in the hearts of the people, an ardent deſire of recovering their liberty, inſomuch that the leaſt ſpark was capable of producing a fatal combuſtion.

A rebellion in Ireland. Walſing.

Whilſt England was expoſed to all theſe calamities, the Iriſh, deſpiſing the ſmall number of troops left by Richard, in Ireland, took up arms, with one conſent; and Roger Mortimer, earl of Marche, governor of that iſland, oppoſing the rebels, was ſlain, in the very firſt engagement. This prince, who was declared, by an act of parliament, preſumptive heir to the crown, left two ſons, Edmund and Roger, the eldeſt of whom ſucceeded him, in his honour of earl of Marche, and died, without iſſue, as well as Roger, his brother; but the marriage of Ann, their ſiſter, with the duke of York's ſecond ſon, proved a fertile ſource of troubles, which, for many years, afflicted the kingdom.

Richard prepares to go to Ireland. Act. Pub.

Richard, receiving the news of the Iriſh revolt, reſolved to go, in perſon, and chaſtiſe the rebels, being, to the laſt degree, enraged, that the Iriſh ſhould dare to contemn his power, at a time when he found no oppoſition in England; and, accordingly, he levied a powerful army, which furniſhed him with a freſh occaſion to exact great ſums from his ſubjects, by which he conſiderably increaſed their former diſaffection.

1399. When he was ready to embarque, ſome ſuſpicions inſtilled into him, of the earl of Northumberland, governor of the northern counties, prompted him to ſend that earl a poſitive order, to come and join him, with all expedition; but the earl, to excuſe himſelf, alledging that his preſence was abſolutely neceſſary in thoſe parts, the king, forthwith, pronounced him a traytor, and ordered all his eſtate to be ſeized; and then, leaving the regency of the kingdom to the duke of York, his uncle, he ſet ſail, and arrived, May the 31ſt, at Waterford, from whence he marched to Dublin. He was attended by the ſons of the duke of Lancaſter, by his third wife, and by thoſe of the late duke of Glouceſter, whom he carried, as hoſtages; and he took with him the beſt part of his jewels, as if he had foreſeen, that he ſhould never return to his palace. He made, at firſt, ſome progreſs againſt the rebels; and, in ſeveral encounters, he gave proofs of his valour; wherefore, it was believed, that, if, hitherto, he had diſcovered no great inclination for war, it was not ſo much to be aſcribed to his want of courage, as to a bad education.

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He leaves the duke of York regent. Walſing.

However, whilſt he flattered himſelf with the advantages he gained over the Iriſh, a conſpiracy was forming, in England, to deprive him of the crown; for, under an arbitrary government, like that of Richard, there muſt, of courſe, be great numbers of male-contents. Some perſons, indeed, find their account, in the abſolute power of the prince; but they are far from being the majority. A king, therefore, of this character, though he is generally ſurrounded with a crowd of flatterers, who endeavour to perſuade him, that the people patiently bear his yoke, if he had any knowledge of the world, ought to conſider, that the power, acquired by force, is only to be preſerv'd by the ſame way it was uſurped; and, if he is ſo impolitick, as to confide in ſubjects he has violently oppreſſed, it will be to no purpoſe for him to expect from them a fidelity, which only tends to increaſe their miſery. Accordingly, Richard, by leaving his kingdom, and carrying all his forces into Ireland, at a juncture when the people's hatred of him was at the higheſt, committed a capital error, which his enemies took care to improve; for he had ſcarce ſet out for Ireland, with almoſt all the lords, his creatures, before the male-contents, in England, began to project means to dethrone him. With this view, after ſeveral conferences together, they ſent word to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who, ſince his baniſhment, was retired into France, "That all England was "diſpoſed to riſe, and nothing was wanting "but a leader of diſtinction to head the male-"contents; that, upon mature deliberation, "they judged none ſo proper as the duke of "Hereford, for whom the people had a great "eſteem and affection, and who, moreover, "had a very plauſible pretence to take up "arms, to demand ſatisfaction for the injuries "he had received; that, if the duke would "return into England, they engaged to aſſiſt "him, to the utmoſt of their power; and, "they aſſured him, that the body of the na-"tion would join thoſe, that ſhould undertake "to deliver them from their inſupportable "oppreſſions." The archbiſhop, who was himſelf extremely exaſperated againſt the king, communicating this letter to the duke, that prince reſolved to try what fortune would do, in his favour; but, being ſenſible, that he could not alone carry on this enterprize, he proceeded ſo cautiouſly, that he might eaſily deſiſt, if things did not prove anſwerable to his expectations. Purſuant to this reſolution, he privately repaired to Bretagne, where he fitted out three ſhips, and embarqued, in company with the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and 80 men, among whom there were no more than 16 or 18 lances; and he hovered, ſome time, about the coaſt of England, without landing any where; deſigning to ſee what effect his approach would have among the people, and to induce the Engliſh openly to declare for him, in a belief that he was attended with a greater force. It was no ſooner known, that the duke was on the coaſt, than the people roſe, in ſeveral parts, not conſidering, whether the aid which appeared was ſufficient to protect them; and, this readineſs determining him

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The conſpirators call in the duke of Hereford. Froiſſart.

He repairs to Bretagne, and embarques. Walſing.

1399. him to puſh his enterprize farther, in the beginning of July, he landed at Ravenſpur, in Yorkſhire, where the earl of Northumberland and Henry Piercy, his ſon, immediately, joined him with ſome troops. After this, ſuch was the concourſe of people, flocking, in crowds, to liſt under his banners, that, in a few days, his army was 60,000 ſtrong; ſo eager were the nobility and people to put themſelves under the protection of a prince, who ſtood himſelf in ſo great need of their aſſiſtance.

The regent, in vain, tries to prevent a general revolt. Walſing.

As ſoon as the duke of York, regent of the kingdom, heard of the duke's landing, he called a council, to conſult about the neceſſary meaſures, on this occaſion; but the hourly news of the increaſe of the duke's forces, and the diſpoſition of the kingdom, ſoon made the counſellors, of whom there were few perſons of abilities, deſpair of removing the evil. In this perplexity, they committed a capital fault, in reſolving to quit London and retire to St. Albans; for the lords of the council had no ſooner left London, than the citizens declared for the duke, and, by their example, drew in ſuch towns, as would not, as yet, have ventured to proceed ſo far.

The duke publiſhes a manifeſto. Act. Pub.

In the interim, the duke, who, upon his arrival in England, aſſumed the title of duke of Lancaſter, publiſhed a manifeſto, repreſenting, that he had taken up arms, purely, to obtain ſatisfaction, for all the injuſtices done him; and this manifeſto produced ſuch a ſurpriſing effect, that, when the regent would have iſſued out commiſſions to levy troops, he ſcarce found any willing to accept them. Every one ſaid, openly, that they would not oppoſe the lawful pretenſions of a prince ſo unjuſtly oppreſſed; and, this refuſal convincing the earl of Wiltſhire and the reſt of the miniſtry, that they ran the riſque of being ſacrificed to the publick hatred, they deſerted the duke of York, and retired to Briſtol-caſtle. The regent, after the flight of the counſellors, perceiving that it was impoſſible to ſtem the torrent, threw up the care of the publick affairs, and withdrew to his own houſe, leaving the kingdom, like a ſhip expoſed to the winds and waves, without a pilot or mariners; and all the other lords, who had, as yet, remained neuter, in order to join the ſtrongeſt party, finding the king's intereſt abandoned, no longer delayed publickly to declare for the duke.

The duke marches to London, and is well received. Froiſſart.

The duke, improving theſe advantages, marched, with all expedition, to London, where the citizens had invited him; and he was triumphantly received by that noble city, with the greateſt demonſtrations of zeal and affection, that could be given by a people extremely incenſed againſt their ſovereign, and who conſidered themſelves, as delivered from tyranny; but, notwithſtanding this honourable reception, he ſtaid no longer among the Londoners, than was neceſſary to ſecure their allegiance; and then he marched directly towards Briſtol. Upon his arrival, the gates being opened to him, with joy, he commanded the caſtle to be aſſaulted, where the counſellors were retired; and the ſiege was puſhed 1399. ſo vigorouſly, that, in four days, the beſieged were compelled to ſurrender, at diſcretion. The people's indignation, againſt the earl of Wiltſhire and his companions, was ſo furious, that the duke, though the power, he aſſumed, was ſtill more illegal than the king's uſurpations, ordered the earl of Wiltſhire to be beheaded, with ſome others of the council, to ſatisfy the vengeance of the people, who loudly called for their death; and the good ſucceſs of this expedition induced the whole nation to embrace the duke's party; nay, ſhortly after, he had the ſatisfaction to ſee his uncle, the duke of York, come and aſſiſt him with his councils.

The wind hinders the king from hearing from England. Walſing.

During theſe tranſactions, in England, Richard continued, in Ireland, in a perfect ſecurity; and the contrary winds, above three weeks, prevented his receiving intelligence; but, as ſoon as he heard of the duke of Lancaſter's deſcent, he impriſoned his brothers, with the duke of Lancaſter's ſons, and reſolved to return, immediately, into England, and fight his enemy. However, the duke of Albemarle adviſed him to ſtay, a few days, in order to prepare ſhips to tranſport all his forces, at once; and the king fell in with this fatal advice; for, during that interval, London declared for the duke, which, perhaps, would not have abandoned the king, had he been known to be in England, with a reſolution vigorouſly to oppoſe the deſigns of his enemies. Richard, being determined to ſtay, ſome days longer, in Ireland, ſent the earl of Salisbury before, to levy troops, in Wales, aſſuring him, that he would quickly follow him; and the earl uſed ſo much expedition, that, in a few days, he aſſembled an army of 40,000 men, the Welch and Cheſhire-men zealouſly taking up arms for the king. If Richard had arrived, with his forces, by the time he had promiſed, he might, at leaſt, have had the ſatisfaction of hazarding a battle, in defence of his crown; but the wind, returning to the eaſt, detained him, 18 days longer, in Ireland, and would not permit him to make ſo ſhort a paſſage. In the interim, a rumour being ſpread, in the earl of Salisbury's army, that the king was dead, in Ireland, the troops would have disbanded themſelves; and it was with extreme difficulty, that the earl prevailed on them to ſtay, a few days, in order to have certain intelligence of the king; but, this delay being expired, and Richard not appearing, the Welch and Cheſhire-men deſerted their colours, and retired to their habitations.

The king arrives, and knows not what courſe to take. Walſing.

Richard landed, a few days after; and, as he was entirely ignorant of the earl of Salisbury's army being diſperſed, marched to Caermarthen, expecting to meet them; but, when he found, that he had loſt that refuge, and all the nobility had declared againſt him; that his miniſters were beheaded, at Briſtol, and the people ardently eſpouſed the duke of Lancaſter's cauſe, he was altogether at a loſs, how to proceed, in his preſent extremity. The officers and ſoldiers would have had him march

1399. at their head, and give his enemy battle, promiſing to ſpill the laſt drop of their blood, in his ſervice; and they inſpired him with hopes, that his army would daily increaſe, by the junction of thoſe, who, through force, or the belief of his death, had deſerted him. Some adviſed him to return and fortify himſelf, in Ireland; whilſt others thought, that it would be better for him to fly for refuge into France, to the king his father-in-law, till a more favourable opportunity offered. Amidſt theſe uncertainties, the king, incapable of taking the beſt advice, and having none about him that had either courage, or capacity, could not come to any reſolution; though, as he diſtruſted every body, he could not continue long in a ſituation, which he apprehended to be ſo very dangerous; and, therefore, he, on a ſudden, without conſulting any perſon, privately withdrew from his army, in the night, and ſhut himſelf up in Conway-caſtle, which was accounted impregnable, but, at that time, unprovided of all things; yet he had no ſooner diſappeared, than the lord Thomas Piercy, earl of Worceſter, maſter of the houſhold, broke his white ſtaff, before the king's domeſticks, and went to meet the duke of Lancaſter, who advanced towards Cheſter, at the head of his army.

Richard, who was almoſt alone in the caſtle he had choſen for his ſanctuary, without the leaſt proſpect of being able to defend himſelf, was afraid, if he attempted to eſcape, of falling into the hands of an enraged people, who gave him but too many proofs of their averſion; wherefore, perceiving no other remedy, but to throw himſelf upon the generoſity of his enemy, he ſent him word, by one of his attendants, that he was ready to ſubmit to what terms he himſelf ſhould think reaſonable, and deſired him to ſend ſome perſon, to confer with him. The duke, forthwith, diſpatched the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the earl of Northumberland, both avowed enemies to the king, to know his intentions; and, in the ſhort conference with theſe deputies, Richard offered, provided his life was ſecured, with an honourable penſion for himſelf and eight perſons he ſhould nominate, to reſign his crown, and ſpend the reſidue of his days, as a private perſon. The deputies giving him hopes, that his propoſal would be accepted, he requeſted to have an interview with the duke; upon which, he went to Flint, not above 10 miles from Cheſter, where the duke was now arrived. On the morrow, the duke, coming to Flint, went to the king, who ſaid to him, with a chearful countenance: "Couſin of "Lancaſter, you are welcome." Then the duke, thrice bowing to the ground, made anſwer, "My lord the king, I am come ſooner "than you appointed me, becauſe the com-"mon fame of your ſubjects is, that you have, "for theſe 21 years, governed very ill, and ri-"gorouſly, with which they are greatly diſſatiſ-"fied; but, if it pleaſe God, I will help you "to govern them better, for the future." To which the king only returned, "Fair couſin, "ſince it pleaſes you, it is agreeable to us "too." Some add, that Richard intreated 1399. the duke, in very humble terms, not to touch his life, on account of his having ſpared his brothers, whom he had only confined, in Ireland, and that the duke aſſured him, that he would not; and there are hiſtorians who affirm, that Richard was betrayed by the earl of Northumberland, who, perſuading him to demand this conference, laid an ambuſh for him, in the way, and carried him priſoner to the duke; but, however that be, the two princes ſet out, the ſame day, and lodged at Cheſter, from whence they proceeded together, for London.

An interview between the king and the duke. Walſing.

Chron. Lambeth.

Upon their approach, the Londoners came out, in crouds, to receive the one, with 1000 curſes, and the other, with exceſſive applauſes and commendations; and then the king was conducted to the tower, and confined there, whilſt the duke concerted meaſures with his friends, to compleat his deſign. The ſuddenneſs of this revolution, and the duke of Lancaſter's diligence, in traverſing ſo many counties, are extremely ſurpriſing; for, if it is conſidered, that, in 47 days, he marched from Ravenſpur, where he landed, to London, Briſtol, Cheſter, and from thence back to London, it will ſcarce be conceivable, that an army of 60,000 men could poſſibly run over ſo much ground, in ſo ſhort a ſpace. Richard is confined in the tower.

The king was no ſooner in the duke's power, than he took care to cauſe him to ſummon a parliament, at London; and, in the conferences he had with his friends, before the meeting of that aſſembly, the queſtion was not ſo much, about what was to be done, ſince the placing him upon the throne was reſolved, as how to proceed. Some were for his taking poſſeſſion, upon Richard's bare promiſe of reſigning the crown; but others were of opinion, that this promiſe was too conſtrained to be the foundation of any right, eſpecially, as there was a nearer heir than the duke, viz. Edmund Mortimer, earl of Marche, ſon to that Roger who was declared Richard's preſumptive ſucceſſor. The truth is, he was deſcended from Lionel, duke of Clarence, third ſon to Edward III; whereas the duke of Lancaſter was ſon to John, younger brother to to Lionel; and, tho' Edmund's right was only derived from a woman, that would have been no objection, if the uſual practice had been obſerved, ſince the Salick law did not take place, in England. Thus, by Richard's reſignation, the duke of Lancaſter had no right to claim the crown; and, therefore, they added, that, as there was a neceſſity of ſetting aſide the law, the authority of parliament was abſolutely requiſite; from whence they concluded, that Richard muſt be formally depoſed, and the duke elected, by the ſame authority; but this opinion was alſo attended with difficulties, as it aſcribed to the parliament a power to diſpoſe of the crown, contrary to the laws and cuſtoms, to the prejudice of the lawful heir, againſt whom nothing could be objected, to weaken his title. At laſt, after many debates, upon ſo nice a point, the duke of York adviſed to the uniting the three ways propoſed, in A conſultation between the duke and his friends. Walſing.

1399. in order to give the more vertue to what they had reſolved: That, in the firſt place, Richard ſhould be obliged to make an abſolute reſignation; ſecondly, the parliament ſhould depoſe him, before the crown was diſpoſed of; and, laſtly, theſe two ſteps being taken, the ſame parliament, in conſideration of the duke of Lancaſter's great ſervice to the ſtate, ſhould adjudge him the crown, by their ſupreme authority, which, in extraordinary caſes, was ſuperior to the laws. This opinion was unanimouſly approved; though, in, thus, puniſhing a king, for ſetting himſelf above the laws, a power was given the parliament no leſs contrary to them; ſo difficult is it, on ſuch occaſions, to keep within the bounds of juſtice and equity. This expedient, then judged proper to reſtore the peace of the kingdom, proved the real ſource of the calamities, which, afterwards, afflicted the nation, when theſe violent proceedings ſeemed to be entirely forgotten; and the deſcendants of the duke of York, who propoſed this opinion, found it for their advantage, to deſtroy the foundation on which it was built, and maintain that the parliament had exceeded their power, in tranſferring the crown to the houſe of Lancaſter.

Richard makes an abſolute reſignation of his crown. Walſing.

Purſuant to the foreſaid reſolutions, the duke of Lancaſter repaired to the tower, the day before the opening of the parliament, attended by a great number of lords; where, in the preſence of all, Richard delivered up the crown and ſcepter, with the other enſigns of royalty, and, by an inſtrument ſigned with his own hand, confeſſed himſelf unworthy and unfit to govern any longer. On the morrow, the parliament being met, the inſtrument of reſignation was produced, and unanimouſly approved; but, as this reſignation alone, according to the meaſures agreed upon, appeared inſufficient, the two houſes ordered articles of accuſation againſt Richard to be drawn up, to ſerve for reaſons of his depoſition; which articles, were as follows:

Articles of accuſation againſt Richard. Rot. Par. 1. Hen. 4. X. Script.

'I. Richard was accuſed of his evil government, by giving the goods and poſſeſſions of the crown to unworthy perſons, and indiſcreetly diſſipating the ſame; and, for this cauſe, impoſing inſupportable burdens upon the people, and, in other reſpects, committing innumerable evils; having, by his aſſent and command, by the whole parliament, choſen and aſſigned certain prelates, and other lords temporal, who, with all their might, ſhould faithfully labour, at their own coſts, about the juſt government of the kingdom, made a conventicle of his accompliçes, propoſing to impeach of high treaſon the ſaid lords ſpiritual and temporal, ſo employed about the government of the kingdom, and violently drawn the juſtices of the realm to confirm his wicked purpoſe, for fear of death and torment of body, attempting to deſtroy the ſaid lords.

'II. The ſame king lately, at Shrewsbury, cauſed to come before him, and others in his intereſt, in a chamber, many perſons, and the greater part of the juſtices; where, by threats and divers terrors, he induced, cauſed, and forced them, ſingly, to anſwer to certain queſtions, on his behalf, relating to the laws of his kingdom, againſt their will; and, under the pretence of theſe anſwers, the ſaid king would have proceeded to the deſtruction of Thomas, duke of Glouceſter, the earls of Arundel and Warwick, and other lords, with whom he was extremely incenſed, eſpecially, becauſe they deſired him to be under good government, if Divine Providence, and the reſiſtance and power of the ſaid lords, had not defeated his deſign. 1399.

'III. When the lords temporal, in their own defence, reſiſted his malice and craft, the ſaid king appointed a day for the parliament, to do them and others juſtice, who, upon faith and confidence therein, remained quietly in their own houſes; but the king privately, with his letters or commiſſion, ſent the duke of Ireland into Cheſhire, to raiſe arms againſt the ſaid lords, great men, and officers of the common-wealth, publickly erecting his banners againſt the peace he had ſworn to maintain; from whence homicides, captivities, diſſenſions, and other infinite evils followed, in the whole kingdom, and on which account he incurred perjury.

'IV. That, altho' the ſaid king had pardoned the duke of Glouceſter, the earls of Arundel and Warwick, and all their adherents, in full parliament, and, for many years, had ſhewn chearful ſigns of peace and love towards them; yet, retaining continually malice in his heart, taking opportunity, he cauſed to be ſeized the duke of Glouceſter, and, the ſaid earls of Arundel and Warwick; and, ſending the duke to Calais, to be impriſoned, under the cuſtody of the earl of Nottingham, one of his appellants, without anſwer, or lawful proceſs, he ordered him to be ſtrangled, and inhumanly and cruelly murdered. The earl of Arundel, pleading his charter of pardon, and demanding juſtice, in parliament, was ſurrounded with great numbers of armed men, and had his head damnably ſtruck off; and he committed the earl of Warwick and lord Cobham to perpetual impriſonment, confiſcating their lands, contrary to juſtice, the laws of the land, and his expreſs oath, and giving them to their appellants.

'V. When, in his parliament, he cauſed the duke of Glouceſter, and the earls of Arundel and Warwick, to be adjudged, that he might more freely exerciſe his cruelty upon them, and fulfil his injurious will on others, he aſſembled a great multitude of malefactors, out of the county of Cheſter, who, marching up and down the kingdom with the king, as well within his own houſe as without, cruelly killed his lieges, beat and wounded others, plundering the goods of the people, refuſing to pay for their victuals, and raviſhing men's wives and other women; and, altho' complaints were made to the king of theſe exceſſes, he took no care to reſtrain them, but countenanced them in their wickedneſs, confiding in them and their

'aſſiſtance,

1399. 'assistance, against all others of his kingdom; 'wherefore, his loyal subjects had just cause for 'commotion and indignation.

'VI. Tho' the said king caused proclamation to be made thro' the kingdom, that 'he caused his uncle, the duke of Gloucester, 'and the earls of Arundel and Warwick, to 'be arrested, not for any rebellious congregations, or marching with horse within the 'kingdom, but for many extortions, oppressions, and other things done against his regality; and that he did not intend, that any 'of their company, at the time of the congregation and marching with horse aforesaid, 'should, for that reason, be questioned or disturbed: yet the same king afterwards, in 'his parliament, impeach'd the said lords; 'not for extortions, oppressions, or other things 'aforesaid, but, for rebellious congregations 'and marching with horse adjudged, them to 'death; causing many of their company, for 'fear of death, to pay fines and ransoms, as 'traytors, to the great destruction of many of 'his subjects; and, thus, he craftily and maliciously deceived the lords, their followers, 'and people of the nation.

'VII. After many of these persons had paid 'their fines and ransoms, and had procured 'his letters patent of full pardon; yet they 'received no benefit by them, until they made 'new fines, for their lives, by which they were 'greatly impoverished; and this was much in 'derogation to the name and state of a king.

'VIII. In the last parliament held at 'Shrewsbury, the same king, in order to oppress his people, subtly obtained and caused 'to be granted, that the power of parliament, 'by consent of all the states of the realm, 'should remain in some particular persons, 'who, after the parliament should be dissolved, 'might answer the petitions depending in parliament, then undetermined, under the pretence of which they proceeded to other general matters, relating to that parliament, 'according to the king's will, in derogation 'to the state of parliament, to the great prejudice of the kingdom, and which was a 'pernicious example; and, that these actions 'might have some colour of authority, the 'king caused the rolls of parliament to be 'changed and blotted, contrary to the effect 'of the grant aforesaid.

'IX. Altho' the said king, at his coronation, swore, that he would do, in all his 'judgments, equal and right justice, with discretion, in mercy and truth, according to his 'power; yet the said king, in a merciless manner, amongst other things, ordained, under rigorous punishments, that no man 'should intercede with him, for any favour 'towards Henry, duke of Lancaster, then in 'exile; and, in so doing, he acted against the 'bond of charity, and rashly violated his oath.

'X. That, tho' the crown of England, the 'rights of the crown, and kingdom itself, have 'been always so free, that the pope, or any 'other foreign power had nothing to do in 'them; yet the said king supplicated the pope 'to confirm the erroneous statutes made, in 'his last parliament; upon which he obtained his apostolick letters, or bull, wherein 'were contained severe censures against all 'such as should presume to contravene them; 'all which things are known to be against the 'crown and royal dignity, and against the 'statutes and liberty of the kingdom. 1399.

'XI. Tho' Henry, now duke of Lancaster, 'by the king's command, exhibited his bill or 'accusation against the duke of Norfolk, concerning the state and honour of the king, and 'duly prosecuted it, so as he was ready to 'make it good, by duel, and the king had ordered it; yet the same king superseded it, 'and, without any lawful cause, banished the 'duke of Lancaster, for 10 years, against all 'justice, the laws and customs of the kingdom, and the military law, damnably incurring perjury.

'XII. After the said king had graciously 'granted to the now duke of Lancaster, by 'his letters patent, that, while he was in banishment, his attornies might sue for livery 'of any inheritance that might fall to him, for 'which homage was due, which should be respited, for a reasonable fine, he injuriously 'revoked those letters patent, against the laws 'of the land, incurring perjury.

'XIII. Altho' it had been ordained, that, 'every year, the king's officers, with the justices and others of his council, should nominate and elect the sheriffs of all counties, 'according to their discretion; yet he commanded others of his party, and such as were 'entirely devoted to him, to be sheriffs; to 'the great grievance of his people, contrary 'to the laws of his kingdom, notoriously incurring perjury.

'XIV. That, whereas the said king borrowed several sums of money from lords and 'others, by his letters patent, promising faithfully to repay them, at a limited term, he 'did not perform his promise, to the great 'grief of his creditors; and not only they, but 'many others thought him an unfaithful king.

'XV. Whereas the kings of England used 'to live upon the revenues of the kingdom, 'and patrimony of the crown, in time of 'peace, without oppression of the people, the 'same king, during his whole time, gave the 'greatest part of his revenue to unworthy persons, and imposed burdens upon his subjects, as it were, every year; by which he 'unreasonably oppressed his people, and impoverished his kingdom; not employing 'these goods to the advantage of the nation, 'but prodigally consuming them, in ostentation, pomp, and glory, owing great sums 'for victuals and other necessaries of his house, 'tho' his revenues exceeded any of his progenitors.

'XVI. The same king unwilling to keep 'and protect the just laws and customs of his 'kingdom, when those laws were declared to 'him, by the justices and others of his council, desiring that justice might be done, accordingly, he said expressly, with an austere 'countenance, That the laws were only in his 'mouth and breast, and that he alone could make

1399. 'make and alter the laws of this kingdom; 'and, being ſo ſeduced, he would not permit juſtice to be done to many of his lieges, 'but, by menaces and terrors, compelled many to ceaſe from the proſecution of common 'juſtice.

'XVII. That, whereas laws, made in parliament, are always binding, until revoked 'by another parliament, the ſame king, deſiring to enjoy a boundleſs liberty, and to do 'what he pleaſed, cunningly procured ſuch a petition, on behalf of the community of his 'kingdom, to be exhibited, in parliament, 'and to be granted, that he might be as free 'as any of his progenitors; and, under the 'colour of this petition and grant, he often 'commanded, and cauſed many things to be 'done, contrary to the laws not revoked, 'acting, expreſly and knowingly, againſt the 'oath taken, at his coronation.

'XVIII. Tho' it had been ordained, that 'no ſheriff ſhould continue in his office, above 'a year, and could not be again choſen to 'that office, in three years after, the ſame 'king, for his own profit, and ſometimes for 'the benefit of others, permitted ſome ſheriffs 'to remain in their offices, for two or three 'years, contrary to the tenor of the ſtatute, 'incurring perjury; and this was notorious.

'XIX. Although, by law and cuſtom, the people ought freely to chuſe knights to repreſent them, in parliament, to ſet forth their grievances, and provide remedies for them; yet the ſaid king, that he might obtain his own raſh will, in his parliaments, frequently, 'by writs, directed to the ſheriffs, to ſend 'ſuch as he named, ſome of whom he induced, by favours or bribes, and others, by 'menaces and terrors, to conſent to things 'prejudicial to the kingdom, and intolerable 'to the people; and eſpecially, by granting to 'him the ſubſidy of wooll, for his life, and another ſubſidy, for certain years, too much oppreſſing his ſubjects.

'XX. The ſame king, that, in all things, 'he might act, in an arbitrary manner, illegally made and commanded all the ſheriffs 'to ſwear, beyond their uſual oath, that they 'would obey all his commands ſent to them, 'under the great ſeal, privy ſeal, or ſignet; 'and, if they ſhould know any, in their bailiwicks or juriſdictions, that ſhould ſpeak 'any ill, publickly or privately, to the diſgrace of the king's perſon, they ſhould arreſt and commit them to priſon, there to 'remain, while they received other commands from the king, as it might be found 'upon record; which practice might, probably, tend to the deſtruction of any of his 'ſubjects.

'XXI. The ſame king, that he might ſupplant his people, and inrich himſelf with 'their eſtates, cauſed the people of 16 counties, by letters under his ſeals, to ſubmit to 'him, as traytors; under the pretence of 'which, he extorted from them great ſums of 'money, to procure his favour; and although, 'to pleaſe the people, theſe letters obligatory 'were reſtored to them, their procurators had 'full power to bind themſelves for them to 'the king, by which means he deceived his 'people. 1399.

'XXII. Although the ſame king ſwore, at 'his coronation, to maintain the liberties 'granted to the church of England; yet, by 'reaſon of his voyage into Ireland, he, by his 'letters, commanded many religious perſons, 'abbots, and priors, ſome to ſend him 'horſes, others wagons, or great ſums of 'money; and, by his way of writing, he 'compelled many, by fear, to comply with 'his demands; whereby they were impoveriſhed and oppreſſed, in manifeſt derogation 'to eccleſiaſtick liberty, and by which pretext 'he incurred perjury.

'XXIII. In many great councils, when 'the lords and juſtices were charged to counſel him faithfully, in things relating to himſelf and the ſtate of the kingdom, they were 'frequently ſo ſharply reproved, that they 'durſt not ſpeak truth, in giving advice, concerning the ſtate of the kingdom.

'XXIV. The treaſure, reliques, and jewels of the crown, which ought to be preſerved in the treaſury, for the honour of the 'king and conſervation of the kingdom, the 'ſaid king carried with him to Ireland, without the conſent of the ſtates of the kingdom; 'which would have greatly impoveriſhed the 'kingdom, if God had not otherwiſe provided, for the taking of thoſe goods from him, 'againſt his will; and farther he cauſed the 'records, relating to the ſtate and government 'of his kingdom to be razed, to the great 'prejudice of his people, and diſinheritance 'of the crown, and very probably, as it was 'believed, for the ſupport of his evil government.

'XXV. He diſſembled ſo much, in words 'and writing, and ſo contrary to himſelf, e'ſpecially, in writing to the pope, kings, and 'other lords, without and within the kingdom, 'and alſo to his ſubjects, that no man living, 'knowing his real character, could confide in 'him; and he was even reputed ſo unfaithful 'and inconſtant, that he was not only a ſcandal to his own perſon, but to the whole 'kingdom, and to all ſtrangers that knew 'him.

XXVI. Though the lands, tenements, 'goods, and chattels of all freemen, by the 'laws of the land, ought not to be ſeized, 'without forfeiture; yet the ſaid king, intending to enervate thoſe laws, in the preſence of many lords, and others of the community of the kingdom, often affirmed, 'that the life of every ſubject, and his lands, 'tenements, goods, and chattels were his, to 'be diſpoſed of, at his pleaſure, without forfeiture; which was altogether repugnant to 'the laws and cuſtoms of his kingdom.

'XXVII. Although it had been made a 'law, which had, hitherto, been confirmed, 'that no freeman might be taken, &c. nor 'any way deſtroyed, and that the king ſhould 'not proceed againſt him, but by the lawful 'trial of his peers, or the law of the land; 'yet, according to the will, command, and

1399. ‘ appointment of the ſaid king, very many of ‘ his lieges being maliciouſly accuſed, for ha- ‘ ving ſpoken publickly, or privately, words ‘ that might tend to the diſgrace of the king's ‘ perſon, were taken, impriſoned, and brought ‘ before the conſtable and marſhal, in the ‘ court military; where, being accuſed, they ‘ could not be admitted to give any other ‘ anſwer, than not guilty; and they could de- ‘ fend themſelves no otherwiſe than by their ‘ bodies, their accuſers being young men, ‘ luſty and ſound, whereas they were old, im- ‘ potent, lame, and infirm; from whence, not ‘ only the deſtruction of lords and great men, ‘ but of any particular perſons of the commu- ‘ nity of the kingdom, very probably, might ‘ have followed; and, when the ſaid king ‘ willingly contravened this law, doubtleſs, he ‘ incurred perjury.

‘ XXVIII. Although the people of Eng- ‘ land, by vertue of their liegance, were ſuf- ‘ ficiently bound to their king, and, if they ‘ offended, in any reſpect, he might correct ‘ and puniſh them, by the laws and cuſtoms ‘ of the kingdom; yet the ſaid king deſired ‘ to ſupplant and too much oppreſs his peo- ‘ ple; and, that he might more freely exe- ‘ cute and follow the fancy of his fooliſh and ‘ unlawful will, he ſent his letters into all ‘ counties of his kingdom, that all his lieges, ‘ as well ſpiritual as temporal, ſhould take ‘ certain oaths, in general, which were too ‘ burthenſome to them, and which, very pro- ‘ bably, might cauſe the final deſtruction of ‘ his people, and that, under their letters ‘ and ſeals, they ſhould confirm theſe oaths; ‘ which command the people obeyed, leſt ‘ they ſhould incur his indignation, and for ‘ fear of death.

‘ XXIX. When the parties, contending ‘ in the eccleſiaſtick court, in cauſes, merely, ‘ ſpiritual, endeavoured to procure prohibiti- ‘ ons, to hinder proceſs in the ſame, from the ‘ chancellor of England, who, out of juſtice, ‘ refuſed to grant them; yet the ſame king ‘ frequently granted them, under his ſignet, ‘ wickedly infringing the eccleſiaſtical liberties ‘ granted, in Magna Charta, which he had ‘ ſworn to preſerve, damnably incurring per- ‘ jury, and the ſentence of excommunication ‘ pronounced by the holy fathers, againſt the ‘ violaters of the liberties of the church.

‘ XXX. The ſaid king, in parliament, ‘ ſurrounded with armed men, without a juſt ‘ cauſe or legal proceſs, contrary to the laws ‘ of the kingdom, baniſhed Thomas Arundel, ‘ archbiſhop of Canterbury, and his ſpiritual ‘ father, being then abſent, by his contri- ‘ vance.

‘ XXXI. Upon peruſal of the ſaid king's ‘ will, under his great ſeal, privy ſeal, and ‘ ſignet, there was in it this clauſe: Alſo we ‘ will, that the debts of our houſe, chamber, ‘ and wardrobe being paid, for which we al- ‘ low 20,000l. and the leproſe, and chaplains ‘ we appointed to be maintained, at Weſt- ‘ minſter, and Bermondſey, for which we al- ‘ low five or ſix thouſand marks; the reſidue ‘ of our gold ſhall remain to our ſucceſſor, ‘ provided he approves, ratifies, confirms 1399. ‘ holds, and cauſeth to be holden and obſer- ‘ ved, all laws, ſtatutes, ordinances and judg- ‘ ments, made, had, or done, in the parlia- ‘ ment held at Weſtminſter, on the 17th of ‘ September, in the 21ſt year of our reign, ‘ and continued or adjourned to Shrewsbury, ‘ and all things done, at Coventry, on the ‘ 16th of September, in the 22d of our reign, ‘ as alſo what was done, at Weſtminſter, on ‘ the 18th of March, in the ſame year, by ‘ authority of the ſame parliament: But, if ‘ he ſhall refuſe to do theſe things, then we ‘ will, that Thomas, duke of Surrey, Edward, ‘ duke of Aumarle, John, duke of Exeter, ‘ and William le Scroope, earl of Wiltſhire, ‘ my debts, &c. as aforeſaid being paid, ſhall ‘ have the ſaid reſidue, for the defence of the ‘ ſtatutes, ordinances, and judgments afore- ‘ ſaid, to the utmoſt of their power, yea, to ‘ death, if it be neceſſary; all which things ‘ we charge upon their conſciences, as they ‘ will anſwer it, at the day of judgment.’ By which article it manifeſtly appears, that the ſame king endeavoured pertinaciouſly to maintain thoſe ſtatutes and ordinances, which were erroneous, wicked, and repugnant to all law and reaſon, not only in his life, but after his deceaſe, neither regarding the danger of his ſoul, nor the utmoſt deſtruction of his king- dom or liege people.

‘ XXXII. In the 11th year of the ſaid ‘ king Richard, at his manor of Langley, be- ‘ fore the dukes of Lancaſter and York, ‘ and many other lords, deſiring, in all ap- ‘ pearance, that his uncle, the duke of Glou- ‘ ceſter, there alſo preſent, might have confi- ‘ dence in him, of his own accord, he ſwore, up- ‘ on the venerable ſacrament of the lord's body ‘ placed upon the altar, that he would pardon ‘ unto him all things ſaid to be committed a- ‘ gainſt his perſon, and that he ſhould never ‘ receive any damage, for them; yet after- ‘ wards the ſaid king cauſed the duke, for ‘ thoſe offences, horribly and cruelly to be ‘ murdered, damnably incurring the guilt of ‘ perjury.

‘ XXXIII. After a knight of the ſhire, ‘ who had a vote in parliament, impeached ‘ the archbiſhop of Canterbury, before the ‘ king and all the ſtates of the kingdom, upon ‘ certain faults committed againſt the king, ‘ on no grounds, as it was ſaid; although he ‘ offered preſently to anſwer to the accuſations ‘ againſt him, and deſired to be admitted by ‘ the king ſo to do, ſufficiently truſting, as he ‘ declared, to demonſtrate his innocence; yet ‘ the ſame king contriving, by all poſſible ‘ means, to oppreſs and reduce to nothing the ‘ ſtate of the archbiſhop, kindly ſpake to, and ‘ earneſtly deſired him, that he would ſay no- ‘ thing then, but expect a more convenient ‘ time: That day being paſt, for five days and ‘ more together, the king deceived him, per- ‘ ſuading him not to come to parliament, but ‘ to remain at his own houſe, promiſing, that, ‘ in his abſence, he ſhould not receive injury; ‘ but the ſaid king, in that parliament baniſh- ‘ ed the archbiſhop, during his pleaſure, tho' ‘ abſent,

1399. ‘ abſent, and not called to anſwer, without any ‘ reaſonable cauſe, confiſcating all his goods, ‘ againſt the laws of the land and all juſtice, by ‘ which he incurred perjury. Moreover, the ‘ king, intending to palliate his inconſtancy, ‘ by flattering words, endeavoured to caſt the ‘ injury done him upon others; wherefore, ‘ the archbiſhop, diſcourſing with the king, ‘ the duke of Norfolk, and other lords and ‘ great men, lamenting, ſaid, that he was not ‘ the firſt that had been baniſhed, nor ſhould ‘ be the laſt, ſince he thought, within a ſhort ‘ time, the duke of Norfolk and other lords ‘ would follow him; and he conſtantly told ‘ the king, that the conſequences of the pre- ‘ miſes would prove fatal to himſelf, at laſt: ‘ To which the king, as if he had been aſto- ‘ niſhed, forthwith, replied, he believed it ‘ might ſo happen, that he might be expelled ‘ his kingdom, by his ſubjects; and added, ‘ that, if it ſhould be ſo, he would go to the ‘ place where he was; and, that the archbi- ‘ ſhop might give credit to him, he ſhewed ‘ him a great jewel of gold, which he would ‘ ſend to him, as a token, that he would not ‘ defer his coming to the place where he was; ‘ and, with the ſame view, he ſent to him, ad- ‘ viſing him, that he ſhould privately ſend all ‘ the jewels belonging to his chapel to be ſafely ‘ kept, leſt, under the pretence of the judg- ‘ ment of baniſhment, they might be ſeized; ‘ which being done, the king cauſed the goods ‘ to be put in coffers, which he ordered to be ‘ locked, and ſealed, by one of the arch- ‘ biſhop's clerks, by whom he ſent the keys to ‘ him; and afterwards he cauſed the coffers to ‘ be broken, taking the goods, and diſpoſing ‘ of them, at his pleaſure: The ſame king ‘ alſo faithfully promiſed the archbiſhop, that, ‘ if he would go to the poort of Hampton, in ‘ order to leave the kingdom, by the queen's ‘ interceſſion, he ſhould be recalled; and, that, ‘ if he went out of the kingdom, after Eaſter ‘ next coming, without fail, he ſhould return ‘ into England, nor ſhould he, any way, loſe ‘ his archbiſhoprick; to the performance of ‘ which, he ſwore, by the croſs of Thomas ‘ the martyr, archbiſhop of Canterbury; tho', ‘ notwithſtanding his promiſes, he cauſed the ‘ archbiſhop to go out of the kingdom, and ‘ wrote to the pope, for his tranſlation; and, ‘ thus, and otherwiſe, by the frauds of the ‘ king, was the archbiſhop, a man of good ‘ faith, craftily circumvented.

Richard is depoſed.

Theſe articles, being drawn up, were laid before the parliament, who unanimouſly acknowledged them to be well grounded and notorious, and pronounced, that Richard ſhould be depoſed; and they likewiſe appointed commiſſioners to give him notice of his depoſition, and to annul the oaths and homage of the people of England, after much the ſame manner, as in the caſe of Edward II. 1399.

The duke of Lancaſter claims the crown.

This affair being ſettled, and the throne declared vacant, the duke of Lancaſter roſe up; and, after croſſing himſelf, he claimed the crown; founding his pretenſions “ upon his “ being deſcended from Henry III, and on “ the right he had received from God, by the “ aſſiſtance of his relations and friends, for the “ recovery of his realm of England, which was “ upon the brink of deſtruction *.

Remarks on the duke's claim.

The duke affected to make uſe of obſcure expreſſions, in order to leave undetermined the foundation on which he built his pretended right; and, if he ſeemed to derive his title from Henry III, rather than from Edward III, his grandfather, it was on account of a rumour, that Edmund, earl of Lancaſter, ſirnamed Crouch-Back, was eldeſt ſon to Henry III, tho' by reaſon of his deformity, Edward I, his younger brother, was placed on the throne. The duke, by this ſuppoſition, would have made the ignorant believe, that he could ground his title upon being ſon to Blanche of Lancaſter, grand-daughter to Edmund Crouch-Back, and heireſs of that family; but, as he was ſenſible, that he could not impoſe upon every one, by ſo palpable a forgery, he, at the ſame time, intimated, that he likewiſe built his right upon the ſervice he had lately done the ſtate.

As it was reſolved to adjudge the crown to the duke, the parliament ſtudiouſly avoided too ſtrict an examination of his claim, being extremely willing to ſuppoſe it uncontеſtable; and, without the leaſt regard to the juſt rights of the earl of Marche, it was decreed, that Henry of Lancaſter ſhould be proclaimed king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, which was done, that very day, being the 30th of September †.

The end of the reign of Richard II.

Thus, ended the reign of Richard II, a prince, who, in his younger years, appeared to have noble and generous inclinations, but unfortunately ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted, by flattery. He was the deſcendant of a father and grandfather, ſo univerſally eſteemed, that, had he never ſo little anſwered the nobility of his birth, he might have been one of the moſt illuſtrious monarchs, that ever wore the Engliſh crown; but, like Edward II, his great grandfather, he was ſo weak as to give himſelf up to the guidance of his favourites. Accordingly, he underwent the ſame fate with that prince, whom he did but too much reſemble, in every other particular; for the

* He claimed the crown, in the form following: “ In the name of the Fader, Sonne, and Holy Ghoſt, “ I, Henry of Lancaſter, chalenge this reume of Ynglonde and the croune, with all the membres and the appurte- “ nances, als I, that am deſcendit, be right lyne, of the blode comyng fro the gude lorde king Henry therde, and “ thorghe that ryght that God of his grace hath ſent me, with helpe of my kyn and of my friendes, to reco- “ ver it: The which rewme was in poynt to be ondone, for defaut of governance, and undoying of the “ good laws.”

† After all which, king Henry ſaid, “ Sires, I thank God and zowe ſpiritual and temporel, and all the aſtates “ of the lond, and do zowe to wyte, it es noght my will that no man thynk, that, be waye of conqueſt, I wold “ diſherit any man of his heritage, franches, or other ryghts that hym aght to have, nor put him out of that he has, “ and has had by the gude lawes and cuſtumes, of the rewme; except thos perſons that has ben agan the gude pur- “ poſe, and the commune profyte of the rewme.

chief

1399. chief difference between them is, that Richard was of a more cruel and implacable temper, and uſurped a more abſolute power than Edward, which rendered him more odious, and leſs lamented. Let us conclude this reign with a remark on the ſad cataſtrophe of theſe two princes; namely, that in a government, like that of England, all the king's efforts, to uſurp an arbitrary power, are but ſo many ſteps towards his deſtruction *. 1399.

The State of the Church, from the reign of EDWARD I, in 1272, to the end of the reign of RICHARD II, in 1399.

EVER ſince king John became vaſſal and tributary to the ſee of Rome, the popes conſidered England, as a conquered country, for which they had not any regard; and the reigns of John and Henry III. afford us ſuch flagrant inſtances, to this purpoſe, that it would be needleſs to add any thing, to ſhew, to what exceſs the papal power was carried in the kingdom. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that, the incroachments of the court of Rome continuing inceſſantly, or rather daily increaſing, the Engliſh grew ſo weary of them, that, at length, in the reign of Edward I, they reſolved upon making uſe of effectual means, for their deliverance; tho' they did not come to this reſolution, till after frequent experience, that all their complaints and ſollicitations to the popes were entirely uſeleſs, wherein principally conſiſts what I have to offer, concerning religion, during the four laſt reigns; but, to render this matter more intelligible, it will be requiſite briefly to relate the occaſion of the conteſts England had, as well with the court of Rome, as with the clergy.

I. The firſt cauſe of complaint was the frequent appeals to the court of Rome, not one of which was rejected.

II. The frequent citations cauſed by theſe appeals, which obliged people to ſpend their ſubſtance in journies to Rome, to ſollicit their affairs.

III. That the pope had uſurped the collation of almoſt all the church-preferments, not excepting the biſhopricks and archbiſhopricks, contrary to the rights of the king, the chapters, and the patrons.

This incroachment was arrived to ſuch a height, that the popes diſpoſed of all the benefices in the kingdom; for, by the plenitude of the apoſtolick power, they reſerved to themſelves all the benefices that ſhould become vacant, by tranſlation, death, or any other way; by which means, they eluded all the canonical elections in England, without alledging other reaſons, except that they had reſerved to themſelves, before-hand, the right of nomination to the ſaid benefices. It was obvious, that they intended to procure, by degrees, the collation of all the benefices of the kingdom; for, when they could not make uſe of theſe pretences, they ſeldom failed to object againſt the party elected, and confer the benefice upon another; and very frequently, when the biſhop elect came to be confirmed, he found his ſee already diſpoſed of by the pope.

IV. But, as this generally occaſioned great conteſts, and, as thoſe that were canonically elected were, for the moſt part, ſupported by the king, the pope, to free himſelf from theſe importunities, beſtowed the biſhopricks, and other benefices, before they were vacant, by way of proviſion; and this was another great cauſe of complaint for the Engliſh.

V. It was likewiſe complained of, that moſt of the benefices, diſpoſed of by the pope, were conferred on foreigners, particularly on the cardinals, and their relations, who, by vertue of the pope's diſpenſation, enjoyed the profit, tho' they never reſided; and theſe benefices were commonly farmed out to the Engliſh, who, for their own advantage, got the cure ſerv'd, for a very ſmall ſalary; on which account, divine ſervice was neglected, the churches ran to ruin, hoſpitality was baniſhed, and the inſtruction of chriſtians almoſt wholly aboliſhed. Moreover, the money was carried out of the kingdom, for ever, and it will manifeſtly appear, how prejudicial this was to the country, if it be conſidered, that, according to a calculation made, in the reign of Henry III, the foreign eccleſiaſticks had greater revenues, in England, than the prince on the throne.

VI. Frequent taxes, impoſed on the clergy, by the popes; ſometimes, under the pretence of a Cruſade; at other times, to ſupply the neceſſities of the holy ſee; and, laſtly, by the tenths, which they liberally granted to the king, becauſe they generally had a ſhare.

VII. The legates and nuncio's, ſent into England, without any occaſion for them, were a great grievance to the Engliſh; for the clergy were not only obliged to bear their expences, but alſo to make them conſiderable preſents, and pay them procurations, beſides other impoſitions, which the pope impowered them to levy upon the eccleſiaſticks; ſo that the money went out of the kingdom, without any poſſibility of recovering the ſame. Act. Pub.

VIII. The popes were likewiſe poſſeſſed of the firſt-fruits of all the benefices; which greatly exhauſted the treaſure of the kingdom.

* In king Richard's reign, was introduced the cuſtom of wearing piked ſhoes, tied to the knees with chains of ſilver; ladies likewiſe wore high attire on their heads, piked horns, with long trained gowns, and rode on ſide-ſaddles, after the example of the queen, Ann of Bohemia, who firſt brought that faſhion into England; for women before uſed to ride aſtride, like men. Stow. -- In 1397, king Richard began to repair Weſtminſter-hall, and cauſed the walls, windows, and roof, to be pulled down and rebuilt, with a ſtately porch, as it continues to this day. Cambd.

IX. Peter-

IX. Peter-pence, which, at firſt, was no more than a charitable allowance, granted by the Saxon kings, for the maintenance of the Engliſh college at Rome, was converted into a tribute; which the pope collected, in a very rigorous manner, widely different from that practiſed, in former days.

X. Finally, the tribute king John had engaged to pay the holy ſee, and which the popes exacted, with great haughtineſs, was conſidered by the Engliſh, as an inſupportable yoke, and a ſtanding badge of their ſlavery.

XI. As to the diſputes between the crown and the clergy, the king and the magiſtrates complained, that the clergy continually endeavoured to incroach upon the prerogatives of the crown, as they were ſecure of being always ſupported by the court of Rome.

XII. That the clergy had extended their juriſdiction to many matters, purely civil, pretending that there is no caſe, in which religion is not ſomewhat concerned; and this complaint principally regarded matrimonial cauſes.

XIII. They farther alledged, that the eccleſiaſticks, inſtead of ſupporting, on occaſion, the rights and prerogatives of the crown, were always diſpoſed to join with the pope, as if he had been their only ſovereign.

Theſe are the chief grievances complained of by the Engliſh, and from which they attempted, from time to time, to free themſelves, either by acts of parliament, or orders of council; but theſe precautions furniſhed the popes, at the ſame time, with a pretence for complaining, in their turn, that the Engliſh ſtrove to rob the church of her privileges; and, in this, they had a great advantage, by loudly urging the cauſe of God, which they continually confounded with their own intereſt. In a bull of pope Clement V, inſerted in the Collection of Publick Acts, are ſpecified the complaints of the court of Rome againſt the Engliſh; and, as I have related the grievances of the Engliſh, it is reaſonable, that I ſhould alſo take notice of thoſe of the pope.

The grievances of the popes againſt the Engliſh.

I. The pope complained, that the cardinals were prevented from enjoying the prebends he conferred on them, tho' the profoundeſt reſpect was due to perſons ordained by God, to bear their part of the burden of governing the church.

II. That, although he had an inconteſtable right to collate benefices, as well in England as in all other ſtates, thoſe, on whom he had beſtowed them, were not allowed to take poſſeſſion; nor were they excommunicated, that had the boldneſs to oppoſe it.

III. That ſuch, as were ſummoned, on that account, were not permitted to obey the ſummons; and that notaries were prohibited to act, and the king's ſubjects to appear, out of the kingdom.

IV. That the pope's nuncio's were debarred from exerciſing their commiſſion, without the king's licenſe; and that ſome of them had even been publickly impriſoned, and not releaſed, without paying a large fine.

V. That the magiſtrates would not ſuffer the excommunicated to be impriſoned, after 40 days, which, according to a good and laudable cuſtom, were allowed them, to make the church ſatisfaction.

VI. That the king ſent frequent prohibitions to the eccleſiaſtical courts, not to try cauſes, the cognizance of which belonged to them.

VII. That the juriſdiction of the ſaid courts over the clergy was abriged, without conſidering, that eccleſiaſtical perſons are, in no reſpect, dependent upon the laity.

VIII. That the civil courts preſumed to condemn eccleſiaſticks, without the conſent of their ſuperiors.

IX. That clergymen were conſtrained to appear, in their ſhirts, in the civil courts, notwithſtanding they pleaded their privileges; that, indeed, they were ſent back to the eccleſiaſtical court, when they were demanded; yet it very frequently happened, that, if they were not found guilty, the civil judges were ſo bold, as fully to acquit them, without permitting the eccleſiaſtical court to take any cognizance of the matter.

X. That eccleſiaſticks were ſubjected to the trial of 12 lay-perſons, and were acquitted, or condemned, by the verdict of theſe 12 incompetent judges.

XI. That the great men often lodged in the monaſteries, and put them to a great expence, on the trifling pretence of their being founded by their anceſtors.

XII. That, during the vacancy of the abbies, thoſe, who were entruſted with the cuſtody by the king, conſumed the revenues, and committed great damages.

XIII. Laſtly, That the tribute of 1000 marks, due to the holy ſee, was not regularly paid; and that the arrears, which were to be ſent to Avignon, were applied to other uſes.

Theſe are the mutual complaints of the Engliſh and the popes; as to which, it may be remarked, that both parties agreed, as to facts, and differed only, as to right. To determine this point, it would be neceſſary to examine, whether the pope and clergy were, originally, poſſeſſed of the rights they aſſumed; or, they were granted by ſome authority; and, laſtly, whether that authority could lawfully confer them; but this would lead me into an old beaten diſpute, on which nothing new can be expected. I ſhall, therefore, only relate the means uſed by the Engliſh, to do themſelves juſtice, for the injuries they complained of, and the endeavours of the popes, to ſupport the privileges they were poſſeſſed off; but, firſt, it will be proper to obſerve, that, in theſe conteſts, all the popes conſtantly adhered to the ſame maxims, without the leaſt variation; tho' the monarchs of England, to pleaſe their humour, or gratify their paſſions, did not ſcruple, very frequently, to derogate from the prerogatives of the crown; which is the true cauſe of the ſlow progreſs of the Engliſh, in their deſign of freeing themſelves from the papal oppreſſions. The leaſt relaxation made them loſe a great deal of ground; and, perhaps, they would never have accompliſhed the redreſs of any one grievance,

The advantages of the popes.

if the ſchiſms in the church had not afforded them opportunities, which they wiſely improved; for the popes, ſtanding often in need of the kings of England, were, at ſuch junctures, obliged to compliances, to which, doubtleſs, they would never have ſubmitted, at any other ſeaſon.

The means of redreſſing the grievances.

As the pope and clergy ſupported each other, one of the moſt effectual means practiſed, in England, to oppoſe the papal power, was to cheque the growth of the wealth of the clergy; and, with that view, the ſtatute of Mortmain was enacted, in the reign of Edward I. which, as they inceſſantly acquired, and never alienated, was a fatal blow to the clergy, who, without this ſtatute, would have been maſters of all the lands in the kingdom; yet this ſtatute was almoſt as prejudicial to the pope, ſince limits could not be preſcribed to the power of the clergy, without leſſening, at the ſame time, that of the court of Rome. Edward I. alſo ſtruck at the papal authority, at leaſt, with reſpect to the collation of the biſhopricks, by obliging the biſhops to renounce the article of the proviſion-bull, which gave them their temporalities; in which he was followed by his ſucceſſors.

The fruitleſs attempts under Edward II.

If Edward II. had diſcovered more ſteadineſs and reſolution, or had not been forced, by the circumſtances of the times, to keep fair with Rome, he might have greatly promoted the work of liberty, which the Engliſh had, ſo long and ſo paſſionately, deſired; for they never were in a better diſpoſition to ſhake of the galling yoke. This appears, in the king's letters to the pope, and in the vigorous efforts of ſeveral parliaments, in his reign; but Edward, expecting always to find, in the papal authority, a protection againſt his ſubjects, often ſtooped to condeſcenſions, for the court of Rome, deſtructive of the intereſts of his kingdom; which rendered the endeavours of the parliament abortive, during the courſe of his reign.

The ſtatute of Proviſors.

However, under Edward III, more effectual meaſures were taken, to be delivered from theſe intolerable oppreſſions; I mean the two ſtatutes, which tended to cut up, by the roots, two of the moſt conſiderable grievances, had they been punctually put in execution. The firſt was the ſtatute of Proviſors, by which it was enacted, that, if the pope collated any archbiſhoprick, biſhoprick, dignity or other benefice, contrary to the rights of the kings, chapters, or patrons, the collation was to devolve to the king, for one turn; and, if any perſon ſued for, and procured, reſervations, or proviſions from the court of Rome, he ſhould be impriſoned, till he had paid fine to the king, at his pleaſure, and found ſufficient ſecurity not to proſecute any man, in the court of Rome, on account of his impriſonment.

The ſtatute of Præmunire.

The ſecond act was the ſtatute of Præmunire, by which it was enacted, that, if any of the king's ſubjects ſhould carry into a foreign court cauſes, the cognizance whereof belonged to the king's court, they ſhould be impriſoned, and their lands, goods, and chattels, be forfeited to the king.

A memorial to the parliament againſt the court of Rome. Rot. Parl. 50 Edw. 3.

Altho' theſe two acts ſeemed to deprive the pope of all hopes of diſpoſing, for the future, of any benefice, and ought to have made him apprehenſive, that the parliament would proceed to redreſs other grievances, the court of Rome ſtill continued her oppreſſions; and, in 1376, about a year before the death of Edward III, a memorial was preſented to the parliament, ſhewing, that, by the death and tranſlation of biſhops, the pope exacted five times the yearly revenue of the vacant ſee, and, by that means, drew out of the kingdom 20,000 marks per annum; that the pope's agents collected the ſaid ſum, for the neceſſities of the holy ſee; that, this very year, the pope had ſeized the firſt-fruits of all the benefices, in England; that he had increas'd the number of the cardinals to 30, of whom not above two or three were well affected to England; that the pope's avarice was worſe than the plague; that, in ſpite of the ſtatute of Proviſors, perſons were daily provided with benefices, by the court of Rome, and that it was impoſſible to prevent it, without baniſhing all that ſhould dare to accept of theſe proviſions; and, in a word, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to put a ſtop to theſe oppreſſions, to prevent England from falling into a fatal ſlavery. Upon theſe complaints, which were carried to Gregory XI, there was a ſort of agreement made, between the king and the pope, but ſo full of equivocations and reſervations, on the part of the pope, that it was obvious, that he did not intend to deſiſt from his pretended rights; for he only promiſed, in general, that he would conſider the complaints of the Engliſh, and behave, with more moderation, for the future. Gregory dying, ſoon after, his ſucceſſors, regardleſs of his engagements, ſtill continued to beſtow Engliſh benefices upon foreigners; which obliged the houſe of commons to petition Richard II, to ſeize all the effects of the beneficed agents, and baniſh them the realm; and the king granted their requeſt.

An agreement between Edward III. and Gregory XI.

Freſh efforts of the Engliſh.

In the ſame reign, the ſtatute of Proviſors was confirmed and enlarged.

Two years before, Richard prohibited the clergy, under heavy penalties, to pay a tax impoſed by the pope.

The next year, he publiſhed a proclamation, commanding, on pain of death, and forfeiture of eſtate, all perſons that were gone to Rome, to ſollicit the repeal of the ſtatutes of Proviſors and Præmunire, to return into England, within a limited time.

The ſtatute of Præmunire is enlarged.

All theſe precautions being inſufficient to cheque the popes, who pretended not to be obliged by acts of parliament, the ſtatute of Præmunire was reviv'd, in 1392, with enlargements, which ſeemed to leave the court of Rome no hopes of evading it; wherein it was enacted, that all perſons, that ſhould purſue, in the court of Rome, tranſlations, ſentences of excommunication, bulls, mandates, or any other things whatſoever, contrary to the rights of the king and crown, ſhould be denied the protection of the laws, and proſecuted, according to the ſtatute of Præmunire; that all thoſe,

thoſe, that ſhould bring into the kingdom theſe foreign inſtruments, or receive and publiſh them, ſhould be liable to the ſame penalties; and, laſtly, that they, who purſued any proceſs, in a foreign court, to the prejudice of the king's, right, ſhould be treated, in the ſame manner.

The pope perſiſts notwithſtanding.

This rigid act curb'd the Engliſh, who were ſubject to the laws, but not the pope, who was out of their reach; and, accordingly, he did not deſiſt from his pretenſions. In 1398, he tranſlated the biſhop of Lincoln to the ſee of Cheſter, and gave the biſhoprick of Lincoln to Henry Beaufort, ſon of the duke of Lancaſter; but the biſhop of Lincoln, who had not ſued for this tranſlation, not daring to accept it, on account of the ſtatute of Præmunire, retired to a monaſtery; and the pope tranſlated the biſhop of Landaff to the ſee of Cheſter. Richard was extremely incenſed, that the pope ſhould preſume, without being deſired, to remove biſhops from one ſee to another; and, ſummoning the clergy, on this occaſion, he demanded their opinion of theſe tranſlations contrary to his will. This queſtion puzzled the clergy; who, fearing to diſpleaſe the king, or the pope, avoided giving a poſitive anſwer. Some time after, the pope ſent a nuncio into England, in order to procure a repeal of the foreſaid ſtatutes; but, tho' the nuncio met with an honourable reception, he could not ſucceed in his commiſſion; and, Richard being depoſed, the following year, the conteſts with the court of Rome continued in the ſame ſituation.

The deſign of the popes to extend their authority over temporals.

Doubtleſs, it was time for the Engliſh nation, as well as the reſt of Europe, to do all that was poſſible, to ſtop the growth of the papal power; for they muſt voluntarily ſhut their eyes, not to ſee, that all the proceedings of the popes tended to render them temporal ſovereigns of Europe. The decretal Unam Sanctam of Boniface VIII. evidently ſhews, that he thought himſelf inveſted with the temporal, as well as ſpiritual power; but, as it may be objected, that it is unreaſonable to aſcribe the ambitious deſign of Boniface to all the popes, this evidence may be ſupported by another, which demonſtrates, that Boniface did only tread in the ſteps of his predeceſſors. John XXII, by his ſole authority, publiſhed a truce, between England and Scotland, againſt the conſent of one of the parties, and commiſſioned his legates to conclude a peace between the two kingdoms, upon what terms they pleaſed; and likewiſe to compel the two kings and their ſubjects, punctually to obſerve the ſame, on pain of excommunication. Does not this proceeding ſhew, that all the popes acted, with the ſame ſpirit, and, if their ambition had been indulged, would have conſidered chriſtian princes but as ſubjects, or, at leaſt, as vaſſals to the ſee of Rome?

Hereſies.

Let us now proceed to the hereſies, or rather the opinions branded with that name, during the interval above-mentioned.

In 1286, or 1287, Peckham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, cenſured eight propoſitions maintained by Richard Knapwell, a Dominican friar; and ſome of theſe propoſitions from whence we may learn, what ſubjects were diſcuſſed in the ſchools, and wherein knowledge was made to conſiſt, were, as follows: Opinions are condemned. T. Wikes. Knighton. Spelman. Conc.

I. That the dead body of Jeſus Chriſt had not the ſame ſubſtantial form, as when alive.

III. That, if the euchariſtical bread had been conſecrated with theſe words, "This is "my body," during the three days Jeſus Chriſt lay in his grave, it would have been tranſubſtantiated into the new form, which the body of Chriſt aſſumed, at the ſeparation of his ſoul.

IV. That, after the reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt, the euchariſtical bread is tranſubſtantiated, by vertue of theſe words, "This is my body," into the whole living body of Chriſt; that is, the matter of the bread is converted into the matter of his body, and the ſubſtantial form of the bread, into the ſubſtantial form of his body, that is, into his intellectual ſoul, ſo far as it conſtitutes the form of his body.

VII. That, in the articles of faith, a man is not obliged to reſt upon the authority of the pope, or of any prieſt or doctor *; but that the holy ſcriptures, and evident conſequences from thence †, are the only foundation of our aſſent.

VIII. That the rational ſoul is the only form, by which a man is a man.

This laſt article was conſidered, as the foundation of the reſt; and all together were condemned by the archbiſhop.

In 1314, in the reign of Edward II, ſome ſtudents of Oxford maintained, in their diſputations, certain opinions, about the Trinity and creation of the world, which, being brought before the univerſity, were condemned, as heretical.

Wickliff publiſhes his doctrine.

Theſe opinions, being entirely founded on ſcholaſtick notions, were ſtifled, at once, becauſe the people were very ignorant in ſuch matters; but the caſe was otherwiſe, with reſpect to Wickliff's doctrine, publiſh'd, towards the end of the XIVth century, in the ſame univerſity; becauſe his doctrine was of another nature, and tended to reform the abuſes crept into the church. Accordingly, his opinions were embraced by great numbers; but, as this is the moſt material eccleſiaſtical affair of the XIVth century, it will be neceſſary fully to relate theſe opinions, and the zeal with which they were received by ſome, and condemned by others.

John Wickleſ, or rather Wickliff, was educated, at Oxford, in Merton-college, where he took his degree of doctor of divinity. He was ſo famous, for his learning, parts, and fine genius, that Simon Iſlip, archbiſhop of Canterbury, having founded Canterbury-college ‡ in Oxford, made him rector; and Wickliff behaved, in that poſt, with univerſal approbation, till the deceaſe of the archbiſhop, who had a profound eſteem

* Gregory, or Auguſtin. Spelman. Conc.
† "Sed tantum auctoritati bibliæ, & neceſſariæ rationi."
‡ Now ſwallowed in Chriſt-church.

for

for him. Langham, ſucceſſor to Iſlip *, deſirous of favouring the monks, and to introduce them into the college, attempted to turn out Wickliff, and put one Woodhull, a monk, in his room; but he could never prevail on the fellows of the college, to conſent to the removal of their old rector. This affair being brought to Rome, the monks of Canterbury ſollicited the pope ſo ſtrenuouſly, in behalf of Woodhull, that Wickliff was deprived of his rectorſhip; yet this did not, in the leaſt, injure the doctor's reputation. It was manifeſt, that the monks did not ſo much ſtrike at his perſon, as at all the ſeculars that were members of the college; and, indeed, they were all turned out, as well he, to make way for the monks. Shortly after, Wickliff was preſented to the living of Lutterworth, in the dioceſe of Lincoln; and then it was that he publiſhed, in his ſermons and writings, certain opinions which ſeemed to be novel, becauſe, contrary to the received doctrine of the preſent age. As he did not declare his ſentiments, till after the loſs of his rectorſhip, his enemies accuſed him of acting from a ſpirit of revenge, on account of the injury done him; but I ſhall not undertake to clear him from this charge; ſince, as God alone ſees into the hearts of men, it is raſhneſs to accuſe, or excuſe them, with regard to the ſecret motives of their actions; but, however that be, I ſhall only take notice, that Wickliff's moſt inveterate enemies have never taxed him with any immoralities. Theſe are the principal articles maintained by Wickliff, in his writings and ſermons.

Wickliff's doctrine. Walſing.

I. That the Euchariſt, after conſecration, is not the real body of Chriſt, but only its emblem or figure.

II. That the church of Rome is no more the head of the univerſal church, than any other church; nor was there any greater power given to St. Peter, than to the reſt of the apoſtles.

III. That the pope of Rome has no more juriſdiction, in the exerciſe of the keys, than any other prieſt.

IV. That, if the church misbehaves, it is not only lawful, but meritorious, to diſpoſſeſs her of her temporalities.

V. That, when a prince, or temporal lord, is convinced, that the church abuſes her endowments, he is obliged, on pain of damnation, to take them away.

VI. That the goſpel is a ſufficient directory to a chriſtian, in the conduct of his life.

VII. That all other rules inſtituted by holy men, and practiſed in the monaſteries, add no more perfection to chriſtianity, than whiteneſs to a wall.

VIII. That neither the pope, nor any other prelate, ought to have priſons, for the puniſhing offenders againſt the diſcipline of the church; but that every perſon ſhould be left at his liberty, in the conduct of his life.

It muſt be remarked, that Wickliff, in the laſt article, did not mean, as he explained himſelf afterwards, that the pope, or the prelates, had not the power of binding and looſing, but only, that the church had no right to inflict temporal puniſhments on ſinners.

Whether Wickliff and his followers enlarged theſe articles, by the conſequences which may naturally be deduced from them; or his adverſaries, from whom alone we have any account of him, made any additions, to render him odious, we find, in the hiſtorians, many other opinions aſcribed to him. Poſſibly, ſome of theſe additional opinions are not to be maintained; and there are others, which, being contrary to the articles of the church of England, have led ſome Engliſh writers to ſpeak of Wickliff, with contempt, and even called him heretick; but, as it would be too tedious fully to examine, here, all theſe opinions, let us reſt contented with thoſe that firſt appeared, which are really his, and have ſerved for a foundation to all the reſt.

Wickliff has many followers. Walſing.

Theſe opinions, maintained by Wickliff, with great vivacity, were, immediately, eſpouſed by great numbers, not only among the ſtudents of Oxford, but the lords at court; particularly, the duke of Lancaſter and the lord Piercy, earl marſhal, declared for him; but it muſt be obſerved, that this fell out, towards the end of the reign of Edward III, when that monarch, old and infirm, left the adminiſtration of the government to the duke of Lancaſter, his ſon, as we have ſeen, in his hiſtory.

The pope takes information againſt him; but he is ſupported by the duke of Lancaſter and the lord Piercy. Fox's Acts and Mon.

Gregory XI, hearing that theſe articles were publickly maintained, at Oxford, diſpatched an order to the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the biſhop of London, to apprehend and examine Wickliff, and ſend the depoſitions to Rome; but it was no eaſy matter for theſe prelates, fully to execute theſe orders, the duke of Lancaſter and the earl marſhal having openly declared, that they would not ſuffer Wickliff to be impriſoned; and, indeed, there was not, then, any act of parliament, impowering the biſhops to impriſon hereticks, without the king's conſent. The two prelates, therefore, were ſatisfied with ſummoning Wickliff before them, in St. Paul's church, where there was a vaſt concourſe of people, to hear the examination; but the duke of Lancaſter and the lord Piercy, accompanying the doctor, aſſured him, that there was no danger; and that he might make a courageous defence, againſt men, who were no more than mere ignoramus's, in compariſon of himſelf. The following ſhort dialogue paſſed, between theſe two lords and the biſhop of London, upon Wickliff's account; for, the lord Piercy bidding the doctor ſit down, the biſhop of London oppoſed it, and commanded him to ſtand up; but the earl marſhal would not permit him.

Biſhop of London. "Lord Piercy, if I "could have imagined, that you would have "played the maſter here, I would have pre-"vented your coming."

* After the death of Simon Iſlip, William Edington, biſhop of Wincheſter, was offered the archbiſhoprick; but he refuſed it, ſaying, "That, tho' Canterbury was the higher rack, Wincheſter was the better manger."

The

The duke of Lancaſter. "Yes, he ſhall "play the maſter here, notwithſtanding your "oppoſition."

The lord Piercy. "Wickliff, ſit down, "you had need of a ſeat, for you have many "things to ſay."

Biſhop. "It is unreaſonable that a clergy-"man, cited before his ordinary, ſhould ſit "down, during his anſwer. He ſhall ſtand."

Duke of Lancaſter. "My lord Piercy is "in the right; and, as for you, my lord bi-"ſhop, who are grown ſo haughty and arro-"gant, I will take care to humble your pride, "and not only yours, but that of all the pre-"lates, in England. Thou relieſt upon the "credit of thy relations; but, far from being "able to help thee, they ſhall find it extremely "difficult to ſupport themſelves."

Biſhop. "I place no confidence either in "my relations, or in any man elſe, but in "God alone, who will give me the boldneſs "to ſpeak the truth."

The duke ſpeaking ſoftly to the lord Piercy:

"Rather than take this uſage from the bi-"ſhop, I'll drag him, by the hair of the head, "out of the church."

The duke of Lancaſter muſt certainly have been very paſſionate, ſince it is evident, the biſhop's laſt words were not ſo inſolent, as to occaſion ſuch a furious tranſport of anger; but, perhaps, the hiſtorians, being friends to the clergy, have ſoftened the biſhop's expreſſions, that the duke might ſeem to be in the wrong. However, the duke's words to the lord Piercy, being over-heard by ſome that ſtood near him, cauſed the tumult, mentioned, in the reign of Edward III, the particulars of which it will be needleſs to repeat; ſince it is ſufficient to remark, that, upon this accident, the aſſembly broke up, and Wickliff's examination was deferred.

Wickliff's proſecution drops.

Edward III. dying, ſoon after, and the duke of Lancaſter being preſident of the new king's council, the biſhops durſt not proſecute Wickliff; and, during that time, the number of his followers became ſo conſiderable, that the univerſity of Oxford debated, whether they ſhould receive the pope's bull, commanding them to proceed againſt Wickliff, with the utmoſt ſeverity. As the hiſtorian, who relates this particular, does not acquaint us with their final reſolution, the bull was, probably, rejected; whence it appears, that Wickliff's doctrine was not only embraced by ſome ignorant perſons, but by men of letters, and perſons of diſtinction. Some would perſuade us, that people were terrified into a feigned approbation of his doctrine; but it may be ſaid, on the contrary, with much more probability, that fear prevented many from being his followers; for a man ran no riſque, in adhering to the old, whereas it was dangerous to embrace the new doctrines.

Walſing.

Collier.

A bull is ſent to the archbiſhop to cite Wickliff. Spelman. Conc.

The pope, perceiving that his bull to the univerſity of Oxford produced no remarkable effect, ſent freſh orders to the archbiſhop of Canterbury and biſhop of London, to proſecute Wickliff; but, being informed, that the biſhops could not proceed in the affair, without the king's licenſe, he enjoined them to repreſent to Richard and his council, that Wickliff's errors were not only prejudicial to religion, but likewiſe to the ſtate. However, the king's council, it ſeems, were of a different opinion; and perhaps, no one was willing to offend the duke of Lancaſter, Wickliff's open protector.

They cite him, but drop the affair.

Nevertheleſs, the two prelates, willing to obey the pope, to the utmoſt of their power, ſummoned Wickliff, a ſecond time, before them, at Lambeth; who, appearing, by his manner of explaining his opinions, ſeemed ready to give the prelates ſome ſort of ſatisfaction; but, perhaps they would not have been contented with ſo general an explanation, if one Clifford, a gentleman, had not rudely entered the aſſembly, and prohibited their proceeding any farther. It is affirmed, that the two prelates were overawed by this abſolute order, though they knew not from whom it came; believing that Clifford durſt not act, thus, of himſelf; moreover, the populace intimated, by their menaces, that they would not ſee Wickliff ill-treated. Theſe conſiderations obliged the biſhops to diſmiſs the doctor, forbidding him to amuſe the people any more with diſputations of ſuch a dangerous conſequence; but, regardleſs of this injunction, according to the teſtimony of an antient hiſtorian, he continued to preach and defend his doctrine; which ſteadineſs, by the way, is inconſiſtent with the explanation of his opinions, that, it is pretended, he gave to the biſhops, and is repreſented, as full of equivocations and evaſions. The truth is, this diſguiſing of his ſentiments is not agreeable to his natural temper, which was far from being timorous; but, however that be, from that time, he lived in quiet upon his cure of Lutterworth, without the leaſt interruption; and, ſome time after, Courtney, archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſucceſſor to Simon Sudbury, beheaded by the Kentiſh rebels, ſummoned a provincial ſynod, at London, where Wickliff's doctrine was condemned. An hiſtorian affirms, that Wickliff was cited, and explained his opinions, in a manner extremely different from the literal ſenſe of the words; but, as nothing like it is to be met with, in the records of the ſynod, that author has, very probably, confounded this ſynod with that of Lambeth.

Knighton.

A ſynod condemns his doctrine. Spelman.

Wickliff's followers increaſe. Knighton.

The condemnation of Wickliff's doctrine did not prevent its ſpreading all over the kingdom, and with ſuch ſucceſs, that the foreſaid hiſtorian aſſures us, that two men could not be found together, but one of them was a Lollard. Richard II, as we have already obſerved, permitting the biſhops to proſecute and impriſon hereticks, ſeveral Lollards were cited before their reſpective biſhops; ſome of whom recanted, whilſt others bravely ſtood the ſhock; but, among theſe latter, not ſo much as one was delivered over to the ſecular arm, there being, as yet, no law, to that purpoſe. It was not till the ſucceeding reign, that thoſe barbarous executions commenced, in England; ſo that, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the biſhops, Wickliff's opinions flew over the kingdom,

with an amazing ſwiftneſs, the clergy not being at liberty to employ the only means they have, all along, thought expedient, to extirpate hereſy. Beſides, in all appearance, the biſhops durſt not perſonally attack Wickliff, leſt their ignorance ſhould be too much diſplayed by his ſuperior learning; but, however that be, Wickliff remained in quiet, at Lutterworth, till his death, in 1384*. Probably, in proceſs of time, his followers made ſome additions to his doctrine; wherefore, they have aſcribed to him whatever was advanced by his diſciples.

The loſs of the maſter did not diſpirit his followers; who continued to preach and maintain their opinions, with the ſame courage, as during his life; and ſuch was the daily progreſs of their doctrine, that, in 1386, the parliament thought themſelves obliged, to petition the king to take care, that the church and ſtate received no prejudice by the novel opinions of the Lollards. Upon this, the king appointed commiſſioners to peruſe Wickliff's books; but this commiſſion was executed, in a very negligent manner.

The Wickliffites ſeparate from the reſt of the church.

In 1389, the Wickliffites or Lollards began to ſeparate from the church of Rome, and appoint prieſts, from among themſelves, to perform divine ſervice, after their way; and, though ſome were, from to time time, proſecuted by the biſhops, theſe proſecutions were not very rigorous; their intent appearing to be only to hinder them from pleading preſcription; and, beſides, a petition, preſented to the king by a former parliament, to revoke the power granted the biſhops, to impriſon hereticks, reſtrained the moſt forward.

Remonſtrances to the commons.

However, in 1395, the attempts of the Lollards, in the king's abſence, to get their doctrine approved by the parliament, induced the biſhops to take other meaſures; for theſe pretended hereticks, being ſupported by an infinite number of followers, preſented to the houſe of commons a remonſtrance †, containing the 12 following articles.

I. That, when the church of England, treading in the ſteps of the church of Rome, began to make an ill uſe of their temporalities, faith and charity began to diſappear.

Spelman. Conc.

II. That the Engliſh prieſthood derived from Rome, and pretending to a power ſuperior to angels, is not the prieſthood ſettled by Chriſt upon his apoſtles.

III. That the celibacy of the clergy occaſioned many ſcandalous irregularities in the church.

IV. That the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation renders the greateſt part of Chriſtendom guilty of idolatry.

V. That exorciſms, benedictions, pronounced over water, bread, oil, ſtones, for the altar, church-walls, prieſts veſtments, the mitre, croſs, and pilgrim's ſtaff, have more of necromancy than religion.

VI. That it was a great crime to join, in the ſame perſon, eccleſiaſtical and civil offices.

VII. That prayers for the dead, in which one perſon is preferred to another, are not the charity preſcribed by the goſpel.

VIII. That pilgrimages, and offerings made to images and croſſes, and eſpecially the pictures repreſenting the holy Trinity, are a ſort of idolatry.

IX. That auricular confeſſion, ſerves only to make the prieſts proud, and, by letting them into the ſecrets of the penitent, gives opportunities, for many ſins and ſcandalous intrigues.

X. That the taking away any man's life, either in war, or courts of juſtice, is contrary to the doctrine of the goſpel, which is a diſpenſation of grace and mercy.

XI. That the vow of ſingle life, undertaken by women, is the cauſe of numberleſs diſorders, and of the murder of multitudes of children, unbaptiſed, or even unborn.

XII. That it is neceſſary to baniſh from civil ſociety all uſeleſs trades, which ſerve only to ſupport pride and luxury.

All theſe articles were enforced with proofs too long to be inſerted.

This remonſtrance, which, very probably, was privately approved by ſeveral members of parliament, ſo alarmed the clergy, that they, forthwith, deputed the archbiſhop of York and biſhop of London to the king, to intreat him to return, with all ſpeed, into England, that he might, by his preſence and authority, checque the growth of the new doctrine, as was related, in the reign of Richard II.

Some time after, Thomas Arundel, archbiſhop of Canterbury, held a ſynod, at London, wherein 18 articles, extracted from Wickliff's book, entitled Trialogus, were condemned. Spelman. Conc.

Theſe are the principal particulars, relating to Wickliff and his doctrine, before the depoſing of Richard II; but it muſt be added, that certain Bohemian ſtudents, being at Oxford, when Wickliff began to publiſh his doctrine, carried it into their own country, where it ſpread, in a ſurpriſing manner. It is time, now, to proceed to other affairs, relating to the Engliſh church, and, firſt of all, to the councils.

The council of Lyons. 1274.

I ſhall begin this head with the general council of Lyons, opened, May 1, 1274; which was chiefly, to receive the Greeks into the communion of the church of Rome, from which they had ſeparated, a ſecond time, upon the expulſion of the Latins from Conſtantinople. This union, indeed, was accompliſhed; but it was of a ſhort duration. Another reaſon of the council's meeting was, to reſtore the affairs of the Chriſtians, in Syria; for, as great endeavours were pretended to be uſed, in their favour, the pope demanded a ſubſidy of every church. It was eaſy to perceive the pope's intereſt, in this demand; for his predeceſſors had ſo frequently uſed this means, to

* He died of the palſy, Decemb. 31. Walſing. Ypodig.

† By Sir Richard Story, Lewis Clifford, Thomas Latimer, &c. Walſing.

procure

procure money, that it was impoſſible to be deceived. However, none of the prelates, not even the archbiſhop of Canterbury, oppoſed it; and Richard Mepham, dean of Lincoln, was the only perſon that had the courage to ſpeak, in the behalf of the intereſts of England. He boldly ſaid, that the Engliſh clergy were unable to contribute to the war, by reaſon of the continual exactions of the court of Rome, which ſcarce left them what was neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence; but this freedom coſt him his deanery, of which the pope directly deprived him; from whence we may form an idea of the liberty, in this council. I come, now, to the councils held, in England, during the four laſt reigns.

Synod of Reading. 1279. Spelman. Conc.

The firſt was aſſembled, in the reign of Edward I, by John de Peckham, archbiſhop of Canterbury; in which were rectified the canons of the general council of Lyons, concerning pluralities; and then the archbiſhop paſſed ſome canons, directly contrary to the royal prerogative, and was, therefore, obliged to repeal them, afterwards.

The Iſt decreed excommunication againſt ſuch, as ſued for the king's letters, to forbid certain cauſes from being tried, in the eccleſiaſtical court.

The IId rendered liable to the ſame penalty the magiſtrates, who refuſed to impriſon excommunicated perſons, after the 40 days allowed by the canons.

By the IIId, they that invaded the church's lands, were alſo to be excommunicated.

The IVth prohibited, under the ſame penalty, the ſelling of proviſions to the archbiſhop of York, whenever he ſhould come, within the archbiſhop of Canterbury's juriſdiction.

This was a ſhort and certain way to end his diſpute with the archbiſhop of York, about carrying the croſs; for, if this canon had not been annulled, the archbiſhop of York would have found it difficult to be preſent at the parliament, which was generally held, at London.

The Vth ordered the copies of Magna charta to be ſet up, on church-doors, that every one might read them.

Theſe canons plainly diſcover, with what ſpirit this prelate, who continued a long time at Rome, returned to England; and how far he would have extended the church's power, if the king had not prevented his deſigns.

Synod of Lambeth. 1281.

In 1281, the ſame archbiſhop convened, at Lambeth, a provincial ſynod, which made, among others, the following canons.

The IId enjoined the prieſts to acquaint the more ignorant ſort of the laity, that the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt are delivered to them, together with the ſpecies of bread; and that what they receive, in the chalice, is not holy, but only mere wine, to enable them more eaſily to ſwallow the other ſpecies; for, as the canon proceeds, the blood of our Lord is allowed only to the prieſts, that celebrate divine ſervice in theſe leſſer churches*.

The IIId canon forbids prieſts to re-baptiſe the children, that had been baptiſed by the laity, unleſs there is reaſon to doubt, whether the child was baptiſed, or not.

In this caſe, the canon allowed the prieſt to baptiſe the infant, with theſe additional words, "If thou art not already baptiſed, I baptiſe "thee, in the name of the Father, &c."

The Xth obliges the prieſts to inſtruct the people committed to their charge, in plain and intelligible language, without ſcholaſtick terms and diſtinctions; and then the canon lays down the heads they were to explain, and the ſenſe they were to give them.

Synod of Exeter. 1287. Spelman. Conc. T. II. p. 350.

In 1287, Peter Quivil, biſhop of Exeter, aſſembled a dioceſan ſynod, which ordained, that care ſhould be taken to inſtruct the people, about the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation; who were to be told, that the adoration of the hoſt could not be carried too far, ſince "they received, under the ſpecies of bread, "the ſame body that hung upon the croſs, "for their ſalvation, and under the ſpecies of "wine, the blood which was ſhed from Chriſt's "ſide." It ſeems to be a natural inference, from hence, that, in the church of Exeter, the laity, then, received the ſacrament, in both kinds.

A Synod againſt the templars. 1310.

We find only one remarkable council, in the reign of Edward II, held, at London, in 1310, in which the Templars were condemned to perpetual impriſonment.

A ſynod at London. 1328.

In 1328, in the reign of Edward III, Mepham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, held a provincial ſynod, at London; by which Good-friday, and the Conception of the Bleſſed Virgin were made holy-days, and all work was forbidden; tho' the country people were allowed to follow their buſineſs, after divine ſervice. The ſame ſynod prohibited all monks, hermits, and canons regular, to take confeſſions; and a canon, made in a former ſynod, at Oxford, which admitted appeals only after a definitive ſentence, was revoked.

A ſynod at Magfield. 1332.

In 1332, Mepham convened another provincial ſynod, at Magfield, which ſettled all the holy-days obſerved, in the province of Canterbury; and, among the feſtivals, are St. George's day, and that of St. Auguſtin, the firſt archbiſhop of Canterbury.

A ſynod againſt the mendicant friars.

Stratford, archbiſhop of Canterbury, held, at London, in 1342, a provincial ſynod, of which the principal canons are theſe:

The IVth enjoined the monks, who had any appropriated livings, to relieve the poor, in proportion to the value of the benefice; and, for every failure, the biſhops were impowered to compel them to their duty, by ſequeſtring the profits.

The IXth was levelled againſt the Mendicant friars, who, abuſing the confidence of dying perſons, perſuaded them to make wills, to the prejudice of their families; and, as the ſynod durſt not directly attack the friars, who were under the pope's protection, thoſe, who were prevailed on to diſpoſe of their eſtates ſo unreaſonably

* "Sollicite eos inſtruant ſub panis ſpecie ſimul eis dari corpus & ſanguinem Domini, immo Chriſtum integrum, vivum, & verum, qui totus eſt ſub ſpecie ſacramenti. Spelman. Conc.

reaſonably, were debarred the benefit of chriſtian burial.

During the reign of Richard II, the only remarkable councils were thoſe held, on occaſion of Wickliff and his followers; but, as theſe have been taken notice of, elſewhere, a repetition here, is entirely needleſs.

Of the ſchiſms.

Tho' England was no more concerned than other chriſtian ſtates, in the ſchiſms that divided the church; yet the knowledge of them is not only abſolutely neceſſary, for the underſtanding of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of thoſe times, but it may, in ſome meaſure, be ſaid, that the beſt part of that Hiſtory conſiſts of the conſequences of theſe ſcandalous ſchiſms.

John XXII. and Nicholas V.

From the beginning of the reign of Edward I. to the end of that of Richard II, two ſchiſms divided all Chriſtendom; but the firſt was of a ſhort continuance. Clement V, removing the papal chair to Avignon, died there, in 1314, and was ſucceeded by John XXII, who kept his reſidence, at the ſame place; but this pope was elected, after an extraordinary manner. The holy ſee remaining vacant, about two years after the deceaſe of Clement, becauſe the cardinals could not agree, they met, at length, at Lyons, in 1316, in order to chuſe a pope; but, the ſame diviſions ſtill reigning among them, they, by mutual conſent, referred the matter to the cardinal of Oſtia, biſhop of Oporto, who, immediately, nominated himſelf, and aſſumed the name of John XXII, At the ſame time, the empire was divided, by a double election, one part of the electors voting for Lewis of Bavaria, and the other for Frederick, duke of Auſtria; and John's refuſal, to acknowledge the firſt, cauſed a quarrel between them, which continually increaſed, till 1328, when Lewis, paſſing into Italy, degraded pope John, and procured Peter de Corbaria, a Cordelier, to be elected, who aſſumed the name of Nicholas V. and reſided at Rome. This anti-pope, being ſupported by the emperor, and the general of the Cordeliers, maintained his ground, for ſome time; but, at laſt, the emperor being forced to leave Italy, and a diſſenſion ariſing among the Cordeliers, Nicholas was taken, and conducted to Avignon; where he asked John's pardon, with a halter about his neck; and he was afterwards put into cloſe confinement, where he died, in a few months.

M. Weſt. Walſing.

A ſchiſm of Urban VI. and Clement VII.

The ſecond ſchiſm, between Urban VI. and Clement VII, was more conſiderable, and of a longer duration; but, as I have related the riſe of it, in the hiſtory of Richard II. I ſhall only ſhew its effects, to the cloſe of this century.

Urban VI. was ſucceeded, in 1389, by Boniface IX, who; as well as Clement, pretended to be deſirous to put an end to the ſchiſm; tho' nothing was farther from their intentions; and Clement VII, who died, at Avignon, in 1394, had, for his ſucceſſor, Benedict XIII.

All Chriſtendom being tired and offended at the ſchiſm, the court of France laboured to perſuade the two popes, to reſign their dignity, that another pope might be canonically elected; who both conſented, but violated their word. Benedict, eſpecially, made uſe of ſo many evaſions, that the king of France reſolved to withdraw his kingdom from his obedience, and, with this view, gained the cardinals of his party, who promiſed to deſert him; but Benedict, upon the news of this, introduced an Arragonian garriſon into his palace of Avignon. He was beſieged by Marſhal Boucicaut; who, ſoon after, received orders to raiſe the ſiege; and, thus, by the intrigues of ſome princes of the court of France, the ſchiſm ſtill continued, in ſpite of the king's endeavours to the contrary.

Nothing, now, remains, except to give a brief account of ſuch eccleſiaſticks as were eminent, for their merit and learning, during the four laſt reigns.

Kilwarby.

Robert Kilwarby, a Cordelier, or Minorite, was archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the reign of Edward I, and a prelate of great learning, conſidering the age in which he lived. He wrote ſeveral theological tracts, which were highly eſteemed, in thoſe days; and, his merit having advanced him to the dignity of a cardinal, he reſigned his archbiſhoprick, and went to reſide at Rome, where he died.

Burnell.

Robert Burnell, biſhop of Bath, was elected to be Kilwarby's ſucceſſor; but the pope, by the plenitude of his apoſtolick power, gave the ſee of Canterbury to John Pecham, an Engliſh Franciſcan, who was auditor of his chamber. This prelate had a great conteſt with Edward I, as well on occaſion of the canons of his ſynod, before-mentioned, as on other accounts; inſomuch, that the king was on the point of baniſhing him the realm. He was accounted very learned, particularly, in the civil and canon law; and there are extant ſome of his theological tracts, with commentaries upon ſeveral books of the ſcripture.

Pecham.

Winchelſey.

Robert Winchelſey, ſucceſſor to Pecham, preferred his archbiſhoprick to a cardinalate, offered him by the pope; but he is chiefly praiſed, for his charities; for he uſually relieved 4000 poor people, twice a week, at his houſe, beſides his maintaining many young ſcholars, at both the univerſities. Theſe charities gained him the affections of the people, who, after his deceaſe, flock'd, in crowds, to his tomb, and reverenced him, as a ſaint; but this prelate, ſo beloved by the people, had great conteſts with Edward I, for being deeply concerned in the intrigues of the lords, who oppoſed the king's deſigns. The pope, whom Edward gained to his intereſt, cited the archbiſhop to Rome, to juſtify his conduct, and laid him under a ſuſpenſion; and he was not reſtored, till the reign of Edward II.

M. Weſt. Walſing. Act. Pub.

Britton.

John Britton, biſhop of Hereford, was principally famous, for his knowledge of the common law; who wrote a book much eſteemed, De Juribus Anglicanis, and died, in 1275.

Duns Scotus.

Joannes Duns Scotus, commonly called Doctor Subtilis, lived, in the reign of Edward II; but, as he is univerſally known, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that he differed, in many points, from the opinion of Thomas Aquinas, and

and was a great champion, for the immaculate conception of the bleſſed virgin; and, after being profeſſor in divinity, at Oxford and Paris, he died at Cologn, in the ſame office, in 1309, or 1310.

Stapleton. Walter Stapleton, biſhop of Exeter, was remarkable, for his learning and capacity, in the adminiſtration of the publick affairs; and, particularly, for his loyalty to Edward II, for which he loſt his life, as we have already related.

Stratford. Stratford, archbiſhop of Canterbury, under Edward III, was more famous, as a politician, than as an archbiſhop. I have elſewhere, taken notice of his conteſt with Edward III, who accuſed him of miſdemeanors; but, afterwards, the king commanded his accuſations againſt him to be cancelled, as containing things both falſe and unreaſonable.

Bradwardin. Thomas Bradwardin, ſucceſſor to Stratford, was a great philoſopher and mathematician, and alſo a very learned divine, being ſtiled the profound doctor, and wrote a book againſt the Pelagians, by which he acquired a great reputation, intitled, Of the Cauſe of God; but what rendered him ſtill more eſteemed, than his learning, was his humility, and his zeal to inſtruct the people committed to his care. Before his promotion to the archiepiſcopal ſee, he was confeſſor to Edward III, and, attended that glorious prince, in all his expeditions; and ſome even affirm, that the progreſs of Edward's arms, in France, was, in a great meaſure, owing to his prudent counſels.

Occam. William Occam, of the order of St. Francis, diſciple to Duns Scotus, is famous, for being head of the Nominaliſts againſt the Realiſts, of whom his maſter Scotus was the chief; but it is needleſs to explain, here, the difference between theſe two ſects of philoſophers, with which, God be thanked, the publick ſchools are, now, ſeldom troubled.

Fitz-Ralph. Richard Fitz-Ralph, archbiſhop of Armagh, born, at Dundalk, in Ireland, was a great enemy to the Mendicant friars; whom he attacked vigorouſly in his ſermons, preached at London, wherein he undertook to prove the nine following propoſitions.

I. That, with reſpect to the place where confeſſions are to be made, the pariſh-churches are to be preferred to thoſe of the friars.

II. That pariſhioners ought rather to confeſs to a curate, than to a friar.

III. That, altho' Jeſus Chriſt was poor, whilſt on earth, he never affected poverty.

IV. That Chriſt did never beg, nor make profeſſion of voluntary poverty.

V. That he never taught people to make profeſſion of beggary.

VI. That Chriſt held the contrary, viz. that men ought not to beg, by inclination and choice, but only when conſtrained to it, by neceſſity.

VII. That to profeſs beggary is contrary to religion and common ſenſe.

VIII. That the vow of voluntary poverty, is not agreeable to the rule of the friars, Minorites, or Cordeliers.

IX. That the bull of Alexander IV, which condemns the libel of the doctors of Paris, does not cenſure any of theſe eight propoſitions.

Theſe articles, which attacked the Mendicant friars, in the moſt ſenſible part, as it was by their voluntary poverty that they had gained and preſerved their credit with the people, were carried to the pope, who cited the archbiſhop before him; yet, appearing, he courageouſly maintained all his aſſertions; but, before this affair was decided, he died, at Avignon, in 1360. He tranſlated the Bible into Engliſh, and wrote two treatiſes, one in defence of the pariſh-prieſts, againſt the friars; and the other, De Audientia Confeſſionum.

Triviſa. John de Triviſa, a Corniſh-man, who lived, in the reign of Edward III, tranſlated the Bible, and ſeveral other books into Engliſh; and, being of the archbiſhop of Armagh's opinion, he maintained, that Jeſus Chriſt ſent the apoſtles, but never Mendicant friars, to preach the goſpel.

Theſe are almoſt all that were eminent, for piety or learning, during the four laſt reigns, unleſs we would rank, among the famous and learned men, a company of ſchoolmen, who, in my judgment, do not merit a place, in that claſs. Some add the founders of colleges and monaſteries, as deſerving to hold a conſiderable rank, among the devout; but theſe are too ambiguous marks of devotion. It appears from this ſmall number of learned perſons, how the ſciences were degenerated, ſince, of all thoſe above-named, there is ſcarce one truly learned; though, in ſpite of the prejudices of Wickliff's enemies, I ſhall not ſcruple to except that doctor, of whom I have, already, ſaid what is ſufficient to excuſe me, from making any farther additions.

† The moſt famous hiſtorians of the XIVth century were:

Thomas Wikes, whoſe hiſtory begins at the conqueſt, and ends at the death of Edward I, in 1304. He was a canon regular of Oſney, near Oxford, and writes as clearly and fully, eſpecially, in ſome paſſages relating to the barons wars, as a compendious chronicle would admit, which Dr. Gale has publiſhed, in his Hiſt. Angl.

The author of the chronicle, that bears the name of John Brompton, abbot of Joreval,, or Jorevaulx, in Yorkſhire, lived, about this time, and the chronicle begins with the coming of Auſtin, in 588, and ends with the death of Richard I, in 1198; but it is evident, as it takes no notice of the foundation of that monaſtery, &c. that neither Brompton, nor any member of that religious houſe, was the author of this chronicle, but that it was procured by that abbot, and by him beſtowed on his monaſtery. The author, whoever he be, is very copious in his collections, for the Saxon times, tho' he overlooks the chronological part, in the whole ſtory of the heptarchy. He relates the Saxon laws, at large, and tranſlates pretty faithfully; and his chronicle is publiſhed, among the Decem Scriptores.

Matthew, a Benedictin monk of Weſtminſter, ended his hiſtory, at the year 1307, tho' it was afterwards continued by other hands. He was a curious collector of the flowers of former hiſtorians, from whence he is ſtiled Florilegus; and he entirely tranſcribes Matthew Paris. His moſt eminent continuator was Adam Merimuth, a canon regular of St. Paul's, and an eminent civilian, who, in his latter days, applied himſelf wholly to the reading and writing Engliſh hiſtory; and, beginning his work, at 1302, he continues it to 1380.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

BOOK XI.

The Reigns of HENRY IV. and HENRY V; containing the ſpace of 22 years and 10 months.

13. HENRY IV. ſirnamed of Bullingbroke.

1399. HENRY IV.

HENRY, duke of Lancaſter, ſirnamed of Bullingbroke, the place of his nativity *, being proclaimed, the 30th of September, aſſumed, that very day, the reins of the government; and, as the parliament, then aſſembled, was called, in Richard's name, and their authority ceaſed, upon his being depoſed, Henry's firſt care was to call another. According to cuſtom, the repreſentatives ſhould have been choſen a-new; but Henry, unwilling to run the riſque, of having a leſs favourable parliament than that, which had ſo cordially eſpouſed his cauſe, impowered the ſame repreſentatives, to conſtitute, with the houſe of lords, a new parliament, under his authority. I ſhall not preſume to decide, whether this proceeding was ſomewhat irregular, or authorized by any former precedent; but, however that be, the ſame parliament, after a few days interruption, met again, on the 9th of October, as if they had been called by the new king.

The earl of Marche retires to Wigmore.

In the interim, Edmund Mortimer, earl of Marche, apprehenſive that it would be no leſs dangerous than fruitleſs, at ſuch a juncture, to aſſert his juſt right to the crown, retired to his lordſhip of Wigmore †, near the borders of Wales; for, the more inconteſtable his title was, the greater reaſon he had to dread Henry's jealouſy; and, therefore, he reſolved to live in retirement, without diſcovering the leaſt ambition, or uneaſineſs. Indeed, he had no other way to ſecure his repoſe, and even his life, ſince it was but too probable, that the new king would embrace the firſt occaſion, to free himſelf from the diſquiet, which might be created by ſuch a rival. 1399.

The parliament being aſſembled, Thomas Arundel, archbiſhop of Canterbury made a long ſpeech, repreſenting the great advantages procured to the kingdom, by the late revolution; and, enlarging chiefly on the diſorders of the late reign, he aſſured them, that the new ſovereign propoſed to preſerve to all their rights and liberties. This prelate was baniſhed, in the late reign; and Roger Walden, who was appointed in his room, had, hitherto, performed the archiepiſcopal functions; but, as Arundel was not canonically depoſed, the parliament, in their firſt ſeſſion, ordered, that he ſhould re-aſſume his dignity, and the rather, as the other had not, as yet, obtained the pope's confirmation. The archbiſhop's ſpeech and ſome preliminary formalities were the only things remarkable, in the firſt ſeſſion of the new parliament; which was adjourned to the 14th of October, in order to make preparations for the coronation, which was to be on the 13th. The archbiſhop harangues the parliament, in praiſe of the new king. Cotton.

The king fills the vacant poſts. Act. Pub.

During this interval, the king filled ſeveral poſts, which were vacant, or poſſeſſed by perſons diſagreeable to him; and, as Henry Piercy, earl of Northumberland, and Ralph Nevill, earl of Weſtmoreland, had ſhewn a

* A Town in Lincolnſhire.

† In Herefordſhire.

great

1399. great zeal for Henry, by joining him, at Ravenſpur, preſently after his landing, he made the firſt high-conſtable, and the other, earl-marſhal *. A few days after, the king gave to the earl of Northumberland the iſle of Man, with the privilege of carrying, at the coronation, the ſword called Lancaſter, on the king's left hand †; which was the ſame ſword the king wore, when he landed, at Ravenſpur.

Thomas, his ſecond ſon, is made high-ſteward. Act. Pub.

Henry, having requited theſe two lords, whom he conſidered, as moſt attached to his intereſt and perſon, made Thomas of Lancaſter, his ſecond ſon, high-ſteward; and it was abſolutely neceſſary to fill this poſt, before the coronation, becauſe to the high-ſteward's court all muſt apply, who claim any ſervice, in that ceremony, in order to be maintained in their rights; but, as the prince was only 10 years old, the king gave him for deputy, Thomas Piercy, earl of Worceſter, brother to the earl of Northumberland.

The king is crowned, and anointed with extraordinary oil. Walſing.

On the 13th of October, Edward the Confeſſor's day, Henry was crowned, with all the uſual formalities, being then 33 years of age; and he was anointed with a certain oil, pretended to be brought, by the bleſſed virgin, to St. Thomas of Canterbury, whilſt he was in France. The vial, which held this precious oil, fell into the hands of a hermit; who preſented it to Henry, duke of Lancaſter, grandſon to Henry III, with this prediction, "That the kings, who ſhould be anointed "with this ſacred oil, ſhould become true "champions for the church." The duke of Lancaſter gave it afterwards to the famous prince of Wales, ſon to Edward III, who reſolved to be anointed with it, at his coronation; but, after the deceaſe of that prince, the vial, which was of ſtone, having on the top a gold eagle ſet with diamonds, was laid up among the jewels, unregarded. Richard II, his ſon, finding it, ſome time before his laſt voyage into Ireland, intended to be crowned again, on purpoſe to be anointed with it; but the archbiſhop of Canterbury, oppoſing it, repreſented, that the unction of kings ought not to be repeated. At length, the vial was fallen into Henry's hands, who, either out of devotion, or becauſe it came from the duke of Lancaſter, his grandfather, by the mother's ſide, was pleaſed to be anointed with it, at his coronation; but, if we examine the reigns of this prince and ſeveral of his ſucceſſors, who were anointed with the ſame ſacred oil, we ſhall find, that the good hermits's prophecy was far from being accompliſhed.

Henry refuſes to own he holds the crown of the people.

I have obſerved, in the reign of Richard II, that, when Henry claimed the crown, he affected to uſe obſcure expreſſions, deſigning to make the people believe, that there was ſome foundation in the right, he pretended to derive from the firſt houſe of Lancaſter, of which he was heir, by his mother; but this pretence, tho' it might, then, have ſome influence over ſuch as voluntarily ſhut their eyes, was too palpable to deceive, any longer. It was, therefore, neceſſary for the new king, to find ſome plauſible title, to juſtify the nation's choice of his perſon; and there was none more lawful than the ſervice he had lately done the ſtate; but he judged it dangerous to build his right upon ſuch a foundation. Before he received the crown, he very readily owned the parliament's power to confer it upon him; but, as it was now placed on his head, he was apprehenſive, that it would from thence be inferred, that they, who had given the crown, had power to take it away. It did not a little perplex him, how he ſhould ſatisfy them, that the parliament could lawfully depoſe Richard, and that their authority was ſuperior to the regal; and, at the ſame time to convince them, that the ſame parliament, in placing Henry on the throne, did not proceed, by way of authority, nor could diſpenſe with owning him for king. In a word, they were to acknowledge, in the parliament, an unlimited power, with reſpect to Richard's depoſing, and to decline their authority, in the late election; which two things appeared irreconcilable; but, when a man has power, on his ſide, he does not ſo much ſtudy to find ſubſtantial reaſons, as to dazzle the publick with appearances. Henry, perſuaded that, at this juncture, no one would have the boldneſs to contradict him, reſolved to notify to his ſubjects, that he did not intend to derive his right from their bare conſent; and, on his very coronation-day, he publiſhed a proclamation, declaring, that he aſcended the throne, firſt, by right of conqueſt; ſecondly, by vertue of Richard's reſignation, and deſignation of him, for his ſucceſſor; and, laſtly, as he was the next male heir of the late king ‡. Thus, he excluded the only lawful title he had, viz. the general conſent of the people, in order to build his claim upon three manifeſtly weak foundations. Firſt of all, How could he pretend to a right of conqueſt? He entered the kingdom only with 80 men, who, probably, were, for the moſt part, Engliſh; and his good ſucceſs was entirely owing to the concurrence of all England. In the next place, it was falſe, that Richard reſigned the crown to him; for we have ſeen, in the reign of that prince, that Henry himſelf, as well as his friends, did not think it expedient. Richard was only obliged to make an abſolute reſignation, leſt it ſhould ſeem too conſtrained, if he made it, in behalf of a prince, to whom he was actually a priſoner; beſides, if Richard had appointed Henry, for his ſucceſſor, how could a king, depoſed, for tyranny and inability, have a right to no-

* The king gave him, as a badge of that office, a golden ſtaff, enamelled with black at both ends; the king's arms, at the upper end, and his own, at the lower; whereas all the marſhals, before him, wore a wooden ſtaff. Rymer's Fœd.

† By this office, he was to hold the iſle of Man, Rymer's Fœd. ---- "per ſervitium portandi, diebus coronationis noſtræ & hæredum noſtrorum, per ſe ipſum aut ſufficientem & honorificum deputatum ſuum, illum gladium nudum, quo cincti eramus quando in partibus de Holderneſſe applicuimus, vocatum Lancaſtre Swerd."

‡ This laſt reaſon occaſioned the pun of the earl of Marche, that he was Hæres malus.

minate

1399. minate the perſon, who ſhould ſucceed him, eſpecially, as the nomination was contrary to the laws of the land. Laſtly, It was ſtill leſs true, that Henry was Richard's next heir, unleſs the Salick law had been revived in England, as well as in France; and the deſcendants of the daughters were excluded from the ſucceſſion. Indeed, in the third title alledged by the king, there was a ſort of equivocation capable of deceiving; for he was couſin-german to the late king, and, conſequently, a nearer relation than the earl of Marche, who was, one degree, farther removed; but it could not be inferred, that he was next heir, ſince the branch, and not the degree of relation, was to be regarded, with reſpect to the ſucceſſion. Accordingly, after the death of Edward III, Richard, his grandſon, ſucceeded him, tho' he was, one degree, farther removed than his uncles; and again, ſuppoſing this rule had not been inviolably obſerved, Henry could not affirm, that he was the neareſt relation of Richard. He was firſt couſin; but the duke of York, being uncle, had no leſs right than he; ſo that, in which light ſoever, Henry's pretended titles were viewed, they muſt have appeared ill-grounded. The only plauſible title, he could have produced, was the conſent of the people; but this he declined, for the reaſon above-mentioned.

Act. Pub. The ſame day, the king iſſued out his proclamation, he created Henry, his eldeſt ſon, aged 13 years, duke of Cornwall, prince of Wales, and earl of Cheſter; but not alſo duke of Aquitain, as ſome have aſſerted.

Cotton. The ceremony of the coronation being over, the parliament met, the next day, being the 14th of October; and the importance of the acts, paſſed in this ſeſſion, obliges me to deſcend to particulars, abſolutely neceſſary to illuſtrate the ſequel of this Hiſtory.

Acts of parliament. In the firſt place, was paſſed an act of indemnity, to ſcreen thoſe, who, during the late commotions, had taken up arms for the preſent king, then duke of Lancaſter; which act was abſolutely neceſſary, ſince the laws condemned, without diſtinction, all thoſe that oppoſed the eſtabliſhed government.

Walſing. After this, the parliament examined all the proceeding of the late reign, to ſtretch the royal prerogative beyond the uſual limits; and chiefly thoſe, of the parliament begun, at Weſtminſter, in 1397, and continued, at Shrewsbury, in 1398. All the acts, as well thoſe relating to the three lords unjuſtly condemned, as to the exorbitant privileges granted to the king, were ſo evidently deſtructive of the nation's liberties, that they were unanimouſly repealed; and they alſo revived and confirmed the ſtatutes of the parliament, in 1388, annulled by that of Shrewsbury. They, moreover, paſſed a particular act againſt the pope's bull, ratifying the ſtatutes of Shrewsbury; which bull was founded on a principle entirely oppoſite to the rights of the people; for the pope's power, to confirm acts of parliament, could not be acknowledged, without aſcribing to him a right of ſovereignty over England. The parliament, therefore, declared, 1399. in this act, that the kingdom of England was independent of all foreign power, particularly, of the court of Rome; and that the pope had no right to interpoſe in the civil government of the realm.

The Shrewsbury-parliament, intending to extend the royal authority, as far as poſſible, had ſo multiplied the caſes of high treaſon, that none, except ſuch as acknowledged, in the ſovereign, an unlimited power, could poſſibly avoid the penalty of it; wherefore, to redreſs ſo dangerous a grievance, tending to render the king abſolute maſter of the lives and fortunes of his ſubjects, the parliament revived a ſtatute, made in the reign of Edward III, and enacted, that nothing ſhould be adjudged to be treaſon, but what was therein ſpecified.

Richard's adviſers and favourites are called to an account. Walſing. The rights and privileges of the people being, by theſe acts, reſtored, the authors and adviſers of the late uſurpations were called to an account. When king Richard apprehended the duke of Glouceſter, and the earls of Warwick and Arundel, he was not inveſted with that abſolute power, ſo liberally conferred upon him afterwards by the Shrewsbury-parliament; ſo that he was obliged to proceed, according to law, in the condemnation of theſe lords. With this view, he ſo managed, that John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, his half-brother, Thomas Holland, earl of Kent, his nephew, Edward Plantagenet, earl of Albemarle, his couſin, ſon to the duke of York, John Beaufort, earl of Somerſet, ſon to the duke of Lancaſter, by his third wife, and the lord Thomas Spencer were the accuſers of the three impriſoned lords; the earl of Salisbury* and the lord Morley † were reported to be the chief contrivers of this plot; and, after condemnation, Richard diſtributed the eſtates of the three lords, among the accuſers and evidences; beſides, he made the earl of Albemarle a duke, the earl of Huntingdon duke of Exeter, the earl of Kent duke of Surrey, the earl of Somerſet duke of Somerſet, and Thomas Spencer earl of Glouceſter.

Walſing. As it was notorious, that the three lords were unjuſtly oppreſſed by the late king, the parliament judged it neceſſary to puniſh the authors and the inſtruments of this violence; and, therefore, after reverſing the ſentence againſt the earls of Arundel and Warwick, as directly contrary to the pardon that was granted them, it was reſolved, that the accuſers ſhould be deprived both of their new titles, and the eſtates diſtributed among them. As to their own lands, it was left to the king, either to continue them in poſſeſſion, or turn them out, at his pleaſure; and Henry, willing to ſhew his clemency, in the beginning of his reign, not only left them their eſtates, but alſo reſtored them to their honours. Moreover, he made the duke of Exeter, his brother-in-law, governor of Calais; and the earl of Salisbury and the lord Morley, Richard's deteſted miniſters, and principal authors of the

* John de Montacute. † Thomas lord Morley.

violence

1399. violence practiſed upon the duke of Glouceſter and the other two lords, were releaſed, after a ſhort impriſonment, though the people loudly called for their death; but, as the friends of theſe lords alledged, in their excuſe, that Richard compelled them to act, the parliament took occaſion to enact, that, henceforward, compulſion ſhould be no legal excuſe, to juſtify actions contrary to law.

A genral pardon.

This affair being over, the parliament prevailed on the king to grant a general pardon, in which, however, were excepted the duke of Glouceſter's murderers; one of whom *, being apprehended and convicted, was hanged, at London, and his head ſent to Calais, to be fixed on one of the gates.

The ſucceſſion is ſettled on the houſe of Lancaſter. Walſing.

Though the injuſtice done to the earl of Marche was manifeſt, it might be coloured with the pretence of rewarding Henry, for the ſignal ſervice he had done the ſtate; and, if this reward had been limited to his perſon, perhaps, it would not have ſeemed very ſurpriſing, that, in ſuch an extraordinary caſe, the laws ſhould be ſuperſeded, in favour of a prince who had ſo readily expoſed himſelf, for the publick; but, at ſuch junctures, it is extremely difficult to keep within the bounds of equity. The parliament, not ſatisfied with adjudging to Henry the crown taken from Richard, in order to ſecure it to his poſterity, paſſed an act, ſettling the ſucceſſion on the houſe of Lancaſter; firſt, on the perſon of the prince of Wales, the king's eldeſt ſon and his heirs, and then on his three brothers and their iſſue.

The king conſults the parliament, about the diſpoſal of Richard. Cotton.

The commons, not content with the bare depoſing of Richard, in a very irregular manner, would have had him tried, in form, and petitioned the king, for that purpoſe; wherefore, Henry, deſirous of knowing, how the late king was to be diſpoſed of, wanted the advice of both houſes, before the breaking up of the parliament. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, being charged with his orders, after he had exacted an oath of ſecreſy from all the members, made the firſt motion; and it may be fairly preſumed, that Richard had not many friends in the houſe; or, if any diſapproved of the proceedings againſt him, they were too much overawed to venture to ſpeak, in his favour; yet Thomas Merks, biſhop of Carliſle, regardleſs of the motives which might induce him, as well as the reſt of Richard's friends, to keep ſilence, made a long ſpeech; wherein he alledged every thing that could, with any plauſibleneſs, be ſaid for the depoſed king, and againſt the prince on the throne.

The biſhop of Carliſle's ſpeech, in defence of Richard.

The biſhop undertook to prove, 'Firſt, 'that no authority could lawfully depoſe a 'king of England; ſecondly, that the offences, 'Richard was accuſed of, did not deſerve de'poſition, and, moreover, were not proved; 'and, thirdly, that the crown was unjuſtly 'adjudged to the duke of Lancaſter.

'He enlarged very copiouſly on the firſt, 'ſhewing the wide difference between the ſe'veral kinds of government eſtabliſhed in the 'world. He confeſſed, that, in ſome, the 'prince, or head, might be depoſed, becauſe 'the ſupreme authority was not ſolely veſted 'in his perſon, but the people, or nobles, had 'a ſhare; among which ſort he reckoned the 'republicks, the antient government of Rome, 'the empire of Germany, the kingdoms of 'Swedeland and Denmark, the earldom of 'Flanders, and ſome other ſtates; but he 'maintained, that it was otherwiſe in the go'vernments, where the ſupreme authority is 'lodged in the ſingle perſon of the ſovereign. 'In this claſs, he placed the kingdom of Iſ'rael, among the antients, with the three 'firſt empires; and, among the moderns, 'England, France, Spain, Scotland, Muſco'vy, Turky, Perſia, and, in general, all the 'kingdoms of Aſia and Africa. With reſpect 'to theſe, he affirmed, that, though the vi'ces of a ſovereign ſhould be not only preju'dicial, but even intolerable to his ſubjects, 'he could not be lawfully depoſed, by any 'means whatſoever; that force could not be 'uſed, without incurring the guilt of rebel'lion and treaſon; and much leſs authority, 'ſince there was not, in the ſtate, any lawful 'authority, but what was derived from him; 'and he advanced arguments and precedents, 'from the Holy Scriptures and profane au'thors, which cannot be repeated, without 'being exceſſively tedious.'

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Upon the ſecond article, he boldly aſſerted, 'That the crimes, for which Richard was de'poſed, were either falſe, or agravated; that, 'indeed, he might be chargeable with ſome 'errors or overſights, but his faults could not 'be ſtiled tyranny; that, if his failings afford'ed juſt cauſe to depoſe him, how many ſove'reigns would daily be treated, as tyrants, 'and depoſed by their ſubjects? Every tax, 'execution of rebels, and, in a word, what'ever was diſliked by the people, would fur'niſh a pretence to dethrone the moſt lawful 'prince.' He paſſed over the more ſlightly the proofs of this ſecond head, as the parliament itſelf ſeemed to queſtion the truth of the accuſations againſt Richard, ſince no ſtep was taken to prove them, in a legal manner; and, by the way, it is very probabel, that, to avoid this reproach, the commons wanted to proceed, in form, againſt the depoſed king.

Upon the third article, the biſhop maintained, 'That, even ſuppoſing Richard guil'ty, and granting the nation had authority to 'depoſe him, there was not the leaſt colour 'of juſtice, in giving the crown to the duke 'of Lancaſter; that, if the duke was the true 'heir to Richard, as he pretended, he ought 'to wait his death, before he could inherit; 'but it was notorious, then, that there was a 'nearer heir, whoſe father was declared ſuc'ceſſor to Richard, by act of parliament.' As for Henry's pretended right from Edmund Crouch-back, ſon to Henry III, the biſhop diſdained to conſider it, affirming, "He was 'very certain, that men of ſenſe were aſhamed 'of a right, built on ſuch a ſlender foundation.'

After this, the orator proceeded to examine the two other titles, mentioned in the king's

* John Hall.

1399. proclamation, namely, conqueſt, and Richard's reſignation. To the firſt he ſaid, 'That a 'ſubject could never pretend to a right of 'conqueſt againſt his ſovereign, becauſe the 'victory itſelf was high and heinous treaſon.' As for the reſignation, he obſerved, 'it was 'extorted, by force; though, ſuppoſing it vo-'luntary, it could be of no validity; that, in 'Richard's ſituation, it was not in his power 'to make a valid act; that, beſides, ſince, 'by the laws of the land, the king could not 'alienate the crown-jewels, much leſs, ſurely, 'could he give away the crown itſelf.' Then he ſpoke of the general conſent of the people, though Henry had thought it improper to inſiſt upon it; 'That, as the kingdom of Eng-'land had never been elective, it was ridicu-'lous to aſcribe to the people the power of 'diſpoſing of the crown.' Laſtly, he replied to the objection, which might be alledged, from the depoſing of Edward II, 'That wiſe 'men muſt be guided by law, and not by ex-'amples and precedents. That, however, the 'depoſing of Edward II. was no more to be 'urged, than the poiſoning of king John, or 'the murder of any other prince; but even, 'in the depoſing of Edward II, care was taken 'to preſerve the rights of the lawful ſucceſſor.'

What the biſhop had, hitherto, ſaid might paſs for reaſons, to queſtion, whether Richard II. could be lawfully depoſed; at moſt, it might be conſidered, as the private opinion of the ſpeaker; but, towards the concluſion of his ſpeech, he launched out ſurpriſingly againſt Henry, and expreſſed a paſſion very injurious to the reaſons he had alledged. He ſaid, 'it 'was to be feared, that the people of Eng-'land would ſoon be in the condition of Æ-'ſop's frogs; boldly adding, that, whilſt Ri-'chard was alive, the Engliſh could not, with 'juſtice, acknowledge any other ſovereign. 'In fine, he maintained, that the perſon, 'whom they ſtiled king, had committed much 'more heinous crimes, than thoſe for which 'Richard was depoſed; that, tho' in exile, 'he had entered the kingdom, contrary to 'his oath, and without being legally recalled; 'that, not ſatisfied with diſturbing the quiet 'of the land, by an unjuſt and impious inſur-'rection againſt his ſovereign, he had alſo de-'throned him; that he had, moreover, de-'manded judgment againſt him, without of-'fering to prove his accuſation, or permitting 'the party accuſed to make his defence, con-'trary to the expreſs laws of the realm.' He concluded with affirming, 'That, if the in-'juſtice done to Richard was incapable of mo-'ving the hearts of the Engliſh, at leaſt, their 'common and manifeſt danger ought to ſtop 'the courſe of theſe violent proceedings.'

The biſhop is impriſoned.

This unſeaſonable ſpeech did not anſwer the ſpeaker's expectation; and, if the majority had been of his opinion, it was impoſſible to recede from what had been done; but moſt of the members perſiſted in the maxims they followed, when Richard was depoſed. Accordingly, the biſhop reaped no other fruit from his harangue, than to be confined in the abbey of St. Albans; from whence, however, he was, ſoon after, releaſed, without farther puniſhment.

1399. An extraordinary ſentence is paſſed upon Richard.

The biſhop of Carliſle's opinion being unanimouſly rejected, the parliament came, with reſpect to Richard, to a reſolution, in all appearance, ſo extraordinary, that there is reaſon to ſuſpect, that Hiſtory is defective, in this particular; and all the hiſtorians agree, that it was reſolved, Richard ſhould be confined, during life, with a princely allowance; but, if any perſon attempted his deliverance, Richard ſhould be the firſt man that ſhould ſuffer death. If this be fact, it cannot be denied, that he was really condemned to die, ſince his life was only granted him, on an impracticable condition; and, beſides, ſuch a condition cannot be annexed to the ſentence of a criminal, but on ſuppoſition that he is already condemned.

Remarks on the ſentence.

As it is not my buſineſs to determine, how far the authority of the parliament may be extended, with reſpect to the king's perſon; I ſhall only obſerve, that this is the ſecond inſtance of the depoſing of a king of England, without hearing his defence, or even obſerving the uſual formalities preſcribed by the law, in the trial of the meaneſt ſubject. The parliament, which depoſed Edward II, was content with decreeing his impriſonment, during life; but this parliament, to Richard's depoſing, adds the ſentence of death; which is the obvious meaning of the condition, on which his life is granted. Let us farther obſerve, that one of the principal articles of accuſation, againſt this prince, was his putting to death the duke of Glouceſter, his uncle, without a previous trial; and yet this very parliament condemns him, unheard, on his bare confeſſion, when a priſoner; not, that he is guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, but that he is, in his own opinion, unworthy to wear the crown. They not only ſtrip him of his royalty, but order him to be impriſoned, for life; nay, they, in reality, condemn him to die, ſince they grant him his life, on a condition, that, probably, muſt ſoon occaſion his death. If we cannot help deteſting the principles of the Shrewsbury-parliament, in the reign of Richard II, which ſubjected the lives, honours, and fortunes of the nation to the king's pleaſure, what ought we to think of the preſent? In the contrary extream, they put the life and honour of the king himſelf in the power of his ſubjects, and refuſe the ſovereign a privilege, which the meaneſt Engliſh ſubject has a juſt right to demand. The examples of theſe two parliaments evidently prove, that the Engliſh conſtitution can never pretend to that degree of perfection, boaſted by ſome, till the bounds of the royal prerogative and the privileges of parliament are preciſely determined.

The king aſſures the clergy of his protection.

Whilſt the two houſes acted, in common, and with equal ardor, for the intereſt of the prince they had placed on the throne, the convocation was ſitting in St. Paul's; and Henry, rightly judging, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to gain the friendſhip of the clergy, ſent the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, to aſſure them of his protection. The earls,

1399. earls, being admitted into the aſſembly, repreſented, that they were not ſent to demand money, as was cuſtomary, in the late reign, but to acquaint them with the king's reſolution to maintain their privileges and immunities; adding, that they had the king's orders, to aſſure the convocation, that he was ready to concur with them, in whatever means ſhould be thought proper to extirpate hereſy, and puniſh obſtinate hereticks; and they concluded, with deſiring the clergy's prayers, for the welfare of the king and kingdom. Nothing could have more influence to gain the hearts of the eccleſiaſticks, than the king's promiſe, with reſpect to hereſy; for the number of the Lollards, which daily increaſed, gave the clergy juſt cauſe to fear, that, at length, a reformation might be ſet on foot, which muſt, of courſe, be very prejudicial to their temporal intereſts; and, therefore, the aſſurances the king gave the convocation, were received, with great demonſtrations of joy and thankfulneſs.

The parliament is diſſolved.

Some days after, the parliament, having finiſhed the chief affairs, to the king's ſatisfaction, and, in appearance, with the approbation of the whole nation, was diſſolved, according to cuſtom.

Ambaſſadors are ſent to ſeveral courts. Walſing.

During the whole ſeſſion, Henry was regardleſs of foreign affairs; for thoſe at home appeared to him of much greater importance, ſince the buſineſs was to ſettle a revolution that procured him the crown; but he was no ſooner free from theſe firſt concerns, than he projected means, to juſtify to the other ſovereigns the late alterations, in England. The depoſing of a king being deteſtable in itſelf, and ſeeming to affect all princes, it was not eaſy to perſuade them, that a nation had ſufficient reaſon to uſe ſo violent a remedy, to deliver themſelves from tyranny; and, therefore, Henry diſpatch'd ambaſſadors to all the principal courts of Europe, to endeavour to vindicate Richard's depoſition, and his own promotion. He was particularly concerned to pacify the court of France; for he was not inſenſible, that Charles VI. had formed a deſign to revenge the injury done his ſon-in-law, and that his diſtemper, into which he relapſed, upon hearing the news, had prevented him from inſtantly breaking the 28 years truce, made with England. Henry choſe, for ambaſſadors, the biſhop of Durham and earl of Worceſter, who had inſtructions to propoſe a perpetual league and alliance between the two crowns; and, beſides, he ordered them to make overtures for a double marriage. The firſt was, between Henry, his eldeſt ſon, and a daughter of the French king, or one of his uncles; and the ſecond, between his own daughter and one of the ſame king's ſons, or neareſt relations. The ambaſſadors met with a cold reception, in France; but, having orders not to obſtruct their negotiation, by ſtanding on ceremony, they patiently waited, till the heat of the French was ſomewhat abated.

Henry's propoſals to the court of France. Act. Pub.

The diſpoſition of the other courts.

As for the other courts of Europe, Henry had no occaſion for ſuch precautions. The emperor Wenceſlaus, who was ſtill alive, was a prince grown ſtupid with drinking, and, like the reſt of the German princes, regardleſs of what paſſed, in England; and, as for the kings of Caſtile and Portugal, they were rather gainers than loſers, by a revolution, that advanced their brother-in-law to the throne; ſo that they readily approved, or, at leaſt, ſeemed to approve it.

The Gaſcoigns are diſpoſed to revolt.

However, another affair of greater importance created the new king great uneaſineſs; for Guienne was diſpoſed to revolt. The Gaſcoigns already publickly talked of putting themſelves under the dominion of France; and it was the city of Bordeaux, the place of Richard's nativity, that ſtirred up the whole province, prompted by her affection for that unfortunate prince; whilſt, on the other hand, the court of France had ſent the duke of Bourbon into Guienne, in order to foment theſe diſpoſitions. The famous Robert Knolles, governor of that province, who was no leſs remarkable for his prudence than valour, found it extremely difficult to curb the rebellious ſpirit of the Gaſcoigns; and, perhaps, he would never have accompliſhed it, had he not been timely aſſiſted by the earl of Worceſter, who, being in an ambaſſy at Paris, ſpeedily poſted to Bourdeaux; and the moderation and prudent conduct of theſe two lords, effected what could ſcarce have been executed, by force, and, at length, they had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the commotions appeaſed.

Moreover, as Henry was ſenſible, that, amidſt all the acclamations he was flattered with, it was impoſſible but that the late revolution had created many male-contents, it was his intereſt to keep peace with his neighbours; and, accordingly, this was his reſolution, leſt, a foreign war employing his forces abroad, he ſhould be unprovided, in caſe of any ſudden inſurrection; beſides, a war would have obliged him to demand ſupplies of the parliament, which he was willing to avoid, till his dominion was more firmly eſtabliſhed. On theſe accounts, he was extremely uneaſy, to hear that the Scots had violated the truce, and taken Werk-caſtle; yet he judged it moſt adviſable to overlook this inſult, till it was more in his power to revenge it; but, leſt this diſſimulation ſhould encourage the king of Scotland, he ſent ambaſſadors, to demand ſatisfaction; however, as the Scots complained likewiſe, of ſome breach, on the part of the Engliſh, he made uſe of that pretence, to demand a confirmation of the truce, by a mutual reparation of the damages the two nations had done each other. When Robert broke the truce, he imagined that France would eſpouſe his cauſe, and that the depoſing of Richard would raiſe commotions, in England, which he intended to improve; but, perceiving that France remained quiet, and England undiſturbed, without much ſollicitation, he agreed to put his affairs with Henry in negotiation.

An ambaſſy to Scotland. Act. Pub.

Henry tries to gain the peoples affection.

Things being in ſuch an agreeable ſtate abroad, Henry principally applied himſelf to what might contribute to ſupport him on the throne;

1399. throne; and, with that view, he endeavoured, firſt, to preſerve the affection the people had, hitherto, expreſſed for him; and, ſecondly, to guard Richard ſo ſtrictly, that it ſhould be impoſſible for him to make his eſcape. As to the firſt, to render himſelf popular, he ſhewed, on all occaſions, a deteſtation of his predeceſſor's tyrannical government, and a greater concern for the people's intereſt, than for his own; and, to this end, he ordered all the ſubſcribed blanks, extorted by Richard, from the inhabitants of London, and the condemned counties, to be brought into chancery and publickly burnt. Theſe blank bonds, which were called Ragmans, had been filled, not only with the ſums Richard exacted of the ſubſcribers, but alſo with an engagement to obſerve, under certain penalties, the ſtatutes of Shrewsbury and all the conſequent acts; and, in burning theſe bonds, Henry intended to inſinuate to the people, that he would not make any advantage of theſe extorted engagements, much leſs practiſe the like methods himſelf, to fill his coffers.

Richard is ſhut up in Pontefract-caſtle.

As for the depoſed king, he did not judge it expedient to keep him any longer, in the tower of London, leſt he ſhould move the compaſſion of the citizens, but ordered him to be conducted to the caſtle of Leeds, in the county of Kent; and, ſome time after, fearing ſtill, that Richard's neighbourhood to London would give too frequent occaſion to talk of him, he cauſed him to be removed to Pontefract-caſtle, in the north.

The death of the duke of Bretagne.

This year, in November, John the Valiant, duke of Bretagne, died, in his capital city; whoſe firſt wife was daughter to Edward III, by whom he had no iſſue; but, by his ſecond, Joan of Navarre, he left two ſons; and John, the eldeſt, ſucceeded him, under the guardianſhip of the duke of Burgundy and Oliver de Cliſſon.

Thus, the three firſt months of Henry's reign, paſſed in a deceitful calm, followed by violent ſtorms; and it was neceſſary to enlarge a little on the firſt events of it, becauſe they ſerve for a foundation to all the reſt.

1400. A conſpiracy againſt the king.

The year 1400 began with a conſpiracy againſt the king, from which he was, as it were, miraculouſly delivered; tho' hiſtorians ſomewhat differ, as to the firſt author of this plot, commonly aſcribed to the abbot of Weſtminſter; yet it is more probable, the abbot was only the agent of the lords conſpirators, and lent them his houſe for their meetings; and, perhaps, he was employed to ſound the inclinations of ſeveral perſons, according to the direction of men more powerful than he. However this be, it is agreed, that the plot was formed in his houſe, into which came, as heads, the dukes of Albemarle, Surrey, and Exeter, the earls of Glouceſter and Salisbury, the biſhop of Carliſle, and Sir Thomas Blount; who were all in great favour with Richard II, being the ſame perſons to whom the king had left their honours and eſtates taken from them by the parliament. Among theſe conſpirators, John Holland, duke of Exeter, was his brother-in-law, and Edward de Langley, duke of Albemarle, his firſt couſin; yet, in ſpite of theſe relations, and the favours they had all received from the king, they reſolved to aſſaſſinate him, and reſtore Richard to the throne. The affection ſhewn them by that unhappy prince, the deſire of revenging their late diſgrace, of which they conſidered the king, as the principal author, and, perhaps, the fear that the pardon granted them was not ſincere, concurred to inſpire them with this furious reſolution; and they had drawn into the plot Maudlin, one of Richard's domeſticks, who reſembled his maſter ſo perfectly, that many were deceived. The reſult of their debates was, that the duke of Exeter and John Montacute, earl of Salisbury, ſhould pretend to challenge one another, at a tournament to be held, at Oxford, and deſire the king to honour it with his preſence; and that an opportunity ſhould be taken to murder him, whilſt he ſhould be intent on the fight. That each of them might know, what part he was to act, in this tragedy, they carefully ſet down all the particulars, in writing; and then they tranſcribed ſix copies, under their hands and ſeals, of which each of the principal parties took one; and the duke of Exeter waited upon the king, at Windſor, and invited him, purſuant to their agreement. The king, not ſuſpecting a brother-in-law, to whom he had juſt given ſuch ſignal marks of his favour, promiſed to be, at Oxford, on the day appointed; upon which, the conſpirators, pleaſed with this firſt ſucceſs of their enterprize, went and prepared to put it in execution. 1400.

The conſpiracy is diſcovered.

Under the pretence of the pomp and magnificence uſual, on ſuch occaſions, the lords conſpirators came to Oxford, with a numerous train of domeſticks; and the duke of Albemarle was the only perſon wanting, at the rendezvous; who, firſt, made a viſit to his father, the duke of York, then at his ſeat, at Langley, not to diſcover the plot, but upon ſome other buſineſs. Whilſt they were at dinner, the duke of York, obſerving a paper in his ſon's boſom, asked him what it was; but the ſon, confounded at this unexpected queſtion, replied, tho' with a viſible concern, that the paper contained nothing of importance; yet, whether the old duke had received ſome dark hints of the conſpiracy, or his ſon's confuſion inſpired him with the curioſity, he ſnatched it out of his boſom. This paper was one of the ſix copies ſigned by the conſpirators; and, being extremely ſurpriſed at the diſcovery of all the particulars of the plot, he reproach'd his ſon the more juſtly, as, beſides the blackneſs of the crime, he had expoſed the life of his own father, who was bound for his allegiance; but, his reproaches being incapable of remedying the evil, he reſolved to prevent it, by imparting to the king what was come to his knowledge. With this view, ordering his horſes to be ſaddled, immediately, he went himſelf to Windſor; but the young duke, perceiving himſelf infallibly ruined, if the king was informed of the conſpiracy by any except himſelf, as he was better able, than the old duke, to take this journey,

1400. journey, rode, another way, and with ſuch expedition, that he reached Windſor, before his father. Upon his arrival, he threw himſelf at the king's feet, and diſcovered the whole plot; but Henry, believing, at firſt, that the duke of Albemarle had invented this accuſation, on purpoſe to ruin the lords whom he accuſed, told him, that, if his information ſhould prove true, he would pardon him, upon his repentance; whereas, if it was falſe and malicious, he ſhould find no favour. The duke of York, arriving, ſoon after, fully convinced him of the truth of what he had heard, by delivering him the paper taken from his ſon; upon which, the king broke off his journey to Oxford, where he was expected, the following day; reſolving to ſtay at Windſor, to ſee what courſe the conſpirators would take, when they found themſelves diſappointed.

The conſpirators are in perplexity.

In the interim, the lords were extremely uneaſy, at Oxford, on account of the duke of Albemarle's abſence; for they had already ſent to his houſe, to know the reaſon of his delay, and were informed, that he ſet out for Oxford, but by the way of Langley, to viſit the duke, his father. This viſit gave them ſome ſuſpicion; but their trouble increaſed, upon hearing that the king did not intend to come to Oxford, and had ſeen the dukes of York and Albemarle. As they no longer doubted, that they were diſcovered, they determined to accompliſh, by force, what they could not effect, by other means; and, accordingly, dreſſing up Maudlin, in royal robes, gave out, that he was Richard, who, having eſcaped out of priſon, came to implore the aſſiſtance of his loyal ſubjects.

The readineſs, with which the people liſted under the banner of the pretended king, evidently ſhewed, that all had not approved the depoſing of Richard, though the parliament acted, in the name of the whole nation; wherefore, there is nothing more liable to miſtake, than judging of the ſentiments of the people, by thoſe of their repreſentatives; for, as the repreſentatives debate upon matters laid before them, without any inſtructions from thoſe they repreſent, their reſolves can be conſidered, only as private opinions, tho' they are of force to bind the people. Accordingly, the people ſometimes appeal to arms from the deciſions of parliaments, when they are thought too prejudicial to the kingdom. Of this we have many inſtances, and particularly, in the reign of Henry IV. Though Richard was depoſed by the parliament, it appeared, on ſeveral occaſions, that the people ſubmitted to the ſentence, purely, by conſtraint; ſince they were always ready to run after any counterfeit Richard, that was preſented to them.

Walſing. In a very ſhort time, the lords conſpirators were at the head of ſuch a formidable army, that they imagined themſelves able to ſeize the king, at Windſor; for it is ſaid, that, in two or three days, their army conſiſted of 40,000 men. With theſe numerous troops, they marched to Windſor, which lies but 30 miles from Oxford, and arrived, at break of day, in great expectation of ſurpriſing the king; and, indeed, Henry, not, in the leaſt, ſuſpecting, that they could be ſo ſoon in a condition to execute ſuch an enterprize, ſtaid, at Windſor, till that very night, having departed, only a few hours before their arrival; but, his retreat blaſting their deſign, they were in great perplexity. Some were for marching directly to London, before the king had leiſure to ſecure the city; whilſt others affirmed, that it was more adviſable to repair to Pontefract, to free Richard and place him at their head. This diverſity of opinion made them loſe, in debates, the time they ſhould have ſpent, in action; and, in the interim, the king, provided for his defence, having aſſembled an army of 20,000 men. As he did not doubt but the male-contents would take the road to London, he went and expected them, on Hounſlow-Heath, hoping that his army would daily increaſe; and he reſolved, tho' much inferior, to hazard a battle. This reſolution animated his troops, and induced them to believe, that the male-contents were not ſo formidable, as was reported; and many, obſerving the king march, unconcerned, towards his enemies, voluntarily joined him; which, doubtleſs, they would not have done, had he diſcovered, on this occaſion, the leaſt ſigns of fear or diffidence; for, at ſuch junctures, the majority of the people, regardleſs of right or juſtice, generally declare for the party, that is moſt likely to prove ſucceſsful.

The conſpirators avoid a battle.

In the mean while, the conſpirators, finding that the king was able to withſtand them, durſt not cope with him. Whether it proceeded from their little capacity, or from a fear of being deſerted by their army, in order to avoid a battle, inſtead of marching to London, to meet the king, they took the road to Reading, and encamped near Colebrook, where the young queen Iſabella reſided; and here they reſolved to put an end to Maudlin's acting the part he had, hitherto, played, judging it more proper to ſpread a report, that Richard was in Yorkſhire, at the head of 100,000 men. Their intent was not only to avoid the king, but, in all probability, to approach Wales, from whence they expected aſſiſtance, Richard being well beloved, in that country; but, however that be, the generals encamping, near Cirenceſter, whilſt the army lay without, took up their quarters in the town. The duke of Surrey and the earl of Salisbury lodged, at one inn, and the duke of Exeter and the earl of Glouceſter, at another; but, for want of experience, neglecting to ſet guards, at the gates, the mayor of the town, a man of ſenſe and courage, improved their negligence, to do the king a ſignal ſervice. He privately drew together, in the night, 400 townſmen; and, ordering the gates to be ſhut, and dividing his followers into two companies, he attacked, at once, the two inns, where the four generals were lodged; but though theſe lords had only their domeſticks with them, they defended themſelves, the beſt part of the night. During the conflict, one of their people, ſet fire to a neighbouring houſe, imagining that the townſ-

1400. men would run to extinguiſh the flames, and ſo give the lords an opportunity to eſcape; but the townſmen, ſtill more incenſed by this action, redoubled their efforts, and, at length, broke open the inn, defended by the duke of Surrey and the earl of Salisbury. Theſe two lords, being much wounded, were, by the mayor's order, immediately, beheaded; and the duke of Exeter and the earl of Glouceſter, perceiving that they were no longer in a condition to reſiſt, with ſo few attendants, found means to eſcape over the houſes, and get out of the town, by the help of ſome of the inhabitants. They deſigned to march the army into the town; but, coming to the camp, they found it deſerted. The report the ſoldiers had heard, and the fire they had ſeen, in the town, leading them to believe, that the king's army was there, they had all, on a ſudden, taken to flight, being ſeized with a panic conſternation, though, in reality, there was no danger; and the two lords, as it was out of their power to execute their deſign, parted, the better to make their eſcape; but they had the misfortune to be apprehended, and, ſhortly after, loſt their heads, on the ſcaffold. Maudlin was taken, as he was flying into Scotland, and condemned to be hanged; and the abbot of Weſtminſter likewiſe, withdrawing, was ſeized with ſo violent a fright, that he fell into a fit of the apoplexy, which occaſioned his death. The biſhop of Carliſle was alſo taken, and ſentenced to death; but, tho', out of regard to his character, the king pardoned him, he was not in a capacity to enjoy the benefit, when he received the news of it; for the terror of his puniſhment made ſuch an impreſſion upon him, that he died, when mercy was influencing the king to ſpare his life.

The tragical death of Richard II. Walſing.

Fabian.

In all appearance, the ill ſucceſs of this enterprize haſtened Richard's end; for, tho' there is ſome diverſity, among the hiſtorians, about the manner of his death, they all agree, that it was unnatural. Some affirm, that he was ſtarved to death; but others, pretending to give a better account, relate it, with the following circumſtances. The troubles being appeaſed, by the death of the principal conſpirators, Sir Pyers Exton, came to Pontefract, with eight attendants; and, on the day of his arrival, Richard perceived, at dinner, that the victuals were not taſted, as uſual. He demanded the reaſon of the taſter; and, upon his telling him, that Pyers had brought an order from the king, he took up a carving-knife, and ſtruck him, on the face. Pyers coming in, with his eight attendants, at the noiſe, Richard found he was a loſt man; and, reſolving to ſell his life dearly, forced a pole-ax out of one of their hands, and defended himſelf ſo bravely, that he ſlew four of them; but, at length, ſtanding accidentally, near Pyers, who was got upon a chair, the villain diſcharged ſuch a blow on his head, as laid him dead at his feet.

Thus, died this unhappy prince, 33 years old, of which he had reigned 22; a melancholy reward, for the many ſignal ſervices his father had done England! He was carried to London, in a coffin, with his face uncovered, to be ſeen of all perſons; and his funeral was ſolemnized, at St. Paul's, the king himſelf being preſent. He was afterwards carried to Langley-abbey, and buried, without any ceremony; but Henry V. ordered his body to be removed to Weſtminſter-abbey, and laid among his anceſtors. Tho' it was reported all over the kingdom, that he was murdered, no inquiry was made; which confirmed the people, in their belief, that the king was not innocent; and, indeed, if Richard died of a natural death, it would have been neceſſary to undeceive the publick; but, if his life was taken away, by violence, it was difficult to do it, without the king's knowledge. 1400. Walſing.

Tho' Richard was deteſted, whilſt he ſat on the throne, his misfortunes excited the compaſſion of the very people, that were ſo ready to deſert him; for it is peculiar to misfortunes, eſpecially, to thoſe of princes, generally to turn hatred into pity; of which we ſhall ſee ſeveral inſtances, in the ſequel of the preſent reign.

The Engliſh authors pretend, that Charles VI. had made great preparations, to reſtore Richard to the throne; but there is not the leaſt notice taken of them, in the hiſtory of France. Indeed, we find, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, ſeveral of Henry's orders, relating to the preparations, in France, to invade England; but that might be an effect of Henry's policy, to ſhew, thereby, the neceſſity of Richard's death; for the truce of 28 years, between the two crowns, was confirmed, in May, this very year; and all the pretended motions of France ended only in a negotiation, to draw from England queen Iſabella, with whom Richard had not conſummated his marriage. It was neceſſary, for Henry, to preſerve the truce with France, by reaſon of a rupture between him and the king of Scotland, which would not ſuffer him to carry his forces out of the kingdom. Act. Pub. The truce with France is confirmed. Act. Pub.

Robert Stuart, king of Scotland, the third of that name, was deſirous to marry prince David, his eldeſt ſon, to a daughter of George Dunbar, earl of Marche, who joyfully received the propoſal, and even paid, before-hand, part of the portion; yet, ſoon after, by intrigues foreign to our purpoſe, prince David eſpouſed a daughter of Archibald earl of Douglaſs. Dunbar not only was extremely mortified at this affront, but alſo becauſe the king refuſed, or delayed, to pay the money he had received; and, to revenge himſelf, and make the king ſenſible, that he deſerved better treatment, he reſolved to throw himſelf into the arms of the king of England; and, with this view, he communicated his deſign to the earl of Northumberland, governor of the northern counties, who, preſently after, ſent him a ſafe-conduct from the king, his maſter. Upon this, he repaired to Henry, and had ſeveral interviews with him; and the king of Scotland, being ſenſible that the earl of Marche was contriving ſome plot againſt him, in England, diſpatched ambaſſadors to Henry, to demand The cauſe of the war with Scotland. Buchanan. Act. Pub.

1400. demand the fugitive, and, upon his refuſal, proclaimed war againſt him.

Henry marches into Scotland.

Henry, judging it imprudent to expect his enemy, in England, prepared to carry the war into Scotland; and, as ſoon as his enemy was in readineſs to march, he came to Newcaſtle, and ſent Robert a ſummons, to appear, in perſon, and do homage, for Scotland. In the ſummons, he revived the pretenſions of Edward I. to the ſovereignty of that kingdom, from the time of Locrinus, ſon to Brutus, firſt pretended king of the whole Iſland of Albion; and, upon Robert's refuſal to do any ſuch homage, Henry entered Scotland, and made ſome progreſs. Towards the end of September, he beſieged the caſtle of Edinburgh, defended by prince David and the earl of Dowglaſs, his brother-in-law; but, the ſeaſon being too far advanced, to continue the ſiege, he ſuddenly raiſed it, and retired into his own dominions. He was no ſooner gone than the Scots, under Sir Patrick Hepburne and Sir Thomas Haliburton, made an inroad into England, and cruelly revenged the ravages committed by the Engliſh, in Scotland; but, in return, they were met by the earl of Northumberland, who defeated and deprived them of their booty; and Hepburne, one of the Scotch generals, was ſlain, in the action. This victory procured, between the two nations, a ſix weeks truce, which was afterwards prolonged, on account of the poſture of Henry's affairs; and he had ſcarce begun the war with Scotland, when he received certain advice, that the Welch intended to raiſe commotions, in their country, which could not but be attended with fatal conſequences. This was the reaſon, that, notwithſtanding his ſucceſs againſt the Scots, he would not improve his advantages, leſt he ſhould too much exaſperate them; and Buchanan himſelf gives him this teſtimony, aſcribing to his generoſity what was entirely owing to his policy; for the motions of the Welch had rendered a treaty with Scotland abſolutely neceſſary.

The Welch, who, ſince the reign of Edward I, were ſubject, or rather united to England, imagined they could improve the preſent juncture, to recover their former ſtate; and Owen Glendour, or Glendourdy, as he is always called, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, was the perſon that inſpired them with this deſign. This man, tho' a private gentleman, was in all reſpects, qualified for ſuch an undertaking, if forces ſo inconſiderable, as thoſe of the Welch, could have promiſed him a happy ſucceſs; yet he ſo managed this project, that, for ſeveral years, he freed his countrymen from the ſervitude, in which they thought themſelves kept by the Engliſh. A law-ſuit, he had loſt, at London, with the lord Grey of Ruthin, his neighbour, firſt raiſed the diſguſt, he conceived againſt the Engliſh nation; and, the foreſaid conſpiracy breaking out, in England, at this very juncture, Glendour apprehended it to be a proper ſeaſon, to deliver his country from the Engliſh yoke. Having privately ſounded the Welchmen, and found them very inclinable to receive his impreſſions, he would have, immediately, diſcovered his intentions, were it not for the ill ſucceſs of the Engliſh conſpiracy; but, the moment he ſaw the king engaged in the war with Scotland, he entered upon the execution of his project. The Welch, by his influence and management, unanimouſly renouncing their allegiance to the crown of England, owned him, for their ſovereign; and it appears from ſeveral acts, that he, thenceforward, always ſtiled himſelf prince of Wales. 1400. Act. Pub.

His firſt exploit was againſt the lord Grey, his adverſary, whom he took priſoner, in a battle, and then obliged him to marry his daughter, without giving him his liberty, contrary to his word.

Glendour takes the earl of Marche priſoner. Walſing.

Glendour, flush'd with this firſt ſucceſs, made an incurſion into Herefordſhire; but Edmund Mortimer, earl of Marche, being retired to his lordſhip of Wigmore, as the king was employed, in Scotland, thought to do him a ſignal ſervice, by aſſembling the gentry of the country, in order to ſtop the rebel's progreſs. However, he had the misfortune to be taken priſoner, in a battle; and, tho' he offered a large ranſom, he could not procure his liberty. Glendour imagined, that a priſoner of ſuch diſtinction might be of uſe, hereafter, or, at leaſt, that the king would, at any rate, purchaſe his deliverance; and that, therefore, it would be more for his advantage to treat with the king, than with the priſoner himſelf; but he was miſtaken, in his conjecture. Henry was too well pleaſed with the earl of Marche's impriſonment, as it rendered him unable to hurt him, to contribute towards his releaſe; yet Glendour ſtill detained his priſoner, in hopes that, by his means, he ſhould, one day, give the king ſome diſturbance, as it, accordingly, happened. The earl was not, afterwards, ſorry, for being in the power of the Welch; for Henry's jealouſy of every thing relating to his crown, and his ſeverity to thoſe that diſputed it with him, convinced the captive earl, that his life was ſafer in priſon, than at his own houſe; and, in the interim, the king being buſied in the Scotch war, Glendour had ſufficient leiſure to ravage the country, on the weſt of the Severn, and carry off a great booty.

The emperor of Conſtantinople arrives in England. Walſing.

About the end of this year, Manuel Palæologus, emperor of Conſtantinople, arrived in England, to deſire aid againſt Bajazet, emperor of the Turks; and the king received, and preſented him, in an honourable manner; but, as for aſſiſtance, he put him off, till the affairs of his own kingdom were more firmly ſettled. The emperor went from England into France; from whence he did not depart, till two years after, upon the news, that Bajazet, his enemy, was vanquiſhed and taken priſoner by Tamerlane.

1401. Statutes in church-affairs. Cotton.

On the 20th of January, 1401, Henry called a parliament, which paſſed ſeveral acts, relating to the church; the firſt of which ratified the ſtatutes made, in the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II, againſt ſuch as ſollicited for papal proviſions, or carried, to the eccleſiaſtical courts, cauſes belonging to the cognizance

1401. cognizance of the judges of the realm. This was the old ſubject of contention with the court of Rome; and, whatever rigour was uſed, to redreſs theſe abuſes, it was impoſſible to effect it, becauſe it was the intereſt of too many to countenance the pretended prerogatives of the holy ſee. However, this parliament, conſidering that the pope ſtill engroſſed the collations of all the church-preferments of the kingdom, and that the eccleſiaſtical courts continually incroached upon the civil, reſolved, at laſt, to oppoſe it effectually; and, with this view, they revived the ſtatute of Proviſors, in the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II, commonly known by the name of Præmunire; but, as this term frequently occurs, in the Engliſh Hiſtory, it will be expedient to explain it. By Præmunire, then, is meant, either the ſtatute itſelf, or the penalty; for former parliaments, from the ſame motive as this, had ordained puniſhments againſt the Proviſors, that is, againſt ſuch as ſued for bulls, ſtiled Proviſiones or GratiæExpectativæ, to the court of Rome, for benefices that were, or ſhould be, vacant; and the ſame puniſhments were ordained againſt thoſe, that carried to the eccleſiaſtical courts what belonged to the civil. When any perſon was guilty of this ſort of crime, a writ or order was iſſued out againſt him, beginning with theſe words, Præmunire facias, by which he was commanded to appear in the kings court; from whence both the ſtatute and the penalty were called Præmunire, This penalty conſiſted, in the forfeiture of lands, and goods, and impriſonment, during the king's pleaſure; and, in proceſs of time, ſeveral other offences, of a like nature with thoſe that firſt occaſioned the ſtatute, were made liable to the ſame penalty; ſo that all the ſtatutes of Præmunire are only enlargements of thoſe made, in the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II; and, in general, the Præmunire principally concerns offences commited, in eccleſiaſtical matters, belonging to the civil juriſdiction.

The clergy, on all occaſions, ſo zealouſly favoured the pretenſions of the court of Rome, that the decrees of the former parliaments were incapable of putting a ſtop to the courſe of this abuſe; and the ſtatute, I have juſt mentioned, was not much more effectual. The attempt, laſt year, to dethrone the king, inducing him to fear the like conſpiracies, for the future, he reſolved to ſhew a great regard for the clergy, in order to attach them to his intereſt. Accordingly, tho' he did not judge it proper to refuſe his aſſent to the new ſtatute, he connived at the violation of it, as much, or more, than any of his predeceſſors; but his condeſcenſion for them, in another article, of no leſs importance, drew on him the bleſſings of the whole body, who conſidered him, as a prince extremely zealous for the church.

A ſtatute againſt hereticks. Walſing.

Since Wickliff firſt publiſhed his opinions, his doctrine was ſo ſpread, that the clergy were in continual apprehenſions of its prevailing; and I have, already, related, that, in the reign of Richard II, the biſhops obtained a general licenſe to impriſon hereticks, without being obliged to have a particular order, from the court; but that the houſe of commons cauſed it to be revoked. From that time, this affair continued in the ſame ſtate, except that the king more frequently granted ſuch orders; yet, as the penalty of impriſonment did not cheque the pretended evil, dreaded by the biſhops, Henry, ever ſollicitous to gain the affection of the eccleſiaſticks, ſtrenuouſly recommended to the parliament the care of the church's concerns. How reluctant ſoever the houſe of commons might be to perſecute the Lollards, the credit of the court and cabals of the clergy obtained, at length, an act for the burning of obſtinate hereticks; which ſtatute was no ſooner paſſed, than the eccleſiaſtical court, immediately, condemned William Sawtre, a Lollard, who, being delivered over to the ſecular arm, was burnt alive, by vertue of the king's writ directed to the mayor of London. This man was the firſt that ſuffered death, in England, for the ſake of religion; and, during this ſeſſion, ſeveral acts were paſſed, about the diſputes between the Engliſh and the court of Rome, which I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of, in another place. 1401.

A Lollard is burnt. Act. Pub.

Since the confirmation of the truce with France, Charles VI, or rather the duke of Orleans, his brother, and the dukes of Berri and Burgundy, his uncles, who governed, in his name, often demanded the young queen Iſabella, widow to Richard II; but Henry deferred giving a poſitive anſwer, being, for two reaſons, deſirous of keeping that princeſs. Firſt, as he juſtly dreaded a war with France, he wanted to make a ſolid and laſting peace with Charles VI, to which, he believed, the marriage of Iſabella with the prince, his ſon, would greatly contribute; wherefore, he frequently propoſed that marriage; but neither Charles's brother nor uncles would ever conſent to it, abhorring the thought of marrying the young queen to a prince, whoſe father was generally accounted the murderer of her former husband; however, the reaſon, they alledged, for declining it, was, that, her father being unable to manage his affairs, they durſt not treat of his daughter's marriage, without his conſent. A ſecond reaſon, why Henry deferred Iſabella's reſtitution, was, becauſe he knew the money, Richard received with her, would be demanded; yet, as he had no plauſible pretence, to detain her, he conſented, at laſt, to reſtore her, with part of her jewels. He managed ſo artfully, that, in the conventions made, at Lenlingham, there was not the leaſt mention of reſtoring her treaſure; which was the ſubject of another negotiation, as the ſequel will inform us.

A negotiation about ſending back Richard's widow.

In the mean while, Henry had, in Germany, another negotiation on foot, concerning a marriage between Blanche, his eldeſt daughter, and Lewis of Bavaria, grandſon to Robert, earl palatine of the Rhine, who was lately advanced to the imperial throne, vacant by the death of Henry of Brunſwick, ſucceſſor to Wenceſlaus; and this affair was concluded, in May, to the king's extreme ſatisfaction.

The marriage of Blanche, Henry's daughter.

The

1401. The princeſs's portion was 40,000 nobles; and, at the ſame time, a treaty of perpetual alliance was made, between the emperor and Henry.

The king's expedition againſt the Welch.

Since the revolt of the Welch, Henry had neglected preparations, to reduce them to obedience; whilſt Glendour, improving this negligence, ravaged the counties bordering upon Wales; and, far from dreading the king's juſt indignation, he ſtudied to provoke him, by continual inſults. Many people were aſtoniſhed at Henry's indolence, being entirely ignorant of the cauſe of it; for, before he took up arms againſt the Welch, he was deſirous of finiſhing his affairs with France, and even deſigned to enter into a ſtrict alliance with that crown. As he was ſenſible, that it was from this court alone, that the rebels could expect any aſſiſtance, in depriving them of it, he thought he ſhould put it out of their power to ſupport themſelves long; but, the negotiations with France proceeding more ſlowly than he wiſhed, and Glendour ſtill continuing to infeſt his borders, he could no longer delay taking up arms. Before he put himſelf at the head of his army, he publiſhed a general pardon for the Welch, provided they ſubmitted, within a limited time; but, his clemency proving ineffectual, he marched to chaſtiſe them. Upon his approach, Glendour retired to the mountains, where it was impoſſible to attack him; and all the king could do was to ravage the country, and then return to London.

An invention, to kill the king, is diſcovered. Walſing.

The king's return to his metropolis was, immediately, followed by the diſcovery of a plot againſt his life, by the means of an iron inſtrument, with three ſharp ſpikes, placed in his bed; and, had he chanced to lie down, he muſt inevitably have been run through the body; but he fortunately perceived it, juſt as he was going into bed; and, what inquiry ſoever was made, the author of this traiterous attempt could not be diſcovered.

The death of the duke of York. Walſing.

It was this year, and not the laſt, as ſome affirm, that Edmund, duke of York, the king's uncle, died; who left two ſons, Edmund, duke of Albemarle, who aſſumed the title of duke of York, and Richard, earl of Cambridge; but I ſhall often have occaſion, hereafter, to ſpeak of the poſterity of the younger, who, by his marriage with a ſiſter of the earl of Marche, acquired to his iſſue rights, which cauſed ſuch terrible commotions in the kingdom.

1402. A tax is raiſed for the marriage of the king's daughter. Act. Pub.

In the beginning of the next year, the king, without the intervention of the parliament, laid a tax, for the marriage of his daughter; and though, in this, he had acted, by vertue of an antient privilege of the kings, on the like occaſions, the people ſeemed diſſatisfied; for there were not wanting in the kingdom perſons, who greedily catched at every thing, to find fault with his conduct. About the middle of the year, he had reaſon to apprehend, that there was ſtill a dangerous ferment among his ſubjects; and, if the male-contents remained quiet, it was only in expectation of a more favourable opportunity. On a ſudden, an unexpected rumour was ſpread over England, that Richard was alive, and had levied an army, in Scotland, in order to expel the uſurper; and the people muſt, of courſe, have wiſhed the news true, ſince it, every-where, met with ſuch credit. At the ſame time, on church-doors, and in other publick places, papers were poſted up, containing outrageous invectives againſt the king; and aſſerting, among other things, that the crimes, for which Richard was depoſed, were nothing, in compariſon of the tyrannical proceedings of Henry, ſince his acceſſion to the throne. The king was ſo incenſed at this audaciouſneſs, that he ſwore never to pardon the offenders; and Sir Roger Clarendon, natural ſon to Edward, the renowned prince of Wales, fell the firſt ſacrifice to his vengeance, being condemned to the ignominious death of a traytor. Eight monks, guilty of the ſame crime, were likewiſe hanged with him; and Walter Baldock, Prior of Laund, underwent the ſame fate, with a Franciſcan doctor of divinity, who was hanged, in his friar's habit, to the great mortification of his fraternity. Many more were apprehended, upon diſcovering, among the papers of a certain prieſt, a liſt of the names of thoſe, that declared Richard was alive; but, upon a ſtrict examination, it appeared, that he made that liſt, on purpoſe to render the news the more probable, or on groundleſs conjectures; ſo that he ſuffered alone the puniſhment of his raſhneſs; but the king's great ſeverity, on this occaſion, exceedingly contributed to efface the good opinion conceived of his clemency.

1402.

The marriage of the king. Act. Pub.

During theſe tranſactions, in England, Henry negotiated, in foreign courts, three marriages, at once; the firſt of which was between Philippa, his ſecond daughter, and Eric, king of Denmark, who was yet a minor, under the guardianſhip of queen Margaret, his mother; the ſecond, between the prince of Wales and a ſiſter of Eric's; and the third was his own, with Joanna of Navarre, widow to the duke of Bretagne. The firſt and laſt of theſe three marriages were concluded, this year; but that of the prince of Wales did not ſucceed.

The court of France get in their power the perſon of the young duke of Bretagne.

Henry, in reſolving to eſpouſe the dutcheſs dowager of Bretagne, had, probably, an eye, by vertue of this marriage, to the guardianſhip of the three princes, which the late duke of Bretagne had left, under age; at leaſt, the court of France, taking it for granted, ſeemed very much alarmed at this alliance, which might be vaſtly prejudicial to them. For this reaſon, the duke of Burgundy, guardian of the young princes, removed them from the dutcheſs, their mother, and carried them to Paris, where they were educated; and, by this means, the court of France had the direction of the affairs of Bretagne, during the young duke's minority; ſo that, if Henry had an eye to Bretagne, he not only was diſappointed, but drew upon himſelf freſh enemies. During the whole time the new duke was in France, the Bretons almoſt inceſſantly infeſted the coaſts of England, tho' no war was proclaimed, between their ſovereign and Henry; and the king's marriage was not conſummated, till the following year.

1402.

An expedition of the king into Wales.

These negotiations being concluded, Henry prepared, in good earneſt, to chaſtiſe the Welch; and, having drawn together a numerous army, heading them, in perſon, he advanced towards Wales. Upon his approach, Glendour withdrew to the mountains of Snowdon, where he knew it was impoſſible to attack him; and, in the interim, the king made preparations to ravage the country; but the weather ſuddenly became ſo tempeſtuous, that he was obliged to retire; for the ſtorms were ſo extraordinary, for the ſeaſon, that the Engliſh imagined, that Glendour had made a contract with the devil, to prevent the deſtruction of his country.

Another invaſion of the Scots. Buchanan.

Whilſt the king was employed, in thoſe parts, the Scots, under Hepburne, ſon to him ſlain, two years before, made an irruption into England, and advanced, as far as Newcaſtle; and the earl of Northumberland, general of the north, was in no condition to repulſe that invaſion; but, aſſembling a great body of troops, whilſt they continued their ravages, he went and expected them, at Niſbet, where he attacked and defeated them, ſeizing all their booty; and the Scotch general loſt his life, in the action.

Theſe troops were properly but the vanguard of an army, with which the earl of Douglas was advancing, to make a more powerful effort; and, upon the news of Hepburne's defeat, he haſtened his march into England, to fight the earl of Northumberland; who, being too weak to venture a battle, was conſtrained to retire, and leave the borders expoſed to his ravages. In the mean while, he laboured, without ceaſing, to augment his army; and he was no ſooner able to withſtand him, than he marched, in queſt of him, attended by Henry Hotſpur, his ſon, who was reputed the braveſt man, in England. The two armies meeting at Halidown-hill, a bloody battle enſued, in which the Engliſh were entirely victorious; and the Scotch general, having loſt an eye, fell into the hands of the conquerors, with the earl of Fife, nephew to the king of Scotland, the earls of Angus, Athol, Montieth, and a great number of other officers of diſtinction. The Engliſh hiſtorians affirm, that this battle was fought, in July, about a month after the former; but Buchanan places it, among the occurrences of the year 1401; tho', in this, he is certainly miſtaken.

The French and Engliſh blame one another, for breaking the truce.

During the whole ſummer, the ambaſſadors of France and England continued, at Lenlingham, by reaſon of the violation of the truce, particularly, in Guienne. The French hiſtorians caſt the blame upon England, and the Engliſh upon France; but, in caſes of this nature, the writers of both nations generally contradict each other, with mutual reproaches of partiality. Their honour, it ſeems, is concerned, to maintain, on all occaſions, the faith and ſincerity of their reſpective ſovereigns; but, however that be, the circumſtances of the two kings had, for ſome time paſt, been ſuch, that it could be to the advantage of neither, to renew the war. Henry believed, that the Welch, and the male-contents in England, could procure no aſſiſtance, except from France, which he intended to prevent, by means of the truce, but was miſtaken; and king Charles's diſtemper, with the diviſions in his court and council, gave the French no hopes of any remarkable ſucceſs of their arms; ſo that the truce was again confirmed, without examining too ſtrictly, by which ſide it was firſt broken. 1402.

The French demand Iſabella's portion. Act. Pub.

This affair being over, the French ambaſſadors demanded the reſtitution of what king Richard had received with his queen; but, as Henry foreſaw this demand, he had given inſtructions to his ambaſſadors; who pretended to be ſurpriſed at this propoſal, and ſaid, that they had received no orders about it. However, they added, as of themſelves, that they did not doubt, but, for the preſervation of a good underſtanding between the two crowns, their maſter would conſent to deduct that ſum out of the million and a half of crowns, ſtill due to England, for the ranſom of king John; which pretenſion aſtoniſhed the French plenipotentiaries, who deferred their anſwer, till they knew their maſter's pleaſure.

The parliament meets. Cotton. Walſing.

The parliament, that met, in October, granted the king a ſubſidy, and then confirmed ſeveral ſtatutes made, in the reign of Edward III, in behalf of the clergy *; and the ſeſſion ended with a petition to the king, recommending to him the concerns of the Scotch earl of Marche, who had done the ſtate conſiderable ſervices, ſince his putting himſelf under the protection of England †.

1403. The queen's arrival. Walſing.

The new queen, arriving in England, in February, 1403, was received by the king, at Wincheſter, where the marriage was conſummated; after which, ſhe was ſolemnly crowned, at London.

The French make a deſcent in the iſle of Wight.

Whilſt the court was entirely taken up with entertainments and diverſions, the king received intelligence, that the French deſigned to make a deſcent, in the iſle of Wight, under the conduct of Valeran, earl of St. Pol, of the houſe of Luxemburg; and this earl, having married a half-ſiſter of Richard II, pretended to act, in his own name, to revenge the death of the king, his brother-in-law. The court of France connived at the undertaking, and even furniſhed the earl with troops; yet, notwithſtanding this bravado, the earl of St. Pol, after plundering ſome villages, was diſhonourably forced to re-imbarque, tho' the inhabitants of the iſle were not ſupplied with any aſſiſtance. Henry complained to the court of France of this invaſion; but he could obtain no other anſwer, than that it was the king of France's intention to keep the truce. Had he not been reſolved to avoid a rupture,

* Namely, That a clerk convicted of treaſon, or theft, ſhall not make his purgation; and that, in appropriations of benefices, there ſhall not be a proviſion made for the year, &c.

† The earl petitioned, that ſuch of his lands, in Scotland, as were conquered by the Engliſh, might be reſtored to him. Cotton.

the

1403. the earl of St. Pol's attempt would have been a very ſufficient reaſon, to renew the war; but, being ſenſible, that the kingdom abounded with male-contents, he would not give occaſion to France openly to ſupport them; and, therefore, without taking any farther notice of the inſult, he was ſatisfied with a freſh confirmation of the truce.

The duke of Orleans challenges Henry. Act. Pub.

They, who governed for king Charles, were not ignorant of Henry's reſolution; and this very year, the duke of Orleans ſent him a challenge to fight, either in ſingle combat, or with 100 knights, on each ſide. The reaſon of this challenge is not related by the Engliſh hiſtorians; and the French alledge no other, than the duke of Orleans's deſire to revenge the death of Richard II. In all probability, it was only a ſally of the young duke, to ſignalize himſelf, by ſending a challenge to a king of England; but he was diſpleaſed with the anſwer. Henry repreſented, that there was a vaſt diſparity between a king and any ſubject whatſoever; and, therefore, he could not accept his challenge; but they might chance to meet in a place, where, being both attended with a more numerous train than what he propoſed, they might meaſure ſwords with each other; to which anſwer the duke of Orleans returned a very reproachful reply, wherein he called him traytor, uſurper, and even murderer of his king. Henry ſent him a no leſs abuſive anſwer, giving him the lye, in form, and charging him with ſorcery, to throw his father into his preſent diſtemper; and he likewiſe ſent to know of the French ambaſſadors, who were ſtill with his at Lenlingham, whether this challenge was approved by the king, their maſter; for, if ſo, he conſidered it, as an open rupture. However, tho' the ambaſſadors were often called upon to return a poſitive anſwer, it was impoſſible to oblige them to ſpeak plainly; for they ſaid no more, than, that their maſter had not broke the truce, nor intended to break it, for the future. In fine, the Engliſh preſſing them for a declaration, from thoſe that governed, in Charles's name, during his illneſs, they expreſly told them, whether the king recovered his health, or not, no other anſwer was to be expected; but Henry, conſidering this ſilence, as a diſavowing, or rather thinking it adviſable to diſſemble, for the reaſons above-mentioned, was contented with this ſlight ſatisfaction.

A debate about Iſabella's portion. Act. Pub.

During the congreſs, the French ambaſſadors moved, again, the reſtitution of Iſabella's portion; and the Engliſh plenipotentiaries demanded the reſidue of king John's ranſom, attempting to evade the demand of the French, by alledging, that, as their maſter had not received Iſabella's dowry, he was not obliged to repay it; but, by this, they only gave occaſion to their adverſaries, to ſay, in their turn, that neither was their maſter under any engagement to Henry, with reſpect to king John's ranſom; however, as Henry demanded the arrears of the ranſom, purely, to be excuſed paying the dowry, he gained his ends, and the affair reſted there.

Whilſt the ambaſſadors of the two crowns were employed, in theſe mutual cavils, nothing leſs than his crown was at ſtake, in England. From the beginning of his reign, to the victory over the Scots, at Halidown-hill, no lord was in more favour with the king, than the earl of Northumberland; for, as it was properly, by the ſpeedy junction of that earl with Henry, at his landing in England, that his affairs proved ſo ſucceſsful, the king had, all along, retained a very grateful ſenſe of his ſervice. The government of the northern counties, the office of high-conſtable, the grant of the iſle of Man, and ſeveral other favours were demonſtrative proofs of his eſteem for the earl, who, on his part, had always ſeemed to be very zealouſly attached to Henry's intereſt. The laſt year, he had gained over the Scots two victories, the latter of which had diſabled them from giving his maſter any freſh diſturbance. This was a ſignal ſervice; but, beſides the foreſaid favours, the king had rewarded him with the grants of certain lands. One would have imagined, that nothing could break the correſpondency between the earl's ſervices and the king's favours; and yet an affair of intereſt created ſuch a quarrel, that theſe happy diſpoſitions were ſuddenly altered.

1403. A quarrel between the king and earl of Northumberland. Walſing.

I obſerved, that the earl of Northumberland had, in the battle of Halidown, taken ſeveral priſoners of great quality; but Henry, believing that theſe priſoners belonged to him, would not leave them, at the earl's diſpoſal; and, perhaps, his view was to raiſe a large ranſom, or, by their means, to procure an advantageous treaty with Scotland. However that be, immediately after the battle, he ſent an expreſs order to the earl, to releaſe none of his priſoners; and, ſoon after, he enjoined him to deliver them into his hands. The earl, expecting the benefit of their ranſom, forthwith, repaired to court, and intreated the king to leave the priſoners, at his diſpoſal; but, having the mortification to be refuſed, he exclaimed againſt the injuſtice that was done him; and the reproaches he dropp'd, on this occaſion, ſo diſpleaſed Henry, that he no longer looked upon him, with the ſame eye, as before. This coolneſs was carried ſo far, that, when the earl would have ſpoke with the king, he was denied admittance; but, as he was naturally very haughty, he could not bear this contempt, without ſeeking an opportunity to be revenged. It may be juſtly affirmed, that he placed the king on the throne; and he thought, that he was in a condition to pull him down. This was the reſult of ſeveral conferences with Henry Hotſpur, his ſon, the earl of Worceſter, his brother, and ſome other lords; and their deſign was to place the crown on the head of Edmund Mortimer, earl of Marche, ſtill a priſoner in Wales, not out of affection to that prince, but becauſe there was not otherwiſe a plauſible pretence, to gain the people to their intereſt. Purſuant to this reſolution, they diſpatched ſecret agents to Glendour and Mortimer, to perſuade them to come into their plot; and Glendour engaged to em-

Act. Pub.

ploy

1403. ploy all his forces, in the execution of it. As for the earl of Marche, he very readily lent his name, to promote a project tending to fix him on the throne; but, that all three might find their advantage in it, it was agreed, that the earl of Marche ſhould take poſſeſſion of the kingdom, the earl of Northumberland hold all the country, north of the Trent, on condition of homage to the crown, and Glendour enjoy all the counties, weſt of the Severn. Upon this agreement, the earl of Northumberland feigned, for ſome time, to forget the affront offered him by Henry; and he even came to court, where he took occaſion to repreſent to the king, that, as the earl of Marche loſt his liberty, in his ſervice, it was but reaſonable, that he ſhould pay his ranſom to Glendour. Henry was too well pleaſed with the earl's being in the hands of the Welch, and unable, as he imagined, to hurt him, to contribute to his deliverance; and, therefore, he replied, with ſome ſigns of anger, that the earl, having marched againſt the rebels, of his own accord, and with the ſole view of ſaving his lands from plunder, it was his buſineſs to procure his freedom, as well he could; and that, for his part, he did not think himſelf obliged to obtain his liberty, much leſs to pay his ranſom. The earl was not ſurpriſed at this expected refuſal; for his intent was only, from this remarkable inſtance of the king's cruelty to the earl of Marche, to inſinuate, that he muſt needs be convinced of the juſtice of the priſoner's title to the crown, ſince he dreaded to ſee him at liberty. This denial making no alteration, in the project of the confederates, the earl of Northumberland retired into the north, where he privately ſecured ſome troops, who were to be in arms; upon the firſt notice; and then he ſettled a correſpondence with ſome Scotch lords, who promiſed to aſſiſt him. He alſo relieved ſeveral Scotch priſoners, that were yet in his power, upon their engaging to levy troops, for his ſervice; and, in the interim, Glendour made extraordinary preparations, which, coming to the king's ears, obliged him to be upon his guard, though he was ignorant, for what they were intended.

The male-contents take up arms.

As ſoon as the confederates were ready, the three Piercies ſuddenly appeared in arms, in the north; and, quickly after, the earl of Northumberland falling ill, his brother and ſon marched, with his troops, to join the Welch, who were advanced, as far as Shropſhire. The two armies being joined, the male-contents publiſh'd a manifeſto, ſetting forth, that the king treated his ſubjects with intolerable tyranny; that none but the clergy had acceſs to him, and the greateſt lords could not be admitted into his preſence, unleſs introduced by ſome biſhop; that he, moreover, converted to his own uſe the ſubſidies granted by the parliament, for the publick occaſions; and they likewiſe ſpread a report, that Richard II. was alive, and at Cheſter, with a body of troops, ready to aſſiſt them.

Henry was extremely ſurpriſed at the news of this rebellion; but, having, by good fortune, an army in readineſs, againſt the Welch, he did not diſcover any concern; yet, being apprehenſive, that the rebels manifeſto might poiſon the people, he judged it adviſable, in the firſt place, to efface theſe impreſſions, by an anſwer publiſhed, by way of proclamation. He cleared himſelf from the principal articles of the manifeſto, firſt, by denying that he had ever refuſed to admit into his preſence the very meaneſt of his ſubjects, much leſs any of the nobility; and he called his whole court to witneſs. As for the ſubſidies granted by parliament, he affirmed, that moſt part of the money was paid, on account of the Scotch war, to the earl of Northumberland himſelf, as he could prove, by his own receipts.

1403.

The king vindicates himſelf, in a proclamation. Walſing.

Having publiſhed his anſwer, he marched towards the rebels, who were encamped, at Shrewsbury; but, when the two armies were in ſight, and ready to engage, he ſeemed to dread the iſſue. His uneaſineſs induced him to offer ſuch advantageous terms to the male-contents, that Henry Piercy, moved by them, deſired the earl of Worceſter, his uncle, to wait on the king, and endeavour to procure an agreement; and it is ſaid, that, in the conference with this earl, the king made ſuch conceſſions, in favour of the rebels, that they would have had reaſon to be contented, had not the earl of Worceſter falſly intimated, that there was nothing to be expected. However this be, the negotiation proving ineffectual, the battle began; and the king, at firſt, was in danger of being entirely defeated. He had even his horſe killed under him, and the prince of Wales, his ſon, was wounded, in the face; but, he ſo ſeaſonably called in his body of reſerve, that, by their aſſiſtance, he recovered his ground, and inſpired his troops with freſh courage. From that moment, the whole face of the battle was changed, to the diſadvantage of the male-contents; and, the king's laſt charge putting their army in diſorder, they were ſo vigorouſly preſſed, that Henry obtained, in the end, a complete victory. Young Piercy was ſlain, and buried, after the battle, with the king's leave; but, afterwards, altering his mind, the king ordered his body to be taken up, quartered, and fixed on poles in the high-ways; and the earl of Worceſter, being taken priſoner, was beheaded, and his head ſet up over London-bridge.

The battle of Shrewſbury. Walſing.

In the mean while, the earl of Northumberland, being recovered, advanced with a body of troops, to reinforce the army of the male-contents, and take upon him the command; but, hearing, by the way, of his ſon's and brother's misfortune, he diſmiſſed his troops, not daring to keep the field, with ſo few forces, before a victorious army. The king marched towards the north, which he well knew to be the center of the rebellion, by reaſon of the earl of Northumberland's great intereſt, in thoſe parts; and, when he came to York, he took all imaginable care to ſecure the fidelity of the northern counties, as well by the oath of the inhabitants, as by other

The earl of Northumberland withdraws to the north. Walſing.

1403. other means that he judged expedient. When he thought he had taken proper measures, to prevent an insurrection, he summoned the earl of Northumberland, to appear before him; promising him an absolute pardon, provided he obeyed, without delay; but he threatened him, with utter ruin, if he refused the offered favour. The earl, having no way to free himself from his present condition, chose rather to cast himself upon the king's mercy, than live in perpetual exile; wherefore, immediately repairing to York, he threw himself at the king's feet, who punctually observed his word with him. He even left him all his estate, except the isle of Man, which he had given him, in the beginning of his reign; and this was a very slight punishment for such a heinous crime; but, probably, Henry, still retaining a sense of the services done him by the earl, thought he owed him this acknowledgment; moreover, the criminal was already sufficiently punished, in the death of his son and brother.

He pardons the earl of Northumberland. Walsing.

Whilst the king was employed, in the north, the court of France, hearing of the earl of Northumberland's rebellion, resolved to improve it to their own advantage; and it is evident, from the Collection of Publick Acts, that Henry received intelligence, that the duke of Orleans intended to make a descent, in England; whilst John, duke of Burgundy, was to besiege Calais. It is remarkable, that, tho' the truce was, almost every year, confirmed by the two crowns, France was ever ready to take the advantage of the troubles, during this reign; for they, who were at the helm, during king Charles's illness, and particularly the duke of Orleans, his brother, never thought themselves bound by any treaties made with Henry; which might be very manifestly proved. However, as Henry always overcame the troubles raised, in his kingdom, the court of France were often disappointed in their expectations; and, in all probability, Henry's late victory over the rebels frustrated the projects then formed against him. Nevertheless, not to leave him in perfect tranquillity, as they directed the affairs of Bretagne, during the duke's minority, they engaged the Bretons to make a descent, in the western coasts of England, where they committed great ravages; and this invasion, for which the Bretons could not alledge the least reason, gave the king the greatest uneasiness; yet, being willing to avoid an entire rupture with Bretagne, in hopes of gaining, one day, the young duke to his interests, he judged it most advisable to conceal his resentment. He was, therefore, satisfied with some slight excuses made by the regency of Bretagne, in disclaiming the persons concerned in the descent, as acting, without the government's orders; but, at the same time, he privately gave leave to the inhabitants of Plymouth, and other places, in those parts, to equip a fleet, under the command of William Wilford; who, tho' without the king's commission, set sail for Bretagne, and revenged the damages sustained by the English *.

France is ever ready to take advantage of the troubles in England. Act. Pub.

1403.

The parliament summoned, last year, and afterwards prorogued, met again, in January, 1404; and the king obtained a subsidy, which must have been very extraordinary, since it is was not to be recorded †; but, in vain, are precautions taken to bury in oblivion such precedents, which princes, upon occasion, too frequently call to remembrance.

1404. A subsidy is granted to the king. Walsing.

The severities, exercised on the authors and accomplices of the two late rebellions, induced the parliament to petition the king, for a general pardon; and Henry very readily granted their request, but with such exceptions, as rendered the pardon of little effect, since he forgave only those whom he did not design to punish.

An act of indemnity. Act. Pub.

Henry's severe treatment of those, who were infatuated with the false notion of Richard's being still alive, was incapable of undeceiving the whole nation. A rumour being once more, spread, that Richard was in Scotland, one Serle, who had been gentleman of his bed-chamber, went to see his old master; and he met with people, who shewed him a man that somewhat resembled Richard, but not enough for a domestick, who had long served him, to be deceived; yet Serle, pretending that he was, in reality, Richard, wrote to several in England, that he was actually with him. The testimony of a man, who could not, in all appearance, be mistaken, produced such an effect, that many were seduced with this imposture; and the countess of Oxford, mother to the late duke of Ireland, Richard's favourite, believed, or feigned to believe, it, and took care to spread the report. She even sent to several persons, in Richard's name, little silver harts, such as that prince used to give his favourites. In the interim, the king's diligence prevented the ill consequences of this imposture; and he ordered the countess to be taken into custody, with her secretary, who was in the secret. Some time after, Serle was seized, on the borders of the north, and hang'd, at Berwick; and, as he confessed the cheat, and that he was concerned in the duke of Gloucester's murder, the report died away, by degrees.

Richard is reported to be living. Walsing.

This year, the Bretons made a descent, near Portland, and plundered some houses, on the coast; but, advancing farther into the country, they were attacked by a body of militia, who forced them back to their ships, and took several prisoners of distinction. Hitherto there was no declaration of war between England and Bretagne; yet the two nations continued to infest one another, tho' without the consent of their sovereigns. France, managing the Bretons, was extremely glad to sow discord

The Bretons land at Portland. Act. Pub.

* He took 40 merchant-ships, and burnt several more; and, making a descent, he burnt and plundered the villages and country, for near 20 miles together. Walsing.

† "Concessores ipsi, & authores dicti tallagii, in perpetuum latere posteros voluerunt: nempe sub ea tantum conditione concedebatur, ne traheretur posterius in exemplum, nec servarentur ejus evidentiæ in thesauraria regia, nec in scaccario, sed scripturæ vel recordationes ejusdem protinus post datum compotum cremarentur." Walsing.

1404. between them and the Engliſh, leſt Henry ſhould ſtrengthen himſelf with the alliance of Bretagne, when the duke was of age; and, for the ſame reaſon, Henry connived at theſe inſults, to prevent his being deprived of that advantage; beſides, he reſolved to avoid, as much as poſſible, engaging in any war, being apprehenſive, that the male-contents would raiſe commotions, in the kingdom, provided he was obliged to ſend his forces abroad.

A truce with Scotland. Act. Pub.

It was, probably, with the ſame view, that he concluded with Scotland a truce, from the 20th of July, this year, to the Eaſter following.

However, he could not imagine, that all his precautions would, for ever, prevent the dreaded war; for, if France ſo induſtriouſly ſought an occaſion of rupture, Glendour, in Wales, not only perſiſted in his rebellion, but had even ſeized ſome places, on the weſt of the Severn; moreover, the truce with Scotland being to expire, in the ſpring, there would be a neceſſity of ſending an army into the north; which conſiderations determined him to call a parliament, in order to obtain an aid to enable him to carry on theſe wars.

The illiterate parliament. Walſing.

The parliament met, October the 6th; and it is ſaid, that the king, in the writs of ſummons, commanded the ſheriffs and mayors to return none but ſuch as were unlearned; from whence, this aſſembly was termed the Illiterate or Lack-learning parliament. However, it is a queſtion, whether the king's command was ſo expreſs, as is affirmed *; for the breach Richard II. had made, in the nation's liberties, by the like method, and the puniſhment, which followed, were yet too freſh, for Henry to expoſe himſelf to the ſame danger, in the preſent juncture. It muſt be confeſſed, that the court, on this occaſion, laboured to cauſe ſuch repreſentatives to be elected, as were not too much prepoſſeſſed, in favour of the clergy; but, however that be, the king repreſenting to the parliament, thus, compoſed, his preſſing want of an extraordinary aid, the commons addreſſed him, in a body, remonſtrating, "That, "without oppreſſing his ſubjects, he might "ſupply his neceſſities, by ſeizing the revenues of the clergy." They repreſented, "That the clergy poſſeſſed a third part of the "lands of the kingdom; and, as they did not "do the king, any perſonal ſervice, it was "but juſt that they ſhould contribute, out of "their revenues, towards the great exigences "of the ſtate; that it was manifeſt, the riches "of the eccleſiaſticks made them negligent, in "their duty; and the leſſening of their exceſſive incomes would be a double advantage to the ſtate and church."

The king's reception of this addreſs plainly ſhewed, it was not diſagreeable to him, and in all likelihood, it was he that, by his emiſſaries, had chalked out this way of raiſing the money he wanted. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, being preſent, judged it his duty to ſpeak, when the intereſt of the whole clergy was concerned; and he repreſented to the king, "That, though the eccleſiaſticks did "not ſerve him, in perſon, it was no juſt in-"ference, that they were unſerviceable, ſince "they ſent into the field their vaſſals and te-"nants, whenever there was occaſion; that "the depriving the clergy of their eſtates "would put a ſtop to their prayers, night and "day, for the proſperity of the ſtate; and "that God's protection of the kingdom could "not be expected, if the prayers of the "church were ſo little regarded." He added, with a menacing tone, "That, if theſe "conſiderations were inſufficient to ſuppreſs, "the plots againſt the clergy, it would be "found difficult to take away their eſtates, "without expoſing the kingdom to great danger; and that, whilſt he was archbiſhop of "Canterbury, he would oppoſe this injuſtice, "to the utmoſt of his power." Then, ſuddenly falling on his knees, he urgently preſſed the king, in point of conſcience, endeavouring to convince him, that, of all the crimes a prince could commit, none was ſo heinous as the invaſion of the clergy's revenues. Whether Henry was moved with the archbiſhop's ſpeech, or the ſtrong oppoſition he foreſaw, from the clergy, made him ſenſible, that it would be extremely difficult to accompliſh his deſign, he on a ſudden reſolved to deſiſt. He anſwered the archbiſhop, that, though he did not blame his zeal, he could not help ſaying, that his fears were groundleſs; for, when he aſcended the throne, he made a firm reſolution to favour the church, with all his power, and hoped, by God's grace, to leave her in a better condition than he found her. The archbiſhop, encouraged by this anſwer, turned to the commons, and told them, that their demand was entirely built on irreligion and avarice †; to which offenſive ſpeech the commons made no reply; but, when they came back to their houſe, they brought in a bill, to ſeize the clergy's revenues. However, it was impoſſible for them to ſucceed, in their project; for the ſollicitations of the archbiſhop and the reſt of the clergy were ſo prevalent with the lords, that they threw out the bill; ſo that the commons were forced to find other means, to ſupply the king's occaſions.

1404. The archbiſhop of Canterbury's ſpeech.

Towards the latter end of this year, Innocent VII. notified to Henry his promotion to the papal throne. Act. Pub.

1405. It is not ſurpriſing, that, to the great number of his enemies, both foreign and domeſtick, Henry was unwilling to add the clergy; who, as the archbiſhop had threatened, would have had it in their power to give him great uneaſineſs; but, though the whole kingdom ſeemed to be in a ſtate of tranquillity, he diſcovered, about the beginning of the year 1405, that ſome ill deſign was forming againſt him; tho' he could not find out the authors of it.

The earl of Marche had artfully concealed his diſguſt, when Henry aſcended the throne; but his league, afterwards, with Glendour and the earl of Northumberland, was ſufficient to open the king's eyes, tho' he had ſuffered him-

* Moſt of the hiſtorians affirm, that ſuch were to be choſen as had "no skill in the laws." Walſing.

† He added, that he would ſooner loſe his head, than that the church ſhould be deprived of the leaſt of her rights. Walſ-

ſelf

1405. self to be deceived by this diſſimulation. He was too jealous of his crown, to believe that the earl was unmindful of his lawful rights; and, therefore, he always refuſed to promote the recovery of his liberty. For the ſame reaſon, he kept his children in ſafe cuſtody, at Windſor, as pledges of their father's allegiance; but, in ſpite of all his care, means were found to conveigh away the priſoners, and conceal them, for ſome time. However, the king cauſed ſuch diligent ſearch to be made, that they were, at length, diſcovered, and brought back to their confinement, at Windſor; and he would have ſeverely puniſhed this attempt, if he could have found out the authors of it. There was only a poor lock-ſmith hanged, for being concerned in it; but he would not diſcover, by whom he was employed.

The duke of York is apprehended. Act. Pub.

The duke of York was taken up, on ſuſpicion, and ſent to the caſtle of Pevenſey, where he remained a priſoner, above three months; but, at laſt, he was releaſed, for want of ſufficient evidence againſt him.

Prince Henry goes againſt the Welch.

The late attempt made the king apprehenſive, that his enemies would contrive ſome new plot, in the behalf of the earl of Marche; and that, before it broke out, they would ſecure theſe young princes. As Glendour was continually diſpoſed to countenance the malecontents, Henry reſolved to exert himſelf, to deſtroy that rebel; and, with this view, he gave the command of an army to Henry, his eldeſt ſon; who, in the beginning of the campaign, put their army to flight; and, two months after, this victory was followed by another ſtill more important, wherein Glendour's ſon was made priſoner. However, notwithſtanding both theſe defeats, the Welch made freſh efforts, in defence of their liberty; for the ſituation of their country, the aſſurances of a powerful diverſion from France; and, probably, Glendour's knowledge of a conſpiracy forming, in England, inſpired them with hopes of better ſucceſs, for the future.

France daily ſeeks to diſturb Henry.

It was not without reaſon, that the Welch relied on the aſſiſtance of France; for that crown, or rather the duke of Orleans, who, then, governed the kingdom, overlooked the truce, whenever he thought he could break it, with advantage. Tho' it was confirmed, in 1403, Mezerai owns, that the conſtable D'Albert and the earl of Armagnac had taken, from England, above 60 places, in Guienne; and, this very year, the duke of Orleans openly laid ſiege to Bourg and Blaye, tho' to no purpoſe. The duke of Burgundy was preparing to beſiege Calais; and, to facilitate this undertaking, the earl of St. Pol attempted to ſeize the caſtle of Merck; but the garriſon of Calais, poſting to its relief, obliged him to retreat, in diſorder, tho' he was, already, maſter of the inner-court.

The king is denied money by the nobles and clergy. Walſing.

Theſe frequent breaches of the truce taught Henry, what he might expect from France, if his affairs ſhould miſcarry in England; and, therefore, he was deſirous to end the Welch war, before he ſhewed his reſentment to the French, chuſing rather to ſuffer them to act privately, than give occaſion for an open rupture. With this intent, he ſent againſt the Welch the prince, his ſon; but, before he entered upon this expedition, he aſſembled the lords, to deſire a ſupply of money, being aſhamed to ask the parliament, who had lately granted him a conſiderable ſubſidy; but the lords flatly refuſed to comply with the king's requeſt, without the authority of the parliament; and the clergy, whom the king alſo founded, replied, with the ſame reſolution, being unwilling to eſtabliſh ſuch a precedent, leſt it ſhould be drawn into a cuſtom. Henry, extremely mortified with theſe denials, diſmiſſed both the nobility and clergy, with marks of his indignation; by which he afforded certain lords a pretence to haſten the execution of a deſign, which, probably, had been formed, ſome time before. 1405.

A conſpiracy formed by the archbiſhop of York. Walſing.

Richard Scrope, archbiſhop of York, being diſſatisfied, and wanting to revenge Richard, by whom he was promoted to that dignity, engaged ſeveral lords in a confederacy, to dethrone Henry; and the earl of Northumberland, having entered into the plot, tho' the king had forgiven him the like fault, by his intereſt in the north, drew the people of thoſe parts into the ſame confederacy. Thomas Mowbray, earl-marſhal, the lords Bardolf, Haſtings, Falconbridge, and ſeveral other nobles and gentlemen levied a great number of troops, which they led to York, the place of rendezvous; and, when theſe forces, which made a numerous army, were joined, in a body, the leaders publiſhed a manifeſto, againſt the king, and cauſed it to be fixed on the doors of the churches, in York, for publick view. The ſubſtance of the articles, contained in the manifeſto, was, as follows:

The rebels manifeſto. Walſing. Com. Hiſt.

I. That Henry, at his return into England, had proteſted and ſworn, that he only came to recover his private inheritance, without any deſign upon the crown, and yet had procured himſelf to be proclaimed king.

II. That, as an arch-traytor, he had impriſoned his ſovereign, compelled him to reſign his crown, and then barbarouſly murdered him.

III. That, ever ſince the death of Richard, he had unjuſtly detained the crown from Edmund Mortimer, earl of Marche, to whom it lawfully belonged.

IV. That he had unjuſtly put to death ſeveral perſons of quality, who were guilty of no other crime, than endeavouring to redreſs the abuſes of the government; and that, contrary to law, he impriſoned the biſhops, by his ſole authority.

V. That he had oppreſſed the people with unneceſſary taxes, and, by his menaces, hindered them from complaining.

VI. That he had violated the privileges of the nation, and his oath to maintain them, by preventing the free election of parliaments.

VII. That, in a parliament held, at Wincheſter, he had given his aſſent to a very pernicious ſtatute againſt the church of Rome, and the authority conferred upon St. Peter and his ſucceſſors; by which he had been the cauſe of ſimony, perjury, and other diſorders, among

1405. mong the clergy and gentry, who ſold the vacant benefices to perſons unqualified to ſerve the cure.

VIII. That, in ſpite of the frequent inſtances of ſeveral lords of his council, he had refuſed to ranſom the earl of Marche, and evaded his juſt petition, by falſly accuſing that prince of voluntarily making himſelf a priſoner to the Welch.

IX. That, on all theſe accounts, they had taken up arms, with an intent to free the nation from the oppreſſions of this tyrant, and place the lawful heir on the throne.

The earl of Weſtmoreland ſeizes the heads of the conſpiracy, by fraud. Walſing.

Some time before the king received advice of this rebellion, he ordered a body of troops to march into the north, under Ralph Nevil, earl of Weſtmoreland, to oppoſe the Scots, who ſeemed inclined to renew the war. The earl was, near York, when he heard of the inſurrection; and, the ſuperiority of the rebels troops not permitting him to advance any farther, leſt he ſhould be engaged in an unequal fight, he politickly diſpatched a truſty meſſenger to the archbiſhop of York and the earl-marſhal, to aſſure them, from him, that, conſidering their great prudence and zeal for the publick good, he did not doubt but weighty reaſons had induced them to take up arms, and deſired them to acquaint him with the ſame; upon which, the confederates ſent him word, that they had no other deſign, than to procure the welfare of the kingdom, and intreated him to come and join them, in defence of the publick. This anſwer led him to apprehend, that it would not be impoſſible to over-reach perſons, who thought him capable of ſo readily eſpouſing their cauſe; and, to confirm them in this belief, he told them, by the ſame meſſenger, that he was not ſo blind but he could ſee the injuries done to the nation; tho' he was afraid, that they had been too raſh, in their proceedings: That, before all things, care ſhould have been taken, to ſecure the concurrence of all the principal lords, or, at leaſt, the majority; and that, as for himſelf, he could not communicate all his ſentiments, by a third perſon; but, if they would conſent to an interview, he would more freely open his mind. The archbiſhop of York, being fully convinced, that the earl ſecretly entertained the ſame thoughts with the confederates, preſſed the earl-marſhal to accompany him to the interview; and, notwithſtanding his reluctance, he prevailed with him, at laſt; and the place, aſſigned for the conference, being in an open plain, and the guards advancing, at an equal diſtance on both ſides, the three lords began to confer together. The earl of Weſtmoreland proteſted, that he was as cordially concerned for the proſperity of the ſtate, as themſelves, and approved of all the articles of the manifeſto, except a few particulars which he wiſhed they would alter; and then he propoſed certain means, to execute their deſign, which appeared very judicious, and they no longer doubted of his ſincerity. Having, thus, gained their confidence, he ordered ſome wine to be brought; and they all three drank together. In the interim, he affected to ſhake them, by the hand, and give them proofs of a hearty correſpondence; and, in a word, he commanded his guards to withdraw, who, immediately, obeyed. This frankneſs obliged the archbiſhop and earl-marſhal to ſend away theirs alſo, being unwilling to appear more ſuſpicious than he; but their guards were ſcarce out of ſight, when the others returned, upon the gallop; and, before the archbiſhop and Mowbray could be relieved, they were both taken and conducted to the royal army. The confederates were thrown into ſuch a conſternation, by the ſeizure of their leaders, that it was impoſſible for the earl of Northumberland, who continued at York, to keep them together; ſo that, every one ſhifting for himſelf, the earl was conſtrained to retire to Berwick, of which he was governor. Some time after, the king arriving at Pontefract, the earl of Weſtmoreland brought his two priſoners to him, who were both condemned to be beheaded; and the archbiſhop ſuffered death, with great reſolution, being honoured, by the people, as a martyr, till Henry, by his authority, put a ſtop to their ſuperſtition. The king from Pontefract went to York, and ſeverely puniſhed the inhabitants; and then, advancing towards the north, to beſiege the caſtle of Berwick, he took, in his way, the lord Haſtings and Falconbridge, who likewiſe loſt their heads. Upon the king's approach, the earl of Northumberland and the lord Bardolf deſpaired of being able to defend themſelves, and dreading to fall into the hands of a juſtly incenſed prince, retired into Scotland, at the lord Flemming's, by whom they were received; and, in the mean while, Henry became maſter of Berwick, and ſeveral caſtles belonging to the earl of Northumberland, after which, he returned to London.

1405.

The French lands in Wales. Act. Pub.

Tho' moſt hiſtorians aſcribe the riſe of this conſpiracy to the king's threatening the clergy and nobility, upon their refuſal of the aid he demanded, in all appearance, it was formed before; for, whilſt Henry was in the north, the marſhal de Montmorency arrived in Wales, with a fleet of 140 ſail, and 12000 men; and, joining Glendour, as ſoon as he landed, they marched together, and took Carmarthen, Worceſtter, and ſeveral other neighbouring places, where they met with a great booty. Mezerai, who places this event, in the laſt year, affirms, that the earl of Marche, of the houſe of Bourbon, occaſioned the miſcarriage of the undertaking, by his too long delay; which ſhews, the court of France thought, that, at the very time when the archbiſhop's plot broke out, their army would land in Wales. Poſſibly, the preparations were begun, the preceding year, which might lead Mezerai into this miſtake; for it is much more probable, that he ſhould be miſtaken, in the date of this event, than the Engliſh hiſtorians, who refer to this year the taking of their towns, and the great booty made by their enemies, on that occaſion; moreover, we find, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, an order from the king, dated at Pontefract, mentioning the deſcent of the French. Indeed, in this order, their leader

1405. leader is, ſtiled Hugevyle, and not Montmorency; but, as there were not two deſcents, the ſame year, and in the ſame country, it may be fairly preſumed, that Hugevyle made the deſcent, under the marſhal's direction.

The king marches againſt them. Walſing. Henry had no ſooner finiſhed his affairs, in the north, than he marched towards Wales, to defend the borders againſt the French; but he was ſo retarded, by the weather, that they had leiſure to re-imbarque; and the king could do nothing againſt the Welch, though deprived of the aſſiſtance of their friends, as well becauſe the ſeaſon was too far advanced, as becauſe, in his march, he had loſt a great part of his baggage.

The French court's breach of faith. After ſo direct a violation of the truce, the French, one would have imagined, intended openly to renew the war; but, as the conſpiracy, in England, did not anſwer their expectation, they did not think it expedient to carry the rupture any farther; and, in the interim, at the very time they had ſent a powerful aid to the Welch rebels, and their forces had taken towns, and ravaged counties, in England, they aſſured Henry, that they always deſigned to keep the truce, as if bare words were more conducive than directly contrary facts, to prove the ſincerity of their intentions. This behaviour was entirely founded on the frivolous pretence of the duke of Orleans's private quarrel with Henry, for the murder of Richard II, wherein he believed, or pretended to believe, he might employ the forces of France, which were at his diſpoſal, without any violation of the truce, between the two crowns; and all Henry's complaints were fruitleſs, ſince he could only apply, for juſtice, to the duke of Orleans himſelf, the principal author of all theſe violations. The court of France had ſuch an inſight into the temper, character, and politicks of Henry, that they inſulted him, on all occaſions, during almoſt the whole courſe of his reign; but Henry V, his ſon, who was not ſo gentle, knew how to revenge the affronts his father had received *.

1406. Towards the end of this year, Philippa, the king's daughter, was ſent to the king of Denmark, her husband.

The parliament meets. Tranquillity being reſtored to England, after the retreat of the French, the king called a parliament, which met, March 1, 1406; and, as his view was to demand money, he readily gave his aſſent to an act, to ſecure the freedom of elections; which ſhews, that, in the elections for the late parliament, the king had endeavoured to abridge the liberty of voting. As ſoon as this act was paſſed, Henry demanded an aid of money; but they plainly told him, that there was no viſible occaſion for it. He was extremely offended at this denial; tho' he durſt not openly diſcover his reſentment. In the mean while, he kept the parliament aſſembled, till they ſhould, of their own accord, grant his demand; for, without any freſh application, he continued the ſeſſion, till the end of Auguſt. This was very inconvenient to the members, who had buſineſs, at home, and likewiſe very expenſive to the people, who bore their charges; ſo that, at length, the commons, impatient of returning to their habitations, voted him a ſubſidy, not without loud murmurs, at this compulſive proceeding. 1406.

An act excluding the women from the crown. During this ſeſſion, the parliament paſſed an act, limiting the ſucceſſion of the crown to the king's male iſſue, excluſive of the female; but, as it was repealed, this year, and, probably, raſed out of the parliament-rolls, we can only gueſs at the foundation of it; though it is not improbable, that the king demanded this extraordinary act, on the following pretence.

A reflection on that act. During the Saxon monarchy, or, at leaſt, ſince the union of the ſeven kingdoms, there is not a ſingle inſtance of the deſcendants of the daughters ſucceeding to the crown; but, from the Norman conqueſt to the time I am ſpeaking of, we find, in the Engliſh Hiſtory, two precedents, in favour of the women. The firſt is that of king Stephen, ſon to a daughter of William the Conqueror, to which may be added that of Matilda, daughter to Henry I, who diſputed the crown with the ſaid Stephen; and the ſecond is that of Henry II, ſon to Matilda, who was acknowledged, for king, without oppoſition. Theſe two precedents ſeemed to eſtabliſh the right of the females, beyond all diſpute; and yet they were not unqueſtionable. It might be objected, that Stephen aſcended the throne, purely, by the cabals of ſome of the nobility; and that Henry II. received his crown, only by vertue of a treaty extorted from his predeceſſors, by force of arms; moreover, it might be alledged, that, as there is no expreſs law, two examples, ſince the beginning of the monarchy, could not have the force of a law, principally by reaſon of the circumſtances with which they were attended.

When Henry IV. aſcended the throne, he pretended to be the next heir to Richard II, making no account of the earl of Marche's right, deſcended only from a daughter; and, indeed, ſuppoſing the invalidity of the right of the females, it could not be denied, that he was nearer than the earl of Marche, who was ſet up againſt him; but this pretended invalidity was a point that was not decided. In the interim, the people, for the moſt part, believed, that the daughters had a right to the ſucceſſion, ſince, without producing examples or precedents, it was ſufficient that they were not excluded by any law; and, upon this foundation, the late rebellion was raiſed, as appeared by the manifeſto of the rebels. It is, therefore, vrey probable, that, to remove this pretence from the male-contents, Henry would have determined the point by an act, which, in

* This year, on October 3, the king made a grant to Sir John Stanley of the iſle of Man; the poſſeſſion of which ſtill remains in that noble family, honoured in the 1ſt of Henry VII, with the title of earl of Derby. Rymer's Fœd.

1406. excluding the daughters and their iſſue, ſeemed to inſinuate, that the reigning king ſucceeded to the crown, purſuant to the cuſtom and laws of the realm; but this act, which, perhaps, was extorted, in the ſame manner as the ſubſidy, laſted only till the end of the year. The next parliament, which met, in December, made ſuch ſtrong remonſtrances to the king, that he conſented to the repeal; and, not ſatisfied with leaving the right of the daughters, in its former doubtful ſtate, they paſſed a new act, by which the females and their poſterity were eſtabliſhed, in their natural rights. The ſucceſſion was ſettled on the king's eldeſt ſon and his heirs, without exception, and then upon his brothers and their iſſue, not excluding the women; and this act was ſigned by the king, the houſe of lords, and the ſpeaker, in the name of all the commons, the 22d of December, 1406, as is evident from the Collection of the Publick Acts.

An act for the women.

The precaution taken by the king, to ſecure his right, by the firſt of theſe acts, was extremely prejudicial to his poſterity; for it gave occaſion for the ſecond, that ſtrengthened the title of the earl of Marche, and conſequently of the houſe of York, which became heir to that prince.

Whilſt the parliament, that paſſed the firſt of theſe acts, continued the ſeſſion, Henry carried on, in Scotland, a ſecret negotiation, to get into his hands the earl of Northumberland and the lord Bardolf, who had taken refuge there; for he was extremely uneaſy, on account of the former, whoſe valour, capacity, and revengeful temper were no leſs known to him, than his great intereſt, in the north. As he was apprehenſive, that, being ſo near thoſe parts, he would contrive ſome dangerous plot, Henry ſent an offer to certain Scotch lords, whoſe relations and friends were priſoners, in England, to releaſe them, without a ranſom, provided they would deliver up the earl of Northumberland and the lord Bardolf; which propoſal was joyfully received; but, as this deſign could not be concealed from the lord Fleming, who had entertained theſe two lords, at his houſe, he acquainted them with it, and they retired into Wales, under Glendour's protection. Some time after, the Scotch lords, mortified at their diſappointment, killed the lord Fleming, who was the occaſion of their friends ſtill remaining in captivity; but, his ſon revenging his death on ſome of the murderers, this quarrel, joined to ſeveral other cauſes of diſcord, that reigned among the great men, under the government of a very weak prince, raiſed many commotions, in Scotland.

A negotiation for delivering the earl of Northumberland to the king. Walſing.

Robert III, of the houſe of Stuart, then king of Scotland, was a prince more free from vices, than endowed with good qualities; and his eaſy temper, or incapacity, had given opportunity to Robert, his brother, duke of Albany, to ſeize, by degrees, the government of the kingdom, whilſt he left the king, his brother, little more than the external badges of royalty. Moreover, not being contented with a borrowed authority, he formed a deſign to ſeize the crown, or, at leaſt, to ſecure it to himſelf, after Robert's deceaſe. To this purpoſe, it was neceſſary to prevent the obſtacles, he would infallibly meet with, from the princes David and James, his nephews, the king's ſons; and he ſoon found an opportunity, to diſpatch the eldeſt; for, the young prince committing ſome outrage, for which he was complained of to the king, the duke of Albany procured an order from his brother, to keep David confined, till the heat of his paſſion was ſomewhat abated; upon which, cloſely confining the prince, he cauſed him to be ſtarved to death. How careful ſoever he might be to conceal this barbarous action, Robert was informed of it; but, being too weak, and his brother too potent, he durſt not attempt to be revenged. The only remedy, he could apply to his grief, was to put James, now his eldeſt ſon, out of the reach of the ſnares of his treacherous brother; wherefore, he reſolved to educate him, in the court of France, and, accordingly, put him on board a veſſel to go, by ſea. The young prince ſailing, near the coaſt of Norfolk, and finding himſelf ſea-ſick, went on ſhore, for refreſhment; but he no ſooner landed, than he was ſeized by ſome mariners, and brought to the king, who was ſo cruel as to confine him in the tower. In vain, did the Scotch prince deliver him a letter from the king, his father, recommending his ſon to him, if any accident ſhould oblige him to land, in his dominions; for Henry only anſwered, with a poor jeſt, that he had no occaſion to go to Paris, to learn French; he ſhould be taught it, at London. The king of Scotland died, three days after receiving this melancholy news; and the duke of Albany aſſumed the regency, during the impriſonment of the young prince, to whom the crown was devolved. 1406.

The affairs of Scotland.

The death of king Robert.

This year, the French came upon the coaſt of Wales, with 38 ſhips, in order to aſſiſt Glendour; but a violent ſtorm, deſtroying moſt of their fleet, defeated their deſign.

The French, in vain, try to aſſiſt the Welch. Walſing.

In all probability, the court of France had heard of a conſpiracy forming, in England, againſt the king, and, in order to countenance it, would have had an army ready, in Wales; but the diſperſion of the fleet blaſted their ill-concerted project. There were ſome indications of it, in the beginning of the year 1407, when certain perſons preſumed to poſt up, in ſeveral places in London, that Richard was living, and preparing to enter the kingdom, with a numerous army; but, what inquiries ſoever the king made, the authors could never be diſcovered; for only a poor wretch, employed in poſting up the papers, was hanged, without being able, or willing, to tell, who ſet him to work.

1407. The ſymptoms of a new conſpiracy. Walſing.

A plague at London. Walſing.

This year, a terrible plague raged, at London, which ſwept away above 30,000 inhabitants; upon which account, the king retired to the caſtle of Leeds, in Kent. Having ſpent there part of the ſummer, he reſolved to remove to another of his ſeats, in Norfolk; and,

1407. and, to go by ſea, he went on board a veſſel, which was followed by four more, with his baggage and attendants. Whilſt he ſailed, in ſight of land, without any precaution, and believing there was no danger, he was, on a ſudden, attacked by ſome French pyrates, who took four of his ſhips; and, that, where he was himſelf, very narrowly eſcaping, it was not doubted, that ſome treachery lurked under this accident, tho' it was impoſſible to be proved.

The death of Robert Knolles.

The famous Robert Knolles, who had abundantly diſplayed his valour, in the wars with France, in the reign of Edward III, died, this year, in a very advanced age; for, tho' of a mean extraction, he had raiſed himſelf, by his merit, to the higheſt poſts, and gained a reputation equal to that of the moſt renowned warriors. In the beginning of this reign, he was ſeneſchal of Guienne; but, being afterwards weary of a life of too much hurry and action, he retired to his eſtate, in Kent; where he ended his days, after acquiring a ſtill more ſolid glory, by many acts of piety, charity, and munificence, ſome of which ſubſiſt to this day.

The deſigns of the French upon Guienne and Calais. Act. Pub.

Henry was ſo ſenſible of the diſaffection of his ſubjects to his perſon and government, that, ever ſince his acceſſion to the crown, he had not dared to ſend any troops into Guienne, for fear of weakening himſelf, at home; whilſt the French, taking advantage of his negligence, became maſters, from time to time, of ſeveral places in that province, by bribing the governors; in which they followed the maxim introduced, during the war, between Edward III. and Philip de Valois, that "Buying and ſelling was no "violation of a truce." This year, the duke of Orleans attempted, notwithſtanding the truce, to take Bourg and Blaye, tho' to no purpoſe; and the duke of Burgundy had again formed the deſign of beſieging Calais, but, for want of due meaſures, durſt not purſue it. He complained, that the duke of Orleans had privately obſtructed it; which occaſion of complaint, with ſeveral others, creating in him a mortal averſion to that prince, he cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated, this year, in November; and he was ſo hardy as to avow his being author of the murder, and ſo powerful as to procure a pardon, tho' the deceaſed was the king's own brother.

A truce with Bretagne. Act. Pub.

Though war was not proclaimed, between England and Bretagne, the continual outrages, on both ſides, could not fail, at length, to produce an open rupture; for, tho' the duke of Bretagne was ſon to a father, who had an Engliſh heart, the young duke had imbibed, at the court of France, other inclinations and maxims. However, the death of the duke of Orleans and the troubles, in France, convincing the Bretons, that they might be abandoned, upon a rupture with England, they accepted of a truce offered by Henry; which was only to be for a year, the Bretons imagining, that they ſhould ſee, by that time, how matters went, in France, where diſorder began to reign.

Henry was not ignorant of the deſign of the Bretons; but he thought it his intereſt to diſſemble; for, ever ſince his acceſſion to the crown, he had conſtantly followed this rule, that it was better to connive at ſome things, in his neighbours, than be expoſed to the inſults of his ſubjects. The conſideration of the irregular means he had uſed, to aſcend the throne, kept him in continual dread of his domeſtick enemies; and it was not without reaſon, that he lived in perpetual apprehenſions. The earl of Northumberland, tho' humbled, was ſtill a formidable enemy; and, ſince he and the lord Bardolf retired into Wales, they had inceſſantly projected means with Glendour, to dethrone the king. The Welch, who were in open war with Henry, ſtrengthened their army, with great numbers of French and Flemiſh adventurers, drawn thither, by the proſpect of the booty promiſed them, in England; and the earl of Northumberland ſecretly ſecured the aſſiſtance of the people of the north, with whom he ſtill had great intereſt, in ſpite of his paſt diſgraces. When matters were brought to maturity, the earl and Bardolf returned to Scotland; from whence they entered England, by the northern counties, at the head of ſome Scotch troops, levied by the connivance of the duke of Albany; and they no ſooner appeared, in the north, than thoſe, that were gained, beforehand, ſpeedily joined them, and their army became, in a few days, very conſiderable.

1408. A freſh attempt of the earl of Northumberland againſt the king. Act. Pub.

As the king did not expect this inſurrection, the earl had leiſure to retake the caſtles he had loſt, in the firſt rebellion; and, upon this ſucceſs, he marched to Yorkſhire, hoping that, when once he was maſter of that county, nothing would hinder him from joining the Welch, who only waited for his orders, to put themſelves in motion. Upon his entering Yorkſhire, he publiſhed a manifeſto, which was much the ſame with thoſe publiſhed, in the former rebellions; whilſt, in the interim, as the king loſt a great deal of time, in preparations, Sir Thomas Rokeby, ſheriff of York, judged it his duty to levy ſome troops, in a readineſs againſt the king's coming, and, at the ſame time, to obſtruct the progreſs of the rebels. The earl of Northumberland, apprehending it to be of the laſt importance to diſperſe the ſheriff's forces, before they increaſed, advanced towards him, expecting that his approach would put him to flight; but Rokeby, though much inferior to the earl, ſtood his ground, and fought, with ſuch bravery and good fortune, that the rebels were entirely routed. The earl of Northumberland was ſlain, on the ſpot, and the lord Bardolf taken priſoner, but ſo mortally wounded, that he died, in a few days; and their heads, being ſent to the king, were ordered to be ſet on a pole on London-bridge. Thus, died the earl of Northumberland, who, from being the king's beſt friend, became his greateſt enemy; for he contributed moſt to place Henry on the throne, by his readineſs to join him, at Ravenſpur, an example followed by all the reſt of the kingdom; but afterwards he made

The earl is defeated and ſlain. Walſing.

ſeveral

1408. several attempts to dethrone him; so that it might be a question, whether he had done more for, than against, him, if, in an affair of this nature, a single rebellion did not preponderate numberless services.

Henry being on his march, when he received the news of the defeat and death of the earl of Northumberland, proceeded to York; and he made some stay in that city, to try the rebels, of whom some were executed; but others redeemed their lives, with large sums of money.

Before the king departed from London, he had ordered a fleet to be equipped against the French rovers, who, for some time, had infested the coast of England, and done great damage to the merchants; and Edmund Holland, earl of Kent, commander of the fleet, was long in quest of these rovers, to no purpose. At length, hearing that they were retired, on the coast of Bretagne, to the little isle of Brehac, which was expressly excepted, in the truce with the Bretons, he went and attacked them, in a town of the same name, where they had shut themselves up; and, in the first assault, he received a wound of which he died, in five days; tho' this did not prevent his troops from continuing the siege, and taking the town, where they put all to the sword.

A truce for Poictou and Guienne. Act. Pub.

As the French, notwithstanding the frequent ratifications of the truce, made continual attempts upon England, Henry was forced, at last, to conclude a new separate truce, for Picardy and Guienne, from the 30th of September, 1408, to the 1st of May, 1410; and Poictou was expressly included, because the French denied that province to be held of Guienne.

A brief account of the schism. Platina. Walsing.

The schism, which commenced, in 1378, by the double election of Urban VI. and Clement VII, still continued, to the great scandal of Christendom; but, Urban dying, in 1390, the cardinals of his party elected Boniface IX, who, at first, seemed very much inclined to put an end to the schism; upon which, the court of France laboured heartily to inspire Clement with the same resolution; yet, as he proved inflexible, the university of Paris was ordered to meet, who decided, that, to put an end to the schism, one of these three ways was absolutely necessary. The first was, that the two popes should resign; the second, that they should agree upon umpires to determine their difference; and the third, that the determination should be referred to a general council. This resolution, being communicated to Clement, gave him so much uneasiness, that he died, soon after, in 1394; and, when the king of France had notice of his death, he wrote to the cardinals, desiring them not to proceed to a new election; but, as they suspected the contents of his letter, they chose, before they opened it, the cardinal of Luna, an Arragonian, who assumed the name of Benedict XIII. Before the election, they all took a solemn oath, that whoever was chosen should renounce the papacy, if it was judged necessary for the good of Christendom; but Benedict, being elected, dispensed with the oath he had taken, when cardinal. On the other hand, Boniface IX. dying, in 1404, his cardinals chose Innocent VII; and, he likewise dying the following year, they elected Angelo Corario, a Venetian, who assumed the name of Gregory XII. 1408.

It would be tedious to relate all the evasions used by Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII, to decline the resignation sworn by each; for, tho' they were both willing to be thought well affected, they continually started fresh obstacles to the agreement desired by all Christendom. In a word, the Christian princes, tired with the delays of the two popes, found means to gain the cardinals of both sides, who, in their own name, summoned a general council, at Pisa, for the 25th of March, 1409.

1409. The council of Pisa. Act. Pub. Walsing.

The council being assembled, the two popes were cited; and, as they did not think fit to appear, they were declared perjured hereticks, and deprived of their dignity. At the same time, the cardinals were impowered to elect a new pope; and they chose Peter de Candia, who stiled himself Alexander V. Before the meeting of the council, Henry wrote to Gregory, to admonish him to comply with the method of resignation; but, his letter being ineffectual, when he heard of Alexander's election, he issued out a proclamation, enjoining all his subjects to own the new pope. It was believed, that the scandalous schism, which had now continued, 30 years, was, at length, ended; but, by Benedict's obstinacy, it was, some years, farther prolonged.

The progress of the Lollards alarm the clergy.

How scandalous soever this schism might be, it did not give the English clergy so much uneasiness, as Wickliff's doctrine; for, tho', during this reign, the Lollards were treated with great severity, their number continually increased; and there were, even at Oxford, doctors, that publickly defended the novel opinions, as well in their disputations as writings. The bishops, being extremely alarmed at it, obtained of the king an order to the university, to meet in convocation, and examine the books of Wickliff; but, as the majority were still attached to the old doctrine, his books were condemned; and the university published a decree, prohibiting all her members, on pain of degradation, to preach, or teach, the doctrine therein contained.

A truce with Bretagne.

This year, the truce with Bretagne was prolonged to the 1st of July, 1411.

Henry could not promise himself any solid tranquillity, whilst France was undisturbed; and this occasioned the rise of all the motions, as well of his own subjects as of the Welch and Scots. The war, kindled in that kingdom, between the houses of Orleans and Burgundy, was very advantageous to England; for Castile and Scotland were more ready to conclude a truce with Henry; the Welch also, receiving no farther assistance from that quarter, perceived, at length, that their pretended prince was very far from being in a condition to perform his promises, and began, by degrees, to desert him; and Henry reaped, moreover, this advantage, that he became more absolute,

at

1410. at home, ſince he had nothing to fear from his enemies, abroad. Tho' he had cauſed Richard to be depoſed, for uſurping an arbitrary power, contrary to the laws; yet he plainly ſhewed, by certain proceedings, that he would have been glad to govern, with an abſolute authority. This chiefly appeared, in the elections of members of parliament; for, by the directions of court, certain artifices were practiſed, to render the freedom of voting uſeleſs, ſince the ſheriffs took the liberty to return ſuch repreſentatives, as had not a majority of votes. This practice is of ſuch fatal conſequence, that it may be aſſerted, that the liberty of the Engliſh will no longer ſubſiſt, than whilſt the privilege of freely electing their repreſentatives in parliament remains inviolable; for, if once the ſovereign comes to chuſe what repreſentatives he pleaſes, the bounds of the royal authority will be, at laſt, ſo enlarged, as to leave nothing but the mere ſhadow of liberty. Of this we have ſeen a rematkable inſtance, in the reign of Richard II; but it may be farther added, that all the kings of England, who have enjoyed a more abſolute power than the reſt, acquired it, by procuring their creatures to be elected. When a parliament conſiſts of ſuch members, it is no longer the king, that is charged with incroachments on the people's liberty, but the nation itſelf, that voluntarily runs into ſlavery; and, if, afterwards, they reſolve to recover their freedom, they can only ſucceed, by violent methods; which, by the way, is the ſpring of moſt of the civil wars, ſo frequently kindled, in England. The parliament, which met, in January, 1410, conſidering the conſequences of the king's over-ruling the elections, believed, that the redreſs of abuſe this was the moſt preſſing affair; and, accordingly, in the beginning of the ſeſſion, they preſented a bill to the king, by which, the ſheriffs, who ſhould be found guilty of making falſe returns, were to be fined 100 l. ſterl. for every offence. The king would have been glad to evade this act; but, as he could not do it, without laying himſelf too open, and, beſides, deſigned to demand a ſubſidy, he gave it the royal aſſent.

Upon paſſing this act, the king demanded a ſupply of money of the commons, who, on that occaſion, renewed their former inſtances, with reſpect to the clergy; for Wickliff's doctrine had prevailed ſo much, that the majority of the houſe of commons, were inclined that way. Accordingly, the commons preſented to the king two petitions, one againſt the clergy, and the other in favour of the Lollards. In the firſt, they repreſented, 'That the clergy abuſed their riches, and 'conſumed their incomes, in a very different 'manner from the donor's intent; that their 'revenues were exceſſive, and, conſequently, 'it was neceſſary to leſſen them; that ſo 'many eſtates might eaſily be ſeized, as 'would provide for 150 earls, at the rate of '3000 marks per annum, each; 1500 barons, 'at 100 marks, each; 6200 knights, at 40 'marks; and 100 hoſpitals, at 100 marks; 'that, by this means, the kingdom's ſafety 'would be more effectually provided for, the 'poor better maintained, and the clergy more 'attached to their duty.' 1410.

Petition of the commons againſt the clergy. Walſing.

In the ſecond petition, the commons prayed, that the ſtatute, paſſed againſt the Lollards, in the ſecond year of his reign, might either be repealed, or, at leaſt, qualified with ſome reſtrictions.

If the parliament, that firſt moved the leſſening of the clergy's revenues, was ſtiled the Unlearned, the names of Lollard and Heretical were plentifully beſtowed on this; and the clergy conſidered the petition, as tending to undermine all religion; which was induſtriouſly inſinuated to the king, with all the aggravations, that parties concerned are capable of diſplaying, on ſuch an occaſion. It is difficult to know, whether the king himſelf was of this mind; however, he declared, that he was no leſs concerned for the intereſt of the church, than the clergy themſelves. After the death of the earl of Northumberland, there was not a lord in the kingdom, that could give him any diſturbance; and, tho' the people were diſſatiſfied, Henry was very ſenſible, that, of themſelves, they would never be induced to rebel; ſo that he was obliged to pleaſe the clergy, who alone were able to ſtir up the people, if they had ſo plauſible a pretence, as the loſs of their revenues. He, therefore, anſwered the commons very ſharply, that he neither could, nor would, conſent to their petitions, and expreſly prohibited them to meddle any more with the church's concerns; and, as for the Lollards, he ſaid, that, far from permitting the ſtatute againſt them to be repealed, he wiſhed it more rigorous, for the utter extirpation of hereſy out of the kingdom.

Another, in favour of the Lollards. Walſing.

The king rejects the two petitions. Walſing.

The commons being diſappointed, were contented with moving, that, at leaſt, clerks convicted ſhould not be delivered to the biſhops priſon, alledging that daily experience proved, that by, this means, they always eſcaped the puniſhment they deſerved. What the commons demanded was no leſs reaſonable, now, than in the reign of Henry II, when that prince, and all the peers of the realm, maintained that point ſo vigorouſly, againſt Becket and pope Alexander III; but Henry, to prevent his being expoſed to the like troubles with Henry II, refuſed alſo to give his aſſent to this bill; and, on the contrary, he affected to ſhew an extraordinary zeal for the intereſts of the church, and to take ſuch ſteps as he judged moſt agreeable to the clergy. Tho' it is manifeſt, that Wickliff's doctrine was the real cauſe of the motions made by the houſe of commons, the king was willing to convince them, how far he was from giving them any countenance, by ſigning a warrant, for burning Thomas Badby; and the prince of Wales, being diſpoſed to be preſent at the execution, as the poor wretch gave ſenſible proofs of the torture he endured, ordered the fire to be removed, and promiſed him a penſion, for life, provided he would recant; but Badby, recovering his ſpirits, refuſed this gracious offer, and ſuffered death, with heroick courage.

Another petition againſt the clergy is rejected. Walſing.

The king orders a Lollard to be burnt. Walſing. Act. Pub.

1410. The commons are offended, and refuse the king's demand. Walsing.

The commons considered this execution, as an insult, and a great aggravation of the king's late refusal; and, accordingly, when the king demanded a power to levy, annually, a certain subsidy, tho' the parliament should not sit, the demand was boldly rejected. The commons would have even denied a supply, for his necessary occasions, if, to compel them to it, he had not, as formerly, prolonged the sessions, till he obtained his desire. It evidently appeared, that the earl of Northumberland was dead; that the commotions, in Wales, were almost ended; and that France was no longer formidable; otherwise he would never have dared to treat the commons, in such a haughty manner.

The duke of Burgundy forms a design to besiege Calais. Walsing.

Notwithstanding the ill posture of affairs, in France, the duke of Burgundy resumed his design of besieging Calais; but, all his preparations, at St. Omer, for the carrying on the siege, being burnt to ashes, either by accident, or by means of an incendiary, sent on purpose by the governor of Calais, this project, like the preceding, vanished into air. The French historians take no notice of this attempt; tho' it seems, by the king's precaution, in sending the prince of Wales to Calais, at that very juncture, he had received some private intelligence of it; but, however that be, the truce with France, for Guienne and Picardy, was again prolonged, for some months. Act. Pub.

The English ravage Scotland.

This year, Robert de Humphreville, vice-admiral of England, entered the gulf of Edinburgh, and, daily landing his men, now in one place, then in another, carried off a great booty.

1411. The truce is prolonged. Act. Pub.

The whole year 1411 was spent in several negotiations, which ended, at length, in prolonging the truce with France, for five years; with Castile, till February, 1413; and with Bretagne, for 10 years.

These negotiations require no farther explication, since we have, already, seen the occasion of them; but the negotiation, this year, with the duke of Burgundy, deserves a more particular notice; and, to this purpose, it will be necessary to explain, as briefly as possible, the present situation of affairs, in France, on which depends a considerable part of the occurrences of this and the two following reigns.

The affairs of France. Mezerai. P. Daniel.

We have seen, how John, duke of Burgundy, assassinated the duke of Orleans, brother to king Charles VI, and, avowing the fact, had interest sufficient to procure a pardon; and he, afterwards, went into his dominions, in Flanders, with an intent to restore to the bishoprick of Liege his dutchess's brother, expelled by his people. Whilst he prepared for this war, the dutchess of Orleans, accompanied by her three sons, of whom Charles, the eldest, was only 15 years old, came; and, casting herself at the feet of the king, her brother-in-law, she demanded justice, for the death of her husband; but, tho' the duke of Burgundy had procured a pardon, his adversaries, improving his absence, had credit enough to have it revoked, and to cause him to be pronounced an enemy to the state. He was then marching to the relief of Maestricht, where the inhabitants of Liege held their bishop besieged; and, at his approach, they raised the siege; but, being afterwards informed, that the duke had no more than 16000 men, he resolved to attack him; and, tho' their army was three times as numerous as the duke's, they were routed, with the loss of 30,000 men. The duke's victory so alarmed his enemies, in France, that, believing themselves in danger, at Paris, where the duke had many adherents, they retired to Tours, and took the king with them; but the victorious duke, preferring his affairs, in France, to the war against the men of Liege, who were sufficiently humbled, put himself, immediately, at the head of 4000 horse, and came to Paris, where he was received, in triumph. At his arrival, he so managed, that the Parisians sent deputies to the king, beseeching him to return to their city; and Charles, then in one of his lucid intervals, judged it imprudent, in the present juncture, to protect the enemies of the duke of Burgundy. He repaired to Paris, as was desired, and, immediately, appointed considerable persons to negotiate an agreement, between the duke of Burgundy and the sons of the duke of Orleans, which was accomplished, tho' with exceeding difficulty; and the dutchess of Orleans died, with grief, to see her husband's murderer triumphant; whilst the young duke of Orleans, then only in his 16th year, was obliged to be reconciled to his mortal enemy; and, from thenceforward, the duke of Burgundy seized the government, the king, who often relapsed, being incapable of holding the reins himself.

1411.

In the interim, Henry, continually desirous of a peace with France, intended to marry the prince of Wales, with one of the daughters of the duke of Burgundy, who was so firmly established; but, whilst he studiously contrived, how to accomplish his project, such vicissitudes happened, in France, as convinced him, that this alliance was not so certain a method, as he had imagined, to attain his ends. The dukes of Berry, Orleans, Alenson, Bretagne, and the earls of Clermont and Armagnac, meeting at Gien, in August, 1410, entered into a league against the duke of Burgundy, and, shortly after, approached Paris; but the duke, having the king in his hands, opposed them, with equal forces; which shewed, that the execution of their design depended on a battle, the success whereof could not but be doubtful. In all probability, France itself would be ruined by a battle, that would be destructive to the kingdom, on which side soever victory inclined, had not an agreement been made between these princes, that the duke of Burgundy should depart from Paris; that the confederate princes should not enter there; and that none of the heads of either party, unless sent for by letters, under the great seal, should come to court. Act. Pub.

The duke of Burgundy, punctually observing this agreement, retired into the Low-Countries; but the duke of Orleans and his party were not so scrupulous; for, having disbanded their troops,

1411. troops, they levied others, and approached Paris, with a view of inriching themſelves with the plunder of the metropolis; which ſtill firmly adhered to the Burgundian party. The duke, being, thus, deceived, made an alliance with the king of England, who, believing it his intereſt to ſupport him, ſent him a conſiderable body of troops; and, with this aid, the duke, marching into France, and paſſing through the enemy's quarters, who were blocking up Paris, entered the city, amidſt the acclamations of the people, on the 30th of October, 1411. This gave the firſt riſe to the two potent factions of Orleans and Burgundy; the firſt of which were, afterwards, named Armagnacs, from the earl of Armagnac, who became their head.

A parliament in England. An act of indemnity.

During theſe commotions, in France, the parliament of England, meeting, about the end of this year, petitioned the king, for a general pardon for his ſubjects; and Henry readily granted their requeſt, excepting only Glendour and his adherents; from whence it appears, that Glendour was ſtill living, though, according to moſt hiſtorians, he died, in 1409. Indeed, after the earl of Northumberland's deceaſe, his affairs went to decay; for the Welch, finding that he was unable to perform his promiſes, had deſerted him, by degrees; and he was even apprehenſive, that they would make an attempt upon his life, or deliver him up to the king. He, for this reaſon, paſſed the reſidue of his days, in ſome retired place; ſo that it is no wonder the time of his death is unknown; yet that he lived, till 1417, is not to be diſputed.

1412. A continuation of the troubles in France.

The affairs of France were involved, more and more, by the mutual animoſity of the two factions, who did not ſcruple to ſacrifice, to their paſſions, the good of the publick. Henry had, hitherto, juſtly dreaded ſome miſchief, from that quarter; and, if the diſſenſions of the princes of the blood had not prevented thoſe that were at the helm, during the king's illneſs, from effectually ſupporting the Engliſh male-contents, he would, very probably, have been greatly diſtreſſed; but he no ſooner perceived, that the two factions, to the laſt degree, had deteſted each other, than his fears entirely vaniſhed. He even began to project means, to reap ſome advantage from the troubles, in France, as the French had frequently attempted to improve the inſurrections, in England; and, in this, the obſervation of the truce was no more regarded, on one ſide than the other.

The faction of Orleans ſue to him for aid. Act. Pub.

Henry ſoon met with as fair an opportunity, offered by the French themſelves, as he could have deſired: The dukes of Berry, Orleans, Bourbon, Alenſon, the earl of Armagnac and the lord d' Albret, heads of one of the factions, finding that they could not withſtand the duke of Burgundy, who had the king and all the royal family in his power, reſolved to ſtrengthen themſelves with the aſſiſtance of the king of England; but, as they were ſenſible, that the duke of Burgundy had hindered them, by making an alliance with Henry, they judged it neceſſary to diſſolve that union, by offering ſuch terms, as were capable of taking off Henry from his engagements with their enemy; wherefore, meeting at Bourges, they agreed on the conditions to be propoſed, and then ſent deputies, to treat with him. 1412.

The duke of Burgundy had, as yet, evaded Henry's propoſal, of marrying the prince of Wales with one of his daughters; and, probably, with other views; but, being informed of what was contriving, in England, he preſs'd, in his turn, the concluſion of the marriage. Henry pretended to hear the propoſal, with pleaſure; but it was only to procure better terms from the Orleans faction; and, indeed, the deputies of the princes, hearing of this negotiation, inſiſted no farther upon any article, but concluded the treaty, juſt as Henry propoſed, on the 18th of May, 1412.

A treaty between Henry and the Orleans faction. Act. Pub.

By this treaty, the confederate princes were obliged,

I. To ſurrender to the king of England about 1500 towns, caſtles, and bayliwicks, which they held, in Guienne, or Poictou.

II. To conquer for him what remained of theſe provinces in the hands of the French, and reſtore to him Guienne, with all its dependences, in the ſame condition and extent, as enjoyed by his predeceſſors.

III. The king allowed, that the duke of Berry ſhould hold Poictou, for life, provided he did him homage, and delivered up Poictiers, Niort, and Luſignan; and, as for the reſt of the fortified towns, in that province, he ſhould place ſuch governors in them, as would bind themſelves, by oath, to reſign them, after his deceaſe, to the king of England. The duke of Orleans was to have the dutchy of Angouleſme, on the ſame terms; and the earl of Armagnac certain caſtlewards, in Guienne.

IV. The king was obliged, on his part, to lend the princes an aid of 1000 men at arms, and 3000 archers, who were to go to Blois, where they ſhould be received by the princes, and paid, before-hand, according to the ſtipulated pay.

Prince Thomas commands the ſuccours. Walſing.

The treaty being ratified, Henry gave the command of this aid to Thomas, his ſecond ſon, created, a few days after, duke of Clarence; and he ſent with him, in this expedition, the duke of York and Thomas Beaufort, high admiral of England. Theſe troops departed, in July; and it appears, from ſeveral pieces in the Collection of the Publick Acts, that the king was preparing to go, in perſon, to take poſſeſſion of Guienne.

He arrives and finds a peace concluded.

However, whilſt theſe forces had been buſily raiſing, in England, the ſituation of affairs was altered, in France; for the duke of Burgundy, improving his advantages over his enemies, cloſely beſieged them, in Bourges, and had brought the king with him; and, tho' the beſieged made a vigorous defence, in hopes of ſupplies from England, they would have found it, perhaps, extremely difficult to hold out, if the duke of Burgundy had not thought fit to offer them peace. He was afraid of the arrival of the Engliſh troops; and the confederates had reaſon to apprehend, that

1412. that they would not come, timely enough; which different fears rendering both ſides more tractable, the treaty, propoſed by the duke of Burgundy, was accepted, without heſitation, and, at the ſame time, proclaimed.

In the interim, the duke of Clarence, landing in Normandy, advanced towards Blois, with all poſſible diligence, without committing hoſtilities, by the way; but, when he heard, that the confederates had accepted a peace, he conſidered France, as an enemy's country. It was the duke of Orleans's buſineſs, chief of the faction, who had drawn him into France, to give him ſatisfaction; but, as he had no money, to pay what was already due to the Engliſh, he was obliged to deliver to him, in hoſtage, the earl of Angouleſme, his brother; and the duke of Clarence, finding himſelf in the heart of an enemy's country, with a few troops, and not without apprehenſions, that the two parties would join againſt him, did not judge it expedient to ſtand upon terms; and he only ſtipulated for leave to lead his troops into Guienne, where they ſerved to recover ſome places, by the aid of the earl of Armagnac and the lord d'Albret, who were not pleaſed with the peace.

Walſing.

Henry enjoys a profound peace.

This affair being over, Henry enjoyed a profound tranquillity, having nothing more to fear from France; which, by inteſtine diviſions, was become unable to hurt him. The Welch ſought only to make their peace; and the regent of Scotland, content to ſee the king, his nephew, in the power of the Engliſh, minded only his private concerns. In fine, the male-contents, in England, being no longer ſupported by foreign princes, remained quiet; and Henry made uſe of this calm, to efface the ill impreſſions, his ſeverity and proceedings, with reſpect to the parliament, had made in the minds of his ſubjects. He affected popularity, and laboured, by all poſſible means, to ſhew, that he deſigned nothing leſs than ſtretching the royal prerogative. His endeavours were ſo ſucceſsful, that, notwithſtanding his ſevere treatment of his enemies, and refuſals to the houſe of commons, he was accounted a generous, mild, and moderate prince. What was, before, conſidered, as an effect of his cruel and revengeful temper, was, now, readily aſcribed to pure neceſſity, and the circumſtances of his affairs; and it was, doubtleſs, the latter conduct of this prince, which induced hiſtorians to give him ſuch extravagant encomiums. This example ſhews, how eaſy it is for a ſovereign to efface diſadvantageous impreſſions entertained of him by his ſubjects, provided he is ſo wiſe and fortunate, as to perſuade the world, that he ſincerely intends to reform his behaviour.

Exceſſes of the prince of Wales. Hall.

Whilſt Henry endeavoured to recover his reputation, which had ſuffered a little, ſince his acceſſion to the throne, the prince of Wales entirely deſtroyed his own, by his daily exceſſes; for, tho' he had naturally a great and generous heart, he ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted by perſons, who, to ſerve their own ends, flattered his vicious paſſions, and diverted him from the paths of virtue. His court was the receptacle of libertines, debauchees, buffoons, paraſites, and the like; and nothing was diſcourſed of, but the riotous and wild pranks of the prince, or his companions. Such a conduct in a prince, heir apparent to the crown; greatly aſtoniſhed the conſiderate, who dreaded the conſequences; yet, amidſt theſe apprehenſions, a ray of hope ſhined, in a very unexpected mark of moderation given by the prince. One of his favourites being arraigned, for felony, before the chief juſtice, he determined to be preſent at the trial, with an intent to overawe the judge; but, his preſence not preventing the criminal's condemnation, he was ſo tranſported with rage, that he ſtruck the judge, on the face. The chief juſtice, thus, affronted, conſidering the conſequences of ſuch an action, without regarding the quality of the offender, commanded him to be arreſted, on the ſpot, and committed to priſon; but, then, what could never be expected, the prince, quiet as a lamb, ſubmitted to the judge's orders, and ſuffered himſelf to be conducted to priſon, without reſiſtance, like a private perſon. 1412.

T. Eliot. Stow.

He gives a judge a blow on the face. Hall.

The judge's courage and the prince's moderation were equally agreeable to the king; yet Henry, being exceſſively jealous of his crown, gave ear to ſome people's inſinuations, that his ſon had formed evil deſigns againſt him; and he would, perhaps, have proceeded to extremities, in order to avert the imagined danger, had not the prince taken timely care, to remove his ſuſpicions. He no ſooner was informed of the king his father's ſentiments of him, than he deſired a private audience, and, obtaining it, caſt himſelf at his feet, and ſaid, 'Sir, I am told, that you have 'entertained a ſuſpicion of me, injurious to 'my honour, and to the veneration I have 'for your perſon, or government. Indeed, I 'ingenuouſly confeſs, that I have been guilty 'of ſome intemperate ſallies, which deſerve 'your indignation; but I never had the leaſt 'thought of any attempt upon your perſon, or 'government. They, that dare charge me 'with ſuch a monſtrous crime, ſtudy only to 'diſturb your quiet and mine; and, to clear 'myſelf of this imputation, I have preſumed 'to come and throw myſelf at your feet, hum-'bly intreating you, to cauſe all my actions 'to be as rigorouſly examined, as thoſe of 'your meaneſt ſubjects; for I am ready to 'undergo the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny, being confi-'dent, that you will be fully convinced of my 'innocence.' The king, upon this frank declaration, grew perfectly eaſy, and reſtored him to favour.

The king grows ſuſpicious of the prince, T. Ortaborne.

who vindicates himſelf. T. Livius. Forojul.

In the beginning of 1413, Henry was ſeized with a diſtemper, that occaſioned his death; and Mezerai affirms, that it was the leproſy; but others ſay, that it was a ſort of apoplexy, which had frequent returns, and threw him into fits that deprived him of his ſenſes. However this be, his diſtemper, which ſeized him, at ſeveral times, laſted, near three months, and then brought him to his end. A certain perſon, having formerly told him, that he ſhould die, 1413.

The king is ſeized with a dangerous diſtemper. Walſing.

1413. die, at Jeruſalem, he verily believed, that God would make him his inſtrument, to reſcue that city, out of the hands of the Infidels; and, in this belief, fancying that his death was not ſo near, he judged it his duty to dedicate the remainder of his days to that glorious expedition. Accordingly, he took the croſs, and, calling a great council, communicated his deſign, ordering all things to be ſpeedily prepared for his voyage; but, preſently after, the returns of his diſtemper being more frequent than uſual, he found, that he ought to employ all his thoughts, in preparations for death. His continual fear of loſing his crown, on account of the many attempts to wreſt it from him, increaſing with his years, every time he went to bed, it was, by his orders, laid on his pillow, leſt he ſhould be ſeized, before he was dead. One day, being fallen into ſo ſtrong a fit, that he was thought to reſign his laſt breath, the prince of Wales took up the crown and carried it away; but, ſoon after, the king, recovering his ſenſes, and miſſing the crown, enquired, what was become of it; and, being informed that the prince had taken it, he ſent for him, and asked him, whether he would rob him of his royalty, even before his deceaſe. The prince replied, "He never had entertained any ſuch "thoughts, but, believing him dead, he took "the crown, as his lawful heir, and the only "perſon that had a right to it; nevertheleſs, "he thanked God, that he was again reco-"vered, and heartily wiſhed, that he might "long live, to wear it himſelf;" and, at the ſame time, he went for the crown, and laid it in its place.

Hollingſh. Hall.

The king's laſt fit.

Henry's laſt fit ſeized him, in St. Edward's chapel, as he was worſhipping, at that ſaint's ſhrine; and he was carried to the abbot of Weſtminſter's lodgings, which were nearer than his own. Some time after, recovering his ſpeech, and finding himſelf in a ſtrange place, he asked, where he was; and being told, at the abbot of Weſtminſter's, in a chamber, called Jeruſalem, theſe words reminding him of the foreſaid prediction, he thought only of dying. Before he expired, he ſent for the prince, his eldeſt ſon, and gave him many excellent inſtructions, among which he could not forbear diſcovering ſome doubts, about his right to the crown; and he alſo repreſented to him, that he was afraid his brother, the duke of Clarence, would diſturb him, in the enjoyment of the throne. It does not appear, whether theſe fears were occaſioned by his ſecond ſon's turbulent temper; or by ſome engagement with him, when he conceived a ſuſpicion of his eldeſt; but, however that be, the prince anſwered, that, as he was his lawful heir, he would endeavour to ſecure the crown, by the ſame methods he had himſelf preſerved it, during his life. As for the duke of Clarence, if he behaved, as he ought, he ſhould always find him a kind brother; but, if he acted otherwiſe, he knew how to make him return to his duty. The king ſaid nothing more, except that he implored the protection of Heaven; and, a few moments after, he reſigned his laſt breath, on the 20th of March, 1413, in the 46th year of his age, after a reign of 13 years, 5 months, and 21 days *.

Stow.

1413.

He dies. Walſing.

The character of Henry IV.

Moſt of the hiſtorians applaud Henry's mildneſs, clemency, generoſity, valour, and many other virtues; but they appear more in their writings than in his actions; for, if he had ſome reputation, whilſt a private perſon, he does not ſeem to have increaſed, or maintained it, after his acceſſion to the throne. His diſtinguiſhing character was an extreme jealouſy for a crown, acquired by ways not univerſally approved, and preſerved by ſhedding a torrent of noble blood; and, tho' his uſurpation of the crown could be juſtified, the death of Richard II. will be an indelible ſtain to his memory. In a word, he performed nothing remarkable, to afford matter for panegyrick. His expedition into Scotland and Wales did not, in the leaſt, contribute to his honour; and, if he fortunately freed himſelf from all the conſpiracies againſt him, he was principally indebted to the mayor of Cirenceſter, the ſheriff of Yorkſhire, and the earl of Weſtmoreland. The battle of Shrewsbury, in which he vanquiſhed young Piercy, is the only notable action, in the courſe of his reign; for his continual fear of inſurrections cauſed him to neglect ſeveral opportunities of humbling France, and recovering the provinces loſt by his predeceſſors. He even ſuffered many inſults from the French, Scots, Welch, and Bretons, without diſcovering much reſentment; and, in fine, he employed all his thoughts, in preſerving his crown. This prudent policy ought to be the chief, if not the only ſubject of his praiſe, as it was the ſole motive of his actions, none of which render him eminent; for, though he had cauſed Richard II. to be depoſed, for uſurping an unlimited power, he ſhewed, by his conduct, that he had not ſuch a great averſion for that crime, as he pretended, when it was his intereſt to expoſe it. Indeed, towards the end of his days, he ſeemed to have formed a deſign, to purſue maxims more conformable to the nation's liberties; but God was not pleaſed to allow him time, to demonſtrate the effects of this reſolution.

When I conſider the exceſſive encomiums beſtowed on this prince, I cannot help ſuſpecting, that the glory of being the firſt burner of hereticks, and of protecting the clergy againſt the attempts of the houſe of commons, were the main ſprings of all theſe commendations; for it is notorious, that the eccleſiaſticks are as zealous, in extolling their benefactors, as in defaming their oppoſers.

* His body was conveighed, by water, to Feverſham; and from thence, by land, to Canterbury, where he was ſolemnly interred. His tomb is of alabaſter, parcel-gilt, and appears to have been erected by queen Joan of Navarre, his ſecond wife, whoſe effigies lies, on his right-hand, and is placed betwixt two pillars, on the north-ſide of the chapel of St. Thomas Becket, oppoſite to the monument of Edward, the Black Prince. Sandf. Gen.

1413. Persons of note. Walsing. Stow.

During this reign, the famous Robert Knolles, William Wickham *, bishop of Winchester, and Richard Whittington †, mayor of London, were famous for works of charity and useful foundations.

Geoffrey Chaucer and John Gower, two famous poets that flourished in this reign, are generally accounted the first reformers of the English language ‡.

1413. Henry IV's issue.

Henry had, by Mary Bohun **, daughter to the earl of Hereford, four sons and two daughters, viz. Henry, his successor, Thomas, duke of Clarence, John, duke of Bedford, and Humphrey, created duke of Gloucester by Henry V, his brother. Blanche, the eldest daughter, was married to Lewis Barbatus, elector Palatine; and Philippa, his second, was wife to Eric, king of Denmark and Norway.

14. HENRY V. sirnamed of Monmouth.

HENRY V.

HENRY IV. not being beloved by the English, his death was very little regarded; for the clergy alone lamented his loss, because, in his reign, they had met with great favour and protection. The rest of the nation easily forgot a prince, who, after his accession to the throne, had performed nothing memorable, but shed more of his subjects blood than of the enemies of the state; and the very tranquillity they enjoyed, during his whole reign, was not agreeable to them; for, they would have preferred a war, since a fairer opportunity had never offered, to recover what was lost, in France. In expectation, that the prince, his son, would revive the glory of the English name, which seemed buried in oblivion, since the reign of Edward III, they joyfully beheld him succeeding a father, from whom nothing very beneficial to the kingdom could be expected, tho' his reign had been longer; and, in the present juncture, England wanted an active and warlike king, who knew how to take advantage of the commotions, in France; moreover, war was become necessary, to dispel the ill humours spread over the kingdom, in the late reign.

The education of Henry V.

Henry of Monmouth, so named from the place of his nativity, was exactly of the temper desired by the English, being naturally of an elevated and enterprising genius; and, for this reason, the king, his father, had always kept him at a distance from publick affairs. He had been a student, at Queen's-college, in Oxford, under the tuition of the bishop of Winchester, his uncle ††, chancellor of that university; where, in his tender years, the principles of honour and virtue were so carefully impressed on his mind, that they could, never after, be effaced. In his very childhood, he discovered a strong inclination for war, which increasing with his years, the king, his father, judged it expedient to indulge it; for, at 18 years of age, he commanded an army against the Welch, and defeated them, in two battles; but his victories did him an inexpressible prejudice. The king, his father, extremely jealous of his authority, and dreading the consequences of such a noble beginning, removed him from all military, as he had done from all civil offices, lest it should be out of his power to cheque his flight, when once he should take wing. The prince, reduced to a state of

* He was so named from Wickham, in Hampshire, where he was born, in 1324; and his father's name was John Perrot. After he had been educated, at Winchester and Oxford, he returned to his patron, Nicholas Wedal, who had been at the expence of his education; and, afterwards becoming known to Edward III, having a genius for architecture, he was made surveyor of the king's buildings. His directions for rebuilding Windsor-castle gave great satisfaction, and occasioned his promotion, at court, where he passed thro' the offices of secretary of state, privy-seal, &c; and he was preferred to the see of Winchester, in 1367, and, soon after, made lord chancellor of England. It is said, that, the king being told, that he was a man of no learning, and not qualified for a bishoprick, he represented to him, that he would supply his own want of learning with being the founder of learning. Accordingly, he began with the building of New-college, in Oxford, and laid the first stone himself, March 1, 1379; and it was finished, in seven years. In 1387, on the 26th of March, he also laid the first stone of his college, at Winchester, which he intended as a nursery for that, at Oxford. Upon this foundation, he settled an estate for a warden, 10 fellows, 2 schoolmasters, and 70 scholars; and he died, in the fourth year of Henry IV, aged 80 years, and lies buried in St. Swithin's church, in Winchester, in a stately monument of his own erecting.

† Among other things, he built Newgate, in 1402, above half of St. Bartholomew's hospital, in West-Smithfield, and the library in Grey-Friars, now named Christ's Hospital; and king Henry IV. instituted the dutchy-court, in honour of the house of Lancaster, that the lands, belonging to the dutchy, might, in all succeeding ages, be distinguished from the lands of the crown; and, in 1411, the Guild-hall, in London, began to be rebuilt, as it now stands. Stow's Survey.

‡ Jeffrey Chaucer was a man of quality, wit, and learning; and he was in great favour with king Edward III. and Richard II, by whom he was employed in some important negotiations, both at home and abroad. In 1374, king Edward III. allowed him a pitcher of wine, a day, out of his cellars; and, in 1398, Richard II. made him a grant of a hogshead of wine, every year, besides a pension of 20 l. per annum, out of the exchequer; both which were continued by Henry IV. Rymer's Fœd. He lived, for the most part, about Woodstock and New-Elm, in Oxfordshire, where he had a considerable estate; and, dying in 1400, he was buried, in Westminster-abbey. His son, Thomas Chaucer, was speaker of the house of commons, in the second year of Henry V; and Alice, Thomas's daughter, married, first, Sir John Philips; secondly, Thomas de Montacute, earl of Salisbury; and, thirdly, William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk; by which two last matches, as well as her father's descent, the family of Chaucer became allied to the greatest families in England. His friend and companion, John Gower, who joined with him, in refining the English language, was of the family of the Gower's of Sittenham, in Yorkshire; and he lies buried, in St. Mary Overrey's church, in Southwark, part of which he rebuilt. Stow.

** Who died, in 1394. She was the second daughter, and one of the coheiresses of Humphry de Bohun, earl of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton. Walsing. King Henry had no children, by Johanna of Navarre, his second wife.

†† Henry Beaufort, second son to John of Gaunt, by Catharine Swinford, who was consecrated, June 23, 1406. Sandford.

idleness,

1413. idleneſs, being naturally active, ſought employment; and, unhappily, by the inſtigation of ſome about him, and, perhaps, by the direction of the king, his father, he ran into diſhonourable courſes, and abandoned himſelf to exceſſes, unbecoming his birth, and injurious to his reputation *. However, his good diſpoſition did not fail to diſcover itſelf, on certain occaſions; and his moderation, in ſuffering himſelf to be conducted to priſon, by order of the judge he had affronted, evidently ſhewed, that the ſeeds of virtue were not entirely deſtroyed in his mind, by ſenſuality. Accordingly, the king, his father, by reaſon of his abilities, was afraid of him, tho' a young prince, in a manner, drowned in pleaſures, did not appear likely to give him any diſturbance; but the Engliſh themſelves were not prejudiced againſt him. Indeed, his wild ſallies might lead them to apprehend, that they ſhould, one day, be unhappy, under his government; but, on certain occaſions, they obſerved in him tokens of generoſity, virtue, and greatneſs of ſoul, which inſpired them with hopes of a happy reformation, in his perſon.

Henry V. is proclaimed king.

Immediately after the deceaſe of the king, his father, the prince was proclaimed, by the name of Henry V; and, inſtead of diſputing his title, thoſe, who had been moſt averſe to the advancement of the houſe of Lancaſter, were the firſt to pay him their duty. The earl of Marche himſelf, depending on his generoſity, voluntarily put himſelf into his hands, to give him an evident proof of his ſincere intention to leave him in peaceable poſſeſſion of the throne; and, in fine, ſuch confidence did the Engliſh place in him, that, contrary to cuſtom, they offered to ſwear allegiance to him, even before his coronation; but he, in a modeſt and obliging manner, told them, that it was not reaſonable that they ſhould take an oath of fealty to him, before he himſelf had ſolemnly ſworn to govern them, with equity and according to law; which moderation, charming all the world, totally effaced the diſadvantageous impreſſions made by his former conduct, on thoſe to whom he was not thoroughly known.

He is crowned. Act. Pub.

He was crowned on the 9th of April; and he granted, that very day, a general pardon, for all crimes, except murders and rapes. Theſe firſt proceedings manifeſtly ſhewed, that he was reſolved worthily to fill the throne, to which he was raiſed. Before he applied himſelf to the affairs of the ſtate, he exhorted the companions of his former riots to reform their lewd lives, and diſmiſſed them, with liberal preſents; but, at the ſame time, he ſtrictly charged them, on pain of his diſpleaſure, not to preſume to come near the court; and the aſtoniſhment of theſe men, who expected quite other things, was equal to the admiration of the witneſſes to a reformation, which afforded ſuch a pleaſing proſpect.

After this firſt proof of his wiſdom, the king continued inceſſantly to give many others that were inconteſtable; for, in the firſt place, he choſe, for his council, perſons of the greateſt gravity, capacity, and credit, among his ſubjects; and then he removed ſome of the judges, promoting ſuch, in their room, as, to the knowledge of the law, joined a perfect integrity. He did the ſame, with reſpect to inferior magiſtrates, and took particular care to fill the vacant benefices with perſons of ſound principles and approved merit. 1413. He chuſes a council. T. Livius.

Nothing remained to confirm the good opinion already entertained of him, but to diſplay his martial virtues, and to demonſtrate his piety; and, as to the firſt, he, during the whole courſe of his reign, ſhewed, that he was ſecond to none of his predeceſſors, as the reader will have reaſon to be convinced, hereafter. As for his piety, he ſoon became famous, by two remarkable inſtances; the firſt of which, indeed, might be very ambiguous; but it was conſidered, then, as the moſt infallible ſign of the ſincere intentions of a prince, to promote the glory of God; I mean his condeſcenſion for the clergy, in promiſing to perſecute the Wickliffites or Lollards. The other mark of his piety was his care to repair, as far as was poſſible for him, the injury done to Richard II; for he ordered the body of that prince to be removed, from the abbey of Langley, where it was indecently buried, to Weſtminſter-abbey, and laid by Ann of Luxemburgh, his queen; and he afterwards founded three religious houſes, near Shene †, where Richard's ſoul was to be prayed, for night and day. He gives proofs of his piety.

The parliament, that was ſummoned, ſome time before, met, on the 15th of May, well inclined to the new king; and ſeveral ſtatutes were enacted, tending to the preſervation of the publick tranquillity, and of the people's rights and privileges. Henry readily gave his aſſent to all theſe ſtatutes, and particularly to an act to prevent frauds, in the elections of members of parliament; which act the conduct of Richard II, and ſome attempts of the late king, rendered abſolutely neceſſary. His kind parliament.

Whilſt the parliament was employed, about the publick affairs, the convocation of the clergy was ſitting, under the direction of Thomas Arundel, archbiſhop of Canterbury; who, being extremely incenſed againſt the Lollards, had obtained of the late king an order, to ſend commiſſions to Oxford, to take informations, concerning the doctrine of the Wickliffites. The buſineſs of theſe commiſſioners was to diſcover the chief abettors of this hereſy, and how it came to be ſpread in the kingdom, and particularly in the dioceſes of London, Hereford, and Rocheſter; and, at their return, they preſented their informations to the archbiſhop, who laid them before the convocation. After ſeveral debates, it was reſolved, The clergy debate, how to root out hereſy. Act. Pub.

* He is ſaid, among other pranks, to diſguiſe himſelf, and lie in wait for the receivers of his father's rents, and, as a highwayman, to attack and rob them; and, in ſuch rencounters, he ſometimes was ſoundly beaten; but he always rewarded ſuch of his father's officers, as made the braveſt reſiſtance. Stow.

† One of the Carthuſians, termed the houſe of Jeſus of Bethlehem; another of Celeſtine monks, who followed the rule of St. Benedict; and the third of Bridgetin nuns. Theſe two laſt monaſteries had one church, in common; the nuns above, under the roof, and the brothers below, on the ground; and both monaſteries were ſeparately incloſed. Dugd.

1413. solved, that it was impoſſible to extirpate the Lollard hereſy, without inflicting exemplary puniſhments on the principal protectors of it; That, among theſe, Sir John Oldcaſtle, baron of Cobham, was to be accounted the moſt conſiderable and dangerous; and that, therefore, as a terror to the reſt, he ſhould be firſt attacked, and a proceſs formed againſt him, for hereſy; but, as Oldcaſtle was the king's domeſtick, and in his favour, it was judged expedient to acquaint the king, before-hand, with their deſign, and deſire his leave for this proſecution. The archbiſhop, undertaking this affair, waited on the king, with complaints againſt Oldcaſtle; and he endeavoured to perſuade him, that fire and faggot were the only means of extirpating hereſy; and that it was abſolutely neceſſary, for the intereſt of religion, to proceed againſt Oldcaſtle, according to the utmoſt ſeverity of the law. The king, having calmly heard him, anſwered, That he could never approve of force, in reclaiming hereticks, and the rather, as experience had but too frequently ſhewn, that perſecuting methods were as effectual againſt truth, as againſt error; that he would talk himſelf with Oldcaſtle, and attempt to reſtore him to the right way; and, if he could not ſucceed, he would then conſent to a proceſs againſt him. In the mean time, to give the clergy ſome ſatisfaction, he iſſued out a proclamation, prohibiting the Lollards to hold any meetings, and charging his ſubjects not to be preſent at their preachings *; and a few days after, he was pleaſed to confer with Oldcaſtle; but, finding him immoveable, he no longer oppoſed the requeſt of the clergy.

They reſolve to proſecute Oldcaſtle. Act. Pub.

The archbiſhop, upon this, ſent a ſummons to Oldcaſtle; who, diſowning the juriſdiction of the biſhops, deſpiſed the citation; and he would not even ſuffer it to be ſerved upon him; ſo that it was fixed on the great gates of the cathedral, in Rocheſter. Henry, offended at ſuch a haughty proceeding, ordered him to be apprehended and committed to the tower. On the 28th of September, the priſoner was brought before the archbiſhop, aſſiſted by two other prelates and ſeveral eccleſiaſticks; but, as they could get no anſwers from him, except what were directly repugnant to the eſtabliſhed opinions of thoſe days, they pronounced him a heretick, and delivered him over to the ſecular power. His death would have, immediately, followed his condemnation, if, by the aſſiſtance of his friends, or negligence of his guards, he had not eſcaped out of priſon; but, tho' he went and concealed, himſelf in Wales, his perſecutors continued to moleſt him, as the ſequel will inform us. Theſe are all the remarkable particulars, with reſpect to domeſtick affairs, that occurred, from the 20th of March, 1413, to the end of December.

The king ſuffers Oldcaſtle to be proſecuted. Act. Pub.

I ſhall, now, enter upon the relation of the war, renewed by Henry V, againſt France; a war which had laſted, ever ſince the violation of the treaty of Bretigny, tho' often interrupted by truces, in the late reigns; but, in order to conveigh a juſt idea of this prince's motives, to carry his arms into France, it will be neceſſary to repreſent the then ſtate of that kingdom.

The neceſſity of joining here the French with the Engliſh Hiſtory.

1413.

Charles VI, afflicted with a diſtemper, which rendered him, for the moſt part of his reign, incapable of governing, had three ſons, Lewis, John, and Charles; the eldeſt of whom, dauphin and duke of Guienne, was a prince of an indifferent character. At 16 years of age, he had taken to a debauched life; and he, moreover, was ſtrongly poſſeſſed with principles, that led him to arbitrary power, and carried him into many exceſſes. His favourites indulged him, in this courſe of life, as they would have been great loſers, by his reformation; and, to prevent the execution of a certain project, formed for the better governing the kingdom, and approved by an aſſembly of the chief men, they inſpired their young maſter with a deſire to hold the reins of the government himſelf, during his father's illneſs. They repreſented to him, that the duke of Burgundy had ſeized it, without any right; and that none could claim it, to the prejudice of the king's eldeſt ſon, who exceeded the age fixed by the ordinance of Charles V, for the king's majority. Upon this foundation, they adviſed him to ſeize the Baſtile, in order to hinder the Pariſians from aſſiſting the duke of Burgundy; and this project was executed, preſently after, by means of the governor of that fortreſs, whom the dauphin had gained to his intereſt; but he had not long reaſon to rejoice, at the ſucceſs of his enterprize; for the rumour of it no ſooner reached Paris, than the citizens, privately encouraged by the duke of Burgundy, took up arms, to the number of 10 or 12000 men. One part inveſted the Baſtile; and the other, under the conduct of a ſurgeon, John de Troye, came before the dauphin's palace, who, being ſurpriſed at this inſurrection, found no other remedy but to appear at the window, to try to appeaſe them, but to no purpoſe. After breaking open the doors of the palace, they ruſhed into the apartments, and ſeized above 20 perſons, whom they accuſed of corrupting the prince, and threw them into priſon; and the governor of the Baſtile, being terrified, ſurrender'd the fortreſs to the duke of Burgundy, who, in ſpite of the dauphin's efforts, continued maſter of the government. It was, during theſe troubles, in March, 1413, that Henry IV. died, in England; and Henry V, his ſon, aſcended the throne.

The affairs of France.

Act. Pub.

Whilſt the new king was employed, in ſettling his domeſtick affairs, the commotions were renewed, in France; for, at the end of April, the ſeditious began to wear white hoods, as a badge of diſtinction. John de Troye, at the head of an armed mob, brought one to the dauphin, who durſt not refuſe it; and the king himſelf, as he was going to the church of Notre-Dame, was obliged by the ſeditious to take another. Two days after, their leader came to the palace of St. Pol, where the king lodged; where, before the

* On pain of impriſonment, and forfeiture of goods. Rymer's Fœd.

whole

1413. whole court, he undertook to juſtify the impriſonment of the dauphin's officers; adding, that there were ſtill at court many more, that equally deſerved puniſhment; and, at the ſame time, regardleſs of the intreaties of the dauphin, or the king himſelf, he ſeized and impriſoned a great number of lords and ladies, and even Lewis of Bavaria, the queen's brother; and the king, being unable to withſtand the torrent, was forced to conſent, that ſome of the priſoners ſhould be proſecuted, and to go to Paris, in a white hood, to inroll certain edicts, demanded by the ſeditious.

The dauphin, who was, thus, checqued by the factious, or rather by the duke of Burgundy, his father-in-law, their private director, could not think of remaining in a ſituation ſo contrary to his temper; and the heads of the Orleans faction, who had been conſtrained to ſign a treaty, which removed them from Paris and the court, were the only perſons, from whom he could expect any aſſiſtance. He contrived, therefore, a ſecret negotiation with them; and, the better to conceal his intentions, he went and conferred with them, under the pretence of negotiating an agreement, between the two parties, in relation to ſome breaches of the peace of Bourges; and, having made a combination, he ſo managed, that a peace was confirmed; and, by the new treaty, ſigned, at Pontoiſe, the Orleans party were allowed to come and pay their reſpects to the king, at Paris.

The duke of Burgundy applies again to Henry. Act. Pub.

In the interim, the duke of Burgundy, judging, by the dauphin's former attempt, what he might expect from him, reſolved to ſecure aid, in caſe of neceſſity; and, with this view, in June, he ſent, as earl of Flanders, an ambaſſy to England; of which Ralph, provoſt of St. Donas of Bruges was chief, pretending to renew the treaty of commerce, between the Engliſh and Flemings; but, in reality, to propoſe an alliance with Henry. This is evident, from the king's commiſſion, at the ſame time, to the biſhop of St. David's and the earl of Warwick, to conclude a perſonal league, between him and the duke of Burgundy; and it is ſcarce to be doubted, that the duke had then formed a deſign to enter into an alliance with the king of England. We ſhall, hereafter, ſee much plainer proofs of this matter; tho' this deſign was not, ſo ſpeedily, put in execution; and, probably, the duke had no other intent, than to ſecure the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, if he ſhould be preſſed, as in the reign of Henry IV.

Henry ſends an ambaſſy to Paris. Act. Pub.

Whatever his intent was, Henry judged it imprudent to neglect ſuch a fair opportunity, to foment troubles, in France; and, therefore, he ſent, ſoon after, ambaſſadors to Paris. Their publick inſtructions were, to preſs the court of France to obſerve, more punctually than hitherto, the 28 years truce; to confirm the ſame, or make a new truce; and, laſtly, to adjuſt all the differences, between England and France. In all appearance, one of the king's motives, in ſending this ambaſſy, was to be perfectly informed of the poſture of the French affairs; but his principal view was to conclude, with the duke of Burgundy, the alliance propoſed by that prince. This is evident from a fourth commiſſion, impowering them to ſign a league, between him and the duke, and between their reſpective dominions; and it cannot be doubted, that the provoſt of St. Donas laid the foundation of this negotiation, in his firſt journey to London; which was tranſacted, in July, 1413. 1413.

A new revolution, in the court of France. Act. Pub.

The next month produced a great alteration, in the affairs of France, not a little to Henry's advantage; for the Orleans party, at the head of which were the duke of Orleans, the king's nephew, the duke of Berry, his uncle, the duke of Bourbon, the duke of Alenſon, the earls of Eu and Vendoſme, were arrived, at Paris, purſuant to the liberty given them; and, at the ſame time, the dauphin, by his intrigues, had brought over great numbers of the citizens, who promiſed to aſſiſt him; upon which, he ordered his friends to take up arms, and marched about the ſtreets of Paris, at the head of 30,000 men. Such was the conſternation of the oppoſite party, that they quitted the Louvre, the Town-houſe, and the Baſtile, of which they were poſſeſſed, without the leaſt reſiſtance; and the duke of Burgundy, finding that he could not withſtand the torrent, and dreading, beſides, the arrival of the Orleans party, who were not far off, choſe to retire into Flanders.

Edicts againſt him.

He had no ſooner departed, than the Orleans faction became uppermoſt, at court, without the dauphin's reaping any advantage; and the king, being then in one of his lucid intervals, aſſumed the government, and entertained ſo ſtrong an affection for the duke of Orleans, his nephew, that he permitted himſelf to be wholly guided by his counſels. The young duke, upon this, cauſed divers edicts to be publiſhed, againſt the duke of Burgundy, and the authors of the former ſedition to be proſecuted; and ſeveral of them were put to death.

A truce between the two crowns. Act. Pub.

Shortly after, the ambaſſadors of France and England, meeting at Lelingham, in Picardy, agreed, that the truce ſhould be inviolably maintained, till the firſt of June next enſuing; and, during the negotiation, the Engliſh ambaſſadors intimated, that the king, their maſter, expected, that France ſhould reſtore whatever was taken from England, ſince the treaty of Bretigny. The war had ſubſiſted, ever ſince the violation of that treaty; and, conſequently, this demand contained nothing extraordinary; yet the court of France, having flattered themſelves, that, after the death of Edward III, the kings of England would drop their pretenſions, were extremely alarmed at this declaration. The poſture of their affairs made them juſtly apprehenſive of the renewal of the war; and, therefore, without loſs of time, they diſpatched to London the archbiſhop of Bourges, the conſtable d' Albret, and Col, one of the king's ſecretaries, under the pretence of negotiating a peace, but in reality to diſcover Henry's intentions; who arrived, at London, in October, and could only obtain a prolongation of the truce, for a year.

1413. In the interim, the court of France continued their proceedings, againſt the duke of Burgundy and his adherents, many of whom ſuffered, by the hand of the executioner; and Lewis d' Anjou, king of Sicily, who had with him a daughter of the duke of Burgundy, contracted to his eldeſt ſon, reproachfully ſent her back to her father. He, ſoon after, gave one of his daughters in marriage to Charles, earl of Ponthieu, the king's third ſon, who was not yet full 13 years of age; and nothing could prove more fatal to France, than this match; for the young prince, eſpouſing the intereſt and paſſion of the king, his father-in-law, became an avowed enemy to the duke of Burgundy. He likewiſe incurred the hatred of that duke; who, though in exile, had ſtill a potent party in the kingdom; but this mutual animoſity, continually increaſing, expoſed France to many calamities.

The duke of Burgundy offers his aſſiſtance to the dauphin, who accepts of it.

In the mean time, the dauphin, reaping no advantage from the late revolution at court, could not behold, without extreme concern, the duke of Orleans at the head of affairs, whilſt himſelf was without credit, and like a priſoner, in the Louvre, where he was narrowly watched; and, therefore, he readily liſtened to the duke of Burgundy's offer of aſſiſtance, to place him in the poſt to which he was entitled, by his birth; and they entered into a ſort of league, to expel the duke of Orleans from court. The duke of Burgundy, having, thus, ſecured the dauphin, approached Paris, at the head of an army, who declared, that his intent was to free the dauphin, his ſon-in-law, from captivity; and he imagined, that Paris would openly eſpouſe his cauſe; but ſuch care was taken, that nothing ſtirred. During theſe tranſactions, the king, who, for ſome time, had been in one of his uſual fits, recovering his ſenſes, publiſhed, againſt the duke of Burgundy, a thundering edict, ſtiling him a traytor, and enemy to the ſtate; which edict, joined to the ſmall proſpect he had, that Paris would declare for him, cauſed the duke to return into Flanders: But, let us leave, for a moment, the affairs of France, to which we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to return, ſince they are the principal ſubject of this reign, to take a view of what paſſed, in England, in the beginning of 1414.

Mention was made, in the late reign, of the two attempts of the commons, to deprive the clergy of a conſiderable part of their revenues, tho' without ſucceſs; and, as the eccleſiaſticks believed theſe attempts to be the fruit of the the doctrine of the Lollards, this was, probably, one of the principal cauſes of their hatred to theſe pretended hereticks. Accordingly, in the late convocation, they reſolved to uſe the moſt violent means, to extirpate a hereſy, to them, ſo deteſtable. Oldcaſtle, a perſon of a good family, and extraordinary merit, was deſtin'd to be the firſt victim, for a terror to the whole ſect; but, fortunately, he eſcaped out of the hands of his enemies. It was with extreme concern, that the archbiſhop heard the king ſay, that he did not approve of rigorous methods; and he even evidently ſhewed it to be his real opinion, ſince, after Oldcaſtle's eſcape, he took no care to have him purſued and apprehended. It was manifeſt, that, whilſt the king retained theſe moderate ſentiments, the clergy would hardly be able to obtain their deſire upon the hereticks; ſo that it was their intereſt, that the king ſhould have others, more agreeable to the barbarous zeal, with which eccleſiaſticks are generally animated; and nothing was more conducive to that purpoſe, than to perſuade him, that the Lollards had a deſign upon his perſon, and conſpired to ſubvert the ſtate. The late proclamation, againſt their aſſembling, quickly furniſhed the clergy with a fair opportunity; for the Lollards ſtill continued their meetings, tho' with all poſſible ſecrecy. As they durſt not meet in houſes, for fear of being diſcovered, they commonly choſe ſome unfrequented place in the country, to worſhip God, according to their conſciences; and ſome of them, reſolving to aſſemble, without one of the gates of London, in St. Giles's Fields, then covered with buſhes, were, as it often happens, on ſuch occaſions, betrayed by falſe brethren. The king was then, at Eltham, about ſeven miles from London, where he intended to keep his Chriſtmas; not, in the leaſt, ſuſpecting a conſpiracy againſt his perſon, when, on a ſudden, towards night, he was informed, that Oldcaſtle was in St. Giles's with 20,000 Lollards; and that their deſign was to kill the king, the princes, his brothers, and all the lords ſpiritual and temporal, who were not their friends. Doubtleſs, it was very improbable, that 20,000 men ſhould aſſemble, at the very gates of London, without being obſerved; and it was ſtill more unlikely, that Oldcaſtle, an experienced warrior, ſhould chuſe St. Giles's Fields, overgrown with buſhes and ſhrubs, for the rendezvous of his troops; yet the news was confirmed by ſo many circumſtances, that the king gave credit to the report; and, immediately, drawing together as many armed men, as was poſſible, he ordered the gates of London to be ſhut, leſt the populace ſhould go and aſſiſt the rebels. As he was naturally very bold, he reſolved to attack them, before they had concerted all their meaſures; and, arriving at the place, about midnight, and finding about 80 or 100 perſons, he fell upon them, about 20 of whom were killed, and 60 taken. They had unhappily brought arms with them, for their defence, in caſe they were attacked by their perſecutors; which, probably, helped to convince the king of their evil deſign; but this, alone, would not have been capable of perſuading him, that they had really conſpired againſt him, if, among thoſe that were taken, there were not ſome that, gained by promiſes, or awed by menaces, confeſſed whatever their enemies deſired. They affirmed, that their intent was to kill the king, the princes, his brothers, and moſt of the lords ſpiritual and temporal; expecting that the confuſion, which, after ſuch a maſſacre, would enſue in the kingdom, would prove favourable to their religion; and ſome depoſed,

1414.

The Lollards are accuſed of conſpiring againſt the king.

He believes it.

1414. Act. Pub.

depoſed, that, after the murder of the king and princes, they deſigned to make Oldcaſtle regent of the kingdom; and that the conſpiracy was formed, by that lord's direction; yet, in truth, it is ſcarce conceivable, that a prince, ſo judicious as Henry, could be impoſed upon, by ſuch a palpable fiction. Indeed, had he actually found 20,000 armed men, in St. Giles's, it would have been very ſuſpicious; but that 80 or 100 men, among whom there was not one ſingle perſon of rank, ſhould have formed ſuch a project, is, to the laſt degree, improbable; moreover, he knew Sir John Oldcaſtle to be a man of ſenſe; and yet nothing was more wild than the project fathered upon him; which, it was ſuppoſed, he was to execute, with a handful of men, without being preſent himſelf, or its being known, where he was, or that there was any other leader, in his room. However, the king believed him guilty; and, in that belief, he ſet 1000 marks upon his head, with a promiſe, of perpetual exemption from taxes, to any town that ſhould ſecure him. Nevertheleſs, in all probability, the king, in time, perceived the falſhood of this imputation; and I am inclined to think ſo, for the following reaſons: Firſt, becauſe, how ſtrict inquiry ſoever was made over all the kingdom, to diſcover the accomplices of this pretended conſpiracy, not a ſingle perſon could be found, beſides thoſe taken, at St. Giles's; and yet it is evident, that, to execute ſuch a deſign, to any purpoſe, 80 or 100 perſons, of no diſtinction, were not ſufficient. In the next place, even of thoſe that were taken, at St. Giles's, but very few were, immediately, executed *, whilſt the prejudice againſt them was in its full ſtrength; and the king pardoned all the reſt. Thirdly, we find, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, not only a general pardon, for all the Lollards, but alſo ſeveral private pardons granted to ſome that were condemned, tho' they had conſtantly denied the fact; for, tho' it would not be extremely ſurpriſing, that the king ſhould pardon criminals, that confeſſed themſelves guilty, it is very unuſual with ſovereigns to forgive ſuch crimes, in obſtinate offenders who render themſelves unworthy of a pardon, by denying the fact of which their ſentence ſuppoſes them convicted; beſides, clemency was ſo far from being Henry's favourite virtue, that he leaned very much to the ſide of ſeverity, as will appear from ſeveral inſtances, in his reign. Is it likely, therefore, that he ſhould pardon perſons condemned, for intending to murder him, with all the royal family and great men of the kingdom, at the very time they obſtinately perſiſted, in denying the fact, had he really believed them guilty? Laſtly, the principles of the Lollards were entirely inconſiſtent with ſuch barbarities. It is, therefore, more than probable, that this accuſation was forged, to render the Lollards deteſtable to the king, that they might obtain his licenſe, for their perſecution; and that the king himſelf was convinced of its falſhood, after his firſt prejudice was removed. Indeed, it muſt be confeſſed, that, in all theſe pardons, he ſuppoſed the crime to be proved; but, in order to a pardon, it was neceſſary to take the crime for granted.

1414.

In February, 1414, Thomas Arundel, archbiſhop of Canterbury, went to give an account to God, for all the innocent blood he had cauſed to be ſhed; and he was ſucceeded by Henry Chicheley, biſhop of St. David's; who was no leſs an enemy to the Lollards than his predeceſſor.

The death of archbiſhop Arundel.

Chicheley ſucceeds him.

I left the archbiſhop of Bourges and the conſtable d'Albert, at London, where they ſoon diſcovered the king's intentions; and the commiſſioners, that treated with them, demanded, in Henry's name, whatever had been taken from England, ſince the treaty of Bretigny. The French replied, that they had no inſtructions, upon that head; yet they propoſed, as of themſelves, a proper means, in their opinion, to procure a peace, between the two kings; namely, a marriage, between the king of England and Catharine, the youngeſt daughter to Charles IV. This princeſs had four ſiſters, of whom one was a nun, and the other three married; ſo that ſhe alone could be offered to Henry; and this propoſal was not wholly rejected. Tho' it was Henry's intereſt to inſiſt on the reſtitution he demanded, as being the ſpeedieſt and moſt effectual way to a laſting peace, the offer of the French ambaſſador not being inconſiſtent with the reſtitution, he thought he might accept it, without any prejudice to himſelf; but, as the ambaſſadors had not ſufficient powers to treat, on this affair, it was only agreed, that the truce ſhould be prolonged to the 2d of February, 1415.

Walſing. Henry demands the re-eſtabliſhment of the treaty of Bretigny. Act. Pub.

Preſently after the departure of the French ambaſſadors, Henry ſent five into France, to continue the negotiation begun, at London, about the reſtitution and marriage; who were impowered to promiſe, in the king's name, that he would not engage in any other marriage-treaty, till the 15th of May, and that they might even prolong that, if they ſhould think it convenient.

Henry ſends ambaſſadors to France.

The court of France not believing the powers of theſe ambaſſadors ſufficient, Charles wrote to Henry, that, if he would ſend ambaſſadors, with fuller powers, he would readily give them audience; upon which, Henry diſpatched five more, all eminent for their high birth and ſtations, viz. the biſhop of Norwich, the earls of Dorſet, Warwick, Salisbury, and the lord Grey.

Theſe ambaſſadors, immediately, held a conference with king Charles's commiſſioners, the principal of whom was the duke of Berry, his uncle; and they demanded, at firſt, the whole kingdom of France, for their maſter, by vertue of his right, as heir to Edward III; but, after a ſhort pauſe, they added, that, being very apprehenſive, that, tho' their demand might cauſe ſome diſguſt, they would make

* Sir Roger Acton, with 28 more, were hanged, and burnt, in St. Giles's Fields. Fox's Mart. Hall.

another,

1414. another, with a proteſtation, that it ſhould not be prejudicial to the rights of their ſovereign; and then they limited their demands to the following articles.

I. Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, in full ſovereignty.

II. The right of ſovereignty over the earldom of Flanders and dutchy of Bretagne.

III. All the poſſeſſions of France, in Guienne.

IV. All, in general, that was reſigned to Edward III, by the treaty of Bretigny.

V. The whole country poſſeſſed by France, between the Somme and Gravelin.

VI. The reſignation of all theſe countries to the king of England, in full ſovereignty, to hold them, as a neighbour, and not as a vaſſal to the crown of France.

Before an anſwer was returned to theſe demands, the duke of Berry ſtrenuouſly preſſed the ambaſſadors to begin with the negotiation of the marriage, affirming it to be the proper means to ſettle a ſolid and durable peace, between the two kingdoms; and he even offered a very conſiderable dowry, for the princeſs Catharine; but the Engliſh would conſider this match, only as a conſequence, and not as the foundation of the peace. They, therefore, inſiſted on ſettling, firſt, the terms of the peace, before any mention of the marriage; and, after many diſputes, on both ſides, the Engliſh ambaſſadors confined themſelves to the three following articles, to which they required a poſitive anſwer, before any other affairs ſhould be taken under conſideration.

I. They demanded whatever was reſigned to England, by the treaty of Bretigny.

II. One half of Provence, with the earldoms of Beaufort and Nogent.

III. The 600,000 crowns, which remained unpaid, of king John's ranſom.

As for the marriage, they expreſly ſaid, that the king, their maſter, would never eſpouſe the princeſs Catharine, unleſs he was ſecure of a firm and laſting peace with king Charles; that, beſides, as the propoſals, hitherto made, were very inconſiderable, they had no power to treat on that affair; and that, therefore, it would not only be fruitleſs to talk of the marriage, but they durſt not meddle with that article, before the reſt were ſettled; adding, however, that, in hopes of more reaſonable offers, they were willing to ſpeak their ſentiments; and that no leſs could be offered with the princeſs, than two millions of gold-crowns.

Some days after, the duke of Berry delivered them a writing, containing the propoſals of France, in order to a peace, with the anſwers to their demands; namely,

I. That the king of France offered Agenois, Baſadois, Auch, in part, Perigord, Eſcarre, Oleron, Bigorre, Xaintonge beyond the Charente, Quercy, (Montauban excepted, with all the country, between the Tarn and the Aveiron) Angouleſmois, and Rovergne. 1414.

II. That the king could not diſpoſe of Provence, as he did not poſſeſs it, nor had contributed to the putting it in the hands of the preſent poſſeſſors.

III. That, ſince, for the ſake of peace, he was willing to reſign ſo many fine and rich provinces, which he lawfully poſſeſſed, the king of England ought to deſiſt from any farther demands.

IV. As for the marriage, though the dowry of a daughter of France was fixed to a much leſs ſum, than was already offered, he would, for the ſake of peace, give 600,000 crowns.

Theſe demands and anſwers were the ſubject of ſeveral conferences, which continued, many days; but, without a tedious recital of particulars, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that the ambaſſadors of England reduced, at length, all their demands to the treaty of Bretigny, and a million of crowns, for the princeſs's portion. However, the French, ſtill thinking this ſum exorbitant, the Engliſh intimated, that it might be leſſened, on the condition that, if two ſons ſhould come of this marriage, the youngeſt ſhould have Montrevil and Ponthieu, in full ſovereignty; but, the French returning no anſwer, the conferences ended, March 13th, 1414.

The duke of Burgundy is put to great ſtraits. Mezerai.

In the interim, the duke of Burgundy's enemies ſo incenſed king Charles againſt him, that, conſidering him, as an enemy to his perſon and government, he reſolved to make war upon him; and, with this view, he went and took the Oriflamme *, at St. Dennis, after which, he became maſter of Soiſſons and Compiegne, ſeized by the duke. Burgundy was in no condition to withſtand him, becauſe the Flemings refuſed to ſerve him againſt France, which gave the duke of Bourbon an opportunity of taking Bapaume alſo; and a farther progreſs was intended; but, fortunately, the king was ſeized with a freſh fit of lunacy, which afforded the duke of Burgundy leiſure to put a ſtrong garriſon into Arras.

The dauphin is regent.

King Charles being incapable of acting, the dauphin, his ſon, took poſſeſſion of the regency, as having an indiſputable right; but, whether that prince had reaſon to be diſguſted with the duke of Burgundy, or did not regard him, as he had no farther occaſion for him, he carried the king, his father, before Arras, which he deſigned to beſiege; but the place was ſo well provided, that it was not eaſy to take it. The difficulties of the ſiege, the ſollicitations of the counteſs of Hainault, the duke of Burgundy's ſiſter, and, perhaps, the dauphin's private intereſt cauſed a peace

* A ſtandard, ſo named, from being made of a ſilk ſtuff, of a gold and flame colour; which was kept in the abbey of St. Dennis, and was uſually put by the abbot into the hands of the defender of that monaſtery. The earls of Pontoiſe or Vexin had the honour of carrying it; and Lewis VI. was the firſt, who, as earl of Vexin, cauſed the Oriflamme to be carried in his arms; which was continued by his ſucceſſors, till the Engliſh made themſelves maſters of Paris, under Charles VII, who, after freeing himſelf from them, introduced the uſe of the White Coronet, which, ever ſince, has been the chief banner of France. Du Cange.

to

1414. to be granted to the duke, about the end of September, though upon hard terms; for, in the pardon the king granted the duke, 500 of his adherents were excepted; and it was likewise agreed, that all his friends ſhould remove from court, and himſelf not come there, unleſs ſent for, with the conſent of the council, and by letters under the great ſeal; and, finally, that the king's banners ſhould be placed on the walls of Arras.

Several negotiations of the duke of Burgundy with Henry.

During the preparations, in France, for the war I am about to ſpeak of, the duke of Burgundy, being greatly embaraſſed, on account of the obſtinacy of the Flemings, ſent into England the provoſt of St. Donas, to renew the treaty begun with Henry; who was impowered not only to conclude an alliance, between the king and duke, but alſo to treat, about the king's marriage with the princeſs Catharine. In all probability, the duke deſired the king's aſſiſtance, to put him in poſſeſſion of the government of France, and then undertook to accompliſh the projected marriage, to his benefactor's ſatisfaction; which diſcovers what were, then, that prince's deſigns; ſo that Mezerai juſtly ſaid, that the arms of the Engliſh were drawn into France, by the betrayers of their country; but the peace of Arras put a ſtop, for ſome time, to this negotiation.

Henry tries to take advantage of the troubles in France.

In the interim, Henry perſiſted in his reſolution to improve the advantages, promiſed by the ſituation of the affairs of France; for he perceived, that he ſhould, at moſt, have to deal with only half the forces of the kingdom; and the other half would even make a diverſion, in his favour. Moreover, he had a near proſpect of concluding, very ſhortly, with the duke of Burgundy, a beneficial alliance; and, therefore, he, forthwith, ſummoned a parliament, at Leiceſter, for the 30th of April, to have their approbation of his deſign, and obtain the neceſſary aids, to accompliſh ſuch an important undertaking; and it muſt be obſerved, that the writs were iſſued out, in March, whilſt the provoſt of St. Donas was, at London.

Statutes againſt the Lollards. Raſtal. Stat.

The parliament being aſſembled, the clergy moved, by their emiſſaries, to revive, and even increaſe, the ſtatutes againſt hereticks; but, for once, their animoſity had like to have inſnared them. The project, formed by the commons, in the late reign, againſt the eccleſiaſticks, had twice miſcarried, by the exceſſive deſire of Wickliff's followers, to promote that affair; upon which, the clergy intimated to the late king, that ſuch a motion could proceed from none but hereticks, with whom the houſe of commons abounded; and that the deſtruction of the Catholick religion was to begin, with the downfal of the clergy. Henry IV, for this reaſon, vigorouſly oppoſed it, and ſo haughtily, as to give great offence to the commons; wherefore, though the members, that were no friends to Wickliff's doctrine, joined in the project, they could not hinder the immoderate zeal of the Lollards from invincibly obſtructing the execution. However, the projectors had not entirely dropped it, but only reſolved to take another courſe, to avoid the inconvenience, which had twice defeated their deſign; and, with this view, when a motion was made in the houſe of commons, for new ſtatutes againſt the Lollards, thoſe, who, before, oppoſed it, readily gave their conſent *. The clergy ſeemed extremely well pleaſed; and the pulpits, every-where, reſounded the praiſes of the preſent parliament. It was not a Lack-learning parliament, like that of 1404; but it was the wiſeſt, and moſt zealous for religion, that ever ſat, ſince the beginning of the monarchy. Indeed, nothing could be more agreeable to the clergy, than the act paſſed, on this occaſion; wherein it was enacted, that all the magiſtrates of the realm, from the lord chancellor to the meaneſt officer, ſhould ſolemnly ſwear to employ their power, to extirpate hereticks, and aſſiſt the biſhops, in ſo good a work; and this act was no ſooner paſſed, than a violent perſecution was raiſed againſt the Lollards. Several were burnt alive; others left the kingdom; and ſome abjured their religion, to eſcape the torments prepared for them. 1414.

The commons petition the king to ſeize the church-lands.

Nevertheleſs, ſhortly after, the ſcene was changed, with reſpect to the clergy; who did not dream, that the very perſons, who lately appeared ſo zealous for religion, ſhould think of deſtroying it, by depriving the eccleſiaſticks of the riches they enjoyed; and yet the ſame commons, who had, juſt before, ſecured themſelves, from the leaſt ſuſpicion of hereſy, in compliance with the king's demand of a ſubſidy preſented to him an addreſs, beſeeching him to ſeize the revenues of the clergy. This addreſs was founded on the ſame conſiderations, as that preſented to the late king, for the ſame purpoſe; and it was maintained, that the revenues of the church would be much better employed, in providing for a proportionable number of nobles, colleges, and hoſpitals. This proceeding, to the laſt degree, mortified the clergy; and the more, becauſe, after the late act, now in actual execution, there was not the leaſt pretence to repreſent the commons, as heretical or favourers of hereſy.

The king ſeems to approve of the petition.

The king himſelf, who was about to begin a great war, believed, or feigned to believe, that it was neceſſary to grant the requeſt of the commons; and, as his revenues would, of courſe, be greatly increaſed, that motive did not a little induce him to liſten to ſuch a beneficial motion.

The clergy ſeek to divert the blow.

The clergy, perceiving their ruin inevitable, unleſs ſome remedy was provided, againſt the gathering ſtorm, met, to conſult about means, to avert, or, at leaſt, to weaken it, as much as poſſible; and, after ſeveral debates, they came to the two following reſolutions. The firſt was, to reſign part of their riches to the king,

* Among other things, it was enacted, That whoever read the ſcriptures, in Engliſh, ſhould forfeit land, chattels, goods, and life, and be condemned, as hereticks to God, enemies to the crown, and traytors to the kingdom; that they ſhould not enjoy the benefit of any ſanctuary; and that, if they continued obſtinate, or relapſed, after pardon, they ſhould firſt be hanged, for treaſon againſt the king, and then burned, for hereſy againſt God. Bale.

1414. to ſave the reſt; and the ſecond, to divert the king's thoughts from domeſtick affairs, by engaging him in a foreign war; for the frequent ambaſſies, from Paris to London, and from London to Paris, leading them to conclude, that the king was projecting ſome enterprize againſt France, they reſolved to exert their utmoſt ſtrength, to excite him to carry war into that kingdom. Accordingly, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who undertook to be their ſpokeſman, repreſented to him, 'That the motion of the houſe of commons, 'tho' it appeared advantageous to the crown, 'was not ſo, in reality; that, if their project 'ſucceeded, the church's revenue would be 'applied to uſes, unprofitable to the king, in 'particular, and which, in time, might be 'extremely prejudicial to the ſovereign; that, 'the augmenting the number and riches of the 'nobility, as was deſigned, would enlarge a 'power, which, ever ſince the foundation of 'the monarchy, had, all along, oppoſed the 'ſovereigns, and even brought ſome to de'ſtruction; and that the founding of hoſpitals 'would only encourage people in idleneſs, 'when they ſhould ſee ſo many houſes ready 'to receive them, without being obliged to 'work: But that the clergy, more ſincerely 'loyal to the king than the commons, were 'very willing to give him, on this occaſion, a 'convincing proof of their zeal and attachment 'for his perſon, by delivering up the Alien 'priories, which being 110, in number, were 'poſſeſſed of lands, that would conſiderably 'increaſe the revenue of the crown; and that 'the eſtates of theſe houſes would be all his 'own, whereas, if the project of the commons 'was executed, he would reap no advantage.' Whether the king was perſuaded by theſe arguments, or judged it always adviſable to take what the eccleſiaſticks voluntarily offered, he accepted their propoſal; upon which, the

Act. Pub. lands of theſe priories were given him, by act of parliament, without the leaſt oppoſition from the clergy.

In the mean while, the clergy, apprehenſive that, ſooner or later, the king would comply with the offer of the commons, were very intent on the execution of the project; and the archbiſhop endeavoured to prevail on the king to make war upon France; for Henry's character, his late motions, with reſpect to the affairs of France, and the univerſal deſire of the nation inſpired him with hopes, that his deſign would be crowned with ſucceſs; and, therefore, having prepared a proper ſpeech, he took occaſion to ſpeak it in parliament, before the king himſelf.

Hall. He began with encomiums on the king's virtues, ſaying, that he was worthy to wear not the crown of England only, but that of the whole world; and then, addreſſing himſelf to the king, he ſaid, 'That it was not for 'his glory, to leave the king of France, in 'the peaceable poſſeſſion of Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, Maine, and part of Guienne, 'all theſe provinces having been taken from 1414. 'the kings of England, by downright violence, 'and on frivolous pretences; that he had not 'only an inconteſtable right, but might alſo 'very juſtly claim the whole kingdom of 'France, as heir and ſucceſſor to Edward III; 'and then he copiouſly urged the reaſons re'lated, in the reign of that monarch. He 'repreſented the Salick law, as a groundleſs 'chimera; tho', as it was repugnant to the 'law of nature, it could not be admitted, 'even if it was as real as imaginary. He aſ'ſerted, that Pepin the Short, who diſpoſſeſſed 'the family of Meroveus, laid claim to the 'crown, as heir to Blithilda, daughter to 'Clothaire I; and that Hugh Capet founded 'his title on his being deſcended from a 'daughter to Lewis le Debonnaire. He ad'ded, that theſe claims, which would have 'been ridiculous, if the Salick law had been 'in force, ever ſince Pharamond, were evident 'proofs of its being, then, unknown; that, 'moreover, this law was contrary to the law Nu. xxvii. 'of God himſelf, who diſpoſed, in a quite 'different manner, of the inheritance of Zelophehad, in favour of his daughters; and 'that the famous French civilians had con'feſſed, that the Salick law was a contradiction, both to the law of God and nature *. 'In fine, that the glorious ſucceſs, with which 'Heaven had crowned the arms of Edward III, 'clearly ſhewed, that God did not approve 'this pretended law; and that, if he permitted that monarch and the prince of Wales, 'his ſon, to end their days, before they could 'repair their loſſes, in France, no inference 'can be drawn from thence, againſt the juſtice of their rights; that, by his judgments, 'he was pleaſed to puniſh the ſins of the Engliſh nation, but never deſigned to deprive 'the heirs and ſucceſſors to Edward, of their 'juſt rights to the crown of France; that the 'interruption of the proſecution of theſe 'rights, by reaſon of the ſlothfulneſs of Richard II, and the troubles of the late reign, 'could not be conſidered, as an entire deſiſting; that, as England, now, enjoyed a 'happy tranquillity, under the government of 'a prince endowed with ſo many excellent 'qualities, to relinquiſh theſe lawful preten'ſions would be to renounce all the rules of 'prudence and policy; and that, beſides, the 'poſture of affairs, in France, preſented an 'opportunity, which it would be in vain to 'expect, hereafter. Finally, he exhorted the 'king to exerciſe the talents God had bleſſed 'him with, and not continue in an ignoble 'repoſe, but prepare, without dreading the 'difficulties, for ſo juſt and glorious conqueſt, 'which would render him the moſt potent 'prince, in Europe; and he concluded his 'ſpeech with ſaying, that, if the king 'would undertake ſuch a noble enterprize, 'the clergy would give him a larger ſub'ſidy than was ever granted to any of 'his predeceſſors, and he did not doubt

* The archbiſhop, or he that made this ſpeech, was doubtleſs, ignorant, that, without the Salick law, Edward III. could not have any claim to the crown of France. Rapin.

'but

1414. ‘ but that the laity would follow their ex-
‘ ample. ’

Moſt hiſtorians pretend, that this ſpeech made ſuch a ſudden and ſurpriſing impreſſion, that Henry, immediately, reſolved to proſecute his title to the crown of France; but the foreſaid negotiations, about this affair, evidently prove, that this reſolution was already taken; and that the buſineſs, at preſent, was, only to procure the approbation of the parliament. To this, perhaps, the archbiſhop's ſpeech greatly contributed; at leaſt, it is certain, that the commons, before they broke up, approved the deſign, and granted the king a ſubſidy of 300,000 marks, to begin the execution of it. Nay, it is probable, that the archbiſhop, on this occaſion, acted in concert with the king, either to ſound the inclination of the commons, or to excite them to a war; but, however that be, as this reſolution perfectly correſponded with the clergy's project, it is no wonder, that the archbiſhop ſo ſtrongly urged the neceſſity of a war; and, indeed, this affair was no ſooner reſolved, in parliament, than the bill, intended againſt the clergy, dropped, of itſelf, people's minds being otherwiſe employed.

The continuation of the negotiations between France and England. Act. Pub.

The remainder of this year was ſpent, in continual ambaſſies to London, or Paris; for the French were extremely deſirous, that Henry's marriage, with the princeſs Catharine, ſhould be an equivalent for the greateſt part of the demands of England; and Henry did not reject the propoſal, provided the marriage was conſidered, only as a conſequence of the peace, or, at leaſt, ſuch conditions were annexed to it, as might oblige the French to reſtore the provinces loſt, ſince the treaty of Bretigny. He feigned to ſuffer himſelf to be amuſed, to a certain degree, and he ſent power upon power to his ambaſſadors, to prolong the time of his engagement; but, when the match was propoſed, the ſame ambaſſadors refuſed to treat, till the terms of the peace were ſettled; and this was the ſubject of all the negotiations. However, it is certain, that both ſides had no other view than to gain time; that Henry was too wiſe, not to perceive, that France would never conſent to his demands, before ſhe had received ſome conſiderable loſs; and, as there had not been, for a good while, any remarkable alteration, in England, beſides the acceſſion of a new king to the throne, the court of France could not believe, that the Engliſh were able to ſupport the threatened war. Henry proceeded, gradually, without being diverted, as there was nothing, in his kingdom, capable of giving him any diſturbance; but France was full of diſſenſions; and thoſe, at the helm, were more ſollicitous to oppoſe the contrary party, than to prevent the king of England's deſigns; nay, it was next to impoſſible for them to take juſt meaſures, at ſuch a juncture. The dauphin, who had the management of affairs, was a prince of more heat than capacity; but, tho' he had been more capable, what could he have done, whilſt two factions divided the kingdom, and neither of them was, in reality, attached to his intereſt? Moreover, neither the dauphin, nor the Orleans faction, could imagine, that, after an intermiſſion, for two whole reigns, the king of England would, ſeriouſly aſſert his right to the crown of France; and it appears, from the Engliſh Hiſtory, that, after Henry had, the firſt time, demanded the crown of France, the dauphin, in deriſion of his youth, ſent him, for a preſent, a tun of tennis-balls, doubtleſs, intimating, that he thought him fitter for play, than for war *; but he ſoon altered his opinion. Such was the diſpoſition of the court of France, whilſt Henry was entirely employed in preparations, to accompliſh his deſigns.

1414.

France begins to take other meaſures.

The reſolution, taken by the parliament of Leiceſter, opened the eyes of thoſe who governed France; and they ſaw, at length, that Henry was, in earneſt, and perceived, not without confuſion, that, to over-reach them, he had uſed the very means practiſed by themſelves, to amuſe him; for the negotiations, about the marriage, and the frequent prolongations of his voluntary engagement, were only a decoy, to hinder France from preparing for her defence. Charles's, or the dauphin's council, upon the reſolution of the parliament, thought it time to think ſeriouſly of giving Henry ſome ſatisfaction; and, with this view, ſecretary Col was diſpatched, with freſh offers, but very ſhort of his pretenſions. It may be ſaid, that, before the parliament of Leiceſter, Henry had demanded the whole kingdom of France, tho' ſlightly, and to ſerve as a foundation for his other demands; but, being ſupported by his parliament, he talked, at a much higher rate, and ſeemed unwilling to be ſatisfied with what he, at firſt, demanded. However, to amuſe France, he ſtill pretended to deſire, that the affair might be determined, by a negotiation; and he readily conſented, that the marriage ſhould be treated of, and the term of his engagement prolonged, to the 15th of Auguſt, impowering his ambaſſadors, to extend it farther, at their diſcretion; but, notwithſtanding all this, he did not delay, nor interrupt, his preparations for war.

Henry continues his negotiations with the duke of Burgundy.

In the interim, the negotiation with the duke of Burgundy ſtill continued, whilſt that prince was moſt preſſed by his enemies; and, in June, Henry ſent to him Philip Morgan, a perſon of great abilities, whom he always employed, in the moſt important negotiations. Morgan's publick inſtructions were, only to renew the truce with the Flemings; but the choice of this ambaſſador, and the miſſion of Copin de la Vieuville into England, from the duke, with the circumſtances of the time, evidently prove, that the intent of theſe ambaſſies was not, merely, to prolong a truce of commerce, in which there was no great difficulty; beſides, the diſcovery, hereafter, will ſhew, what the duke of Burgundy was then projecting. The gaining of that prince to his intereſt was very material to Henry; and a

* Henry, in return, ſent him word, that “ he would repay him, with balls of greater force, whoſe ſtrokes the “ ſtrongeſt gates of Paris ſhould not be rackets ſufficient to rebound.” Caxton's Chron.

fairer

1414. fairer opportunity could not offer, ſince the court of France did not ſhew the leaſt regard for him; but he demurred, it ſeems, being unwilling to have recourſe to Henry, without an abſolute neceſſity. In all theſe negotiations, was ſpent the year 1414.

1415. Act. Pub. In the beginning of the enſuing year, Henry conſented to a prolongation of the truce, to the firſt of May; and, in the interim, the the court of France, alarmed at the great preparations, in England, ſent again the archbiſhop of Bourges, with 11 more ambaſſadors. Probably, the archbiſhop made ſome new propoſal to Henry; but he could only obtain a farther prolongation of the truce, to the 8th of June.

Henry tells the lords, that he is reſolved to go into France.

Whilſt theſe ambaſſadors were, at London, the king aſſembled the lords ſpiritual and temporal, at leaſt, as many as were at a convenient diſtance; and he acquainted them, by the biſhop Wincheſter, his uncle, and lord chancellor, with his reſolution, of going, in perſon, to carry war into France, in order to recover the inheritance of his anceſtors. This declaration ſeemed unneceſſary, as the great men had been ſufficiently informed of his deſign; but, probably, his intent was, to oblige the French ambaſſadors to diſcover, at once, what they had to offer, imagining, that they ſtill concealed part of their inſtructions. The preſent poſture of affairs, in France, induced him to hope, that they would put things upon the foot of the treaty of Bretigny; and, if ſo, he would, doubtleſs, have been contented with ſo conſiderable an advantage, tho' he had, for ſome time, claimed the whole kingdom of France. The archbiſhop of Bourges, no longer, doubting the king's deſigns, told him, that he wanted to go to France, for freſh inſtructions; upon which, Henry agreed, that the truce ſhould be again prolonged, to the 15th of July. The ſame prelate, returning to England, a few days before the expiration of the truce, added ſomething more to the former offers; but nothing was capable of ſatisfying Henry, except the treaty of Bretigny. The archbiſhop demanded his anſwer, in writing; and the king ordered it to be given him, immediately. Some add, that this prelate, upbraiding the king, told him, that, not content with a crown unjuſtly wreſted from Richard II, by his father, he would invade that of France too; but he ſhould find it more difficult than he imagined.

He embarques his troops, and continues his negotiation with the duke of Burgundy. Act. Pub.

All things being in readineſs, for their departure, Henry ordered all his troops to repair, immediately, to Southampton, where they were to embarque, and went thither himſelf, to give orders, as the troops and tranſports arrived; and, in the mean time, he gave freſh powers to Philip Morgan, to conclude a treaty of alliance with the duke of Burgundy; which ſhews, that the duke, who was ſtill at the court of France, held private intelligence with Henry, and had, probably, not a little conduced to engage him in this undertaking; tho' their treaty was not concluded, till two years after.

Henry was preparing to depart, about the end of July, or beginning of Auguſt; and moſt part of his troops were already embarqued, when he received notice of the conſpiracy againſt his perſon, formed by thoſe, whom he leaſt ſuſpected. If we believe the Engliſh hiſtorians, the court of France, dreading the ſucceſs of the war, had employed a vaſt ſum of money, to bribe men to kill the king; and they mount this ſum to a million of livres, which is not ſurprifing, conſidering the quality of the conſpirators; namely, Richard, earl of Cambridge, brother to the duke of York, Henry Scrope, lord-treaſurer, who commonly lay in the ſame room with the king, and Thomas Grey, a knight of Northumberland, and privy-counſellor. However, it is not very certain, that they had a deſign upon the king's life; at leaſt, the earl of Cambridge's confeſſion, extant in the Collection of the Publick Acts, contains nothing like it; for it only appears, that they conſpired to ſet the earl of Marche at their head, and conduct him, where they expected to raiſe an army, by making uſe of the name of Richard II, as if he were ſtill alive; and that, if they could not deceive the people, by a means ſo often practiſed, they intended to publiſh a manifeſto, in the name of the earl of Marche, inviting the people to reſtore that prince to his rights, uſurped by the houſe of Lancaſter. As they could not uſe the earl of Marche's name, without having him in their power, or, at leaſt, in their party, it was neceſſary for them to inform him of the plot; who was extremely embarraſſed, when he heard the ſecret. A crown, which he thought to be his lawful right, deſerved the pains of running ſome riſque, to obtain it; but on the contrary, he was convinced, that the conſpirators did not act, from a motive of juſtice, or affection for his perſon; moreover, the iſſue of this proceeding was uncertain. In the mean while, he was very preſſingly ſollicited to enter into the conſpiracy; but, not being able to reſolve, immediately, he deſired time, to conſider of ſuch an important affair; and it was with exceeding difficulty, that they allowed him the reſt of that day. During this interval, his reflections induced him to diſcover the whole to the king. Henry, aſtoniſhed at the news, forthwith, ordered the conſpirators to be ſeized, who, confeſſing their guilt, were condemned and executed. The earl of Cambridge and Sir Thomas Grey were beheaded; but the lord Scrope ſuffered the uſual puniſhment of traytors. This was, as it were, the firſt ſpark of that flame, which conſumed, at length, the two houſes of Lancaſter and York; and, as the earl of Cambridge had eſpouſed a ſiſter to the earl of Marche, in all probability, he engaged in the plot, with a view to procure the crown for Richard, his ſon, preſumptive heir to that earl, who had no children.

1415. A plot againſt the king is diſcovered. Act. Pub.

The authors are puniſhed. Walſing.

This affair detaining Henry, at Southampton, longer than he imagined, he could not ſail, till the 18th, or 19th, of Auguſt; whoſe fleet conſiſted of 1500 tranſport-ſhips, in which were embarqued 6000 men at arms, and 20,000 archers, making, in all, an army of

Henry embarques. Walſing.

1415. of about 50,000 men; and he was attended by the earls of Dorſet, Kent, Cornwall, Salisbury, Huntingdon, and many other nobles. On the 21ſt of Auguſt, he landed his troops, at Havre-de-Grace, in Normandy, and, directly, marched to Harfleur, about nine miles diſtant, a place that was ſtrong and well ſtored. He ſent thither, a little before, 400 men at arms, beſides a great number of neighbouring lords, that voluntarily came there; and the garriſon made a vigorous defence; but, in a ſhort time they were obliged to capitulate, and promiſe to ſurrender the place, unleſs relieved, within three days; which term being expired, and no relief come, Henry took poſſeſſion of the town, and, expelling the inhabitants, planted an Engliſh colony, in their room, as Edward III. had formerly done, at Calais.

This place being of the laſt importance, Henry would not leave it, till it was entirely repaired, and put in a good ſtate of defence; and, in the interim, he ſent a written challenge to the dauphin, offering to decide all their differences, by a ſingle combat, between their two perſons. Theſe differences, the king apprehended, concerned the whole kingdom of France; and, if he directed himſelf to the dauphin, it was on account of his father's diſtemper, which rendered him incapable of accepting ſuch a challenge; but, as the dauphin could not hazard, in a ſingle combat, the crown of France, which did not belong to him, Henry offered, provided he was conqueror, to let king Charles enjoy it, during his life. He alſo proteſted, that this propoſal entirely proceeded from himſelf, without any ſuggeſtion from his council, or family; and, therefore, he pretended, that it could not be prejudicial to his rights, or thoſe of his ſucceſſors. This challenge was dated, at Harfleur, September 16, 1415; but it does not appear, that the dauphin ſent any anſwer. Indeed, the offer was too diſadvantageous to him, ſince he would have ventured a crown, of which his father was actually poſſeſſed, and to which he was the heir apparent; whereas Henry would have hazarded only bare pretenſions.

The ill ſtate of the Engliſh army.

The conqueſt of Harfleur might have rendered Henry ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of his firſt campaign, begun ſomewhat too late, were it not for the ill ſtate of his army; for the flux, prevailing amongſt his troops, had made, and ſtill did make, ſuch ravage, that not above the fourth part of his army were able to carry arms; and this diſtemper had not only ſeized the common ſoldiers, but even the moſt conſiderable perſons. The biſhop of Norwich and the earl of Suffolk were already dead of it; and the duke of Clarence, the king's brother, the earl of Arundel, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction were ſo dangerouſly ill, that they were forced to return to England, in hopes of a cure.

Henry reſolves to retire to Calais. T. Livius. Walſing. Elmham.

At the ſame time, Henry learned, from all parts, that the French were very induſtrious, in aſſembling their forces, to give him battle. Till the taking of Harfleur, the court of France ſeem not to have believed, that Henry deſigned to wage war, ſince they had made no preparations, for their defence; but, now, king Charles's council eaſily perceived, that it was neceſſary to aſſemble all the forces of the kingdom, to ſtop the progreſs of ſuch a formidable enemy. The great armament France was preparing, the ill ſtate of the Engliſh army, and the approach of winter obliged Henry to think of retreating; and he might have reimbarqued, at Harfleur; but, whether he thought it would too much reſemble a flight, or did not foreſee all the obſtacles he, afterwards, encountered, or for ſome other unknown reaſon, he reſolved to retire, by land, to Calais. 1415.

The difficulties of the march. Walſing. T. Livius. Hall.

The march he undertook was difficult, as the rains began to ſpoil the roads; but it became much more ſo, by unexpected accidents. The French, foreſeeing, or hearing of, his deſign, ſpeedily broke down the bridges and cauſeways, in his rout, and deſtroyed, or removed into the fortified towns, the proviſions and forage that he might have found, in the country; whilſt the conſtable d'Albret, with a body of troops drawn together, whilſt the reſt were preparing, continually haraſſed the Engliſh, conſtraining them to march very cloſe, and to be always upon their guard; and, by reaſon of all theſe difficulties, they could not advance ſo ſpeedily as was neceſſary, to free themſelves from their ill ſituation.

He is not able to paſs the Somme T. Livius.

Amidſt all theſe obſtacles, Henry proceeded along the Somme, expecting to paſs that river, at the ford of Blanchetaque, as Edward III. had done, the day before the battle of Creſſy; but at his arrival, he found that paſs rendered impracticable, by ſharp ſtakes fixed in the river, and defended, beſides, by a body of troops, poſted on the oppoſite bank. He was extremely concerned at this diſappointment; and yet it was neceſſary either to paſs the Somme, or return to Harfleur, thro' the ſame difficulties he had, already met with, and even without knowing, when he came there, how to ſubſiſt his army. In this extremity, he determined to march higher up the river, even to its ſource, tho' it was much out of his way; but he every-where found the bridges broken down, and the fords guarded by troops, intrenched on the other ſide.

The French army is reinforced. Hall.

As patience was his only remedy, in his ill ſituation, Henry took all poſſible care to inſtil it into his troops, by taking his ſhare of the wants and hardſhips to which they were expoſed; but, theſe hardſhips increaſing their diſtemper, great numbers fell ſick, in the march; and, at laſt, to compleat his misfortune, Henry was informed, that the king of France was arrived at Roan, and had ſent to the conſtable 14000 men at arms, with all the princes and great lords of the kingdom, except the dukes of Berry and Burgundy. The dauphin was extremely deſirous of commanding the army; but he could not obtain the king's leave. The conſtable, who had likewiſe aſſembled many other troops, called a council of war, in which it was unanimouſly reſolved, to give the Engliſh battle; but,

1415. the French generals being confident, that they should prove victorious, by reason of the superiority of their forces, judged it expedient to suffer the English to pass the Somme, and post themselves on the road to Calais; upon which, resolution they went and expected their enemies, in the earldom of St. Pol, with a view of drawing them over the Somme, into a place where they should not be able to return.

They go and expect the English, in the road to Calais.

Doubtless, Henry, by passing the river, ran into manifest danger, since there was no medium between victory and destruction. Indeed, it is true, he might have returned to Harfleur; but I cannot tell, whether that was less hazardous, considering the difficulties he must have encountered, and which he had not, without infinite trouble, surmounted. It is, therefore, in my opinion, a question hard to be decided, whether a battle was more dangerous than a retreat; but, however that be, it is to be presumed, that he chose what to him appeared least disadvantageous, in continuing his march along the Somme, resolving to face the danger that waited, on the other side; and, as the passages were no longer defended, he found one between St. Quintin and Peronne, where he caused his army to pass; but, tho' this obstacle, that, hitherto, seemed the greatest, was removed, the English army found themselves in no better condition; for that of their enemies, six times more numerous, expected them, upon their passage, whom it was necessary to vanquish, in order to open a way to Calais. The French historians relate, that Henry, in this extremity, offered to restore Harfleur, and repair all the damages he had done, in France, since his landing, if he might be permitted to proceed, unmolested; but, that his proposal was rejected. On the contrary, the constable and princes, in the French army, sent three heralds, to offer him battle, leaving him the choice of the time and place; and Henry replied, 'As he had long been upon his march 'to Calais, they might have fought him, 'when they pleased; and, if they designed 'it, there was no occasion to appoint the 'time, or place; for, being resolved to pursue his march, they should always find him 'ready to receive them.'

He meets the enemy, who offers him battle, which he accepts.

As the French army was posted, on his rout, it was impossible to pass, without fighting; and he determined, therefore, to prepare for a battle. On the 22d of October, the French generals sent him word, by a herald, that, on Friday following, they would give him battle; and Henry, accepting the challenge, presented the herald with a robe, worth 200 crowns. During the three days before the battle, Henry continually inspired his troops with courage, by the promise of rewards and honours, and by all other means most conducive to that purpose; for he reminded them of the glory of their ancestors, who obtained the signal victories of Cressy and Poictiers, and demonstrated to them the necessity of conquering, to free themselves from their present, and avoid still greater miseries. His exhortations had such an amazing effect, that 1415. the officers and soldiers, far from dreading the great number of their enemies, were extremely eager to engage; and, the day before the battle, Henry, having sent David Gam, a Welch captain, to view the strength of the enemy, this brave officer gallantly reported, 'There are enough to be killed; enough to 'be taken prisoners; and enough to run a-'way.' This assurance was pleasing to the king, as being a sign, that his troops were firmly resolved to do their duty; and, in the interim, the French, confident of victory, made rejoicings in their camp. Mezerai owns, that they were four times superior to the English; and Monstrelet says, six times; which diversity may partly proceed from Mezerai's reckoning all the soldiers, sick and well, of the English army, and from Monstrelet's meaning only such as were able to fight. According to the English historians, the French army amounted to 150,000, and the English to no more than 9000; but, however that be, it is certain, the superiority of the French was very great; yet, what disproportion soever there was between the two armies, as to number, there was another no less considerable, with respect to the different state of each. The English, for the most part, sick of a flux, ever since their departure from Harfleur, were, besides, harrassed with a tedious march of a month, in very bad weather, and thro' an enemy's country; and they had, all along, been exposed to want of provisions, and would, doubtless, have been all starved, if the exact discipline, the king caused to be observed, had not engaged the country-people to supply them with victuals, for the sake of selling them, at an extravagant rate. The French, on the other hand, were were fresh and healthy, abounded with provisions, and laboured under no inconveniency; and, if we may believe the English historians, so confident of success were the French leaders, that they sent to the king, to know what he would give, for his ransom; but Henry, despising this bravado, the same authors add, replied, that a few hours would discover whose care it would be to provide a ransom.

The confidence of the French. T. Livius. Pol. Virg.

On the 25th of October, the day appointed for the battle, the two armies were drawn up, as soon as it was light; but the constable d'Albret, very imprudently chusing, for the the field of battle, a narrow ground, flanked on one side by a rivulet, and on the other by a large wood, lost all the advantage, which the superiority of number, and especially in horse, could give him. Questionless, this general ought to have posted himself, in a large and open place, where he might have surrounded the English, who were but a handful of men, in comparison of his army; but, by drawing up on such a narrow ground, he could not make a front larger than that of the enemies, and so deprived himself of a very manifest advantage; and yet that the choice of the field of battle was entirely in his own breast is not to be disputed. As the English were marching to Calais, it was his business to expect them

1415. them on a ſpacious plain, where his whole army might have fought, at once; and, his blindneſs, therefore, is aſtoniſhing, and can be aſcribed only to his preſumption. Probably, his intent was to ſtop up that narrow paſſage, that the Engliſh might not proceed; whereas he ſhould have conſidered, that ſuch a precaution can be only advantageous to the weakeſt. I have inſiſted the longer on this error, as it ſeems to have been the principal cauſe of the unfortunate ſucceſs of the French, in this action; for the conſtable, blinded by the number of his troops, drew them up on this narrow ground, ſo cloſe, that it was eaſy to foreſee, confuſion would enſue, during the battle. He divided his army into three bodies, the firſt of which he commanded himſelf, with the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the earls of Eu, Vendoſme, Richemont, the renowned marſhal Boucicaut, grand-maſter of the croſs-bow-men, the lord Dampier, admiral of France, the dauphin of Auvergne, and ſeveral other officers of the greateſt diſtinction; and all theſe princes and lords, extremely well pleaſed with their being in the firſt line, flattered themſelves, that the other two would have nothing to do. The duke of Alenſon had the command of the ſecond body, with the duke of Bar, the earls of Vaudemont, Nevers, Salines, Rouſſi, and Grand-Pre; and, at the head of the third line, were the earls of Marle, Dampmartin, Fauquenbergh, and the lord de Lauroi.

A precaution is taken by the king, before the battle. Des Urſins. Walſing.

Whilſt the French were drawing up, Henry detached 400 lances, to go and poſt themſelves, out of ſight of the enemy, behind the wood, on the left of the field of battle; and he likewiſe lodged 200 archers, in a low meadow, fenced with buſhes, on the right. In drawing up his army, he could only make two lines, on account of the ſmall number of his troops; the firſt of which was commanded by Edward, duke of York, with the lords Beaumont, Willoughby, and Fanhope. The king appeared at the head of the ſecond, with a gold crown on his helmet, for a creſt, and near him was the ſtandard of England; who expected, that the French would advance to attack him; and, in the interim, riding along the front of his battalions, he exhorted his troops not to fear a multitude of raw and undiſciplined ſoldiers. He repreſented to them, that victories did not depend on numbers, but on valour, and, above all, on the aſſiſtance of God, in whom he admoniſhed them to place their whole confidence. In fine, finding that the French did not move, he ſent for ſome of his principal officers and ſaid to them, with a chearful countenance, 'Since 'our enemies have intercepted our way, let us 'break thro' them, in the name of the Holy 'Trinity.' Upon theſe words, he gave the ſignal of battle; and, immediately, the ſoldiers of the foremoſt ranks removing the ſtakes, ſet in the front, to reſiſt the fury of the cavalry, the whole army, with a mighty ſhout, moved forward. Having advanced, a little, they made a halt, expecting their enemies; but, perceiving they did not ſtir, they proceeded, in good order. When they came, within bow-ſhot, the foremoſt ranks fixed the ſtakes; interweaving, and bending them, a little, towards their enemy; and, at the ſame time, a body of choſen archers, advancing, ſome paces, began, very near, to let fly upon the enemy a ſhower of arrows, a yard long, which, being ſhot by men of ſtrength and dexterity, did the greater execution among the French, as they had ſcarce room to move; but, the French cavalry advancing, at length, to repulſe the archers, the latter nimbly retreated, behind the ſtakes, with a ſurpriſing diſcipline, in which they had been exerciſed, for ſome days, by the king himſelf. In the mean while, the 200 bow-men, concealed in the meadow, riſing up, on a ſudden, plied the horſe, with their arrows; who were put in the greater diſorder, as the horſes ſunk up to their knees in the ground, ſoftened with the rains. The Engliſh, upon this confuſion, threw away their bows, and attacked their enemies, ſword in hand; and it is ſaid, that they were, for the moſt part, forced to fight naked, from the waiſte downwards, by reaſon of their diſtemper. However, as the firſt line of the French conſiſted of all the beſt troops in their army, this charge, tho' very vigorous, was repulſed, with ſome loſs, on the ſide of the Engliſh; but this was incapable of diſheartening men, reſolved to conquer, or die; who, after breathing a while, charged again, with ſuch reſolution, that it was impoſſible for their enemies to ſuſtain the ſhock. This ſecond attack was the more difficult to be repulſed, as the French, were at the ſame time, ſet upon, in the flank, by the Engliſh horſe, ambuſhed behind the wood; and then it was, that the utmoſt diſorder enſued among the troops, ſo vigorouſly preſſed by their enemies, who ſlew, without mercy, all that came in their way; but, the firſt line of the French, at length, taking to flight, the conſtable being killed, with a great number of other officers, and moſt of the princes and generals made priſoners, the Engliſh were ſtopped by the ſecond line, who came to repair the diſorder.

1415. Walſing. Monſtrelet. Le Fevre. T. Livius.

In the interim, Henry, advancing with his ſecond line, as the firſt gained ground, ſtood ready to ſupport his men, who would have been in danger of being routed, if he had been at a greater diſtance; and, whilſt the firſt body, after ſo brave a fight, were retiring to the right and left, to make way for the king, and to rally, in his rear, Henry, alighting from his horſe, preſented himſelf to the enemy, with an undaunted countenance. The duke of Alenſon, prince of the blood-royal of France, advanced, at the head of his body, with great intrepidity, hoping, by his conduct and valour, to repair the diſgrace received by his countrymen; and he had detached 18 ſtout gentlemen, to keep cloſe to the king of England, and not leave him, till he was ſlain, or taken priſoner. Henry, marching, with a fierceneſs heightened by the ſucceſs of his firſt troops, charged the ſecond line, with a reſolution equal to that of the moſt renowned heroes; for he fought, on foot, at the head of

Walſing.

T. Livius. Walſing.

The Engliſh begin the charge.

1415. of his men, rushing among the thickest of the enemies, seeming to forget, that, on his fate, depended that of his army.

Henry is exposed to great danger. Elmham.

In the mean time, the 18 cavaliers, who undertook to kill Henry, charged up so close to him, that one of them gave him such a stroke, with a battle-ax, on the head, that he was stunned, for a while, though the goodness of his helmet resisted the violence of the blow; and, at the same time, the rest were striving to approach him. Probably, he would scarce have escaped these desperate men, had not the valiant David Gam, the Welch captain, with two other officers of the same nation, saved him, at the expence of their lives. The king, who was somewhat recovered, seeing them extended at his feet, and still breathing, knighted them all three, being unable, in their present condition, to reward their loyalty, any other way; whilst the 18 Frenchmen, who still made prodigious efforts, to execute their design, were all killed, on the spot.

The heat of the battle increasing, Henry, still more animated by his past danger, gave signal proofs of his bravery, and drew upon him the bravest of the enemies; and, the duke of Gloucester, his brother, who fought, by his side, being knocked down, he long covered him with his own body, to prevent his being slain; tho', by this bold action, he so exposed himself, that, at length, he received such a blow, on the head, that he fell on his knees; but his guard, advancing, repulsed the enemy, and gave him time to rise. The king's danger, and the wonders he performed, inspired his troops with a sort of fury; who, suddenly, as it were by consent, rushed upon their enemies, and, by this violent and unexpected attack, put them in such disorder, that their commanders could never repair it. Henry vigorously pressed them, in the midst of their surprize; being sensible, that, this was the moment, by which the victory was to be decided; and, their disorder increasing, because of their great numbers, and want of room, they began, at length, to fight only, in retreat, plainly shewing, that they would, presently after, take to flight.

Monstrelet. Paradin.

The duke of Alenson, enraged to see the battle lost, by the defeat of the second line, and despairing that the third would be able to restore the fight, generously resolved to die honourably, rather than survive the disgrace of his country; wherefore, regardless of a life, he determined to lose, with a small number of brave and resolute persons, he furiously forced a passage, with his sword, through the English troops, and every-where sought the king of England, in expectation of revenging, by one single blow, the loss, France had, that day, sustained. It was easy to find Henry, who thought of nothing less than concealing himself; and, the moment the duke saw him, he ran at him, and crying out, that he was the duke of Alenson, discharged such a violent blow on his head, that it cleaved off one half of the gold crown on his helmet. Henry, not being able to parry this blow, to revenge it, struck the duke to the ground, and, with repeated blows, slew two of his valiant attendants; and, in an instant, the duke was surrounded by a crowd of enemies, who put an end to his life, notwithstanding the king's endeavours to save him; but, the death of the duke of Alenson entirely discouraging his troops, they openly took to flight. 1415.

The third line of the French retreats.

The third line of the French, being still fresh and in good order, might have renewed the battle; but they were so intimidated, at the sight of the present and past slaughter, that it was not in the power of their leaders to make them advance; who, being reduced to a necessity of retreating, left the flying troops of the second line exposed to the fury of their enemies, who closely pursued them. Then it was that the English, having nothing to do, but to kill, and take prisoners, exercised pity, or cruelty, according to each of their natural inclinations; and, as it was impossible for the French, in their present disorder, to rally, and their numbers were an obstacle to their flight, they voluntarily offered themselves to death, or captivity, at the pleasure of their victorious enemies. In the interim, the troops, that retired, without fighting, still appeared, at some distance, and seemed resolved to withstand the English, harassed with so long a battle; but the king, perceiving that they were still more numerous than his army, commanded them, by a herald, to quit the field, or he would give them no quarter. This menace answered his expectation; for, whether these troops were not fully resolved on their course, or were apprehensive of falling into the hands of an implacable enemy, if they should prove unsuccessful, they retired, and left Henry master of the field of battle.

The occasion of the king's killing all the prisoners.

Henry, being, thus, secure of the victory, thought that he had nothing more to do, when, on a sudden, he was informed, that the enemies were in his rear, and had already plundered his camp, upon which, he hastily ran to the top of a hillock, between the army and the camp; from whence, he really saw the troops, left to guard the camp, dispersed about the field, and endeavouring to save themselves, by flight; and, imagining that the enemies had rallied, to renew the fight, he proclaimed, that the prisoners should be slain, except the most eminent. This order being, immediately, put in execution, he speedily rallied his troops, and marched directly to the enemies, who took care not to expect him; for they were only a company of run-aways, headed by Robert de Bournonville, who, retiring, betimes, out of the battle, and knowing that the English camp was but weakly guarded, pillaged it, whilst the two armies were engaged. The duke of Burgundy, afterwards, would have severely punished the captain of these plunderers, who was his subject, for causing so great a disaster; but the earl of Charolois, his son, saved his life; who, it is said, was presented with a sword set with diamonds, found among the king's baggage. It is a pity, that such a glorious victory was sullied, by this rash massacre; yet it may

1415. may be excuſed, from the impoſſibility of the Engliſh being able to guard their priſoners, and the king's juſt fears, that theſe very priſoners would turn againſt him, during the fight, which he perceived himſelf upon the point of renewing.

Henry returns God thanks, for his victory. Le Fevre.

Nothing more oppoſing the king's victorious arms, he, firſt of all, returned God thanks, for ſo ſignal and unexpected a victory, and publickly acknowledged, that it it was entirely owing to his bleſſing; and then he ſent for a French herald, who was in the army, and required him to declare, to whom the victory was to be aſcribed. The herald anſwered, that, doubtleſs, the victory was his; upon which, the king asked him the name of a caſtle, in ſight, near the field of battle, and being told, that it was named Azincourt, he ſaid, "Let this battle be, "hereafter, called the battle of Azincourt." As the fight did not begin, till 10 in the morning, and continued, till almoſt five in the afternoon, Henry, judging it improper to proceed on his march, leſt he ſhould fatigue his army too much, returned to Maſconcelles, where he had encamped, the preceding night.

The loſs of the French.

In this memorable battle, ſo fatal to France, the French loſt the conſtable d'Albret, the duke of Alenſon, prince of the blood, the duke of Brabant and the earl of Nevers, brothers of the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Bar, the earls of Vaudemont, Marle, Rouſſi, Fauquenberg, and many more officers of diſtinction, beſides 10,000 private ſoldiers; and an Engliſh hiſtorian affirms, that, among the ſlain, were one archbiſhop, three dukes, ſix earls, 90 barons, 1500 knights, and 7000 eſquires or gentlemen. Among the priſoners, who would have been very numerous, were it not for the maſſacre, after the battle, the moſt eminent were the dukes of Orleans * and Bourbon, the earls of Eu, Vendoſme, Richmont, Etouteville, and marſhal Boucicaut; but, of the Engliſh, there were ſlain only the duke of York, the earl of Suffolk, and, if we may believe certain Engliſh hiſtorians, not above four knights, one eſquire, and 28 common ſoldiers. Some, however, with more probability, affirm, that the Engliſh loſt 400 men; and Mezerai mounts the number to 1600, and lowers the loſs of the French to 6000; but it is very common, on ſuch occaſions, to ſee the like diverſity, in the hiſtorians of two oppoſite parties.

Henry continues his march to Calais.

On the morrow, Henry purſued his march towards Calais; and, paſſing over the field of battle, he commended the valour of his troops; but, at the ſame time, he exhorted thoſe near him, not to be vainly proud of a victory, gained, purely, by the miraculous aſſiſtance of the Lord of hoſts. In the mean while, he was extremely civil to the French princes, his priſoners, and told them, "That he had "not obtained the victory, by the ſuperiority "of his merit; but, becauſe God was pleaſ- 1415. "ed to employ him, as his inſtrument, to "puniſh the ſins of the French nation; and "that the advantages, he might expect, were "ſo far from rendering him averſe to a peace, "that he was even more inclined to it, than "the day before the battle."

Some days after, the duke of Burgundy ſent him a cartel of defiance, and acquainted him, by a herald, that he deſigned to revenge the death of his brothers, the duke of Brabant and the earl of Nevers; who, probably, were killed in the maſſacre of the priſoners, after the battle. Henry, willing to keep fair with that prince, whom he ſtill hoped to bring over to his intereſt, told the herald, in delivering the gantlet, received from his hand, that the French themſelves could witneſs, that he was not guilty of the death of the duke's brothers; but his own ſubjects were anſwerable for their blood; which he ſaid, becauſe Bournonville, who occaſioned the ſlaughter of the priſoners, was a Burgundian.

Henry returns to England.

About the middle of November, Henry embarqued for England, taking with him the principal priſoners; and he met with a violent ſtorm, which put him in extreme danger, and even ſunk ſome of his ſhips; but, at laſt, after great fatigue, he arrived, on the 16th of November. He was received by his ſubjects, with loud acclamations; and they were never tired with praiſing a prince, that had made the Engliſh name ſo formidable and glorious. His firſt care was to appoint a day of publick thankſgiving, for the ſucceſs of his arms; and then he cauſed the bodies of the duke of York and the earl of Suffolk, who were ſlain, in the battle, to be honourably interred; but, the duke of York leaving no iſſue, Richard, his nephew, ſon to the earl of Cambridge, beheaded at Southampton, was his heir.

The troubles are renewed in France.

The damage France ſuſtained was not ſo great, on account of Henry's advantages by his victory, which did not ſo much as procure him a ſingle foot of land, as for its cauſing the civil wars to be rekindled, with greater fury than ever; for the duke of Burgundy, at this juncture, reſolved to claim the adminiſtration of affairs, from which he had been long excluded, and particularly, by the peace of Arras. He alledged, that, as the kingdom was threatened with utter ruin, a prince of the blood, firſt peer, and doubly peer of the realm, was indiſpenſably obliged to aſſiſt the king with his counſels, and could not be debarred the court, without injuſtice and danger; but, being very ſenſible, that his reaſons would be ineffectual, unleſs he approached Paris, with an army, he ſeized ſome poſts about the city. The dauphin, being determined not to admit to court the duke of Burgundy, though his father-in-law, ſent for the earl of Armagnac, and gave him the

* He was found, under a heap of dead bodies, by the archers, who came to rifle the field; and, perceiving ſome ſigns of life in him, they conducted him to the king, who treated him, like a noble enemy. P. Baud. Hiſt de Bret. Le Fevre.

1415. conſtable's ſword; and this lord, a ſworn enemy to the duke of Burgundy, did not ſpare the duke's adherents, commonly called the Burgundians; for he ordered ſome to be hanged, and great numbers to be impriſoned, by which he ſo heightened the animoſity of the two factions, that, from thenceforward, nothing was capable of uniting them againſt the common enemy. The dauphin ſeconded the conſtable's revenge, entirely regardleſs of the ruinous affairs of his country, tho' the government was in his hands; but, ſoon after, on the 24th of December, this prince was poiſoned.

By the death of Lewis, the new conſtable remained ſole maſter of the king's perſon, and of the government of the kingdom, till the return of John, duke of Tourain, to whom the title of dauphin was devolved, and who was then in Hainault, with the earl, his father-in-law; but, this young prince, reſolving to eſpouſe neither party, ſent orders to both factions, to lay down their arms. The duke of Burgundy, loſing his time before Lagny, out of deference, as he pretended, to the dauphin's orders, retired into his dominions; but the conſtable, as he had the king's perſon in his power, did not believe, that the dauphin had any right to command him, till actually poſſeſſed of the regency, which he deſigned to oppoſe, unleſs he would declare againſt the Burgundians; and it was this that prevented the dauphin's return to court.

Henry is applied to by both parties. Act. Pub.

In the interim, it was next to impoſſible for France, to take proper meaſures for her defence, againſt the attacks threatened from England; for the duke of Burgundy privately treated with Henry; and the earl of Hainault alſo ſollicited that monarch, to put the dauphin, his ſon-in-law, in poſſeſſion of the regency. On the contrary, Lewis of Anjou, king of Sicily, then head of the Orleans faction, projected to deprive the dauphin of his birth-right, by procuring the crown for Charles, earl of Ponthieu, his ſon-in-law; and, with this view, he endeavoured to ſecure the aſſiſtance of England. Thus, all France, as it were, with one conſent, tho', to different ends, earneſtly ſought the alliance of the Engliſh, againſt whom the whole nation ſhould have firmly united, if private intereſt had not prevailed, above the good of the publick; and, in this manner, paſſed the year 1415, which the battle of Azincourt has rendered memorable, for ever.

1416. Henry purpoſes to gain the duke of Burgundy.

The preſent conſternation of France, with the diſcord between the duke of Burgundy and the conſtable, ſeemed to promiſe Henry freſh laurels, if he had continued the war; yet that prince, whoſe wiſdom equalled his valour, very prudently judged, that, by fomenting the troubles of France, and inſpiring the two factions with jealouſy, he ſhould procure more certain and durable advantages, than by means of his arms. The truth is, by puſhing the French too vigorouſly, he would run the riſque of uniting them all againſt him; but, by granting them ſome reſpite, he gave them opportunity to deſtroy one another. Accordingly, contrary to every one's expectation, he laid aſide his military affairs, for near 18 months, applying himſelf wholly to negotiation, which afforded him the proſpect of leſs doubtful advantages; tho' he did not continue in a ſtate of idleneſs; for the occurrences of 1416, and part of the year following, will ſhew, how attentive he was to the execution of his projects. 1416.

Henry's principal deſign was to gain the duke of Burgundy, who, now, appeared inclinable to enter into an alliance with him; and the ſucceeding, in this affair, he perceived, would be more advantageous, than another Azincourt-victory. To attain his ends, it was neceſſary, that France ſhould remain in her preſent ſituation; and that the conſtable, with the other heads of that faction, ſhould ſtill have it in their power to perſecute the duke of Burgundy. This alone was capable of throwing that prince into a deſperate reſolution, that he beheld, with dread, and which the ſole deſire of revenge could induce him to take; for if, by the continuance of the war, France had loſt towns and battles, the conſtable, who held the reins of the government, would, doubtleſs, have forfeited all his credit; and the duke of Burgundy would have infallibly obtained the regency again, and no longer ſtood in need of the Engliſh. This is the true reaſon of Henry's conſenting to all the overtures, for concluding a truce, or for renewing the negotiations of peace; and, in the mean time, his and the duke of Burgundy's envoys paſſed, from London to Flanders, and from Flanders to London, ever under the pretence of a treaty of commerce, in which freſh difficulties were continually ſtarted, the better to conceal their chief deſign. Act. Pub.

The duke, whom nothing but neceſſity would have forced to an alliance with the king, was apprehenſive, that the diſcovery of this project would alienate the affections of the French, and eſpecially of the Pariſians; and Henry, on the other hand, had reaſon to fear, that, if the court of France came to the knowledge of this negotiation, they would find means to diſconcert his meaſures. However, his deſiſting entirely from war, ſince the battle of Azincourt, might well cauſe his deſigns to be ſuſpected; but the arrival of the emperor Sigiſmund gave him occaſion to pretend, that he diſcontinued the war, at the inſtance of that prince.

Sigiſmund arrives in France.

In the beginning of the year, Sigiſmund, arriving at Paris, declared, that the ſole end of his journey was to mediate a peace, between the two crowns of France and England; which end was noble and charitable, and worthy a chriſtian monarch, if it had been entirely diſintereſted; but ſeveral circumſtances render it probable, that he undertook this voyage, to favour Henry rather than France, and in hopes of promoting his own advantage. At his arrival in France, he propoſed a four years truce, between the two kings; but the court rejected this propoſal. The French hiſtorians charge the conſtable with refuſing this truce, for his own private intereſt; but they do not ſhew, how the war could be for his advantage. I ſuppoſe, that he was then projecting the

ſiege

1416. ſiege of Harfleur, which he begun, the next June; and, poſſibly, he found, that the emperor was not an impartial mediator. However this be, Sigiſmund, not being able to prevail, at Paris, came into England *, in March; and the Engliſh hiſtorians affirm, that, being about to land, he was met by the duke of Glouceſter and ſome other lords, who, ſtepping into the water, with their drawn ſwords, ſtopped the boat. Sigiſmund, ſurpriſed at this uſage, asked the reaſon; and the duke told him, if he was come, to challenge any authority in England, they had orders to prohibit his landing; but, if he came, only as a mediator of peace, he ſhould meet with all the reſpect due to the imperial dignity. This was to warn him not to exerciſe authority, in England, as he had done, in France, during his ſtay.

Sigiſmund and the earl of Holland prevail on the two kings to conſent to a truce.

The arrival of Sigiſmund, at London, was preceded by that of William of Bavaria, earl of Holland and Zealand, who was come upon the ſame errand; and theſe two princes ſoon perceived, that they ſhould find it difficult to procure a peace. Henry added, to his former demands, the town of Harfleur, with part of the adjacent country, for the maintenance of the garriſon; whilſt France, perſiſting in her firſt offers, would not hear of peace, unleſs Henry reſtored Harfleur. The two mediators, as a peace ſeemed to be almoſt impoſſible, were content with obtaining the conſent of the two kings to a truce, for three years, during which, Harfleur ſhould remain in truſt in their hands, for certain ſecurities, promiſed by the French priſoners, in England; but, juſt as the treaty was going to be ſigned, the priſoners receded from their word; for the conſtable who, reſolved to beſiege Harfleur, agreed to this negotiation, only to amuſe Henry, and prevent him from diſcovering his deſign.

A conflict between the earl of Dorſet and the conſtable of France.

Shortly after, under ſome pretence, he carried king Charles to Roan, to be ready againſt the arrival of ſome Genoeſe ſhips, which were to join the French fleet, in order to inveſt Harfleur, by ſea; and he managed matters ſo ſecretly, that Henry not, in the leaſt, ſuſpecting his deſign, neglected to reinforce the garriſon. During the French court's ſtay, at Roan, the earl of Dorſet, governor of Harfleur, made an incurſion, even to the gates of that city, and carried off a great booty; but, in his return, he was purſued and overtaken by the conſtable, who gained ſome advantage over him. On the morrow, the conſtable, ſtill preſſing the Engliſh, who was haſtily retreating, forced them to halt, and ſtand upon their defence; but, in this ſecond skirmiſh, the earl of Dorſet, tho' inferior, in number of troops, compelled his enemy to retire, with precipitation, to Roan.

The conſtable beſieges Harfleur. T. Livius. Act. Pub.

Notwithſtanding this ill ſucceſs, the conſtable, upon the arrival of the Genoeſe ſhips, ordered his troops, whom he had purpoſely diſperſed, to rejoin at a certain place, where he came and headed them, in perſon; and then he marched directly to Harfleur, where he was not expected, ſo unable were the French thought by the Engliſh to make any attempt. Whilſt the conſtable beſieged the town, by land, the viſcount of Narbonne blocked it up, by ſea; and it extremely mortified Henry to be, thus, over-reached. He was, now, convinced, that the negotiation was intended only to amuſe him; and he reſolved, in his turn, to uſe ſtratagem, and circumvent the conſtable. With this view, he feigned a ſtrong inclination to peace, and deſired an interview with his couſin, for ſo he then called the king of France, whereas, before, he ſtiled him his adverſary. He was in hopes, that if an interview was granted, a truce would enſue, which would afford him leiſure to relieve Harfleur; but his propoſal was rejected. After this, he commiſſioned Morgan to demand a truce; but the court of France took care not to give him ſuch an advantage, in the preſent juncture. In fine, finding that the conſtable was not to be amuſed, he commanded a fleet to be equipped, reſolving to go himſelf and relieve the place; and he depended upon the valour and experience of the earl of Dorſet, the governor, being ſenſible, that he would do his utmoſt, to give him time to prepare for his relief. In this, he was not miſtaken; for, tho' the ſiege was begun, about the middle of June, it was not much advanced, at the end of July, when Henry was ready to embarque; but the emperor diſſuaded him from hazarding his perſon, in an expedition, wherein, in ſpite of all his prudence, he might receive ſome diſgrace, by the accidents of the ſea. The king, prevailed on by the emperor's inſtances, gave the command to the duke of Bedford his brother, who ſailed, about the end of July, and he ſoon met with the enemy's fleet, lying before Harfleur. The viſcount de Narbonne, preparing for his defence, withſtood, for ſome time, the efforts of the Engliſh; but, at length, he was forced to yield the victory, after ſeeing five Genoeſe caracks taken, and ſeveral of his own ſhips ſunk; and, nothing more preventing the duke of Bedford from throwing the ſuccours into the town, the conſtable raiſed the ſiege and retired.

The negotiation between the king and duke of Burgundy continues Act. Pub.

During theſe tranſactions, the duke of Burgundy continued, under various pretences, his ſecret negotiations with Henry; ſometimes to renew the truce, between England and Flanders; at other times, about affairs relating to the church, depending before the council of Conſtance. In May, the truce I, juſt, mentioned, which was to expire, the 15th of June, was renewed, for a year; and yet the duke of Burgundy ſent four ambaſſadors more to England. In the beginning of Auguſt, the king appointed commiſſioners to treat with them, concerning ſome eccleſiaſtical affairs; and this publick commiſſion

* Sigiſmund was treated, at Calais, by Richard de Beauchamp, governor of the town, with ſo much civility and gallantry, that he was charmed with it; and he afterwards told king Henry, that no chriſtian prince had a knight equal to him, for wiſdom, good-breeding, and courage; and that, if all courteſy was loſt, it might be found in the earl of Warwick; who, from thence, was called the Father of Courteſy. Dugdale.

ſerved

1416. ſerved for a colour to the private conferences; but, by another of the ſame date, theſe commiſſioners were impowered to agree with the ambaſſadors, upon an interview, between the king and the duke of Burgundy. This negotiation muſt have been, now, in great forwardneſs, ſince, two days after, the king diſpatched orders to ſeveral officers, to be ready to attend him, beyond ſea, where he was to have a conference with ſome of his enemies; which evidently ſhews, that the duke's frequent ambaſſies were not wholly intended to treat about trade, or eccleſiaſtical affairs. The duke had, now, long demurred, upon concluding his treaty with Henry; for, as he was of the blood royal of France, and firſt peer of the realm, this alliance was directly contrary to his honour and duty; and, moreover, ſuch a ſtep could not but be prejudicial to him, in France, among his own party. For theſe reaſons, he had, hitherto, been ſatisfied with keeping the negotiation on foot, in order to conclude it, only in caſe of neceſſity; but the earl of Armagnac's revenge, at length, threw the duke upon this action, which, doubtleſs, he would have longer delayed, or, perhaps, never have done, had he not been, as it were, compelled to it, by the perſecutions of his enemies.

I have, already, ſaid, that the conſtable d' Armagnac had, under various pretences, prevented John the dauphin, then in Hainault, from returning to court; but the young prince, impatient of being, thus, controuled by that haughty miniſter, longed to be at the head of affairs, and to obſerve a neutrality between the two factions, which would procure him the eſteem and regard of both; yet this was impoſſible, ſince he had no forces at his diſpoſal, except thoſe of the earl of Hainault, his father-in-law, which were inſufficient for the execution of ſuch a project, againſt the conſtable's will. In the interim, the duke of Burgundy, perceiving no likelihood of his acquiring the government, whilſt the conſtable had the king's perſon in his power, judged it adviſable, to ſtrengthen himſelf with the new dauphin's aſſiſtance; and, with this view, he had conferred, in the beginning of the year, at Valenciennes, with him and the earl of Hainault; when it was agreed, that the dauphin ſhould, once more, try, by fair means, to be admitted to court, in order to take the place due to his birth; and that, if he ſucceeded, he ſhould carry the duke with him; but, if he could not prevail, they ſhould take other meaſures, to diſpoſſeſs the conſtable, and free the king. Purſuant to this reſolution, the dauphin and the earl of Hainault repaired to Compiegne, from whence the earl went alone to Paris, to mediate the return of his ſon-in-law; but, on the firſt mention of recalling the duke of Burgundy, the conſtable, interrupting him, expreſly ſaid, that the dauphin ſhould never be admitted to the king his father's court, unleſs he openly declared himſelf an enemy to the Burgundian faction. The earl of Hainault, ſeeing this obſtinacy, could not forbear uttering ſome menaces, which diſcovered to the conſtable and his party, that the dauphin deſigned to rely on the duke's aſſiſtance; and, to prevent the ill conſequences of ſuch a union, they reſolved to diſpatch him. 1416.

A few days after, the dauphin was poiſoned, at Compiegne, the 16th of April, 1416, and not in 1417, as we find it, in Mezerai's Abridgement; and the king of Sicily was ſuſpected to be the author of this deed, to make way for prince Charles, his ſon-in-law; but, if he was guilty, his death, preſently after, hindered him from reaping any advantage. The dauphin is poiſoned.

Upon the deceaſe of John the dauphin, Charles, his brother, earl of Ponthieu, became dauphin, and heir-apparent to the crown; who, immediately eſpouſed the party of the Armagnacs, the preſent name of the Orleans faction; by which means, the duke of Burgundy deſpaired, more than ever, and the earl of Armagnac ſupported himſelf in the government, wherein nothing was done, without his orders. His hatred to the duke of Burgundy cauſed him to loſe no opportunity, to perſecute the Burgundians, who were very numerous, at Paris; and his cruel and tyrannical behaviour, joined to an extreme avarice, induced, at length, the Pariſians of the Burgundian party, to form a plot, to introduce the duke into their city. The plot being diſcovered, the conſtable treated the whole party, with ſo much ſeverity, that the duke of Burgundy did not think himſelf any longer obliged to regard the court; and, forthwith, to convince the world of his reſentment, he concluded with the king of England a truce, for all their reſpective dominions not excepting his poſſeſſions, in France. The duke's revenge did not ſtop here; for his ambaſſadors, as I ſaid, before, agreed, that the king and he ſhould meet, at Calais, and the duke own Henry, for the true king of France, and do him liege-homage; which interview was fixed to the beginning of October. Charles, his brother, ſucceeds him.

In the mean while, the emperor Sigiſmund departed from England, about the middle of Auguſt; and, in his way to Canterbury, he ſigned a treaty of perpetual alliance with Henry, and a league againſt France. He engaged to aſſiſt the king, in the recovery of that kingdom; and Henry promiſed to aid him, in conſtraining king Charles, and ſome other princes, to do him homage, for certain territories not ſpecified in the treaty; but probably, for the kingdom of Arles and the dauphin, to which the emperors had ſome ſtale pretenſions. This treaty, by the way, diſcovers one of the motives of Sigiſmund's journey to France and England; for, in all appearance, by procuring a peace, between the two kings, he expected to obtain, for himſelf, one of thoſe countries which he claimed; but, however that be, it may be conjectured, that he propoſed ſome private advantage, by the peace. Great princes rarely ſpend whole years out of their dominions, with the ſole view of mediating a peace, in which they have no concern; and Sigiſmund was, of all others, the fartheſt from this character. I do not know, whether, before his journey to England, he had contracted a friendſhip with Henry; but, after his departure, it appears by A treaty between Sigiſmund and Henry.

1416. by ſeveral records, that there was between them a ſtrict correſpondence and mutual confidence, very uncommon among princes *.

Henry goes to Calais.

The emperor, being arrived, at Calais, ſtaid there for Henry, who could not come, till about the end of September; and, in the mean time, the court of France, alarmed at the report of the duke of Burgundy's interview with Henry, at Calais, ſent thither the archbiſhop of Rheims, with ſome other ambaſſadors. The pretence was, to negotiate a peace with the king; but, in all probability, the chief intent of this ambaſſy was, to diſcover what ſhould paſs, at the conference. Henry was not ſorry, that the ambaſſadors of France would be witneſſes of the duke of Burgundy's arrival, at Calais; and, therefore, he readily diſpatched their ſafe-conducts, and, preſently after their coming, appointed commiſſioners, to treat with them; but he took ſuch precautions, that the French could never learn the real motive of his journey to Calais, at leaſt, with any certainty. He ſeemed to have no other view, than to confirm the late truce, between the king and himſelf, which was, already, publiſhed, at London; and, tho', afterwards, his proceedings made him ſuſpected of being in friendſhip with the Engliſh, this was no more than a bare ſuſpicion. The French hiſtorians ſpeak of it, in very doubtful terms, and we had properly nothing certain, till the publick records, printed, in England, diſcovered the ſecret; which give the following account of this affair.

The duke of Burgundy comes to Calais. Act. Pub.

The 1ſt of October, the king diſpatched a ſafe-conduct, for the duke of Burgundy and 800 attendants, and ſent him the duke of Glouceſter, his brother, in hoſtage; and, the next day, he appointed commiſſioners, to receive, in his name, the oaths of John, duke of Burgundy, and Philip, earl of Charolois, his ſon, purſuant to the articles agreed upon, that were in the form of preliminaries, as follows:

Articles of agreement between the king and duke of Burgundy. Act. Pub.

'The king, having informed the duke of 'Burgundy of his juſt claim to the crown of 'France, and his adverſary's refuſal to give 'him ſatisfaction, told him, that, by the 'help of God and St. George, he reſolved to 'obtain it, by force of arms; and, upon this 'declaration, the duke, perceiving the juſtice 'of the king's title, and conſidering the great 'victories Heaven had bleſſed him with, pro-'miſes to ſend him his letters patent, which 'run, thus:

'That, though, heretofore, for want of 'information, he had eſpouſed the oppoſite 'party, believing it juſt, he, now, pro-'miſes firmly to adhere to the king of Eng-'land, and his heirs and ſucceſſors, as to 'thoſe who are, and ever will be, the true 'and lawful kings of France, as much as 'if they were actually poſſeſſed of the crown.

'Though, for the preſent, the king has 'not deſired the duke's homage; yet, as he 'owns it to be due, he engages, as ſoon as 'the king of England ſhall be in poſſeſſion of 'a conſiderable part of France, to pay him 'liege-homage, and ſwear allegiance to him, 'as every vaſſal of the crown of France ought 'to do to his ſovereign.

'Item, The duke of Burgundy promiſes to 'endeavour, by all known and unknown ways, 'to place the king of England on the throne 'of France.

'Item, Whilſt the king ſhall be employed, 'in purſuing his rights, the duke of Burgundy 'will make war, with all his forces, upon his 'enemies, in France, viz. A. B. C. D. and 'upon all their dominions and adherents, 'refuſing obedience to the king of Eng-'land.

'Item, In all the alliances and letters pa-'tent, made, or to be made, between the 'king and duke, wherein the duke ſhould 'except, or have excepted, the king's ad-'verſary, or the ſon of his adverſary, he does 'not intend to do any thing contrary to his 'promiſes, by theſe preſents, which he is 'to give the king, but will punctually per-'form them.

'That, if, through diſſimulation, the duke 'excepted the king's adverſary, or the dau-'phin, his ſon, for a greater good, and for 'the better accompliſhment of the deſigned 'project, his will and meaning is, that all 'ſuch exceptions are null and void.

'And that all may know, that this pro-'ceeds from his own free conſent, he will pro-'miſe, and ſwear, by his faith and honour, 'to obſerve it, without fraud or deceit; 'and he will write all the articles, with his 'own hand, ſign them, and ſeal them, with 'his uſual ſeal.'

All theſe articles were drawn up, in the form of letters patent, written and ſubſcribed, by the duke of Burgundy's own hand, and ſealed with his privy ſeal.

Mezerai affirms, that "the deſire of rule "ſo tranſported the duke of Burgundy, that "he had an interview with the king of Eng-"land, at Calais, and renewed the truces, "for his dominions only, by which he tied "himſelf, in ſome meaſure, from aſſiſting the "king of France." What would that hiſtorian have ſaid, had he known all? It is farther to be obſerved, that the earl of Charolois, afterwards duke of Burgundy, entered into the ſame engagements with the duke, his father; after which, there is no room to doubt the ill deſigns of theſe two princes, againſt their native country; who choſe rather to ſee it under a foreign dominion, than governed by their enemies.

A truce with France.

Before Henry left Calais, he concluded a truce with France, till the 2d of February; and he returned into England, about the middle of October, in order to hold a parliament, the 19th of the ſaid month; and, during this ſeſſion, the parliament grant-

* He was, whilſt in England, ſolemnly inſtalled knight of the garter; which he eſteemed ſo great an honour, that he always wore the collar, when he ſat in any aſſembly. Walſing.

1416. ed a ſubſidy *, for carrying on the war; but this aid was ſo unequal to his wants and projects, that he was forced to pawn his crown to the biſhop of Wincheſter, his uncle, for 100,000 marks, and part of his jewels to the city of London, for 10,000 l. ſterling. This evidently ſhews, how many difficulties he would have met with, in the conqueſt of France, with his own forces, were it not for the inteſtine troubles of that kingdom; yet, notwithſtanding his preſſing neceſſities, he aſſigned the earl of Dorſet, who defended Harfleur, a penſion of 1000 l. upon creating him duke of Exeter.

Henry reſolves to renew the war.

Henry, having concluded the late private treaty, with the duke of Burgundy, thought it time to renew the war; knowing that one half of France would not oppoſe him, and that the Burgundian party would make a diverſion, in his favour. He, accordingly, made all the neceſſary preparations for his enterprize; but, as the ſupply granted him by parliament was inſufficient for his purpoſe, and as the money came ſlowly into the exchequer, he made uſe of the following means, in his great extremity. After he had ſettled the pay of each ſoldier, horſe and foot, and of each officer, according to every one's rank and character, he made private contracts with ſeveral lords and gentlemen, by which they were obliged to find him a certain number of horſemen, or footmen, for a certain yearly ſum to be paid, quarterly; and the firſt, quarteridge was advanced; but, when the ſecond became due, the king had no money. To remedy this inconvenience, he pawned to them the reſt of the jewels, with letters under the great ſeal, impowering them to ſell them, if the money was not paid, within a limited time. The term allowed was 12 or 18 months, as the creditors were more or leſs tractable; and, thus, he gained time, for the payment of his troops, ſince he could reimburſe his creditors, as the money came into the treaſury, without being obliged to pay all, at once; and people were ſo well convinced of his ſincerity, that they did not ſcruple to ſerve him, or lend him money, on ſuch ſecurities, as would have been inſignificant, under a prince of leſs probity.

The ſtate of the court of France.

Henry's preparations, in England, very juſtly alarmed the court of France, who were not in a condition to make the like; for the duke of Burgundy's late truce, publickly made with Henry, was a demonſtration, that no aid could be expected, either from the duke, or his adherents. Nay, the court was apprehenſive, that the duke had proceeded farther, at the conference held with the enemy of the kingdom; at leaſt, he was exceedingly ſuſpected of having evil deſigns; ſo that the conſtable was not a little embarraſſed, notwithſtanding his great authority. Moreover, ſince the death of John the dauphin, he was conſtrained to have a regard for the new dauphin, leſt the young prince ſhould think of governing, without his aſſiſtance; and, to all theſe difficulties, was added the war, the Engliſh were preparing to carry into France; for, as the kingdom was in an ill ſituation, and the enemy likely to make a great progreſs, he conſidered, that he ſhould be anſwerable for all the ill ſucceſſes of it; wherefore, he judged it adviſable to try to put a ſtop to the king of England's arms, by an extraordinary negotiation, which ſhould induce that prince to believe, that the court of France would be forced to make peace, though never ſo unwilling. He foreſaw, that, if he ſhould himſelf treat of a peace, it would be loſt labour, becauſe it was generally thought to be for his intereſt, that affairs ſhould remain embroiled, in order to preſerve his authority; and it was, therefore, unlikely, that the king of England would be amuſed by any propoſal from himſelf; for which reaſon, he conceived it proper to make uſe of the priſoners in England, and particularly of the duke of Bourbon. It appears from the Collection of the Publick Acts, that ſeveral ſafe-conducts were dated, about this time, for the duke of Bourbon's domeſticks, paſſing to, and repaſſing from France, under various pretences; whence it may be preſumed, that the plot was then formed, and that the duke of Bourbon did nothing, in the affair I am about to relate, but in concert with the court of France.

This plot was ſo artfully contrived, that, if the king had not been continually jealous, he would, doubtleſs, have been deceived; but his firm reſolution, not to interrupt the execution of his deſigns, for any offers ſhort of his demands, cauſed him to eſcape the ſnare. The dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the earls of Eu and Vendoſme, and ſome other priſoners, feigning to deſpair of the affairs of France, intimated to Henry, that they were willing to treat with him, for themſelves, in particular; which was told him, not poſitively, but as what they might poſſibly be brought to; but the king, ſuſpecting that, under this pretence, they intended to retard his voyage, gave very little attention to the propoſal.

A negotiation between Henry and the French priſoners. Act. Pub.

Some time after, theſe very princes, who had, hitherto, endeavoured to make the propoſal come from the king, finding that they could not ſucceed, at an audience, which they demanded, expreſſed their inclination, and intreated him to acquaint them with his pretenſions; adding, that they did not queſtion, but they ſhould return him a ſatisfactory anſwer, without any prejudice to their honour. The king, who was not to be amuſed, roundly told them, that he had nothing elſe to propoſe, except that they ſhould own him, for king of France and their lawful ſovereign; but the duke of Orleans exclaimed againſt this overture, and expreſly ſaid, that they had no anſwer to return to ſuch a demand;

* The commons granted him two tenths and two fifteenths, to be levied on the laity; and the clergy gave two tenths, to be raiſed from their own body. Cotton. Walſing.

1416. mand; which broke off the negotiation, for that time.

Particularly the duke of Bourbon. Act. Pub.

However, a few weeks after, the duke of Bourbon repreſented to the king, that, ſince they had the honour to confer with him, ſeveral of the priſoners, had ſent perſons into France, to inquire into his title to that kingdom, and had received better information, than ever before; adding, that for his part, he was fully ſatisfied of the juſtice of his rights. Then he ſaid, he was informed, that, notwithſtanding his juſt claim to the whole kingdom, he had offered to reſign it, if certain provinces were reſigned to him; and, in his judgment, that offer ought not to be refuſed. That the other priſoners were of his opinion, and had reſolved to do all that was poſſible, to procure him what he deſired; and, therefore, he begged leave to go into France, and declare to king Charles, in the name of all the priſoners, that, as loyal ſubjects, they could not but adviſe him, to cloſe with this expedient for peace, and beſeech him to accept ſuch a reaſonable propoſal. In a word, the duke added, that, if the court of France conſented to the offer, Henry might, this very year, take poſſeſſion of the provinces, which he claimed; but if, on the contrary, it was rejected, the princes would account themſelves acquitted from their oath of fealty to king Charles. The duke engaged, for his own part, to put all his fortified towns in the hands of ſuch perſons, as would certainly deliver them up, when he pleaſed; and he promiſed to return into England, by the time which ſhould be prefixed, and acknowledge Henry, for king of France, and pay him homage, as his lawful ſovereign. Moreover, he added, that he would ſo evidently demonſtrate the juſtice of Henry's right to the crown of France, that all the world ſhould be convinced, that he could not diſpenſe with doing him homage, without acting contrary to his honour; and, in fine, he intreated the king to be ſilent, till his return, on account of the danger he ſhould be expoſed to, if the thing was divulged, during his ſtay, in France.

Henry was at a loſs, what to think of ſuch a propoſal; for he knew France was not governed either by the duke of Orleans, or the duke of Bourbon; and that it was not the conſtable's intereſt to make a peace, upon theſe terms; but, at the ſame time, the hopes of recovering the provinces of France, loſt ſince the treaty of Bretigny, without renewing the war, were extremely agreeable; and the alternative, propoſed by the duke, could not but be beneficial to him. His only way was to be upon his guard, and not be perſuaded, on this pretence, to interrupt the execution of his projects; wherefore, reſolving not to ſuſpend his expedition, a ſingle day, on any account whatever, he thought there was no danger, in granting the duke of Bourbon the leave he deſired; but, firſt, he had one of the duke's ſons given him, in hoſtage, with ſecurity for the ſum of 200,000 crowns. Theſe particulars are in the Collections of the Publick Acts; where we find a letter, written, with the king's own hand, to Sir John Tiptoft, his ambaſſador to the emperor, ordering him to acquaint Sigiſmund with the ſecret, conſult his advice upon it, and aſſure him, that the negotiation ſhall not retard his expedition into France; enjoining him alſo, not to make the leaſt diſcovery to any other perſon, on pain of his heavy diſpleaſure; and, probably, his firm reſolution not to be amuſed, by any propoſal, was the reaſon, why this ſtratagem was carried no farther. The duke of Bourbon returned into England; but he did not perform his other engagements. It was, doubtleſs, for endeavouring to deceive Henry, that the priſoners, by his orders, were confined, in Pontefract-caſtle; whereas, before, they were upon their parole. Tho' there are no poſitive proofs, that this plot was formed by the conſtable, it is manifeſt from ſeveral conjectures, which, all together, amount to a ſort of demonſtration, tho' it would be too tedious to relate the particulars here; but, if the French priſoners acted ſincerely, without the direction of the conſtable, it muſt be inferred, that France was, then, in a very deplorable condition. King Charles, often ſeized with a frenzy, was incapable of managing his affairs; the duke of Burgundy, firſt peer of the realm, and head of a powerful party, had entered into a ſecret alliance with the enemy of the ſtate; the princes of the blood were on the point of owning Henry, for king of France; and, in fine, the kingdom was governed by a young prince of 14 years, and by the earl of Armagnac, a violent man, who, ſtudying only to be revenged on his enemies, openly ſacrificed the publick good to his ambition.

1416.

1417. The wretched condition of France. Mezerai. Act. Pub.

Tho' the conſtable had, already, occaſioned much miſchief to France, by perſecuting the duke of Burgundy, and compelling him, as it were, to throw himſelf into the arms of the king of England, he did not judge it ſufficient, to ſecure his quiet; for Iſabella of Bavaria, wife to Charles VI, ſeemed ſo diſpleaſed to be ruled by a ſubject, that he was apprehenſive, ſhe would, at laſt, find means, to deprive him of his authority. This was not impoſſible; for, the king being of an eaſy temper, it would have been eaſy to gain him, in one of his intervals; nor was it impracticable to perſuade the dauphin, to rid himſelf of ſuch a troubleſome governor. Thus, the conſtable's deſtiny hanging by ſo ſlender a thread, whilſt he had ſuch an enemy, at court, he believed, that, to ſecure himſelf, it was abſolutely neceſſary to remove her; and the queen afforded him a ſufficient handle, by her behaviour, which was not altogether conformable to the rules of decency. The conſtable, taking this advantage, infus'd into the king and dauphin ſuch ſtrong ſuſpicions of her, that ſhe was ſent away to Tours, where ſhe remained, as a priſoner, not knowing on whom to rely, to free herſelf out of captivity. This fatal policy was a freſh ſource of calamities to France; for the injured mother could never forgive her ſon the affront ſhe had received; and, unfortunately for the kingdom, it was but too much

The conſtable cauſes the queen to be ſent away to Tours.

1417. much in her power to ſatiate her revenge. The conſtable's violent proceedings, the death of the two dauphins laid to his charge, the queen's baniſhment, with numberleſs other occaſions, furniſhed the duke of Burgundy with a pretence to make a diverſion, in favour of the king of England; and he publiſhed a manifeſto, againſt the conſtable, aggravating his faults and oppreſſions, with all the reſentment of an injured enemy. Then he wrote to the king, that, as firſt peer of France, it was his duty to endeavour to prevent the utter ruin of the kingdom; and, by the ſame reaſon, he attempted to ſtir up the cities of France, and gain them to his intereſt. In fine, finding that ſome of the towns had already declared for him, he approached Paris, at the head of an army, when the king of England was in readineſs to embarque for France; deſigning to lay the dauphin and conſtable under a neceſſity, either of quitting Paris, to oppoſe the king of England, or of ſuffering the Engliſh to act, without oppoſition, if they intended to ſave Paris; but they took the latter courſe, chuſing rather, that part of the kingdom ſhould fall into the hands of the Engliſh, than to be diſpoſſeſſed of the government, by their private enemies.

Henry lands at Tonque.

Henry, deſirous of improving ſuch a favourable juncture, ſailed, about the end of July, and landed, at Tonque, in Normandy; and his army conſiſted only of 25500 effective men, too inconſiderable a number, for the conqueſt of France, had he not been aſſured of meeting little oppoſition. Upon his arrival, he laid ſiege to the caſtle of Tonque, and became maſter of it, the 9th of Auguſt; and, after the conqueſt of ſome other ſmall places, he beſieged Caen, which ſurrendered, the 9th of September.

The perplexity of the court of France.

The court of France was, then, in extreme perplexity; for the duke of Burgundy, at the gates of Paris, prevented their regulating the affairs of the kingdom. They ſhould have had two armies, in the field; one to oppoſe the Burgundians, and another to defend Normandy, againſt the Engliſh; but they had ſcarce troops ſufficient to defend Paris, where the king, dauphin, and conſtable were ſhut up; and their only refuge was, to renew the negotiations with Henry. With this view, they demanded a conference, between the ambaſſadors of the two crowns, to conſult about means to conclude a peace; and Henry conſented to the propoſal, but without diſcontinuing the war, being unwilling to loſe ſuch a precious opportunity. The court of France, chuſing the archbiſhop of Rheims, for firſt plenipotentiary, appointed, on his part, the earl of Warwick and ſome others, who were to meet with the French, at Bernonville, in Normandy; which congreſs, for what reaſon I know not, was deferred to the end of November; and, in the interim, Henry became maſter of Bayeux, Argentan, Chateau de l' Aigle, Alenſon, and ſome other places.

Whilſt the king purſued his conqueſts, the duke of Burgundy did him great ſervice, not only by the diverſion he made, about Paris, but principally by fomenting the troubles, in France, ſo as never more to be appeaſed. Queen Iſabella, baniſhed to Tours, had been, hitherto, an enemy to the duke of Burgundy; but, as ſhe had no other way, to be revenged on the dauphin and conſtable, ſhe diſpatched truſty meſſengers to acquaint him, that ſhe was ready to join with him againſt their common enemies. The duke, at once, accepted the offer, and privately concerted meaſures with her, to releaſe her from confinement; and then he ſuddenly departed from Corbeil, where he was encamped, with only a ſmall body of choſen horſemen. He was ſo expeditious, that, before his deſign could be known, he was at the abbey of Marmoutier, near Tours, where he found the queen, who came thither, under the pretence of devotion; and, not being ſuſpected of attempting to eſcape, he eaſily carried her off, and conducted her to Troye, in Champagne. When ſhe herſelf embarqued, ſhe aſſumed the title of regent, pretending that the king, her husband, was captive in the hands of the dauphin and earl of Armagnac.

1417. Iſabella joins with the duke of Burgundy.

Henry takes ſeveral places.

In the interim, Henry made ſeveral conqueſts, in Normandy, without any reſiſtance; for the conſtable choſe rather to ſee the ſtate periſh, than reſign his authority; and the duke of Burgundy favoured Henry, to the utmoſt of his power.

The congreſs of Bernonville. Act. Pub.

The interview, between the plenipotentiaries of the two crowns, was held, at Bernonville, on the 28th of November; and, as Henry was jealous, that the court of France ſought only to make him loſe time, he determined to defeat that expectation; and the conference was no ſooner opened, than his ambaſſadors ſet forth his pretenſions, aſſuring, withal, that there would be no abatement. The ſubſtance of his offers was, That he would marry the princeſs Catharine; that Charles ſhould enjoy the crown, for his life, but, after his deceaſe, it ſhould come to the king of England; and that, during Charles's life, Henry ſhould be regent of France, becauſe of the king's infirmity. Moreover, he demanded ſuch ſecurities, as ſhould enſure the performance of all theſe articles; but, as the French ambaſſadors were not ſufficiently impowered to treat on theſe articles, and it was not Henry's intereſt vainly to prolong this negotiation, the congreſs, immediately, broke up. He was juſtly apprehenſive, that the court of France would have improved this occaſion, to raiſe a jealouſy in his allies, and particularly in the duke of Burgundy; and, in the mean while, intent on the ſiege of Falaiſe, he took the town, on the 20th of December; but the caſtle held out, till February.

A truce with Bretagne, &c. Act. Pub.

Some time before the congreſs of Bernonville, the duke of Bretagne came and made a truce with Henry, for a year, and another, in the name of the queen of Sicily, as guardian to Lewis, her ſon, for Anjou and Maine; and, thus, by degrees, Henry extremely weakened France, by depriving her of the aſſiſtance ſhe might have received from her vaſſals.

During the king's abſence, in France, Oldcaſtle,

1417. caſtle, of whom I have ſpoken, elſewhere, was ſeized and brought to London, to the great ſatisfaction of the clergy; who were reſolved to ſacrifice him, for a terror to all the reſt of the Lollards. Notwithſtanding his birth and merit, he was ſentenced to be hung up, by the middle, with a chain, and burnt alive; tho', by the way, his being burnt evidently proves, that he was condemned, for hereſy, rather than, for conſpiring againſt the king; but, however that be, his ſentence was executed, amidſt the curſes and imprecations of the prieſts and monks, who even laboured to prevent the people from praying for him. Thus, died Sir John Oldcaſtle, baron of Cobham, with an aſtoniſhing conſtancy, perfectly anſwerable to the firmneſs, with which he had, all along, maintained the doctrine of Wickliff, being the firſt nobleman, that ſuffered, on the account of religion; and, after the execution, the parliament enacted freſh ſtatutes, in order to the utter extirpation of the Lollards, the clergy inceſſantly requiring their blood, with all the eagerneſs imaginable.

Oldcaſtle is burnt alive.

The queen dowager is accuſed of a conſpiracy againſt the king.

Some writers affirm, that, this year, queen Joanna of Navarre, widow to Henry IV, and mother-in-law of the reigning king, was accuſed of conſpiring, with her confeſſor, againſt the king; and ſome add, that ſhe was condemned to a 10 years impriſonment, and that her confeſſor was killed, by the chaplin of the tower, in a diſpute, on that occaſion; but this is all that can be ſaid concerning this accuſation, which is very confuſedly related by the hiſtorians.

The pretended invaſion of the Scots is refuted.

As for the Scotch invaſion, placed by ſome, in this year, and, according to them, repulſed by the duke of Bedford, with 100,000 men, I dare venture to aſſert it is all a miſtake, ſince it is not mentioned, either in the publick records, or in the hiſtories of Scotland; for all we find, with reſpect to the Scots, is, that they threatened to invade England, in 1415, about the time of the king's firſt expedition into France.

1418. Henry takes ſeveral places in Normandy. Act. Pub.

As the ſituation of affairs, in France, was very advantageous to Henry, he did not fail to improve it; for the campaign, begun, in Auguſt, laſted all the winter, without the leaſt interruption. The caſtle of Falaiſe ſurrendering, on the 16th of February, Henry divided his army into ſeveral bodies, and gave the command to the dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter, his brothers, the duke of Exeter and the earl of Salisbury, with orders to attack ſeveral places, at once; being reſolved not to neglect ſo fair an opportunity. In the months of March and April, he became maſter of St. Lo, Carentan, St. Sauveur le Vicomte, and many other places, in Normandy; ſo that, of all the fortified towns, he only wanted Cherbourg and Roan, to compleat the reduction of that province. Evreux ſurrendered, in May; and, preſently after, he beſieged Cherbourg, which held out three months.

Martin V. tries to unite the two factions.

During the ſiege, the court of France ſuffered a new revolution not favourable to Henry; tho', at firſt, it ſeemed to procure him great advantages. The council of Conſtance, 1418. which had been opened, ever ſince 1414, having depoſed the three popes, who contended for the papacy, had choſen, on the 10th of November, 1417, cardinal Colonna, who aſſumed the name of Martin V. who, upon his aſcending the papal throne, ſent two legates into France, in order to appeaſe the troubles, and unite the two factions; and their ſollicitations were ſo powerful, that both the parties ſent their deputies to Montereau-Faut-Yonne, where it was agreed, that the dauphin and duke of Burgundy ſhould jointly govern the kingdom, during the king's infirmity. If this agreement had been executed, and the two parties ſincerely reconciled, probably, Henry's affairs would have received a remarkable prejudice; but the conſtable and the chancellor, his creature, could never bear to ſee the duke of Burgundy in the adminiſtration again; and, therefore, preferring their private intereſts to the good of the publick, they ſo managed, that the agreement remained ineffectual.

The Burgundians become maſters of Paris. T. Livius.

This proceeding rendered the conſtable odious to the publick, and ſtrengthened the Burgundian faction, in Paris; who, at length, May the 18th, at night, found means to introduce into Paris Liſle-Adam, governor of Pontoiſe, and a zealous adherent to the duke of Burgundy. He entered only with 800 horſe; but, at his arrival, the Burgundians, being under arms, made a terrible ſlaughter of the Armagnac's. Tanneguy du Chatel, governor of the Baſtile, being unable to remedy the diſorder, ran to the Louvre, and carried off the dauphin, in his ſhirt, to ſecure him in his fortreſs; but, next morning, the dauphin fled to Melun, not thinking himſelf ſafe, in the Baſtile; the king remained in the power of the Burgundians; and, the ſame day, the conſtable, being hid, in a maſon's houſe, was diſcovered, and thrown into priſon.

A freſh maſſacre at Paris.

However, this was only a prelude to a much greater commotion, in the ſame city, ſome days after; for, upon the news of what had paſſed, the exiles being returned to Paris, from all quarters, the maſſacre was renewed, June the 12th; the conſtable was taken out of priſon, murdered, and ignominiouſly dragged thro' the ſtreets; and the chancellor, ſeveral biſhops, and others, to the number of 2000, met with the ſame barbarous treatment. The maſſacre being over, the queen and the duke of Burgundy entered Paris, in triumph, on the 14th of July; and the plague, which afterwards broke out, in that city, and which, in three months, ſwept away above 40,000 perſons, added freſh calamities to thoſe above-mentioned. In the interim, the queen and duke, having the king in their power, iſſued out in his name, what orders they pleaſed; and on the other hand, the dauphin, aſſuming the title of regent, threatened all that ſhould obey the duke of Burgundy. Thus, which ſide ſoever the French eſpouſed, they could not avoid being called rebels, by one or other of the factions; and neutrality itſelf was accounted a crime.

1418.

An agreement between the two factions.

In the mean while, in ſpite of the animoſity of the two parties, the troubles appeared, for ſome time, to be about to expire; for, as there was not yet any cauſe of perſonal enmity, between the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Bretagne had ſo managed, that each of theſe princes had conſented to an agreement. Every thing was ſettled; but ſome perſons, about the dauphin, perſuaded him not to ſign; which was attended with fatal conſequences. Thus, by means of the diſſenſion, between the two factions, each had two enemies to oppoſe, the contrary party and the Engliſh; but Henry, far from looking upon both parties, with the ſame eye, was an avowed enemy to the Armagnac's, whilſt he was only a pretended enemy to the Burgundians.

A truce in Guienne, between Henry and the Gaſcoign rebels. Act. Pub.

Henry, now, began to reap ſome benefit from the late revolution, in the court of France; for the new earl of Armagnac, the lord d' Albret, and the other Gaſcoign lords of that party, who were waging, in Guienne, fierce war with the Engliſh, concluded a truce with him; for, conſidering that, ſince the conſtable's death, the government of France was in the duke of Burgundy's hands, they believed it repugnant to their intereſt, to continue a war, which could only prove advantageous to their enemy; and, by this truce, inſtead of being obliged to ſend ſuccours into Guienne, Henry drew from thence ſome troops, with which he reinforced his army, in Normandy.

The ſiege of Roan.

Cherbourg having, at length, capitulated, after a three months ſiege, France had nothing left, in Normandy, except Roan, the loſs of which would deprive her of all hopes of recovering that province; and, therefore, without delay, Henry beſieged that city, about the latter end of Auguſt, or the beginning of September. According to Mezerai, the ſiege began, in June, which is a miſtake; but, however that be, it was extremely remarkable, for the vigorous defence of the beſieged, who held out, five months, and endured the greateſt miſeries, before they came to a capitulation. They applied to the duke of Burgundy, but to no purpoſe; for France, in changing her governor, had not acquired new ſtrength; and the duke of Burgundy, copying after the earl of Armagnac, was more careful to defeat the practices of his enemies, than oppoſe the progreſs of the king of England. Nevertheleſs, he put the pope's legates upon trying, whether, by a negotiation, he could interrupt the ſiege of Roan; and, this method not ſucceeding, he aſſembled all the forces in his power, feigning a deſign to give the Engliſh battle; nay, he carried the king, as far as Beauvais, but all this proved abortive. Perhaps, he was not very deſirous of obſtructing the king of England's progreſs; tho' it is uncertain, whether, after his being at the head of the government, he preſerved the ſame ſentiments for that monarch, as when baniſhed from court. It may, at leaſt, be affirmed, that it was not ſo much his intereſt to promote his affairs; yet he could not avoid ſhewing ſome regard for a prince, who had in his poſſeſſion a writing capable of ruining him, with all the French, of what party ſoever. On this account, ſince the revolution at the court of France, his conduct had been very ambiguous; for he ſeems to have been reſolved, to do neither good, nor hurt, to the king of England, till he ſhould be determined, by the events. 1418.

The dauphin offers to make an alliance with Henry.

The duke of Burgundy not relieving the beſieged, they had recourſe to the dauphin, who was as little able to raiſe the ſiege, by force; and the way of negotiation appeared, to him, more proper to produce that effect; tho' it is difficult to know, for certain, whether he really intended to make a peace and an alliance with Henry, or deſigned only to amuſe him. However that be, he ſent him word, that he deſired to treat with him, upon three articles: Firſt, about the means of reſtoring a peace to France; ſecondly, concerning the marriage already projected; and, laſtly, about a league between them both, againſt the duke of Burgundy. Henry did not reject theſe propoſals; for, perhaps, he did not much rely on the duke of Burgundy, or elſe had an intent to raiſe the jealouſy of the court of France, in order to procure more beneficial offers than had yet been propoſed. He appointed, for his ambaſſadors, at the congreſs with the dauphin, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the earls of Warwick and Salisbury, Philip Morgan, and ſome others; whoſe inſtructions, dated, at the camp before Roan, October the 26th, were, in ſubſtance, as follows:

The king's inſtructions to his ambaſſadors.

I. That they ſhould do all that was poſſible, to induce the dauphin's ambaſſadors to declare all their propoſals, and abſolutely reject all offers of the countries already in his poſſeſſion.

II. If the French ſhould propoſe, at length, to put all things upon the foot of the treaty of Bretigny, they were to demand, how the king ſhould be aſſured of the performance, ſince the dauphin was not authoriſed, for that purpoſe.

III. He judged, that they would, therefore, inſiſt only on a truce, in which caſe, he ordered his ambaſſadors to require, what dominions ſhould be given him, for making the ſame.

IV. He expreſly prohibited them to treat of his alliance with the dauphin, till the peace, or truce, was ſettled; tho' he did not leave them at liberty to conclude either; for he ordered notice to be ſent him, when matters ſhould be brought upon the point of concluſion.

V. As to the alliance with the dauphin, he ſaid, that prince's view was, probably, to procure his aſſiſtance againſt the duke of Burgundy; and, if ſo, he forbad them to agree, on an inconſiderable aid; but he enjoined them to offer forces ſufficient, to reſtore the kingdom of France to a ſtate of tranquillity.

VI. He, at the ſame time, expected, in conſideration of theſe forces, that the earldoms of Artois, Boulogne, and Flanders ſhould be given him; but, if this was refuſed, the ambaſſadors were to lower their demands to the earldom of Flanders only, provided the dauphin would aſſiſt in the conqueſt of it; and he offered,

1418. offered, on his part, to reſign to the dauphin whatever ſhould be conquered, elſewhere, upon the duke of Burgundy.

The king's view in treating with the dauphin.

Theſe inſtructions plainly ſhew, that Henry did not believe this congreſs would end in a peace, nor even intended to conclude with the dauphin, who had no power to deliver up, to the king, what had been taken from his predeceſſors, ſince the treaty of Bretigny; and it may, therefore, be preſumed, that he ſolely intended to excite the jealouſy of the duke of Burgundy, who, being maſter of the king's perſon, was alone able to make a ſolid peace. This likewiſe appears from the king's writing, the very day he ſigned theſe inſtructions, to the duke of Burgundy, that, if the negotiation for a peace was renewed, he would do his utmoſt, to render it ſucceſsful; and, upon this letter, Charles ſent him word, that he had nominated the biſhop of Arras and Beauvais, the firſt preſident of Morvilliers, and ſome others, for his plenipotentiaries. Thus, Henry entertained hopes, by treating with both parties, at once, he ſhould raiſe ſuch a jealouſy, as ſhould pave the way for a happy concluſion to his affairs.

The congreſs of Alenſon. Elmham.

The congreſs, between the king's and the dauphin's ambaſſadors, was held, at Alenſon, the 10th of November; and the Engliſh abſolutely refuſed to treat, concerning the alliance, before the terms of the peace were ſettled; but, at length, after evading all the captious offers made by the French, they obliged them to come to their laſt propoſals; viz. the towns and provinces contained in the treaty of Bretigny, on condition of homage to the crown of France. However, the Engliſh rejected theſe overtures, unleſs the ſovereignty of the provinces was added, purſuant to the tenor of the treaty of Bretigny; moreover, they demanded Normandy, ſtarted difficulties, about the dauphin's inability to perform theſe conditions, and required, how he deſigned to accompliſh them, ſuppoſing their maſter ſhould accept them. The French replied, that it was needleſs to talk of the manner of performance, ſince the offers themſelves did not pleaſe; upon which, they broke up the conference.

Another between the ambaſſadors of the two kings of no effect. Act. Pub.

Preſently after, another congreſs was held, at Pont de l'Arche, between the plenipotentiaries of the two kings; or rather the ambaſſadors of the two crowns met, to confer together, in the preſence of the pope's legates; but, in the firſt meeting, king Charles's ambaſſadors inſiſted, that the conference ſhould be managed in French, which the Engliſh refuſed. In a word, at the preſſing inſtance of the legates, Henry conſented, that there ſhould be two Protocols, one in French, and another in Latin, of which the latter only ſhould be accounted authentick; but, the French rejecting this expedient, the conference, about the peace, was not ſo much as opened. Probably, the duke of Burgundy did not ſeriouſly intend to enter into a negotiation, being ſtill undetermined, as to his courſe; or rather, he was then forming a deſign, which we ſhall ſee come to light, the following year.

1418.

1419. The dauphin wants to renew the treaty. Act. Pub.

However, this interview alarmed the dauphin, who, doubtleſs, was ignorant of what paſſed; for he was afraid of being prevented by the duke of Burgundy, evidently perceiving, that, if a peace was made between the two kings, it muſt tend to his prejudice. In this belief, he ſent to Henry, intreating him to appoint the place where the negotiation, begun at Alenſon, might be renewed; and Henry readily complied with his requeſt, as nothing could be more advantageous to him, than the mutual jealouſy of the factions; wherefore, it was agreed, that the ambaſſadors ſhould meet again, at Louviers, the beginning of February.

The taking of Roan.

During all theſe tranſactions, Henry had not diſcontinued, one moment, the ſiege of Roan, tho' his army ſuffered much, by the ſeverity of the ſeaſon; but the beſieged were in no better condition, being reduced to eat horſe-fleſh, and all kinds of animals; and, even this ſort of food failing them, they capitulated, on the 13th of January, to ſurrender, on the 19th, if they were not relieved, by that time. Henry continued to them all their privileges, for 300,000 crowns; and, by the ſurrender of Roan, all Normandy, a few caſtles excepted, became again ſubject to the kings of England, 215 years after it was taken from them by Philip Auguſtus, in the reign of John Lack-land; and, after the taking of Roan, Henry ſent part of his army into Picardy, under the duke of Exeter, who became maſter of Dieppe and Montrevil *.

The duke of Burgundy takes new meaſures.

Affairs were, then, at a criſis, which could not fail to produce ſome remarkable change; for, as the duke of Burgundy had ſought the king of England's alliance, only to diſpoſſeſs the dauphin and earl of Armagnac, he no longer wanted his protection, being maſter of Paris, and the king's perſon. On the contrary, on the account of his ſtation, it was his intereſt to oppoſe the progreſs of the Engliſh arms; but the dauphin was the duke's ſworn enemy, againſt whom it was chiefly neceſſary to be ſecured. Beſides that prince's natural right to govern the kingdom, during his father's illneſs, he was alſo as the head of a powerful party; and it was not impoſſible, that, either by the king's death, or ſome other way, he might recover the advantage he had loſt; in which caſe, the duke would rather have ſeen Henry in poſſeſſion of all France, than the dauphin triumphant. In the interim, whatever turn affairs ſhould take, he evidently foreſaw, that he ſhonld not be able to preſerve his authority, tho' Henry ſucceeded in his deſigns; and, indeed, it was unlikely that Henry would truſt him with the government, when he ſhould be maſter of France. Thus, ſtanding, as it were, between two precipices, he was, ſome time, in ſuſpence, being at a loſs, what to reſolve; which, probably, prevented his more effectual endea-

* Henry, upon the reduction of this city, eſtabliſhed there his exchequer, coinage, and chamber of accounts of the revenues of Normandy; and he alſo built a tower, behind the caſtle, and began a palace, on the river Seine. Rymer's Fœd.

vours,

1419. vours, to relieve Roan; for he durſt not break with the king of England, leſt he ſhould ſtand in need of his farther aſſiſtance againſt the dauphin. However, he determined, at length, to do all that was poſſible, to be reconciled with his enemy, in order to break ſafely with the king of England; for, by a hearty reconciliation with the dauphin, he might hope to have ſome laſting ſhare in the government, and hold the ſecond rank; whereas he ſhould render himſelf odious to all true Frenchmen, if he ſhould openly abandon the intereſts of his native country. If he had privately relinquiſhed her, it was with remorſe; and he was excited to it by the ſole thirſt of revenge. However, the execution of the deſign, he had formed, was not without difficulties; for the dauphin had conceived an inveterate averſion to him, on all occaſions, fomented by the friends and adherents of the late duke of Orleans, who were continually about him, and carefully watching all opportunities, to revenge that prince's death. In ſpite of theſe obſtacles, the duke of Burgundy became, more and more, confirmed in his reſolution, perceiving no other way, to ſave himſelf and the kingdom; and he, therefore, undertook to accompliſh this reconciliation, by all ſorts of means, even to the forcing the dauphin to it, by the fear of ſeeing France otherwiſe loſt; in fine, if the dauphin's hatred and obſtinacy ſhould render it impracticable, he was determined to take the deſperate courſe of rendering Henry maſter of France.

The conference of Louviers. Act. Pub.

At the ſame time that the duke of Burgundy came to his final reſolution, the conference, between the ambaſſadors of Henry and the dauphin, was held, at Louviers; and the difficulties, that occurred, at the congreſs of Alenſon, rendered this alſo fruitleſs. It was only agreed, that the king and the dauphin ſhould meet and confer together; but this interview, the time of which was twice prolonged, did not take effect, becauſe the dauphin took other meaſures; yet, to continue the duke of Burgundy's jealouſy, Henry granted the dauphin a truce, from the 12th of February, till Eaſter, for all the country, between the Loire and the Seine, Normandy excepted.

The dauphin refuſes to be reconciled with the duke of Burgundy.

Purſuant to the duke of Burgundy's project, he ſent and ſued for the dauphin's friendſhip, offering, on his part, to deſerve and cultivate it, to the utmoſt of his power; intimating, at the ſame time, that it would be expedient to have a conference together, as well mutually to confirm their reconciliation, as to concert meaſures, for the welfare of the kingdom; but the dauphin ſcornfully rejected this propoſal, being too apprehenſive of ſharing the authority with the queen, his mother, and the duke of Burgundy, or rather of being himſelf ſubject to them. The ſole command of the province, that owned him, for regent, he imagined, was preferable to the advantage propoſed, from a reconciliation, which could not be made, without leaving the queen, his mother, and the duke, a ſhare in the adminiſtration; ſo that the duke of Burgundy was reduced to a neceſſity, of ſeriouſly endeavouring to make a peace with England, if the dauphin perſiſted in his obſtinacy. The congreſs, at Louviers, having alarmed him, he was afraid of being prevented, and that he ſhould not, afterwards, be in a condition to reſiſt the king of England and the dauphin, if they ſhould join in a league againſt him; wherefore, he reſolved to unravel affairs, ſome way, or other. With this view, he ſent Henry word, that king Charles was inclined to a peace; and, to ſucceed the more eaſily, he propoſed an interview, that the two kings, aſſiſted by their councils, might fix the terms, and conclude the intended marriage. Henry readily fell in with the propoſal, and even granted a three months truce; during which, the time, place, and manner of the conference might be ſettled. 1419.

Fruitleſs attempts to reconcile the dauphin with the duke of Burgundy.

All France was juſtly alarmed at this reſolution; for it was obvious, that the peace and marriage could not be made, in ſuch a juncture, without the kingdom's being delivered to the king of England. On this account, ſome lords, who had the intereſt of their country at heart, did all that was poſſible, to procure a peace, or, at leaſt, a truce between the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy; and the dauphin would have conſented to a three years truce; but the duke would have it only for two months; intending to conclude a peace with England, if, by that time, he could not agree with the dauphin. The pains taken, to perſuade them to ſuch a neceſſary union, proving abortive, the project of the interview, between the two kings, was, at length, accompliſhed, after ſeveral prolongations, till the 30th of May; and it was agreed, that it ſhould be, near Meulant, in a field choſen for that purpoſe, where a magnificent pavilion was erected. As king Charles's infirmity hindered him from being preſent, in perſon, it was agreed, that his queen and the duke of Burgundy ſhould act, as his procurators; and that the duke of Bretagne ſhould be there. In the mean while, to avoid the heats, which might ariſe from the diſcuſſion of affairs, commiſſioners were nominated, on both ſides, to ſettle the particulars; and Henry was pleaſed to honour the dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter, with being the heads of this commiſſion. The court of France being, at Pontoiſe, Henry came to Mante, to be near the place of conference; and, from theſe two towns, the two courts repaired, every day, to the place appointed. The firſt day the queen of France brought the princeſs Catharine, her daughter, who charmed the king of England; and, the effect of this firſt ſight being very viſible, the queen believed, that ſhe ſhould inflame the deſires of that prince, by not ſuffering her daughter to appear any more; but Henry ſoon perceived, that the princeſs was to ſerve as a decoy, to enſnare him; and, to fruſtrate the queen's expectation, he aſſured the duke of Burgundy, that he would never quit his arms, till he had the king and the princeſs, his daughter, in his power, and had expelled him the kingdom, if he oppoſed it. At any other juncture, the duke, who was as high-ſpirited 1419.

as

1419. as Henry, would, doubtleſs, have returned him a ſharp reply; but, not to exaſperate too much a prince, whoſe aſſiſtance he might want, he only ſaid, that he did not doubt but he would have reaſon to be tired of the war.

The conference of Meulant ran upon three articles, required by Henry, as preliminaries to the peace and marriage.

Henry's demands. Act. Pub.

I. That he ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of whatever was granted to Edward III, by the treaty of Bretigny.

II. That, beſides, all Normandy ſhould be delivered to him.

III. The full and independent ſovereignty of whatever ſhould be reſigned to him, by the preſent treaty.

As Henry would not recede from theſe articles, the duke of Burgundy evidently perceived, that, by directly oppoſing them, he ſhould occaſion the breaking up of the conference, the only way left to bring the dauphin to a reconciliation; and, therefore, without diſputing, or granting, the king's pretenſions, he preſented to the king the counter demands of France; which were ſo drawn up, as to be liable to great objections, that he might either urge, or relinquiſh, according as he found what ſteps the dauphin would take. In a word, the duke of Burgundy's view was, to give the dauphin a little more time, before any thing was concluded with the king of England; and the demands of France, with the king's anſwers, were, as follows.

The demands of France. Act. Pub.

I. That the king of England renounce the crown of France.

'The king agrees to it, provided this clauſe be annexed, [except what is granted to him, by the preſent treaty.]

II. That he diſclaim Touraine, Anjou, Maine, and the ſovereignty of Bretagne.

'The king diſapproves of this article.'

Probably, by reaſon of the ſovereignty of Bretagne, which he claimed, as duke of Normandy.

III. The king of England ſhall ſwear, that neither he, nor his ſucceſſors, ſhall receive, at any time hereafter, on any account whatever, the ceſſion of the crown of France, from any perſon, who hath, or pretends to have, a right.

'The king conſents to this, provided his 'adverſary will ſwear the ſame, &c.'

IV. The king of England ſhall cauſe the renunciations, promiſes, and engagements to be recorded, as the king of France and his council ſhall judge moſt expedient.

'The king diſlikes this article.'

V. Inſtead of Ponthieu and Montrevil, the king of France ſhall have liberty to give an equivalent, in ſome other part of France, as he ſhall think proper.

'The king is diſpleaſed with this article.'

VI. As there are ſtill, in Normandy, ſeveral places unconquered by the king of England, which are to be given up, by the treaty, he ſhall, therefore, reſign all his other conqueſts, elſewhere. Every one ſhall be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of his eſtate, wherever it lies; and an alliance ſhall be concluded between the two kings.

'The king approves of this, on condition 'the Scots and the rebels be not included in 'the alliance.' 1419.

VII. The king of England ſhall repay the 600,000 crowns given to Richard II, in part of the 800,000 promiſed with queen Iſabella, and alſo 400,000, for that princeſs's jewels detained, in England.

'The king agrees, that this article ſhould 'be allowed out of the arrears due, for king 'John's ranſom; but he is ſurpriſed at the 'demand of 400,000 crowns, for queen Iſa-'bella's jewels, when they were not worth a 'quarter of that ſum.'

The duke of Burgundy's deſigns.

It plainly appears, from the nature of theſe demands, that the difficulties were too inconſiderable to prevent the concluſion of a peace, if both parties had been equally willing; but, on the other hand, they were ſufficient to keep the treaty depending, during the pleaſure of the court of France. In the duke of Burgundy's ſituation, he inſiſted on the articles, diſapproved by the king, no farther than was neceſſary; and he was extremely glad to find, that Henry believed the peace was about to be concluded, as, indeed, it would have been, were it not for the obſtinacy of the dauphin; for the king ſo little doubted it, that, on the 5th of July, that is, about a month after the opening of the congreſs, he gave full power to the archbiſhop of Canterbury to go to Paris, and conclude the peace, in his name, with king Charles.

The dauphin and the duke of Burgundy are reconciled.

However, whilſt Henry pleaſed himſelf with this expectation, the duke of Burgundy endeavoured to diſconcert all his meaſures; and, as he had made uſe of negotiations, now with the dauphin, then with the duke, in order to ſtir up the jealouſy of both, he was himſelf over-reached, in his own way. The congreſs of Meulant, where the duke of Burgundy's chief deſign was to frighten the dauphin, produced the deſired effect; for the young prince, alarmed to ſee ſo near a concluſion a peace ſo very diſadvantageous to France and himſelf, believed, that he ought not to refuſe, any longer, to be reconciled with the duke of Burgundy; which was the only means to prevent ſo great a misfortune; wherefore, after ſeveral private conferences, between ſome truſty friends of the two princes, a reconciliation, ſo eagerly deſired by all true Frenchmen, was, at length, effected. On the 11th of July, they met, about three miles from Meulant, in the road to Paris, and embraced each other; and then they ſigned a treaty, mutually engaging, 'to love one ano-'ther, like brothers, and jointly to oppoſe 'the damnable enterprize of the Engliſh, the 'antient enemies of the kingdom.

The duke of Burgundy breaks off the conference of Meulant.

This ſtep being taken, the duke of Burgundy no longer deſired the concluſion of the peace, but ſtrenuouſly inſiſted, in the conferences ſtill continued, at Meulant, on the demands of France; moreover, leſt Henry ſhould deſiſt from his objections, he added ſome freſh articles; and, in explaining the third demand of France, he clogged it with

1419. so many reſtrictions, that, in all future caſes, neither Henry, nor his ſucceſſors, kings of England, could ever claim, or acquire, any part of that kingdom; Henry, tho' he, was very willing to renounce his pretenſions to France, as deſcended from Edward III, thought it very unreaſonable to be obliged to extend this renounciation, for himſelf and ſucceſſors, to all caſes that might happen, and could not poſſibly be foreſeen; and he likewiſe complained, that the duke of Burgundy required things that could not be granted, without offending God, and violating his oaths. I cannot imagine, what this was; but, in fine, the duke attacked the king's demands, againſt which he had alledged nothing, before his reconciliation with the dauphin. He affirmed, that they were extravagant, obſcure, ambiguous, and unjuſt, without deſcending to particulars; and he expected, that Henry ſhould accept the offers of France, abſolutely and ſimply, without any explanation; yet, leſt he ſhould be taken at his word, he would not conſent, that the articles, already agreed on, ſhould be committed to writing.

Henry had, hitherto, believed, for what reaſon I know not, that the duke of Burgundy's reconciliation with the dauphin would be no obſtacle to the peace; for we find, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, that, on the 18th of July, ſeven days after their interview, Henry impowered the archbiſhop of Canterbury, to conclude his marriage with the princeſs Catharine. It might be conjectured, that he was ignorant, as yet, of what paſſed, on the 11th, between the dauphin and duke of Burgundy, if a letter, in the ſame Collection did not ſhew, that ſome of his courtiers had received intelligence of it, on the 14th. He was ſo prejudiced, on this occaſion, that, on the 19th, he appointed commiſſioners to prolong the truce; but the duke of Burgundy's new demands, or rather his cavils at the treaty, broke off the conferences, and all went and prepared for war.

Henry takes Pontoiſe.

On the 28th of July, Henry ordered a detachment, headed by the duke of Clarence, to ſtorm Pontoiſe, ; and this enterprize was crowned with the expected ſucceſs. L'Iſle-Adam, the governor, was unexpectedly ſurpriſed and forced to fly, with part of the garriſon; and as the court of France, who reſided, in this town, during the congreſs of Meulant, were gone, but a few days, the Engliſh ſoldiers found it ſtill full of the baggage of the courtiers; for the booty is ſaid to amount to above two millions of crowns.

The poſture of Henry's affairs.

The taking of Pontoiſe opened the king a paſſage to the very gates of Paris; yet the poſture of his affairs was not changed, for the better, ſince the union of the two factions, by which France was divided. Whilſt they were deſtroying one another, an army of 25000 men was ſufficient for the conqueſt of Normandy; for no enemy had appeared, to force him to raiſe his ſieges; and he had been, all along, publickly, or privately, favoured by one of the factions; but, now, he could ſcarce expect, with his own troops alone, to accompliſh his enterpriſe. He deſigned nothing leſs than the conqueſt of the whole kingdom, or, at leaſt, of what England had loſt, ſince the treaty of Bretigny; and yet, after a ſix years war, and in ſuch favourable junctures, he was maſter only of a ſingle province. Beſides, he was ſenſible, his obſtinate continuation of ſo hazardous a war was not univerſally approved by the Engliſh, and that it was openly ſaid, that the conqueſt of France would be the ruin of England. He had alſo juſt received a letter from Bayonne, of the 22d of July, informing him, that a powerful fleet was equipping, in Caſtile, for the dauphin's aſſiſtance; and, ſoon after, he had another from the mayor of the ſame town, acquainting him, that Arragon had declared for the dauphin; that the Caſtilians and Arragonians, having entered Bearn, were ravaging the country, about Bayonne, and ſeemed to have a deſign to beſiege the town; and that the Caſtilian fleet was ordered to ſail for Scotland, and tranſport from thence a body of troops into France, to ſerve under the dauphin. On the other hand, he could not doubt but the Flemings, who had refuſed to ſerve the duke of Burgundy, againſt France, would be ready to obey him, in defence of that kingdom; yet, in ſpite of theſe ſudden and accumulated difficulties, he perſiſted in his firſt reſolution. He had even the aſſurance, to offer king Charles, as a favour, that he would be ſatisfied with what he had demanded, at Meulant, provided Pontoiſe, which he had juſt taken, was confirmed to him; tho' it is undeniable, that he would have been greatly embarraſſed. When he undertook the war, he depended on the diſſenſions of the French; to which were owing the eaſy conqueſts he had, hitherto, made; but, now, he was obliged to undertake, with an inconſiderable army, the conqueſt of a kingdom, of which he yet poſſeſſed but a ſmall part; however, his good fortune, or rather the dauphin's animoſity againſt the duke of Burgundy, happily freed him from this embarraſſment.

The dauphin cauſes the duke of Burgundy to be aſſaſſinated.

At the conference between the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy, they agreed to meet again, on the bridge of Montereau-Faut-Yonne, the 18th of Auguſt, to conſider, how to proſecute the war againſt the Engliſh; but the duke with extreme reluctance went to the place appointed. He appeared to have a ſurmiſe of what was to happen; yet, as a too great diſtruſt might have diſconcerted his meaſures, he reſolved to perform his engagement. Without entering into the particulars, related in all the French hiſtories, I ſhall only ſay, that the dauphin cauſed the duke to be aſſaſſinated, on the very bridge choſen for their interview; I ſay, the dauphin, whatever pains ſome authors have taken to clear him. The deed was done, before his eyes, and at his feet, and he ſtill retained the murderers in his ſervice, who were the principal officers of his houſhold; and this would have ſufficiently proved his guilt, if none of the

1419. the hiſtorians had been ſo faithful, as freely to own, that he was the author of it.

The face of affairs is changed.

This accident ſuddenly changed the poſture of affairs. Probably, the duke of Burgundy, at the time of his death, was well-affected to France; but Philip, his ſon and ſucceſſor, being tranſported with the deſire of revenging his father's death, did not ſcruple to ruin the kingdom, to gratify his paſſion. The ſpeedieſt and moſt effectual means, to attain his ends, was to make a league with the king of England, and queen Iſabella, an inveterate enemy to the dauphin, her ſon; and all the reſt of the year was ſpent in ſecret negotiations, which ended, at laſt, in putting France into the hands of the Engliſh. In the interim, the new duke of Burgundy held the poſt enjoyed by the duke, his father; that is, being maſter of the king's perſon, he was conſidered, as regent, by thoſe who were not in obedience to the dauphin.

The Pariſians apply to Henry.

Since the taking of Pontoiſe, the court of France was removed, on account of the continual inroads of the Engliſh, to the very gates of Paris; and the Pariſians perceived, that they were in manifeſt danger. The duke of Burgundy, wholly engroſſed by revenge, did not provide for the defence of Paris; upon which, the inhabitants thought it their duty to try to prevent their ruin, by an agreement with Henry; and there were ſeveral negotiations, the reſult of which was a ſeparate truce for Paris, from the 20th to the 25th of November. This afforded but ſmall comfort to the Pariſians; yet, as the treaty, between the king and the duke of Burgundy, was going to be concluded, that they had no occaſion for a longer truce, ſince they were to be included in it; moreover, Henry did not intend to deprive himſelf of the advantage, which the neighbourhood of Pontoiſe gave him upon the Pariſians, if the treaty, he was negotiating with the duke of Burgundy, ſhould be broken, by ſome unforeſeen accident. After the duke of Burgundy's death, couriers and envoys continually paſſed, between the king and the new duke; and Henry did not refuſe to make the ſame alliance with him, as with the deceaſed; but, having been circumvented by the father, unwilling to run the hazard of being deceived by the ſon, before he joined with him againſt the dauphin, he reſolved to ſecure a peace with king Charles.

Henry claims the crown of France.

At the congreſs of Meulant, Henry had limited his pretenſions to the articles of the treaty of Bretigny, with the addition of Normandy; but, tho', after the conferences, he had made a ſhow of inſiſting on theſe terms, without relaxation, it may be preſumed, that, if the duke of Burgundy's murder had not very ſeaſonably happened, he would have conſiderably lowered his demands; at leaſt, the poſture of affairs would have left him no room, to hope to compel France ever to grant him ſo great advantages; but, now, being earneſtly courted by queen Iſabella, and the new duke of Burgundy, he did not doubt but it was in his power, to impoſe upon France what terms he pleaſed. He forgot, therefore, his offers, at Meulant, and reſumed his former pretenſions to the crown of France, with the condition that Charles VI. ſhould be king, during his life; and theſe are the articles he propoſed, as a foundation for peace. 1419.

Preliminary articles of the peace. Act. Pub.

I. That he ſhould marry the princeſs Catharine, without any charge to her relations, or the kingdom.

II. That he would not interrupt king Charles in the enjoyment of the crown, or poſſeſſion of the revenues of the kingdom, during his life; and that his queen Iſabella ſhould alſo enjoy, during her life, the rights annexed to her dignity.

III. That, upon the death of king Charles, the crown of France ſhould deſcend to the king of England and his heirs, for ever.

IV. That, becauſe of king Charles's infirmity, which rendered him incapable of governing, the king of England ſhould act, as regent, during the life of the king, his father-in-law.

V. That the princes, nobles, corporations, burgeſſes, &c. ſhould ſwear to the king of England, as regent, and oblige themſelves, by the ſame oath, to own him, for ſovereign, upon the deceaſe of king Charles.

VI. That, for ſecurity of the performance of theſe articles, the king of France ſhould give the king of England his letters patent, under his great ſeal; and that he ſhould cauſe the like letters of approbation to be given him by the queen, the duke of Burgundy, the nobles, &c. in clear and expreſs terms, as ſhould be agreed on by the parties.

VII. That the king of England would give, and cauſe to be given, the like letters.

Henry's pretenſions being, thus, ſettled, in theſe few fundamental articles, the duke of Burgundy ſigned letters patent, by which he approved of theſe articles, as good, beneficial, reaſonable, and conducive to the welfare of France and all Chriſtendom; then a general truce was publiſhed, from the 24th of December to the 1ſt of March; and, as ſoon as the affair, relating to the peace, was ended, the plenipotentiaries of the king and the duke of Burgundy ſigned a private treaty of alliance, containing the ſix following articles.

The treaty between Henry and the duke of Burgundy. Act. Pub.

I. That one of the king's brothers ſhould eſpouſe a ſiſter of the duke of Burgundy.

II. That the king and duke ſhould love and aſſiſt each other, like brothers.

III. That they ſhould jointly endeavour to puniſh the dauphin, and his accomplices in the late duke of Burgundy's murder.

IV. That, if the dauphin, or any of the murderers, were taken priſoners, they ſhould not be releaſed, without the duke of Burgundy's conſent.

V. That the king of England ſhould cauſe to be aſſigned to the duke, and his dutcheſs, daughter of king Charles, lands adjoining to his demeſnes in France, of the yearly value of 20,000 livres, to be held, in fee, of the crown; and that letters, under the great ſeal, ſhould

1419. ſhould be granted, for that purpoſe, which the king of England ſhould confirm, when in poſſeſſion of the regency *.

VI. That, if any perſon, hereafter, under the pretence of being married to a daughter of France, ſhould claim the like aſſignment of lands, the duke ſhould aſſiſt the king, to the utmoſt of his power, to prevent it.

1420. This treaty was ratified by the two princes, in the beginning of January, 1420.

Though the peace was not yet ſigned, it was conſidered as concluded, ſince the terms were ſettled; and Henry was ſo ſecure of it, that, January the 24th, that is, four months before the ſigning of the treaty, he promiſed, by his letters patent, to maintain the Pariſians in their privileges, when king of France.

In the interim, as it was neceſſary to draw the articles agreed on, in the moſt exact form, and to avoid all obſcure and ambiguous expreſſions, it required ſome time; which occaſioned the truce to be often prolonged; and, during that interval, Henry had ambaſſadors, at Troye, to draw up the treaty of peace, jointly with the duke of Burgundy. For the greater precaution, it was firſt digeſted, like preliminary articles, that every one might examine what was to be added, retrenched, or explained; and then Charles confirmed all the articles, by his letters patent, dated April the 9th. It is remarkable, that, by the XXI, Henry was to ſwear, that, on no occaſion whatever, during the life of king Charles, he would aſſume the title of king of France; and yet, in the Collection of the Publick acts, there is one of his ordinances, dated April 18, for coining new money, in Normandy, with an H on one ſide, and theſe words round it: "Sit "Nomen Domini Benedictum;" and on the other, "Henricus Francorum Rex †.

Henry takes the title of king of France on a new coin.

The preliminaries being approved, an interview between the two kings was agreed on, for ſwearing and ſigning the treaty, ſomewhere near Troye: But Henry, afterwards, conſented, thatit ſhould be in Troye itſelf. As king Charles was not fit to appear, in publick, the queen and the duke of Burgundy were impowered to ſwear the peace, in his name; and Henry, arriving at Troye ‡, May the 20th, found there the king of France, the queen, and the princeſs Catharine, to whom he preſented a ring of great value. On the morrow, the treaty was ſigned, and ſworn, with the uſual formalities; and, the ſame day, Henry was betrothed to the princeſs; but the marriage was not conſummated, till the 2d of June. The ſubſtance of this famous treaty was, as follows:

Henry comes to Troye, ſigns the treaty, and betroths Catharine.

The TREATY of TROYE.

The treaty of Troye.

'I. THE king of England, now, ſon †† to the king of France, by his marriage with the princeſs Catharine, ſhall honour the king and queen of France, as his father and mother, &c. 1420.

'II. He ſhall not interrupt the king of France, during his life, in the quiet poſſeſſion of the royal dignity, and revenues of the crown; and queen Iſabella alſo, whilſt ſhe lives, ſhall enjoy the royal dignity, with the rents, revenues, honours, and prerogatives belonging to the queen of France.

'III. Queen Catharine ſhall have, for her dowry, in England, 40,000 crowns per annum, according to the uſual cuſtom of the queens of that nation.

'IV. This dowry ſhall be ſo ſettled upon her, that ſhe may enjoy it, from the day of the king her husband's deceaſe.

'V. If ſhe ſurvive Henry, there ſhall be paid to her, out of France, a yearly revenue of 20,000 livres, to be raiſed upon the lands belonging formerly to queen Blanche, wife to Philip.

'VI. After the death of king Charles, the crown of France, with all its rights and dominions, ſhall remain to the king of England and his heirs.

'VII. As the king of France is often rendered, by his infirmity, incapable of reigning, the king of England ſhall, from this day, be regent of the kingdom, and govern it, with juſtice and equity, with the advice of the princes, peers, barons, and nobles of the kingdom.

'VIII. The parliament of Paris ſhall be maintained, in their juriſdiction over the places ſubject to the king.

'IX. The king of England ſhall preſerve the privileges, rights, liberties, immunities, and cuſtoms of the peers, nobles, communities, and of all the king's ſubjects, in general.

'X. Juſtice ſhall be adminiſtered, according to the laws, cuſtoms, and uſages of the kingdom.

'XI. All the offices, both civil and military, ſhall be filled with perſons duly qualified, according to the laws of the realm.

'XII. The king of England ſhall do all that is poſſible, to reduce to the obedience of the king all the provinces, cities, and towns, which have joined the party, commonly called the dauphin's or Armagnac's.

'XIII. All the princes, peers, barons, nobles, ſtates, both ſpiritual and temporal, cities, communities, burghers, &c. ſhall ſwear, 1. Punctually to obſerve, what ſhall be enjoined by the two kings and the preſent queen. 2. To obey the king of England, as regent. 3. To own him, after the death of king Charles, for their lawful ſovereign, and to obey none but him. 4. Not to aſſiſt, with their advice or conſent, any conſpiracy againſt his perſon, and to diſcover to him all ſuch plots as ſhall come to their knowledge.

* ---- "Quamprimum ad coronam & dignitatem regalem Franciæ pervenerit. Rymer's Fœd.
† There are ſome of theſe pieces ſtill in being, in the cabinets of the curious. Rapin.
‡ In his journey thither, he wore a crown, on his helmet, and bore for his device a fox's tail embroidered. Goodwin.
†† Noſter præchariſſimus filius Henricus, rex Angliæ, hæres Franciæ.

'XIV. All

1420. ‘ XIV. All the conqueſts made, hereafter, ‘ in France, Normandy excepted, ſhall be ap- ‘ plied to the uſe of the preſent king; and all ‘ the lands and lordſhips, that ſhall be con- ‘ quered, ſhall be reſtored to their true pro- ‘ prietors, if they are in obedience to the ‘ king, and have ſworn to obſerve the preſent ‘ treaty.

‘ XV. All the eccleſiaſticks of Normandy, ‘ ſubject to the king of England, and obedi- ‘ ent to king Charles, or that are of the Bur- ‘ gundian party, upon ſwearing the preſent ‘ treaty, ſhall enjoy their benefices, as well in ‘ Normandy, as elſewhere.

‘ XVI. All the Norman eccleſiaſticks, ‘ holding benefices, in France, ſhall be con- ‘ tinued in them, upon the ſame terms.

‘ XVII. The univerſities and colleges, both ‘ in Normandy and France, ſhall be preſerved ‘ in their rights and privileges, on the foreſaid ‘ conditions, ſaving to the crown of France its ‘ prerogatives.

‘ XVIII. When the king of England ſhall ‘ come to the crown of France, Normandy ‘ and all his other conqueſts ſhall be united to ‘ the crown.

‘ XIX. If the king of England has already ‘ diſpoſed, in Normandy, of any lands, re- ‘ venues, or poſſeſſions, belonging to any of ‘ the Burgundian party, they ſhall have an ‘ equivalent, in France, out of the lands of ‘ the rebels; and, if they, do not receive this ‘ equivalent, before the ſaid king is poſſeſſed ‘ of the crown of France, he promiſes to give ‘ it, when he aſcends the throne; but what ‘ he has not diſpoſed of ſhall be reſtored to ‘ the proprietors, purſuant to article XIV.

‘ XX. All the publick acts ſhall run, in ‘ king Charles's name; yet, as ſome unfore- ‘ ſeen caſes may render it neceſſary for the ‘ king of England to diſpatch orders, then it ‘ ſhall be lawful for him to join his name, ‘ as regent, with that of the preſent king.

‘ XXI. The king of England ſhall, on no ‘ occaſion, during the life of king Charles, aſ- ‘ ſume the title of king of France.

‘ XXII. In the publick acts, the king of ‘ France, mentioning the king of England, ‘ ſhall uſe this form, “ Our moſt dear ſon, ‘ Henry, king of England, heir of France.”

‘ XXIII. The king of England ſhall lay ‘ no taxes on the French, but what are rea- ‘ ſonable, and for the good of the publick, ‘ according to the laws and cuſtoms of the ‘ realm.

‘ XXIV. When he himſelf, or any of his ‘ heirs, ſhall come to the crown of France, ‘ the two kingdoms of France and England ‘ ſhall be, for ever, united, under one prince. ‘ There ſhall not be a king, in each kingdom; ‘ but the ſame king ſhall be ſovereign of both ‘ realms, yet without ſubjecting one to the ‘ other; but the laws and liberties of each ‘ kingdom ſhall be preſerved diſtinct and in- ‘ violable.

‘ XXV. Friendſhip and a good under- ‘ ſtanding ſhall, for the future, be eſtabliſhed, ‘ between France and England; and they ‘ ſhall aſſiſt each other, with all their power. 1420.

‘ XXVI. All the allies of the two crowns, ‘ that, in eight months, ſhall deſire it, may be ‘ included in the preſent treaty, reſerving to ‘ both kings, and their ſubjects, all rights, ‘ actions, and remedies, with reſpect to thoſe ‘ allies *.

‘ XXVII. The officers and domeſticks of ‘ the preſent king ſhall be French, or born ‘ in countries where the French language is ‘ ſpoken †, and ſhall be wiſe and well-qualified ‘ perſons; and the king, his ſon, with the ‘ advice of the duke of Burgundy, ſhall make ‘ an honourable proviſion for the maintenance ‘ of the king's perſon, ſuitable to his royal ‘ dignity.

‘ XXVIII. He ſhall keep his reſidence, in ‘ ſome conſiderable place within his own do- ‘ minions, and not be confined to an obſcure ‘ retreat.

‘ XXIX. On account of the crimes com- ‘ mitted by Charles, who ſtiles himſelf Dau- ‘ phin de Viennois, it is agreed, that no ‘ peace ſhall be made with him, without the ‘ unanimous conſent of the two kings and the ‘ duke of Burgundy.

‘ XXX. To ſecure the performance of theſe ‘ articles, letters, under the great ſeal, ſhall ‘ be given to the king of England by the king ‘ of France; and the queen, the duke of Bur- ‘ gundy, the princes of the blood, peers, ‘ nobles, towns, cities, communities, ſubject ‘ to the king, and all, in general, of whom ‘ the king of England ſhall require it, ſhall ‘ give the like letters of approbation.

‘ XXXI. The king of England ſhall alſo ‘ give the ſame, for himſelf, the princes, his ‘ brothers, the reſt of the princes of the ‘ blood, and others, as the king of France ‘ ſhall require.

Given, at Troye, May the 21ſt, in the year of our lord, 1420, and of king Charles, the 40th.

The marriage being conſummated, June the 2d, the two courts ſet out together, next morning, for Sens, which was now inveſted; but, this place holding out, only 10 or 12 days, the army marched to Montereau, where the duke of Burgundy was murdered, and took the town, in a ſhort time; and the duke of Burgundy, finding there the body of his father, very indecently buried, in his doublet, ordered it to be removed to Dijon. Sens is taken. Act. Pub.

About the middle of July, the army beſieged Melun, which was defended by the lord de Barbazan, the governor, four months. The king of England, with his army, was lodged, on the ſide of the town, towards Gatinois; and the duke of Burgundy, with his troops, on the ſide next La Brie. This ſiege became famous, by the brave defence of the beſieged, who repulſed ſeveral aſſaults; but famine, at laſt, compelled them to capitulate,

* Henry probably inſerted this obſcure reſervation, with reſpect to Scotland. Rapin.

† This was not to exclude the inhabitants of the provinces belonging to the king of England, as Normans &c. Rap.

1420. about the middle of November. A French hiſtorian affirms, that the capitulation was not obſerved, by which the garriſon were to have their lives, without ranſom, except ſuch as were concerned in the murder of the duke of Burgundy; whereas, inſtead of being permitted to depart, they were impriſoned, at Paris, and ſtarved to death. To judge of the truth of this fact, it is neceſſary to ſee the articles of ſurrender, and to know, whether thoſe, carried to Paris, were not expreſly excepted; but it is more probable, they were really of this number, becauſe the ſame author ſays, that the king and the duke of Burgundy demanded 24 hoſtages, by name; and that theſe hoſtages were conveighed to Paris, with as many more as could be ſeized. This ſeems to ſhew, that the garriſon were releaſed, and none but private perſons ſeized, who might be ſuſpected, as well as the hoſtages, of being concerned in the duke of Burgundy's death; but, however that be, as Henry ought not to be excuſed, for a breach of faith, ſo neither ought too raſh credit be given to a ſingle hiſtorian, who appears, in other reſpects, extremely partial againſt Henry, and even does not refrain from abuſive language. After the ſurrender of Melun, the two courts returned to Paris; where the two kings made their entry together, on the firſt Sunday in Advent, and the queen's, the next day.

The ſtates of France confirm the peace of Troye. Act. Pub.

In the beginning of December, the ſtates-general met, at Paris; and king Charles, on the 6th, repreſented to them, that, of his own free will, he had made a peace with the king of England, being perſuaded it would be beneficial to France, and deſired them to confirm it, by their authority. The king's declaration, in his preſent condition, was not a ſufficient reaſon, to prevail on the ſtates to ratify a peace, which, in their judgment, violated the moſt ſacred rights of the kingdom, to ſet the crown on the head of a foreign prince; but, in their own circumſtances, it was hardly in their power to examine the conſequences, or freely to ſpeak their minds; and, therefore, it was unanimouſly reſolved, that the peace of Troye ſhould be obſerved, and held as a publick law; and that all the French ſhould be obliged to take the oaths mentioned in the treaty. This is an improper place to examine Henry's pretenſions to the crown of France; they were the ſame that were formerly advanced by Edward III, which I have copiouſly related, in the Hiſtory of his reign; but, however, it may be ſaid, that, when the French ſwore to this peace, they thought it very unjuſt; and, conſequently, little ſtreſs could be laid on oaths, which they conſidered, as involuntary. Accordingly, they, afterwards, diſregarded them; and yet Henry, with all his policy, depended on theſe extorted promiſes, as if the French, then living, had been more ſcrupulous, than thoſe who had ſworn to the treaty of Bretigny.

On the 23d of the ſame month, king Charles's council being ſummoned, on that account, the duke of Burgundy, in a mourning habit, demanded juſtice againſt the murderers of the duke, his father; and Mezerai affirms, that the dauphin was ſolemnly called to the marble-table *, and, not appearing, was attainted and convicted of cauſing the duke of Burgundy to be killed; pronounced unworthy of all inheritance, particularly of the ſucceſſion to the crown; and baniſhed the realm, for ever. It is ſcarce credible, that ſuch a hiſtorian would advance ſuch a fact, without good authority; and yet this ſentence, extant in the Collection of the Publick Acts, mentions neither the ſucceſſion to the crown, nor the baniſhment of the dauphin; for the ſentence is general, againſt all the murderers of the duke of Burgundy, without naming the dauphin, or his accomplices, at leaſt, in the Purvieu. Indeed, in the preamble, notice is taken of the treaty, between the dauphin and duke of Burgundy; and it is afterwards ſaid, that the duke was killed by him; which words, By him, evidently relate to the dauphin, named a few lines before; and yet it is manifeſt, that the ſentence was ſo worded, that the dauphin was included only in the general notion of the murderers of the duke of Burgundy; and, conſequently, it was not natural to ſpeak of the ſucceſſion to the crown; ſo that, probably, Mezerai had more regard to the intent of the decree, than to the words themſelves.

1420. The ſentence upon the murderers of the duke of Burgundy. Act. Pub.

The dauphin appeals, to God and his ſword. Paradin.

The dauphin, finding that all ſorts of means were uſed to deprive him of the crown, appealed to God and his ſword, from whatever had been, hitherto, or ſhould be, for the future, tranſacted againſt him, in the name of the king, his father; and, ſtill aſſuming the title of regent, as ſuch, he removed the parliament and univerſity of Paris, to Poictiers, where ſome of the members of both theſe bodies repaired. Thus, were ſeen, at the ſame time, in France, two kings, two queens, two regents, all the officers of the crown double, ſeven or eight marſhals of France, on each ſide, two parliaments, and two univerſities of Paris.

1421. France is divided between two factions.

If Henry was declared regent, and heir of France, it was only by the Burgundian faction; for the dauphin had ſtill a powerful party, who, far from ſubmitting to the peace of Troye, maintained, that, tho' the king had been free, and in perfect health, he could not diſpoſe of the crown to Henry, much leſs, being diſtempered, and a captive. The provinces diſtant from Paris, not being overawed by the Engliſh arms, for the moſt part, adhered to the dauphin; and even the country, about the metropolis, was divided. In the ſame province, ſome places were for the Engliſh, and others for the lawful heir to the crown; ſo that, notwithſtanding the peace, the war was ſtill continued, ſince the two kings were under a neceſſity of expelling the dauphin out of all the towns and provinces he poſſeſſed; which was a difficult task, tho' the union of the Engliſh forces, with the Burgundian party, gave them a great ſuperiority.

* A court of juſtice, in France, eſtabliſhed, at Paris and ſome other places, conſiſting of a preſident and ſeven counſellors; from which there is no appeal. Boulainvilliers Etat de France.

Guienne,

1421. A pardon is granted to the Gaſcoign rebels.

Guienne, part of which was ſubject to Henry, was alſo a very conſiderable advantage, as it kept in awe the provinces beyond the Loire; tho', till the death of Armagnac, the conſtable, this province had rather been a charge, than a benefit to the Engliſh; for there was a conſtant occaſion for a ſtanding army, to defend it againſt the continual attempts of the party, that had declared for France, about the end of the reign of Edward III. The houſes of Armagnac and Albret, who were at the head of this party, had given Henry great uneaſineſs, eſpecially, after the earl of Armagnac was entruſted with the management of the publick affairs; but, upon the death of that lord, the heads of the party thought fit, as I ſaid, to make a truce with Henry, that they might not favour the duke of Burgundy, by their diverſion. After the treaty of Troye, they ſued for peace, believing that they could no longer reſiſt; and Henry, expecting great advantages from the quiet poſſeſſion of Guienne, readily received them into favour, and granted them letters of pardon, upon their renouncing, by a publick inſtrument, the appeal of their anceſtors to the court of the peers of France, in the time of Edward III. Some affirm, that, by the peace of Troye, Guienne was to be united to the crown of France, upon the deceaſe of Charles VI; but, in the treaty of Troye, there is not the leaſt mention of Guienne; and it manifeſtly appears, from what has been related, that Henry had no ſuch intention; for it is rather evident, that he founded on the treaty of Bretigny his preſerving, as king of England, the ſovereignty of Guienne, independent on the crown of France.

Henry returns to England.

Henry, having ſettled his affairs, in France, ſo glorioufly, for himſelf and his country, reſolved to return into England, where three things required his preſence: Firſt, his queen's coronation; ſecondly, the confirmation of the peace of Troye by the parliament, and the demand of a ſubſidy, to enable him vigorouſly to carry on the war againſt the dauphin; and, laſtly, the neceſſity of concerting ſome meaſures againſt the Scots, who had ſent ſuccours to his enemy, under the earl of Buchan, the regent's ſon. Upon leaving France, Henry gave the command of his troops to the duke of Clarence, his brother; and then he embarqued, with his queen, and ſafely arrived, in England, about the end of February. A few days after, the queen was crowned; and a parliament was ſummoned to meet, at Leiceſter, the 2d of May.

Whilſt the people were employed, in chuſing their repreſentatives, the king took a progreſs into ſeveral counties, and continued ſome weeks, at York; deſigning, under the pretence of ſhowing the queen the country, to procure, by his preſence, elections of members attached to his intereſt,; for he was ſenſible of the nation's diſcontent, at being obliged to bear the expences of the conqueſt of France. According to ſome, Henry, during this progreſs, iſſued out a proclamation, prohibiting the admiſſion of eccleſiaſticks into benefices, by the pope's proviſions, contrary to the rights of the patrons; but it is more probable, that this proclamation was not publiſhed, till after the parliament of Leiceſter, purſuant to an act made for that purpoſe. However that be, it was a mortal blow to the court of Rome, to whom the clauſe of Non-obſtante, ſo frequently uſed by the popes, became fruitleſs, at leaſt, with reſpect to the collation of benefices. 1421.

The duke of Clarence is ſlain.

Before the meeting of the parliament, the king received the melancholy news, that the duke of Clarence, his brother, was ſlain, April the 3d, in a battle in Anjou. The duke had led 10,000 men into that province, to reduce it in ſubjection to Henry; but, whilſt he was engaged in this expedition, he heard, that the earl of Buchan, with 7000 Scots, had entered the province, and was encamped, at Bauge; and he had, at the ſame time, falſe intelligence, that the vanguard of the Scotch army was ſo far from the main body, that it would be eaſy to rout them, provided they were ſpeedily attacked. Upon this information, he haſtily headed his horſe, leaving the earl of Salisbury orders to follow him, with the reſt of the army; and, when he came to Bauge, he found, indeed, ſome Scotch troops intrenched in the church-yard. He charged them, immediately, and diſmounted, in order to head his troops; but ſo much time was ſpent, in forcing the Scots from this poſt, that the earl of Buchan had leiſure to come to their relief. Then the duke, remounting his horſe, furiouſly attacked the new-comers, notwithſtanding the inequality of his forces; and he gave proofs of an uncommon valour; but, at length, being overpowered by numbers, and unable to bear the thoughts of retreating, he was wounded, in the face, by a Scotch knight *, and killed by the earl of Buchan himſelf. His death occaſioned an entire defeat of the Engliſh horſe, of which 1500 were ſlain, and many taken priſoners; and, among the former, were the earl of Kent, the lords Grey and Roſs, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction; but the earl of Salisbury, tho' he was unable to advance, in time, to aſſiſt the duke of Clarence, had the ſatisfaction to recover from the enemy the body of the prince, which he ſent to the king, his brother.

The advantage, gained by the Scots, rendered the king's preſence neceſſary, in France; yet he had no leſs urgent affairs, in England. The parliament meeting, the 2d of May, readily ratified the peace of Troye ſo glorious to England; and they granted a ſubſidy, for proſecuting the war againſt the dauphin; but, at the ſame time, they preſented to him a petition, in which he was told, that it was but too true, that the conqueſt of France proved the ruin of England. To obtain this aid, the king had laid before the parliament a ſtate of the revenues and expences of the crown; and

* Sir John Swinton. Buchan.

this

1421. this account, a fragment whereof is inſerted, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, ſhews, that the king's revenue amounted only to 55743 l. ſterling; and that the ordinary expences conſumed 52235 l. ſo that there remained no more than 3508 l. to provide for a dozen extraordinary articles, mentioned in the account. The parliament's petition could not but be extremely diſagreeable to the king; for, as one half of France was ſtill unconquered, and the provinces ſubject to the king were ſo exhauſted, that there was no proſpect of drawing, from thence, the neceſſary ſupplies, for carrying on the war, the burden was ſtill to fall upon England; but the parliament grew weary of furniſhing money, at a juncture when it was more neceſſary, than ever, on account of the diverſion, with which the Scots threatened the kingdom.

The affairs of Scotland, with reſpect to England, ſince the beginning of this reign. Buchanan.

I have deferred, till now, to ſpeak of the affairs of Scotland, becauſe, ſince the acceſſion of Henry V. to the throne of England, nothing had paſſed, in Scotland, worthy to interrupt the thread of the Hiſtory; but, at preſent, it will be requiſite briefly to mention them, to give light to the ſequel. We have ſeen, in the late reign, that, in 1406, James Stuart, then prince of Scotland, was detained, in England, and, ſoon after, became king of Scotland, by the death of his father; but this new dignity was ſo far from redounding to his advantage, that it rather cauſed him to be more ſtrictly guarded. The duke of Albany, his uncle, having aſſumed the regency, was too well pleaſed with it, to endeavour effectually to procure his liberty; for, tho' he, every year, ſent ambaſſadors into England, under colour of ſolliciting the releaſe of the king, his nephew, it was the fartheſt from his thoughts. The principal motive of theſe frequent ambaſſies was, to negotiate the exchange of the earl of Fife, his ſon, for young Piercy, ſon to the earl of Northumberland; the former of whom had been priſoner, in England, ever ſince the battle of Halidon; and the latter was ſeized, in Scotland, by way of repriſal for the king. This exchange was effected; and yet the ambaſſies were no leſs frequent, ever under the pretence of treating about the young king's freedom; but, in reality, to influence the king of England, to detain him in priſon. Buchanan affirms, it was on condition the regent would engage not to moleſt Henry, by diverſions in favour of France; otherwiſe the Scots would never have ſo peaceably ſeen France attacked by the Engliſh. In the interim, as, to induce the Scots to remain quiet, contrary to their intereſt, it was neceſſary to give them ſome ſeeming ſatisfaction, the regent publickly and preſſingly demanded the liberty of the king, his nephew; but Henry knew, that he ſhould diſoblige him, in granting his demand; and the difficulties, he raiſed in this affair, were a certain means, to prevent diverſions from the Scots.

Act. Pub. In 1415, whilſt Henry was preparing to paſs into France, he received intelligence from the northern frontiers, that the Scots were reſolved to beſiege Berwick, with 60,000 men; upon which, the duke of Bedford had orders, to levy an army; but it does not appear, either that the Scots did, then, beſiege Berwick, or that the duke marched againſt them. The Engliſh hiſtorians relate, that the king, upon the foreſaid advice, called a council, to deliberate, whether it was adviſable to relinquiſh the project againſt France, and heartily apply to the conqueſt of Scotland; and that it was reſolved, that the firſt deſign ſhould be purſued. This is poſſible; but, very probably, the king was then agreed with the duke of Albany; and the rumour of the invaſion, and the meeting of the council, in England, was only to induce the Scots to believe, that the regent acted, with ſincerity; and, indeed, we do not find, in the Hiſtory of Scotland, the leaſt ſigns of ſuch a conſiderable armament, in 1415, or of a reſolution to beſiege Berwick; moreover, that very year, a truce was concluded, between the two kingdoms, whilſt all Henry's forces were employed, in France. In a word, Buchanan affirms, that it cannot be ſaid, that, during the whole reign of Henry V, there was any war between England and Scotland, all the hoſtilities being only mere roberies; and he alledges, as a reaſon, that the duke of Albany took care not to diſoblige the king of England, leſt the king of Scotland ſhould be releaſed. However, Henry was apprehenſive, that it would not always be in the regent's power to keep the Scots quiet, who were ſo greatly concerned to prevent the ruin of France; and it was, doubtleſs, on this account, that, in 1416, he gave king James leave to paſs, ſome time, in his own kingdom, having taken ſecurity, for his return; for he hoped, that this journey would create, between the uncle and his nephew, ſuch diſſenſions, as would divert the Scots from all thoughts of aſſiſting France.

1421.

The affairs of Scotland continued, in the ſame poſture, till 1419, when the dauphin ſent thither the duke of Vendoſme, to deſire aſſiſtance; but, the ſtates being aſſembled, on this occaſion, the regent could not prevent the decreeing a levy of 7000 men, which were ſent into France, under the command of the earl of Buchan; and, the victory that general gained over the duke of Clarence, at Bauge, procured him the ſword of conſtable of France.

Henry was concerned, to ſee the Scots declare ſo openly for the dauphin; and, perceiving, either that the duke of Albany had not the ſame credit, as formerly, or, had altered his maxims, to diſconcert the meaſures of the dauphin's adherents, in Scotland, he judged it neceſſary to gain the king of Scotland to his intereſt, and make him his inſtrument; which was partly his deſign, in returning to England. Upon his arrival, he repreſented to that prince, that it was his own fault, if he was not releaſed, provided he would uſe his authority, to recall his ſubjects, who were in the ſervice of France, and join with him againſt the dauphin; and James, paſſionately longing for liberty, after 15 years captivity, very readily complied with Henry's deſires.

1421. deſires. A private agreement was, therefore, made, between theſe two princes, the articles whereof are unknown, except one, namely, that James ſhould accompany Henry into France, and ſtay with him, until the end of the war. Accordingly, James attended him into France; but, when he commanded the earl of Buchan to return into Scotland, the earl replied, he did not think himſelf obliged to obey him, whilſt he was in the power of others; for which reaſon, Henry, thenceforward, treated, as rebels, all the Scots that fell into his hands.

Henry, having finiſhed the affairs which called him into England, left his queen there, great with child; and, appointing the duke of Bedford, his brother, regent, in his abſence, he returned into France, where his preſence was neceſſary. He ſailed, the 10th of June, with a new-raiſed army, amounting, according to ſome, to 4000 men at arms, and 24000 archers; and, arriving at Calais, he ſent ſeveral detachments to take ſome caſtles, ſtill held by the dauphin, in Picardy. He likewiſe ordered a conſiderable body to march to the relief of the duke of Exeter, who was almoſt blocked up, in Paris; and then, marching himſelf, with the reſt of the army, he came to Bois de Vincennes, from whence he went and joined his father-in-law, at Paris.

A few days after, he heard, that the dauphin, was before Chartres, and began to batter the town; and deſiring nothing more earneſtly, than to decide the quarrel, by a battle, he, forthwith, aſſembled his troops, and marched directly to Chartres; but his forces were ſo ſuperior, that the dauphin did not think fit to expect him. Henry purſued him, with all poſſible expedition; but, perceiving he could not overtake him, he attacked Dreux, which ſurrendered, upon terms. It is ſaid, that, during this ſiege, a hermit boldly reproached him with the calamities, brought on France by his ambition, and threatened him with the judgments of God; and ſome add, that Henry's death, which fell out, the next year, was a proof of the hermit's inſpiration; but ſuch conſequences are not always juſt.

Henry takes Dreux. Monſtrelet. Elmham.

He returns to Paris.

After the ſiege of Dreux, the army being ſeized with the flux, Henry ſent his troops into ſummer-quarters, and refreſhed himſelf, at Paris; but he re-aſſembled them, in October, to beſiege Meaux, though the ſeaſon was not very fit for ſuch an undertaking. Mezerai and ſome others are miſtaken, in ſaying, that this ſiege was laid, before the king went to England; for it is evident, that it was not begun, till four months after his return *. The ſame hiſtorian adds, that this place held out, three months; but he ſhould have ſaid, ſeven, ſince the ſiege commenced, the 6th of October, 1421, and did not end, till the 2d of May, 1422. It is true, as the town was divided into two parts, viz. the town and the market-place †, the firſt was taken, by 1421. ſtorm, during the winter; but the market-place held out, till May.

Whilſt the king was employed in the ſiege of Meaux, he received the agreeable news of his queen's being ſafely delivered, at Windſor, of a prince, named Henry; the duke of Bedford and the biſhop of Wincheſter ſtood godfathers, and Jacquelina, counteſs of Hainault, godmother. This princeſs, who had united, under her dominion, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Friſeland, was married, firſt, to 1422. John, duke of Touraine, ſecond ſon to the king of France; but, this prince dying, in 1416, ſhe eſpouſed John, duke of Brabant, couſin-german to the duke of Burgundy. She was ſoon tired of her ſecond husband, and, under the pretence of their being too nearly related, formed a deſign to have the marriage annulled; and, with this view, ſhe procured ſome knights to carry her away, and conveigh her into England, that ſhe might act more freely. This pretended rape was no ſecret to Henry, ſince we find, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, a ſafe conduct for this princeſs; moreover, at her arrival in England, he aſſigned her a monthly penſion of 100 l. ſterling; for his intent was to marry her to the duke of Glouceſter, and, by that means, put him in poſſeſſion of four of the nobleſt provinces of the Low-Countries. The duke of Burgundy was extremely offended at the king's diſregard for the duke of Brabant, his couſin, in protecting Jaquelina, in his dominions; which affront, in his opinion, reflected upon himſelf. Beſides, it was his intereſt that Jaquelina ſhould not be divorced from the duke of Brabant; yet Henry, preferring the duke of Glouceſter's intereſt to that of the duke of Burgundy, ſeemed to overlook the occaſion of complaint given that prince.

The birth of prince Henry. Walſing.

Henry was extremely deſirous of advancing his two brothers, who were both princes of great merit, and with whom he was well pleaſed; for, in 1419, there was a ſecret negotiation, between him and Joan, queen of Naples, who, being preſſed by her enemies, promiſed to adopt the duke of Bedford, and declare him her ſole heir; and, this project failing, upon that queen's affairs taking a new turn, Henry would have obtained, for the duke of Bedford, the only daughter of Frederick, burgrave of Nuremberg, and, afterwards, a daughter of the duke of Lorrain. At the ſame time, he treated of a marriage, between the duke of Glouceſter and Blanche of Navarre, queen dowager of Sicily; and, in fine, an opportunity offering to procure, for this prince, Jacquelina, counteſs of Hainault, he readily embraced it, as this match could not but be beneficial to England; but, as her marriage with the duke of Brabant was firſt to be annulled, this affair could not be accompliſhed, before the king's death.

The king projects marriages for his brothers. Act. Pub.

It was not, till the beginning of May, 1422, that the beſieged of the market-place of Meaux

The taking of Meaux Act. Pub.

* Juvenal des Urſins, in his Hiſtory of Charles VI, led Mezerai into this error. Rapin.

† Where the caſtle ſtood, on the top of a rock.

1422. desired to capitulate; but they could obtain no other terms, than to be priſoners of war. The king even excepted all the Engliſh, Iriſh, and Scots, and all that were concerned in the murder of the duke of Burgundy; alſo all thoſe that had any towns, or caſtles, in their power, till they were ſurrendered. In fine, he reſerved four officers of the garriſon, namely, Lewis du Guaſt, Dennis de Vaurus, the baſtard of Vaurus, and another, to be proſecuted, according to the juſtice of the laws; Du Guaſt was beheaded, but the other three ſuffered a more ignominious death; and the baſtard of Vaurus was hanged on a certain tree, from him named the Tree of Vaurus, becauſe he had hanged on it many Burgundians, to revenge the death of the earl of Armagnac. This was a rigorous capitulation; which gave the beſieged cauſe to repent of their obſtinacy, when, probably, they had no proſpect of being relieved.

The taking of Meaux. Act. Pub.

Queen Catharine returns to France. Walſing. Act. Pub.

About this time, queen Catharine arrived from England, attended by the duke of Bedford, who left the regency to the duke of Glouceſter, his brother; and, the two courts joining, at Bois de Vincennes, went, ſoon after, to keep the Whitſun-holidays, at Paris. Henry lodged in the Louvre, and Charles in the palace of St. Pol, where he had but a ſmall court; whilſt that of the regent-king was numerous and ſplendid. On Whitſunday, they dined together, in publick, the two kings and queens, with crowns on their heads; but thoſe of the French, who had yet any remains of regard for their country, could not, without grief, behold the king of England, tho' paying an outward deference to the king, his father-in-law, ruling France, with an abſolute ſway; and their diſcontent was inflamed by a tax, impoſed by Henry, for coining a new ſort of money. The Pariſians loudly murmured, but in vain; for their condition was widely different from what it was, a few years before, when their adherence to one of the parties decided the fate of both.

Whilſt Henry was preparing to renew the campaign, interrupted by the queen's arrival, he heard, that the dauphin had taken La Charite, which opened him a paſſage over the Loire; and ſhortly after, news was brought, that he was beſieging Coſne on the ſame river, and the beſieged had capitulated to ſurrender, unleſs relieved by the duke of Burgundy, before the 18th of Auguſt. The duke's honour being engaged to relieve that place, he deſired the king to ſend him a re-inforcement; to which the king anſwered, that he would come himſelf, and, accordingly, began, immediately, to march, at the head of his army; but, whilſt he pleaſed himſelf with the hopes of a victory, that would render him maſter of all France, he was ſeized with a flux, that obliged him to ſtay, at Senlis; yet, leſt his illneſs ſhould prevent the relief of Coſne, he ordered the duke of Bedford, with the beſt part of his troops, to join the duke of Burgundy. The dauphin, hearing of their junction, being too weak to engage them, retired; and the dukes, upon this, marched towards Troye. In the interim, Henry, hoping that his diſtemper would wear off, took litter, with a view of heading the army; but, his illneſs ſtill increaſing, he returned to Vincennes.

The king falls ſick.

1422.

The duke of Bedford, being informed, that the king was dangerouſly ill, directly came to him from Troye; and he found him at the point of death, but expecting his approaching diſſolution, with great firmneſs. Before he expired, he ſent for the dukes of Bedford and Exeter, the earl of Warwick, with ſeven or eight Engliſh lords; and, with his dying breath, he told them, "His reign had been ſhort, "but glorious; and, tho' his pretenſions to "France had occaſioned a great effuſion of "blood, it could not be charged upon him, "ſince nothing leſs than force could have "brought the French to a reaſonable peace. "For his part, the near view of his end did "not give him any concern; but he could not "help lamenting the fate of the prince, his "ſon, who, on account of his age, was incapable of compleating a work ſo happily "begun; wherefore, he conjured them, for "God's ſake, to remain ſtrictly united, for the "ſervice of the infant prince, who would "ſhortly be their king; to take care of his "education, and to give the queen all poſſible conſolation, who had ſo great occaſion "for it; adding, that his laſt advice to them "was, to cultivate diligently the duke of "Burgundy's friendſhip, and, by no means, to "releaſe the Azincourt-priſoners, till his ſon "was of age to aſſume the reins of the government; and that, if they thought fit to "conclude a peace, it ſhould not be without "ſecuring the ſovereignty of Normandy to the "crown of England. Finally, he ſaid, it was "his deſire, that the duke of Bedford ſhould be "regent of France, and the duke of Glouceſter "protector of England, during his ſon's minority."

His dying ſpeech. Monſtrelet. Le Fevre.

Having ſpoken theſe words, he asked the phyſicians, how long they thought he had to live; upon which, one of them anſwered, kneeling, with tears in his eyes, that, without a miracle, he could not live, above two hours. The king, not, in the leaſt, diſturbed, at this terrible ſentence, ſent for his confeſſor; and, having made his confeſſion, he ordered his chaplains to read the ſeven pentential pſalms. When they came to theſe words of the 51ſt, "Build thou the walls of Jeruſalem," interrupting them, he declared, upon the word of a dying prince, that, "after having ſettled "a ſolid peace, in France, he really deſigned "to wage war upon the Infidels, for the recovery of Jeruſalem out of their hands." The moment they had finiſhed their devotion, this renowned prince expired, on the 31ſt of Auguſt, in the 34th year of his age, after a triumphant reign of nine years, five months, and 11 days. His body was carried into England, and interred at Weſtminſter, among his anceſtors, with a funeral pomp ſuitable to the grandeur he enjoyed, whilſt alive, and to the eſteem conceived of him by his ſubjects; and his queen, to honour, in an extraordinary manner, the memory of ſuch an illuſtrious

He dies.

ſpouſe,

1422. ſpouſe, cauſed to be laid on his tomb a ſtatue of ſilver gilt, as large as the life, and extremely like him.

The character of Henry V.

If, in this monarch's character, we follow implicitely the encomiums beſtowed on him by the Engliſh hiſtorians, we muſt imagine him the moſt accompliſhed prince that ever appeared in the world, before him; for they all, to a man, unanimouſly repreſent him, as a perfect hero. On the contrary, the French have been no leſs induſtrious, in ſhading his portraiture with certain ſtrokes that ſully the luſtre; ſo that, if we would form a juſt idea of him, we muſt conſider his actions, with their circumſtances, independently of the admiration of the one, or the envy of the other.

Firſt of all, with reſpect to the government of England, he ought not to be denied his due praiſe; for, avoiding the ſteps of Richard II, and even of his own father, he never incroached on the liberties and privileges of the people. His readineſs, on all occaſions, to give the royal aſſent to ſuch acts, as the parliament judged neceſſary, for the welfare of the kingdom, was an evident proof of his regard for the happineſs of his ſubjects; yet, in this very particular, he was guilty of exceſs, ſince, contrary to his own inclination, and the dictates of his reaſon, he conſented to the perſecution of the Lollards, out of pure condeſcenſion to the clergy. Indeed, it was next to impoſſible, that a prince, of his exquiſite penetration, ſhould not perceive the falſhood of the accuſations againſt them, in the beginning of his reign; and yet, rather than publickly retract, he ſtill feigned to believe it true, even when he pardoned ſome condemned perſons, who perſiſted in a denial of the pretended crime.

But it is not chiefly for his actions in England, that the hiſtorians have been ſo laviſh of their praiſes; his martial exploits are the principal ſubject of his panegyrick; and yet he was, perhaps, in no reſpect, leſs remarkable, notwithſtanding the glorious ſucceſs of his arms. The conqueſt of France, conſidered abſtractly from all its circumſtances, has ſomething grand and marvellous; but the deſcription of the affairs of that kingdom renders it, doubtleſs, leſs ſurpriſing. Lewis VIII, father of St. Lewis, ſubdued England, in a like juncture, and yet no one ever ſolely aſcribed that conqueſt to his wiſdom, or valour. Henry projected his enterprize, at a time when, by reaſon of their civil diſſenſions, the French were in no condition to oppoſe him; and the towns he took were defended, only by the beſieged themſelves, nor did any army ever appear to relieve them; however, ſome of theſe places held out, ſeveral months, and were ſurrendered, only by famine.

The battle of Azincourt is, then, the great, and almoſt ſole, warlike exploit; which can juſtly afford matter for panegyrick. In this famous action, he diſcovered an uncommon conduct, reſolution, and bravery; but this very battle, tho' ſo glorious in its ſucceſs, alſo gives occaſion to tax him with imprudence. It may be ſaid, that, if he proved victorious, it was, becauſe he had reduced himſelf to an abſolute neceſſity, of vanquiſhing, or dying; to which a general never expoſes himſelf, but he cauſes his conduct to be ſeverely cenſured. His reſolving to retire to Calais, without foreſeeing the difficulties of the march, or being ſecure of a paſſage over the Somme; and his wilfulneſs, in attempting to paſs that river, in order to force his way thro' an army, ſo ſuperior to his own, ſeem excuſable, only by the ſucceſs of the battle of Azincourt, which was a ſort of miracle. Had he been vanquiſhed, which would have been the natural conſequence, he could not poſſibly have avoided the charge of indiſcretion or raſhneſs; and the neceſſity he was reduced to, during his march, if we may give credit to the French hiſtorians, of offering to reſtore Harfleur, and repair the damages he had cauſed to France, ſhews, how much he himſelf was convinced of his error. This battle, therefore, was more glorious for him, becauſe of his perſonal valour, than with reſpect to his military capacity; and, indeed, no prince ever expoſed himſelf more in a battle, or gave more ſignal proofs of true valour, than Henry did, on that occaſion. 1422.

As for his other conqueſts in France, I cannot tell, whether his greateſt admirers have reaſon to wiſh, that he had met with greater oppoſition; for what might have happened, in ſuch a caſe, ſurpaſſes human knowledge. However, it muſt be confeſſed, that the victory of Azincourt prepoſſeſſes us in his favour; but what may be extolled in him, without danger of being deceived, is the excellency of his genius, and the ſolidity of his judgment. He underſtood, how to manage the grand undertaking he had formed, with ſurpriſing addreſs, wiſely improving all the revolutions, in France, to his own advantage; for few princes would have ſtopped, like him, after ſo ſignal a victory as that of Azincourt, and preferred a repoſe, which, tho', in appearance, leſs glorious than the continuation of the war, was, in reality, more beneficial to him. This policy, in my opinion, is one of the brighteſt paſſages of his life, and beſt proves the ſoundneſs of his judgment; tho' his negotiations with the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy, at the ſame time, and his inſtructions to his ambaſſadors, are evident indications of his abilities, and ſhew, that it was extremely difficult to circumvent him.

It is not very ſtrange, that the fortunate ſucceſs of his undertakings ſhould gain him extraordinary praiſes from the Engliſh nation; eſpecially, ſince it cannot be denied, that his ſucceſs was no leſs owing to his prudent conduct, than to favourable junctures. In general, he compelled the French to own him, for regent and heir of the kingdom; and ſuch actions ſeldom fail of being applauded, beyond meaſure. Accordingly, hiſtorians have not only compared him to David, Alexander, and Cæſar, but have given him the preference; but, without going ſo far for compariſons, which, after all, ſeem not very juſt, he might, I think, with more reaſon, be put in parallel with Edward III, his great grand-father.

However,

1422. However, I ſhould hardly ſcruple to affirm, that Edward ought to have the precedence, becauſe he was concerned with all France, united againſt him; and the difficulties he encountered, in his conqueſts, were incomparably greater, and required an abler head to ſurmount them, than thoſe which oppoſed the progreſs of Henry V.

What I have, hitherto, ſaid of this prince properly relates only to his principal action, viz. his war with France. I ſhall, now, deſcribe his other qualifications; which, tho' not ſo glaring, no leſs merit admiration, than the glorious ſucceſſes, which have almoſt entirely engroſſed the attention of the publick; for it is certain, that he had all the endowments of body and mind requiſite to form a great man. His ſtature was tall and majeſtick, tho' ſomewhat too ſlender, and long-necked; his hair was black, and his eyes, of the ſame colour, were exceeding lively; and he was ſtrong and robuſt, expert in all bodily exerciſes, chaſte, temperate, at leaſt, after he aſcended the throne, inured to hardſhips, being patient of hunger and thirſt, heat and cold. In all this, he was a ſtanding example to his troops, of moderation and conſtancy; and he was a great lover of juſtice, following it himſelf, and cauſing it to be punctually obſerved. He was religious, without hypocriſy, and perſevered in piety, being conſtant in his private, as well as publick devotions; a great protector of the church and clergy; and, by theſe qualities, he gained the eſteem and affection of the eccleſiaſticks, who did not a little contribute to heighten the luſtre of his glory. He was prudent, in council, bold, in undertaking, and reſolute, in executing; and he gave continual proofs of his valour, through the whole courſe of his life; moreover, he revived military diſcipline, which was almoſt entirely neglected, in England, ſince the reign of Edward III. The Engliſh nation never ſhined with ſuch luſtre, as under this renowned prince; who was ſo fortunate, as to end his days, in the midſt of his proſperity, whereas Edward III. lived to ſee the fruits of all his labours deſtroyed.

Having related what is advanced by the Engliſh, to this prince's advantage, the faithfulneſs of an hiſtorian requires, that ſome failings, charged upon him by the French, and aggravated, perhaps, by malice and envy, ſhould not be paſſed over in ſilence. In the firſt place, they tax him with cruelty, founding this charge, not only upon the ſlaughter of the priſoners, at the battle of Azincourt, but alſo upon his putting to death ſeveral officers, after the taking of Caen, Melun, and Meaux. As for the priſoners of Azincourt, doubtleſs, the maxims of war, and the neceſſity of providing for his own ſafety, will juſtify his orders, on that account, if they were not too haſty; but, as to his treatment of the burghers and garriſons of the conquered places, perhaps, he might be, ſomewhat ſwayed by revenge, by reaſon of the time theſe brave men made him loſe; yet this is no more than a conjecture. That he was ſevere to ſome is certain; but his motives are unknown; for, to diſcuſs ſuch facts, more circumſtances are requiſite, than are come to our knowledge. However, thoſe of Meaux are known to have incurred the guilt of ſeveral murders, for which, queſtionleſs, they deſerved to be puniſhed. It was neither unjuſt, nor cruel, to hang the baſtard of Vaurus, on the ſame tree, on which he himſelf had hanged all the duke of Burgundy's adherents, that fell into his hands; and, as for the other three, executed, at the ſame time, I am ignorant of the reaſon; but it is to be preſumed, that they were not capriciouſly diſtinguiſhed from all the reſt of the garriſon, to be inſtances of the ſeverity of the conqueror. As to the Engliſh and Iriſh, who were in the ſervice of his enemies, their being excepted in the capitulation needs no apology; and it could be wiſhed, for Henry's reputation, that it was as eaſy to vindicate his refuſing to give quarter to the Scots, under the pretence, that they would not obey their king, who was actually his priſoner. 1422.

The French, likewiſe, accuſe this prince of exceſſive pride, inſomuch that he cauſed, as they aſſure us, the marſhal de L'Iſle Adam to be committed to the Baſtile, for daring to look in his face, when ſpeaking to him *. Indeed, if he had no other reaſon, this was a high ſtrain of haughtineſs and rigour; but is it to be denied, that a bare look, or geſture, may be ſometimes very offenſive? Poſſibly, the marſhal, as he ſpoke, uſed ſome aggravating circumſtance, or raſh expreſſion, that deſerved chaſtiſement; which has been induſtriouſly concealed, to render the king's action more black and odious.

Avarice is another failing, with which he is confidently reproached. It is pretended, that, after he was declared regent and heir of France, he was never liberal, either to any of the Burgundian party, in his ſervice, or to thoſe of the dauphin's, who voluntarily ſubmitted to him. I ſhall not undertake his vindication, in this particular, ſince it does not appear, that he was very bountiful to the Engliſh themſelves, who ſerved him, whether on account of his great expence, or, becauſe he was otherwiſe inclined; for, tho' he had many able officers, and excellent generals, we do not find, that he rewarded them, in proportion to their merit and ſervices. We muſt, however, except the earl of Dorſet, to whom he aſſigned a penſion of 1000 l. per annum, when he created him duke of Exeter; Faſtolf, to

* The marſhal waiting, one day, on Henry, for inſtructions, the king, ſeeing him in a very plain coat, ſaid to him in raillery, "How, L'Iſle Adam, is this the garb of a marſhal of France?" To which he anſwered, with an air of confidence, "That he had it made, to wear in the boat that brought him down the Seine." Henry, from the manner of delivering this anſwer, was provoked to ſay, "You are too rude in your behaviour, Sir; how dare "you ſo boldly look on a king?" Sir, replied the marſhal, "In my country, if one man ſpeak to another, tho' "the greateſt on earth, with a downcaſt look, we think him conſcious of ſome baſeneſs or guilt. Your faſhions, "ſaid the king, are very different from ours." Monſtrelet. P. de Fenin. Goodwin.

whom

1422. whom he gave a conſiderable eſtate, near Harfleur; the capital of Buch, of the houſe of Foix, who had the lordſhip of Longueville; and the earl of Salisbury, on whom he beſtowed the earldom of Perche; but, after all, perhaps, Henry's want of liberality was the effect of his prudence. I have obſerved, that the revenue of the crown amounted only to 56,000 l. and that he was forced to pawn his jewels, towards defraying the charges of the war. Was it proper to appear liberal, in ſuch circumſtances? Upon many occaſions, it were to be wiſhed, ſovereigns would moderate their bounties, which are but too often, at the expence of the poor people.

Laſtly, the French accuſe him of a boundleſs ambition. To know, whether their accuſation be well-grounded, it ſhould be examined, whether he was in the right to renew, or rather to continue, a war againſt France, occaſioned by her breach of the treaty of Bretigny, and begun by herſelf; but this inquiry is needleſs, after what has been ſaid, upon this ſubject, in the reign of Edward III. However it cannot be denied, that Henry was very ambitious; for, tho', at firſt, he only projected the reſtoration of the peace of Bretigny, when he perceived a poſſibility of aſcending the throne of France, his ambition prompted him to improve every opportunity, in order to obtain it. I have taken notice of his intent, to make one of his brothers king of Naples, and the other of Sicily; and of his uſing, certainly, not very honourable means, to procure the duke of Glouceſter four provinces of the Low-Countries. The Collection of the Publick Acts ſhews, that he deſigned to purchaſe the duchy of Luxemburgh of the emperor Sigiſmund, and to treat with him, about his pretended claim to Dauphine; and it farther appears, that he would have paid the ranſom of a lord of the houſe of Blois *, priſoner to the marqueſs of Baden, probably, to aſſert, one day, the pretenſions of that houſe to the duchy of Bretagne. 1422.

Henry, by Catharine of France, his queen, left only one ſon, of his own name, about eight or nine months old; but the queen, his widow, forgetting that ſhe had been wife to ſuch a renowned monarch, and was deſcended from the moſt illuſtrious family of Europe, eſpouſed, ſome time after, Owen Tudor, a Welch gentleman, by which ſhe gave great offence both to the Engliſh and French. It is pretended, that he was a deſcendant from the antient kings of Wales; but I do not know, whether this deſcent be ſufficiently proved †. Owen Tudor had, by the queen, three ſons, viz. Edmund, Jaſper, and Owen; the eldeſt of whom married Margaret, only daughter to John Beaufort, duke of Somerſet, grandſon to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, and Catharine Roet, his third wife; and he was father of Henry VII, who left the crown to his poſterity, as the ſequel will inform us. His iſſue.

Charles VI, king of France, ſurvived Henry, only two months; but the death of theſe two monarchs is going to open a ſcene very different from what we have ſeen ‡.

* Oliver de Blois, count of Poictiers. Rymer's Fœd.

† It is alſo reported, that he was the ſon of a brewer; but the delicacy of his perſon made amends for the meanneſs of his extraction, being reckoned the handſomeſt man of his time.

‡ King Henry rebuilt the royal palace of Shene, now called Richmond, and the caſtle of Kenelworth; and he founded the fraternity of St. Giles, without Cripplegate, London. Walſing. Stow. He alſo firſt inſtituted Garter King at Arms, and made ſeveral regulations, about the moſt noble order of the Garter; and he appointed a new herald, by the title of Agencourt King at Arms. Rymer's Fœd.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK XII.

The Reign of HENRY VI. with a Diſſertation on the MAID of ORLEANS.

15. HENRY VI. ſirnamed of Windſor.

1422. HENRY VI.

HENRY V. ſeemed to have been taken out of the world, by a particular direction of Divine Providence, which ſometimes puts a ſtop to the beſt concerted undertakings, when on the point of being accompliſhed. The peace of Troye not being firmly ſettled, as yet, and the prince, his ſucceſſor, an infant only nine months old, all things ſeemed to concur, to deprive the Engliſh of the hopes of ſeeing France and England united, under a king of their nation; but, on the other hand, the noble qualities of the dukes of Bedford and Glouceſter encouraged the moſt timorous. How great ſoever their loſs might be, they did not think it irreparable, ſince the valour, experience, and wiſdom of theſe two princes enabled them to ſupport the new king's minority; wherefore, by proclaiming, young Henry king of England, and heir of France, they ſhewed, that they were reſolved to maintain what the king, his father, had ſo gloriouſly eſtabliſhed.

Henry VI. is proclaimed king of England and heir of France.

The duke of Glouceſter had governed the kingdom, by the title of guardian, ever ſince the duke of Bedford, his elder brother, attended the queen into France; but this dignity expired, the moment young Henry was proclaimed*. Indeed, the late king had ordered, on his death-bed, that, during his ſon's minority, the duke of Glouceſter ſhould be regent of England; but the parliament's confirmation was requiſite, before he could exerciſe that important office. For this, and ſome other no leſs urgent reaſons, the council ſpeedily ſummoned a parliament, for the 9th of November; and, till the two houſes ſhould ſettle the form of government, during the king's minority, the council, of which the duke of Glouceſter was preſident, iſſued out all neceſſary orders, for whatever would not admit of delay.

1422.

A parliament is called. Cotton.

A few days after, the council was informed of ſome motions, in Wales and the neighbouring counties, of dangerous conſequence. Very probably, as the earl of Marche had great intereſt in thoſe parts, ſome of his moſt zealous adherents intended to raiſe commotions, in order to try, at ſuch a juncture, to revive the earl's claim to the crown; it may, at leaſt, be preſumed, that theſe motions appeared to be of no ſmall importance, ſince, beſides the orders of the council to the ſheriffs, commiſſioners were appointed, to put them in execution.

The Welch begin to ſtir Act. Pub.

During the interval, between the calling and meeting of the parliament, died Charles VI, at Paris, the 21ſt of October, having ſurvived Henry V, his ſon-in-law, only 55 days; but this event entirely changed the poſture of affairs; for it was not doubted,

The death of the king of France. Mezerai.

* A guardian is appointed to govern, in the king's abſence only; and a regent, or protector, during an interregnum, or the minority of the king. Rapin.

that

1422. that the dauphin would aſſume the title of king of France, and exert himſelf, to procure a crown which, he believed, fell to him, by the death of the king, his father. Whilſt Charles VI. was alive, many of his ſubjects judged it their duty to obey him, without inquiring, whether what he did was conformable to the laws, and advantageous to the ſtate, becauſe their oath to him was not conditional; but, after his deceaſe, they thought it no leſs incumbent upon them, to own the dauphin, his ſon, for ſovereign; for the treaty of Troye, which deprived that prince of his right, carried in it too viſible marks of ſeduction and violence, to be conſidered by true Frenchmen, as a fundamental and inviolable law, though many, that believed it very unjuſt, had been forced to approve it; ſo that the dauphin, who, in the latter years of the king, his father, might, in ſome meaſure, be accounted a rebel, was on better terms, when he could aſſume the title of ſovereign.

Henry VI. is proclaimed king of France, at Paris. J. Chartier.

Theſe conſiderations obliged the duke of Bedford; who continued in France, ſeriouſly to reflect on all the ill conſequences of this change, and to project means, to prevent them. Charles VI. had no ſooner cloſed his eyes, than he ordered Henry to be proclaimed king of France, and, purſuant to the will of the late king, aſſumed himſelf the title of regent; and then he broke the great ſeal, cauſing a new one to be made, with the arms of France and England, and the effigies of the young king holding a ſcepter, in each of his hands.

The French lords ſwear allegiance to Henry. Hall.

The ſucceſſion to the crown of France being ſettled, by the treaty of Troye, the regent was of opinion, that he might, without a new conſent of the ſtates, put the king, his nephew, in poſſeſſion of the kingdom; wherefore, contening himſelf with aſſembling, at Paris, all the great men of the Engliſh party, he made a ſpeech, exhorting them to acknowledge young Henry, for their ſovereign. He inſiſted on the peace of Troye, and their oath to maintain it; and he labour-ed to convince them, that it was for their own, as well as the kingdom's advantage, inviolably to obſerve it; upon which, all that were preſent ſwore fealty to Henry, and did homage to him, in the perſon of the regent, for the lands they held of the crown; and the ſame was, afterwards, required of thoſe that were abſent, and the towns in ſubjection to the Engliſh.

A deputation to Henry. Monſtrelet.

This ceremony being over, the regent, council of France, and city of Paris ſent deputies to London, of whom the biſhop of Terouenne was the principal, to congratulate the new king, upon his acceſſion to the crowns of both kingdoms; and they had likewiſe orders to go by the Low-Countries, and exhort the duke of Burgundy to remain firm to the alliance; for it was feared, the death of Henry V, and of Charles VI, might induce him to alter his meaſures.

The dauphin takes the title of king of France.

In the mean while, the dauphin, was no leſs intent upon his own affairs; who was at Eſpaly, a houſe belonging to the biſhop of Puy, when he heard of his father's death. He ſhed many tears, on that occaſion; whether nature rouſed herſelf, at the news, or he had really always preſerved an affection for a father, who was not to be blamed, for the injuries he had done him. The firſt day he appeared, in mourning; but, on the morrow, he put on ſcarlet, and was proclaimed king of France, with all the ſolemnity the circumſtances of his court would permit; and, after this, he went to Poictiers, were he had removed the parliament of Paris. He was crowned there, in the beginning of November; for the city of Rheims, where the coronation of the kings of France is uſually performed, was in the hands of the Engliſh. 1422.

The neceſſity of joining together the hiſtories of France and England.

Thus, Henry VI. and Charles VII. aſſumed, both at the ſame time, the title of king of France; and they diſputed the poſſeſſion of the throne, 30 years; on which account, the hiſtory of the preſent reign is ſo interwoven with that of France, that they cannot be ſeparated. The Engliſh were reſolved to preſerve, for young Henry, the crown of France, acquired by his father's labours, and of which they believed his anceſtors were unjuſtly deprived; whilſt, on the contrary, Charles intended to take poſſeſſion of the ſame crown, which, in his opinion, he held, not ſo much from the king, his father, ſeduced by ill counſels, as from a long train of anceſtors, who had enjoyed it before him. This important quarrel produced numberleſs events, of which we ſhall not be able to form diſtinct ideas, without an exact knowledge of the ſtate of the affairs of both kings, in the beginning of their reigns; and it is no leſs requiſite to know the perſons that managed the affairs, as well civil as military, of the two kingdoms. In a word, to perceive wherein conſiſted the advantages and diſadvantages of each king, during this tedious war, it will be abſolutely neceſſary to take a general review of the then ſtate of France, with reſpect to the aſſiſtance each might have, as well from the princes and vaſſals of the crown, as from foreigners,

The ſituation of the affairs of both kings.

Firſt, then, for the perſons of the two kings, Charles was 21 years old, and Henry but an infant; yet Henry, in this very thing, had the advantage, his affairs being managed by two uncles of great abilities, and by the wiſeſt council, then, in Europe. On the other hand, Charles, who never paſſed for an extraordinary genius, was, by reaſon of his age, more difficult to be ruled; for his paſſions often hindered him from following the beſt advice. He had, hitherto, diſtinguiſhed himſelf, neither by his valour, nor conduct; and, being more inclined to pleaſures than war, he appeared very unfit to reſtore the affairs of the French monarchy, which was upon the brink of deſtruction. The duke of Burgundy's murder, committed, in his preſence, and, doubtleſs, by his orders, had raiſed prejudices againſt him; nor had he been more ſcrupulous, with reſpect to the duke of Bretagne, his brother-in-law. This prince, whom the earls of Pontievre, by a notorious treachery, had carried away, by force, and long detained in priſon, found,

after

1422. after his releaſe, that the plot was contrived againſt him, with the dauphin's conſent; and, therefore, it might be ſaid, it was not Charles's fault, that the duke of Bretagne had not ſuffered the ſame fate with the duke of Burgundy. Theſe particulars made a deep wound in his reputation; whilſt nothing could be alledged, in his favour, except that he had not meanly ſtooped to his enemies; but it did not requre a great genius, to refuſe running into manifeſt deſtruction.

As to the forces of the two kings, Henry, beſides his poſſeſſions, in France, had England, on his ſide; whilſt France was ſo divided between them, that each had whole provinces under his obedience, and, in others, each had fortified towns and adherents. There was hardly a walled town, that had not a garriſon, for the one, or the other; which rendered them the ſeat of the war, above 30 years.

Charles was poſſeſſed of all Languedoc, from whence he had lately expelled the earl of Foix, whilſt Henry V. was employed in the ſiege of Melun; and he appointed, for governor, the earl of Clermont, eldeſt ſon to the duke of Bourbon; from which time, the earl of Foix had attempted to recover that province, to no purpoſe.

The dauphine was alſo entirely ſubject to Charles, with Berry, Auvergne, Touraine, part of Xaintonge, the city of Rochel, and Poictou; and he likewiſe conſidered, as countries dependent on him, Provence, Maine, and Anjou, for reaſons mentioned, hereafter.

Henry was in poſſeſſion of Normandy and Guienne, the moſt flouriſhing provinces of France; and Picardy, Champagne, La Brie, and the iſle of France belonged to him, except a few places, that ſtill held out for king Charles. In a word, he was maſter of Paris, the metropolis of the kingdom, which alone was equivalent to a large and rich province; and he could, moreover, rely on the two Burgundy's, Flanders, and Artois, belonging to the duke of Burgundy, his vaſſal and ally.

From what has been ſaid, it is obvious, that the war might be carried on, in all the provinces of France, Bretagne excepted, which, hitherto, had ſtood neuter; but Picardy, Champagne, La Brie, and the iſle of France were more particularly expoſed to the fury of the ſword; and that becauſe the Engliſh, before all things, would clear theſe provinces of king Charles's garriſons, to attak him afterwards, beyond the Loire, without being conſtrained to leave any thing behind them; and, for the ſame reaſon, it was Charles's intereſt to proſecute the war, in the ſame provinces, to prevent his enemies from extending their conqueſts into the ſouthern provinces, which were his laſt refuge.

Having ſeen the diſpoſition of the provinces, it will be neceſſary to examine that of the French princes, immediate vaſſals of the crown; and, firſt, of the duke of Bretagne.

The ſituation of the duke of Bretagne.

Ever ſince the beginning of the war, John V, duke of Bretagne, had remained neuter, with reſpect to a quarrel, that could not fail of drawing the war into his country, if he had been ſo imprudent as to declare for either of the kings; but, after the peace of Troye was ſigned and ſworn, he thought it no longer poſſible to continue, in a ſtate of neutrality. Charles VI. and Henry V. being united by the peace, as there was only one king of France, he could not help owning him, unleſs he would openly join with the dauphin; but ſuch a proceeding was, by no means, adviſable, ſince the dauphin was ſo low, that there was no proſpect of his ever retrieving his affairs. Upon theſe accounts, the duke no ſooner ſaw the two kings united, than he ſent Henry V. word, that he was reardy to ſign the peace of Troye, and do homage, for his duchy, to king Charles; but this negotiation, tho' begun, in 1420, could not be ended, before Henry's death. Probably, the duke of Bretagne prolonged it on purpoſe to ſee the event of the war, againſt the dauphin; but, however that be, Henry dying, before it was ended, the duke of Bretagne found himſelf in the ſame ſtate, as before the treaty of Troye, that is, at liberty to chuſe his ſide, or ſtand neuter, as the effect ſhould determine him; tho' there was one ſtrong reaſon, for his not eſpouſing the dauphin's cauſe, viz. the diſcovery of his being deeply concerned in the conſpiracy of the Pontievrians; yet, preferring the peace of his ſubjects to the gratification of his revenge, he declined to declare for England. 1422.

The ſtate of the earl of Richemont.

Arthur, earl of Richemont, brother to the duke of Bretagne, was taken priſoner, at Azincourt, in 1415, and conducted into England, where he remained, till 1420; and, in the interim, the duke, his brother, being ſeized by the Pontievrians, he deſired king Henry's leave, to go and endeavour to free him; which was granted him, provided that, on Michaelmas-day, 1422, he returned to London, and appeared before the king, or his ſucceſſor, the lord chancellor, or the mayor of London.

That, during the term of his enlargement, he ſhould not enter into an alliance with the dauphin, or any other perſon, againſt the king of England, or the duke of Burgundy; nor ſhould he attempt any thing, contrary to the treaty of Troye.

That Alan de Rohan, the duke of Bretagne's lieutenant, with the ſtates and barons of the country, ſhould promiſe the ſame, during the earl's abſence from England.

For the ſecurity of theſe conditions, the earl of Montfort was to be delivered to the king, who was to be reſtored, upon the earl of Richemont's return to London.

The earl, having ratified and ſwore all theſe articles, departed for Bretagne; but, Henry V. dying, a month before the expiration of his leave, inſtead of his returning into England, purſuant to his oath, he ſtill remained, at the duke his brother's court, who was releaſed from his impriſonment. Thus, at the time of Charles VI's death, he was actually priſoner to the Engliſh, tho' he was not in their power; and

1422. and he was alſo chargeable with breach of faith. Some have endeavoured to vindicate his conduct, by ſaying, that he only ſtood obliged to the perſon of Henry V, and, therefore, upon his deceaſe, was freed from his oath; but this pretended limitation of his engagement is deſtroyed by the foreſaid articles.

Beſides the duke of Bretagne's diſpoſition, with reſpect to the two rival kings, he was prompted to ſide with the Engliſh, by the earl of Richemont, his brother, who had a great influence over him; for Arthur not only, by this means, intended to free himſelf from his engagement, but had other views, which ſhall be mentioned, hereafter; ſo that it may be affirmed, that, tho' the duke of Bretagne ſtood neuter, or was deſirous of ſtill paſſing, for ſuch, he was on the point of declaring for England.

The ſtate of the duke of Burgundy.

As for the duke of Burgundy, it is unneceſſary to repeat, here, his reaſons to remain firm to the alliance of the Engliſh; for it will be ſufficient to ſay, that he did not believe the death of the duke, his father, fully revenged, whilſt Charles enjoyed any part of France.

Of the duke of Anjou, king of Sicily.

Lewis III, duke of Anjou, and king of Sicily, poſſeſſed, in France, of Provence, Anjou, and Maine, was entirely in the intereſt of king Charles, his brother-in-law; but he had been, ſome time, employed, at Naples, in ſecuring the inheritance of Joan II, queen of that country, who had adopted him for her ſon; and, in his abſence, Violante of Arragon, his mother, had the adminiſtration of affairs, who continued firmly attached to king Charles, her ſon-in-law.

Of the earl of Foix and his brothers. Oſhag. Hiſt. of Foix and Bearn.

The houſe of Foix made, then, a very great figure, in the kingdom*. Matthew of Caſtlebon, earl of Foix and ſovereign of Bearn, dying without iſſue, in 1399, Eliſabeth, his ſiſter, wife to Archembald de Graille, captal of Buch, in Guienne, took poſſeſſion of his dominions; but Charles VI. attempted to deprive the captal and his wife of this noble inheritance, tho' they found means to keep poſſeſſion. Archembald died, in 1413, leaving five ſons, all of diſtinguiſhed merit. John, the eldeſt, was earl of Foix and Bigorre, and ſovereign of Bearn; Gaſton, captal of Buch, adhered to Henry V, who made him knight of the Garter, and earl of Longueville, from whom deſcended the houſe of Candale; Archembald, lord of Noailles, the third ſon, was killed, on Montereau-bridge, with the duke of Burgundy; and Matthew, the fourth brother, married the heireſs of Cominge; but it will appear, hereafter, that a quarrel, between him and his wife, cauſed the country of Cominge to fall into the hands of Charles VII. Peter, the youngeſt, was, at firſt, a Franciſcan friar, then biſhop of Leſcar, and, at laſt, cardinal and legate a Latere, in France, under the pontificate of Martin V; 1422. who founded the college of Foix, at Thoulouſe.

Thus, we ſee, that the houſe of Foix was very conſiderable, as well for extent of dominion, in the ſouthern parts of France, as for the merit of the four brothers, of whom it conſiſted; and the neighbourhood of Guienne obliged the earls of Foix, to pay great regard to the kings of England, who were maſters of that dukedom. Foix, Bearn, and Bigorre could eaſily be invaded by ſuch potent neighbours, and with difficulty be aſſiſted by the kings of France; moreover, the captal of Buch and the earl of Cominge were vaſſals to the king of England; and an antient quarrel, between the houſe of Foix and the earls of Armagnac, was a farther motive, to induce them to continue under the protection of the Engliſh, and the duke of Burgundy, an avowed enemy of the Armagnac's. Theſe conſiderations prevailed on Henry V, upon his being regent of France, to give the government of Languedoc to the earl of Foix; and he made an agreement with the earl, to ſupply a conſiderable number of troops, to keep that province in obedience to Charles VI. He was, as has been ſaid, expelled by the dauphin, who placed the earl of Clermont, in his room; but, Henry V. dying, the earl of Foix renewed the agreement with his ſucceſſor, who made him governor again; tho' it was not in his power to diſpoſſeſs the earl of Clermont. Afterwards, the earl, finding that this agreement was diſregarded, went over to king Charles; but, in the beginning of this reign, he and his brother openly declared for the Engliſh.

Of Armagnac and Albret.

On the contrary, the houſes of Armagnac and Albret, very powerful in Guienne, declared for Charles VII, tho', a little before, they fell in with the times, and made their peace with Henry V.

Of the duke of Orleans and earl of Angouleſme.

The houſe of Orleans conſiſted of two princes, Charles, duke of Orleans, and John, earl of Angouleſme, his brother, both priſoners, in England; the firſt of whom had been there, ever ſince the battle of Azincourt, in 1415; and the ſecond was given, in hoſtage, to the duke of Clarence, in 1412, for ſecurity of the payment of the Engliſh troops, ſent by Henry IV, to aſſiſt the princes in league againſt the duke of Burgundy. Theſe two princes, being priſoners, were, as to their perſons, neither ſerviceable, nor hurtful, to either of the parties; but their fortified towns were at the diſpoſal of king Charles. Some affirm, that the duke of Orleans entered into a treaty with Henry V, by which, in conſideration of a great penſion paid, annually, for his expence, he obtained of that monarch a neutrality, for his city of Orleans and all his other places; but this pretended treaty is

* The earls of Foix, a part of Gaſcoigne, were in ſuch eſteem, in the court of France, that they took place of the earl of Vendoſme, tho' a prince of the blood, and lived in a ſtate equal to moſt kings, in Chriſtendom. Francis Phœbus, by eſpouſing the heireſs of Navarre, added that kingdom to Foix, in 1479; and Anthony of Bourbon, duke of Vendoſme, marrying Joan, heireſs of this houſe, became king of Navarre, earl of Foix, and ſovereign of Bearn, whoſe ſon, Henry II, king of Navarre, &c. aſcended the throne of France, in 1589, being grandfather to Lewis XIV, late king of France.

1422. a mere chimera, ſince the foundation of it, viz. the penſion, had never any exiſtence. The Collection of the Publick Acts of England abounds with papers, relating to the duke of Orleans; and yet there is not one that gives the leaſt hint of this penſion, much leſs of the pretended treaty. Beſides, it is very improbable, that Henry V. ſhould, in his proſperity, grant ſuch a neutrality, for places ſituated in the heart of a kingdom, he had undertaken to conquer.

Of the duke of Alenſon. John, duke of Alenſon, about 13 or 14 years of age, ſon to the duke of Alenſon, ſlain in the battle of Azincourt, began to give proofs of an extraordinary valour and conduct, for which he was conſidered, as a prince of great hopes; and he was firmly attached to king Charles, as well as Peter, his baſtard-brother, who was reputed one of the braveſt warriors, in the kingdom.

Of the earl of Eu. Charles d' Artois, earl of Eu, was priſoner, in England, ever ſince the battle of Azincourt; but, not being releaſed, till 1434, he made no figure, in France, in the beginning of the preſent reign.

Of the duke of Bourbon. John, duke of Bourbon, head of the illuſtrious houſe of Bourbon, which was divided into ſeveral branches, was priſoner, in England, ſince 1415; ſo that, tho' he was a prince of uncommon merit, he had no ſhare in the tranſactions of France; but the earl of Clermont, his eldeſt ſon, with all his father's towns, inviolably adhered to king Charles.

Of the earl of Vendoſme. Lewis, earl of Vendoſme, of the houſe of Bourbon, was alſo a priſoner, in England, ſince the battle of Azincourt; for, tho' he agreed with Henry V, for his ranſom, and had even paid a part of it, not being able to raiſe the reſt, he was ſtill in confinement. The French authors ſay, that, in 1423, he miraculouſly eſcaped out of captivity; in memory of which he inſtituted an annual proceſſion, at Vendoſme. I am ignorant of the manner of his eſcape; but the Collection of the Publick Acts ſhews, that, in May, 1423, he was taken out of the tower of London, by the king's order, and delivered to Sir John Cornwall, who took him priſoner, at the battle of Azincourt; that, in July, he obtained leave to go into France, to provide the remainder of his ranſom; and, in all probability, he fully ſatisfied the king, ſince it does not appear, that he was re-demanded. I cannot, therefore, apprehend, wherein his eſcape could be miraculous, unleſs it was his abuſe of his paſs-port, in which caſe, the miracle could not be very great; but he might inſtitute a proceſſion, at Vendoſme, in memory of his 18 years captivity.

Having taken notice of the princes of the blood, it will be proper to mention the other lords and generals, in the ſervice of king Charles.

The earl of Buchan. The earl of Buchan, a Scotchman, ſon to the regent of Scotland, and firſt-couſin to king James I, was conſtable of France; a dignity conferred on him by the dauphin, after the battle of Bauge.

Other generals. Among the other generals, the moſt conſiderable were the marſhals de la Fayette and de Severac, Andrew de Laval, lord of Loheac, John d' Harcourt, earl of Aumarle, John de la Haye, lord of Cologne, Culant, afterwards high-admiral, Aymeri, viſcount of Narbonne, Pothon of Xantrailles, Stephen de la Hire, ſirnamed Vignoles, Graville, and ſome others of an inferior rank, or leſs remarkable; to whom may be added the baſtard of Orleans, natural brother to the duke of that name, tho', as yet, he did but begin to appear, becauſe he became very famous, in the preſent reign. 1422.

The ſtate of Charles's court. It will be farther neceſſary to ſay ſomething of the moſt eminent perſons, belonging to the court of the new king. I have, already, deſcribed the perſon and qualities of king Charles; and, as to Mary of Anjou, his queen, ſhe was a princeſs of tranſcendent beauty, but much more valuable, for her extraordinary merit; yet the king was continually drawn aſide by other amours, which poſſeſſed her place in his heart. However, ſhe bore his coldneſs, without the leaſt murmur, or reproach; ſtill hoping to gain his affection by her patience, moderation, and dutiful behaviour. If this conduct was incapable of inſpiring the king, with a tenderneſs for ſuch an accompliſhed ſpouſe, it commanded, at leaſt, his utmoſt eſteem, and conſtrained him to diſcover it, by conſulting her, generally, in his moſt important affairs. Mary, queen of France.

The queen of Sicily. Violante of Arragon, queen of Sicily, and mother to the queen, was, for the moſt part, at Charles's court, and in great credit, on the account of her merit and capacity.

Tannegui du Chatel. Tannegui du Chatel was the king's principal favourite; who firſt ſtruck the late duke of Burgundy, on Montereau-bridge. It was not doubted, that, as he was the firſt, in executing, ſo he had been the chief, in adviſing that deteſtable treachery; and yet all the French hiſtorians repreſent him, as a very honeſt man; but I cannot conceive, how that character can be reconciled with an action, which, whatever may be alledged, in its vindication, was wilful murder.

Louvet. Louvet, preſident of Provence, was the next, in the king's favour, who had the management of the finances; but as he was very covetous and ambitious, he commonly preferred his own, to his maſter's intereſts. He is ſaid to be one of the adviſers of the duke of Burgundy's murder; and the duke of Bretagne conſidered this miniſter, as well as d'Avaugour, another of Charles's courtiers, as the principal authors of the Pontievrian conſpiracy, becauſe they perſuaded the dauphin to approve it.

La Trimouille. La Trimouille, of a very antient family, was in great favour with the king, tho' not ſo much as Du Chatel and Louvet; and, being extremely ambitious, notwithſtanding his high birth, he regularly made his court to the favourites, to increaſe his credit.

De Giac and Beaulieu. De Giac and the Camus de Beau-lieu, creatures of Louvet, were conſiderable, at court, becauſe of the intereſt of their patron.

Theſe were the moſt eminent perſons, of Charles's court, which, uſually, was not very numerous; for moſt of the princes of the blood were priſoners, in England, and the other

1422. ther great men chose rather to follow the army, the king's circumstances not affording them any great prospect, at court.

The English lords.

I shall, now, consider the principal managers of the publick affairs of the English, both at court and in the army.

John, duke of Bedford, regent of France, was the most accomplished prince, at that time, in Europe; and, being wise, judicious, of uncommon valour, solidity, and penetration, master of his passions, and of a genius superior to all employed by him, he seemed born for a crown, tho' Providence ranked him among subjects. Besides all these qualities, he had a majestick statelines, becoming his birth, and exalted station, in France and England; but he never made any farther use of this advantage, than to command a due respect and regard, for his person and authority. In a word, he perfectly resembled the late king, his brother, and, in all his actions, took him for a pattern. He had with him, in France, the

The English generals.

earls of Warwick, Salisbury, and Arundel, the dukes of Somerset, Fastolf, Talbot, and many others, all remarkable, for their valour and experience in the art of war. The French authors, who have written the Life of Charles VII, rarely mention these generals, without an honourable epithet; and, therefore, I shall only just name these illustrious persons; who were so famous, in the History of those days, that all the encomiums, I can bestow on them, would give no new lustre to their glory and reputation.

The generals of the duke of Burgundy.

The duke of Burgundy had, at the same time, three generals, whom I shall place among the English, because they were in the service of the same prince; and their actions well deserve an honourable mention.

The earl of Ligny.

The first was John de Luxemburgh, earl of Ligny, son to Valeran de Luxemburgh, constable of France; who signalised himself, during the whole war.

Lisle-Adam.

Lisle-Adam, marshal of France, was a bold and enterprising warrior, and also capable of managing the most difficult undertaking; who, in 1419, made the duke of Burgundy master of Paris; but, afterwards, incurring, by his excessive haughtiness, the displeasure of Henry V, he was committed to the Bastile; from whence the duke of Bedford had lately released him, at the duke of Burgundy's request.

Toulongeon.

Toulongeon, commonly called marshal of Burgundy, was highly esteemed by the duke, his master, for his valour and parts.

The court of England.

I must, now, pass into England, and briefly mention some of the princes and great men, who were principally concerned in the management of young Henry's affairs.

The duke of Gloucester.

Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, younger brother to the duke of Bedford, was a prince equally qualified for the camp and the cabinet; and his noble endowments, improved by an extensive knowledge of the sciences, would have put him upon a level with the duke, his brother, had he been more master of his passions, or less haughty and ambitious; but I shall have frequent occasions, hereafter, to display more fully this prince's character.

1422. The princes of Lancaster.

The princes of the house of Lancaster, legitimated by the name of Beaufort, held the next rank to the duke of Gloucester. Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter, and Henry, his brother, bishop of Winchester, were sons to John of Gaunt and Catharine Roet, his third wife; and John, earl of Somerset, their elder brother, at his death, left four sons, of whom, Henry, the eldest, bore the title of earl of Somerset; but, of the other three, Thomas, John, and Edmund, the last only was at court, the other two being prisoners, in France.

The duke of York.

Richard, duke of York, son to Richard, earl of Cambridge, beheaded, at Southampton, in 1415, and grandson to Edmund de Langley, duke of York, fifth son to Edward III, was the only male issue of this family, and very young, at the time I am speaking of; but I shall have many opportunities, to take notice of him, in the course of this reign.

Other lords.

Humphrey, earl of Stafford, was son to Ann of Gloucester, daughter to the unfortunate duke of Gloucester, whom Richard II, his nephew, caused to be strangled, at Calais.

Henry, earl of Essex, half-brother to the young earl of Stafford, had espoused Isabella, sister to the young duke of York.

Ralph Nevill, earl of Westmoreland, was related to the royal family, by his marriage with Joan Beaufort, sister to the duke of Exeter and bishop of Winchester.

Thomas Courtney, earl of Devonshire, married a sister to the duke of Somerset.

Henry Talbot was husband to a sister of the earl of Essex.

Henry Holland, earl of Huntingdon, sprung from a half-sister of Richard II, was prisoner, in France, since the battle of Bauge, in which the duke of Clarence was slain.

Henry Piercy, earl of Northumberland, and John Fitz-Alan, earl of Arundel, had espoused princesses of the house of Marche.

Nothing more remains, in order to conveigh a general knowledge of the affairs of the two contending monarchs, than to see, how some foreign princes stood affected towards them.

How the princes of Europe stood affected, with respect to the two kings.

It is very surprising, that, during this long war of 38 years, no prince, in Europe, would be concerned in it. Immediately after the treaty of Troye, Henry V. sent ambassadors into several parts, to negotiate alliances, with an intent to render himself so superior to the dauphin, as to put it out of his power to make any resistance; but it does not appear, that his design proved successful; for, if he made alliances with some princes, they were so worded, as not to oblige them to be parties in the war.

The emperor.

The emperor Sigismund might, by vertue of his league with Henry V, have assisted his son; but he was embroiled in troubles, on the account of religion, in Bohemia, which wholly employed him. The rest of the German princes were regardless of what was transacted, in France; not being sorry to see the English

1422. Engliſh and French unable, by their diſſenſion, to diſturb their neighbours.

Italy. All Italy ſtood neuter; and the duke of Milan alone was inclined to king Charles, tho', hitherto, he had ſent him no ſupplies.

Spain. Caſtile, Arragon, and Portugal were in peace, or truce, with the two rival kings, and aſſiſted neither; for their policy was to let them beat one another, and afterwards join with the conqueror.

The duke of Lorrain. The duke of Lorrain was inclined to king Charles, by reaſon of the alliance between their families; but he durſt not aſſiſt him, leſt he ſhould draw the war into his country.

Among all the neighbouring princes of France, Amadeus, firſt duke of Savoy, and Lewis de Chalon, prince of Orange, were thoſe, on whom the eyes of both parties were chiefly fixed, becauſe of the diverſions they might make, in Provence and Dauphine; but theſe princes, as yet, obſerved a neutrality, pleaſed with being courted both by the Engliſh and French; however, it was obvious, that they leaned to the Engliſh, on account of the duke of Burgundy, the prince of Orange being his nephew, and the duke of Savoy his vaſſal.

The Low-Countries. As for the neighbours of England, none, except the princes of the Low-Countries and the Scots, could be ſo concerned in the quarrel, as greatly to advantage, or prejudice, the rival kings. The duke of Burgundy poſſeſſed Flanders and Artois; John of Burgundy, his firſt couſin, held Brabant and the earldom of Limbourg; and, by his marriage with Jacquelina of Bavaria, daughter to the late earl of Hainault, he had likewiſe acquired the ſovereignty of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Friſeland. The firſt of theſe two princes was firmly united to the Engliſh; and the other took care not to declare againſt them, leſt he ſhould deprive his ſubjects of their beneficial commerce with England.

Scotland. As for the Scots, it is certain, that their intereſt required them to do all that was poſſible, to ſtop the progreſs of the Engliſh, in France; for, beſides their antient alliance, which obliged them to aſſiſt the French, it was manifeſtly dangerous to their ſtate, to ſuffer the king of England to grow ſo very powerful; but the regent, for his own ends, had hindered them from taking this adviſable courſe, till, at length, they ſent 7000 men to the dauphin. The Scots, thenceforward, perceiving more and more their error, in permitting the Engliſh to become maſters of France, reſolved to ſend thither a greater ſupply; but, the duke of Albany dying, in the interim, and Mordac, his eldeſt ſon, a prince of a mean genius, ſucceeding him, as regent, inteſtine troubles aroſe, that prevented them from putting their deſign in execution; ſo that, till the death of Henry V, they had acted nothing, in this reſpect, and king James returned into England a priſoner, as before.

Having, thus, preſented my readers with a general view of the affairs of the two kings, it is time to reſume the thread of our Hiſtory.

The parliament met, on the 9th of November, purſuant to the ſummons; and the duke of Glouceſter, by a patent under the great ſeal, was commiſſioned to hold it, in the king's name, according to the uſual practice, when the ſovereign is not in a condition to be preſent, in perſon. The parliament, firſt of all, ſettled the government, during the king's minority; they nominated the members of the council, filled the offices of the crown, and gave the great ſeal to the biſhop of Durham; but it was likewiſe neceſſary to appoint a protector, who ſhould have the management of the publick affairs, during the minority. Henry V. had ordered, on his death-bed, that this high dignity ſhould be conferred on the duke of Glouceſter, his brother; but, in obeying his will, a great injury would be done to the duke of Bedford, the elder brother, the ſecond perſon in the kingdom, and preſumptive heir of the crown, whilſt Henry was without iſſue; for he would, by this means, have been below the duke of Glouceſter, his younger brother. Indeed, he was regent of France; but, very poſſibly, he might return into England, during ſo long a minority; wherefore, it was neceſſary to project ſome expedient, to perform the will of the late king, without derogating from the right of the elder brother. 1422.

The duke of Bedford is made protector; Act. Pub. After a ſerious examination of the affair, the parliament nominated the duke of Bedford, "Protector of England, defender of the church, "and firſt counſellor to the king;" but a clauſe was added, that he ſhould exerciſe this office, only whilſt in England, without having, in his abſence, any concern in the adminiſtration; and, at the ſame time, the protectorſhip was conferred on the duke of Glouceſter, with power, to act, only in the abſence of the duke of Bedford, his brother, who, upon his return into England, was to be owned as ſole protector; and the annual ſalary of the protectorſhip was ſettled, at 8000 marks.

and in his abſence the duke of Glouceſter.

The jealouſy of the council againſt the duke of Glouceſter We have ſeen, that the duke of Glouceſter was not ſo moderate, as the duke of Bedford, his brother; he was impatient of the leaſt oppoſition to his will; wherefore, the privy-council were continually on their guard, to hinder his aſſuming a greater authority, than belonged to his ſtation. As they held not their places of him, but of the parliament, they were the leſs afraid of diſpleaſing him, ſince it was not in his power to remove them; and, on this account, there was, in the council itſelf, a ſort of confederacy againſt him, managed by the biſhop of Wincheſter, his uncle; whoſe oppoſition to the protector, at length, occaſioned a quarrel, the ſad effects of which will be mentioned, in the ſequel of this reign.

Governors are appointed for the king. Hall. The parliament afterwards appointed governors, to take care of the king's perſon and education, viz. Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter, and Henry, his brother, biſhop of Wincheſter, both great-uncles to the king; but I am altogether unacquainted with the qualities of the former, not having met with his character, in any hiſtorian.

As for the biſhop of Wincheſter, he was a prince more qualified for the world and a court,

1422. The character of the biſhop of Wincheſter.

court, than the church; yet ſome place him among the learned of thoſe days. After he was made biſhop of Wincheſter, in 1405, his principal care was to accumulate riches; and he was commonly reckoned the wealthieſt of all the Engliſh nobles. Henry V, his nephew, had ſome regard for him; but, being no ſtranger to his intriguing temper, he oppoſed the pope's promoting him to the dignity of a cardinal. Indeed, he was a man of ſenſe, and tho roughly verſed in all the means, human prudence ſuggeſts to the ambitious, to accompliſh their ends; his birth, parts, riches, and office of governor to the king, gave him great credit, in the council, and, conſequently, in all the reſt of the kingdom; and, in a word, he had a better intereſt, than the duke of Glouceſter, his nephew, tho' protector, and ruined him entirely; but the occaſion of their quarrel is not certainly known. According to ſome, the biſhop, reſenting the duke of Glouceſter's being preferred before him, in the government of the kingdom, which he would rather have had, than that of the king, inceſſantly plotted to ſupplant him; but others, on the contrary, affirm, that the duke of Glouceſter deteſted him, purely, becauſe he always oppoſed his aſſuming an immoderate authority, as regent; which, at laſt, proved fatal to their common maſter.

Whilſt the courts of the two new kings were equally employed in affairs, that would admit of no delay, the war was but feintly proſecuted, in France; moreover, the ſeaſon did not permit, after the death of Charles VI, on the 21ſt of October, great armies to keep the field; ſo that, from this time to the end of 1422, the troops of the two kings took ſome repoſe, in order to prepare to renew the war. There is nothing, therefore, remarkable, in this interval, except the taking of St. Valery, a place of great importance, ſurrendered to the Engliſh, purſuant to a capitulation made, ſome months before, and of Buſſi, in the earldom of Guiſe, by the earl of Ligny; whilſt, on the other hand, James de Harcourt became maſter of La Rue, in Picardy, and La Hire of Vitry, in Champagne.

1423. The duke of Bedford's deſign, purſuant to the late king's project, was to reduce all the towns Charles ſtill held, in the iſle of France, and the neighbouring provinces, that he might, afterwards, attack him, beyond the Loire; and, beſides, ſo long as Charles had places about Paris, the Engliſh durſt not remove from the metropolis, without leaving a ſtrong garriſon, and thereby greatly weakening their armies. Before the regent had finiſhed his preparations, to execute his deſign, he received the ill news, that Graville, one of king Charles's captains, had taken Meulant, by ſtorm, the 4th of January; which loſs gave him extreme uneaſineſs, not only as it retarded the execution of his projects, but on account of the neighbourhood of Meulant, which was no more than ſix leagues from Paris; moreover, the taking of a place ſo very near him was an affront that he could hardly digeſt; and, therefore, he reſolved to open the campaign with this ſiege.

Meulant is taken, by ſtorm, by the French. Monſtrelet. Hall.

1423. They take alſo La Ferte-Milon.

Shortly after, king Charles's troops took alſo La Ferte-Milon, a ſmall town, between Meaux and Soiſſons; but, the caſtle making a gallant defence, the marſhal de L'Iſle Adam had time to relieve it, and expelled the French.

The regent beſieges Meulant.

In the beginning of February, the regent himſelf beſieged Meulant; but as it was king Charles's intereſt to keep the war in the iſle of France, and the adjoining provinces, he ordered the earl of Aumarle to join Stuart, the commander of the Scotch troops, and march with him to the relief of that place. The French give Stuart the title of conſtable of Scotland; but it does not appear, that he was ſtiled ſo by the Scotch hiſtorians; and I imagine, that the miſtake of the French proceeded from their ignorance of the Engliſh and Scotch tongues, where the title of conſtable may be given to any commander, in chief, of a body of troops, without his being conſtable of the kingdom. However that be, the earl of Buchan being then in Scotland, Stuart commanded the auxiliary troops of that kingdom; and the two generals were actually joined; but, a conteſt ariſing, about the command, they parted again, without action. Graville, hearing of it, capitulated, the 2d of March; and the capitulation ran, that ſuch of the beſieged, as had any caſtles in their power, ſhould ſurrender them to the regent; purſuant to which agreement, the regent took poſſeſſion of Marcouſſi, Montlheri, and ſeveral other places.

Meulant capitulates.

Tho' theſe towns are inconſiderable, at this day, they were, then, of great importance, principally becauſe of their lying near Paris, and keeping the Engliſh at a diſtance from the Loire, which was very advantageous to king Charles; wherefore, he ſo managed, that his adherents fortified themſelves, in all the towns and caſtles capable of making any reſiſtance, in order to continue the war in thoſe parts; and this likewiſe was the reaſon, that determined the regent to form the project, of clearing the iſle of France of all theſe garriſons. However, he would not have opened the campaign ſo early, had he not been compelled to it, by the loſs of Meulant; for he was intent upon a much more important deſign, which he executed, immediately after the retaking of that place.

An interview of the dukes of Bedford, Burgundy, Bretagne, and earl of Richemont, at Amiens. April. Act. Pub.

We have ſeen, that the duke of Bretagne made ſome advances towards ſwearing the treaty of Troye; but that the death of Henry V. broke off the negotiation. The duke of Bedford perceiving, how beneficial it would be to the king, his nephew, to gain this prince to his intereſt, had ſpent the whole winter, in negotiating an alliance with him, by the duke of Burgundy's mediation; and, his expectation being fully anſwered, he came to Amiens, where he met the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, with the earl of Richemont, his brother. Purſuant to the plan, before, formed, they ſigned a treaty of alliance, againſt king Charles; and, to ſtrengthen this union, they alſo concluded two marriages,

1423. viz. between the duke of Bedford and Ann, fifth ſiſter to the duke of Burgundy; and between the earl of Richemont and Margaret, eldeſt ſiſter to the duke, and widow to Lewis, the dauphin, who died, in 1415. As the earl of Richemont had been the means of engaging the duke of Bretagne in this league, it was very reaſonable that he ſhould find his advantage in it; and, as the young earl entertained an extraordinary opinion of his own merit, his vanity was agreeably flattered by this marriage. Indeed, it was no ſmall honour for him, to marry a ſiſter to the duke of Burgundy, widow to a dauphin of France; but, to obtain her conſent, he was conſtrained to agree, that, according to the cuſtom of England, ſhe ſhould retain the title of dauphineſs, becauſe ſhe abſolutely refuſed to take the inferior one of counteſs of Richemont. The treaty, between theſe princes, was concluded, April the 8th.

The regent conſummates his marriage. Monſtrelet.

Soon after, the duke of Bedford went to Troye, where he conſummated his marriage; and an hiſtorian affirms, that the duke of Burgundy, provided he died, without male iſſue, promiſed him the earldom of Artois; but there was no occaſion to perform this engagement. In conducting his bride to Paris, the regent ſtaid, ſome time, in Champagne, to form the ſiege of Pont-Sur-ſeine, a ſmall town of that country, which was carried, by ſtorm; and then, coming to Paris, he lodged in the Hotel des Tournelles, which he had ordered to be repaired, and magnificently furniſhed.

The earl of Saliſ- beſieges Montaigu. April. Monſtrelet.

In the beginning of the year, the earl of Salisbury was inveſted with the government of Champagne and La Brie, and received orders from the regent, to clear theſe two provinces of king Charles's garriſons; and this general, having taken the field, in April, beſieged, or rather blockaded, Montaigu, an extreme ſtrong caſtle, ſeated on a cape, belonging to the province of Burgundy, but running into Champagne. There were only 120 men in the caſtle; and yet, by reaſon of its ſituation, it was almoſt impregnable. The earl of Salisbury, having formed the blockade, leaving the earl of Suffolk, with ſome troops, marched to other conqueſts; and, in June, he became maſter of Vertus, Sezanne, Epernay, and ſome other places.

Tannegui attempts to relieve Montaigu.

In the interim, king Charles ordered Tannegui du Chatel to relieve Montaigu; but the earl of Salisbury, who had left only few troops, before that caſtle, fearing ſome misfortune, poſted, immediately, to their aſſiſtance; and with ſuch expedition, that Tannegui du Chatel, tho' he was now far advanced, finding himſelf inferior to the Engliſh, retired into Burgundy, where the French had lately ſurpriſed Macon and Crevant, at the two extremities of that province. Salisbury purſued him; but, not being able to overtake him, he laid ſiege to Crevant, a ſtrong place upon the Yonne, three leagues above Auxerre.

Charles had no ſooner received this news, than he ordered Stuart, who was lately reinforced from Scotland, to draw ſome troops out of the neighbouring garriſons, and join du Chatel, in order to attempt the relief of Crevant; and all theſe forces together made 10,000 men, of which, by the king's order, the marſhal de Severac went and took the command; but, as it required ſome time, before they could be joined, in a body, Saliſbury had leiſure to take the place; after which, being ignorant, as yet, of the deſigns of the French, he joined Suffolk, before Montaigu. 1423.

Crevant is taken.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, in Burgundy, the duke of Bedford cauſed Orſay to be beſieged, a ſmall place between Paris and Montlheri; but, as the garriſon held out, ſix weeks, and ſurrendered only, at extremity, he reſolved to make them an example, for a terror to the other ſmall towns. All the officers and ſoldiers were carried away priſoners to Paris, and ordered to be put to death; but, fortunately for them, the ducheſs of Bedford, meeting them as they were going to execution, obtained their pardon.

Orſay is taken by the Engliſh. Monſtrelet.

In the interim, the French army, drawn together, in Auxerrois, marched to Crevant, which they had not been able to relieve, and beſieged it; and the army was commanded by the marſhal de Severac, who had under him Du Chatel, Stuart, Ventadour, and ſome other noted officers. The ducheſs dowager of Burgundy, then at Dijon, ſent, immediately, to the marſhal Toulongeon, and all the Burgundian lords, to try to relieve Crevant; and ſhe likewiſe deſired the earl of Salisbury to join her generals; who, being very ſenſible, how neceſſary it was to comply with the ducheſs's requeſt, leaving part of his troops, before Montaigu, the garriſon whereof was reduced to 20 men, repaired to Auxerre, and joined the Burgundians. Next day, they marched together to Crevant; and they had, in all, no more than 6000 men; but they were ſome of the beſt ſoldiers, then in Europe. The beſiegers, hearing of their march, raiſed the ſiege, in order to meet them, and poſted themſelves, at ſome diſtance from Crevant, upon a hill, where it was very difficult to force them; and the reſolution of the French generals ſurpriſed the Engliſh and Burgundians; who, perceiving that it was impoſſible to attack them, in their preſent poſt, altered their rout, and, as if they had ſome other view, paſſed the Yonne, at Cologn-le-Vimeaux, with an intent to repaſs it, at ſome other place, and proceed to Crevant. The French, finding that, by this march, their commodious ſtation was rendered uſeleſs, deſcended from the hill, and poſted themſelves, by the river-ſide, to defend the paſſage; and the two armies remained, above three hours, in ſight of each other, with the river between them; but, at length, a body of Engliſh, gaining a certain bridge, withſtood the efforts of the French army, with uncommon bravery, and gave the reſt of the troops time to come to their ſupport; which action, one of the boldeſt, was performed, with ſo much valour, regularity, and conduct, that the French were unable to beat them from the bridge. All the Engliſh and Burgundians were no ſooner over, than they ſo vigorouſly.

The battle of Crevant. P. Daniel.

1423. vigorouſly attacked their enemies, that they put them to rout; but the marſhal de Severac was blamed, for retiring too ſoon, and leaving Stuart engaged with his Scotch troops. Above 500, moſt of them Scots, were ſlain, on the ſpot; and as many more were made priſoners, among whom were Stuart and Xaintrailles, with 40 officers of note.

Macon and other places are taken by the Engliſh.

The French, by reaſon of their loſs, on this occaſion, being incapable of keeping the field, before a victorious army, the earl of Salisbury returned to the blockade of Montaigu; and, a few days after his arrival, the place capitulated, and the fortifications were demoliſhed. Then, being apprehenſive of no oppoſition from the French, he divided his army with the earl of Suffolk, who took Macon, whilſt he himſelf finiſhed the conqueſts of Champagne; after which, Salisbury entered the iſle of France, and took Coucy and ſome other caſtles.

The ſiege and capitulation of Crotoy. Monſtrelet.

In the mean while, the regent had beſieged Crotoy, a town, in Picardy, ſituated on the Somme, over-againſt St. Valery; and Ralph Boteler had the management of this ſiege, which employed him, till October. At laſt, James d' Harcourt, governor of the town, agreed to ſurrender it, the 1ſt of March next, if not relieved, by that time, which ſort of capitulation was very common, in thoſe days. On the day fixed for the relief, or ſurrender, of the place, the beſiegers drew up under the walls, expecting their enemies; which was called Tenir Journee; and, if no army appeared, that day, to give them battle, the place was ſurrendered, purſuant to the capitulation. Tho' the governor of Crotoy had given ample time, to prepare for his relief, Charles was not in a condition to attempt it; and the town was ſurrendered to the duke of Bedford.

The battle of Crevant was the more prejudicial to Charles, as he loſt many officers of diſtinction, ſome of whom were ſlain, and the reſt priſoners in the hands of the Engliſh, or Burgundians. Among the latter, Xaintrailles was the perſon whom he moſt lamented, knowing him to be one of the braveſt officers in the kingdom, and moſt capable of doing him ſervice; and, tho' he had not much money, he ſent him, what was ſufficient to pay his ranſom. Xaintrailles, to convince the king of the grateful ſenſe he retained of this favour, preſently after his releaſe, found means to ſurpriſe Ham and Guiſe; and La Hire, or Vignoles, did the like, by Compiegne.

The loſs of theſe places extremely mortified the regent, as it obliged him to keep his forces, near Paris, in ſpite of the projects he had formed; wherefore, he ordered all the three towns, taken by ſurprize, to be beſieged, at once. If I ſhould ſtop to relate the circumſtances of all the ſieges, on both ſides, during this war, it would inſenſibly lead me into numberleſs relations, for which few people would be concerned; ſo that I ſhall only mention the beginnings and events of the ſieges.

The regent, having reſolved upon the retaking theſe three places, the earl of Ligny inveſted Ham, and the marſhal de l' Iſle-Adam made an attempt upon Compiegne; but l' Iſle-Adam, falling into an ambuſh laid for him by La Hire, loſt 300 of his men; yet he obliged his enemy to keep within the walls. After Ligny had taken Ham, he inveſted Guiſe; but Xaintrailles, who commanded in that place, finding that, with his few troops, he ſhould make but a feint reſiſtance, went away, in queſt of relief. However, inſtead of ſucceeding, he fell himſelf into the hands of the Burgundians; and Guiſe ſurrendered, immediately. Upon this, Ligny joined l' Iſle-Adam, before Compeigne; and La Hire was conſtrained, at laſt, to capitulate; ſo that all the benefit Charles received, by taking the three places, was making the regent loſe time, which, of itſelf, was of ſome conſequence, conſidering the ſituation of his affairs. 1423.

Charles receives an aid from the duke of Milan.

After the duke of Bretagne went over to the Engliſh, Charles ſaw nothing, in France, able to ſupport him; and, therefore, he determined to apply to foreign princes, for aſſiſtance; tho' he could expect aid, only from Philip Maria Viſconti, duke of Milan, and the Scots. Philip was uncle to the duke of Orleans, and, of courſe, a friend to the houſe of Valois; and, his affairs being, then, in a good ſituation, he ſent king Charles 1000 men at arms, and 500 lances, at the time when the loſs of the battle of Crevant had led him to deſpair of keeping the field. Theſe troops being arrived, on the borders of France, Grolee, governor of Lyonnois, and Culant, lately made admiral, went to receive them; but, as they were entering Baujolois, the governor of la Fuſſiere ſent the generals word, that he was in negotiation with Toulongeon, marſhal of Burgundy, to ſurrender the town; and, as the marſhal knew nothing of their march, it would be eaſy to ſurpriſe him, when he came to take poſſeſſion. This ſtratagem was executed ſo ſecretly, that Toulongeon, entering la Fuſſiere, with 700 men, was made priſoner, with all his followers; but the duke, his maſter, exchanged him, afterwards, for Stuart taken, at Crevant.

1423. The battle of Gravelle.

This ſmall advantage was incapable of comforting king Charles, for all his loſſes; but, ſhortly after, he had a freſh occaſion of joy, in the news, that a body of Engliſh troops were defeated, in Maine, with great loſs. John de la Pole, brother to the earl of Suffolk, the French having no army in the field, departed from Normandy, with a body of troops drawn out of ſeveral garriſons, and, throwing himſelf into Anjou, burnt the ſuburbs of Angers; and then he retired, with a booty of 12000 head of cattle, taken in his incurſion. Whilſt he was employed in this expedition, the earl of Aumarle, governor of Anjou, aſſembled ſome troops, to ſtop his progreſs; and the young duke of Alenſon, Loheac, Coulonge, the baſtard of Alenſon, and ſeveral others joining him with what troops they could raiſe, overtook the Engliſh, at Gravelle, in Maine.

Pole

1423. Pole, perceiving that it was impoſſible to drive away his booty, without fighting, drew up his troops, and, intrenching himſelf with his carriages in the front, received the French, with undaunted reſolution; but, whilſt his men were courageouſly fighting, a detachment of the enemy attacking them, in the rear, it being impoſſible for them to defend themſelves, on both ſides, after a very obſtinate reſiſtance, they were, at length, defeated, with the loſs of 1400 men, and all their booty; and Pole himſelf was taken priſoner. Charles's flatterers would have perſuaded him, that he was, now, revenged, for the buſineſs of Crevant; but there was a vaſt diſparity between theſe two actions, with reſpect to the conſequence; for the battle of Gravelle did not affect the affairs of the Engliſh, whereas that of Crevant had almoſt ruined Charles.

Charles receives aid from Scotland. Buchanan.

However, this ſucceſs raiſed his hopes, eſpecially, when it was ſeconded with the advice of the arrival of 5000 men, brought him from Scotland by the earl of Buchan; who had returned into his own country, to take care of the intereſts of his new maſter, to whom he was entirely devoted; and the great men of Scotland were very much inclined to his ſentiments. The new regent being a prince of a mean genius and no credit, it was eaſy for the earl, his brother, to be ſerviceable to king Charles; and, by his care and ſollicitations, he procured an aid of 5000 men, commanded by Archibald, earl of Douglaſs, his father-in-law. Douglaſs was a lord of great repute, in his own country, by reaſon of his qualities, riches, and alliances, but ſtill more conſiderable, for his merit and experience in military affairs. At Rochel, he landed his troops, which could never more ſeaſonably arrive; and Charles pleaſed, as may be imagined, to ſee theſe ſupplies, loaded the principal Scotch officers with honours, careſſes, and favours. He had already conferred on the earl of Buchan the higheſt military poſt; Douglaſs was created duke of Touraine; and Stuart was made baron d'Aubigni, and afterwards earl of Evreux, with licenſe to quarter his arms with thoſe of France; and, to give the Scots a farther proof of his eſteem and confidence, he choſe out of them a company of gaurds, which, in proceſs of time, was increaſed to a regiment; and, in a word, he did every thing, that tended to gain the affection of the Scots, in order to engage them to ſend him greater ſupplies, or make a powerful diverſion, in England.

The birth of prince Lewis.

Thus, the affairs of Charles began to flouriſh, by the ſuccours of the Scots and the duke of Milan; and his joy, at the arrival of theſe troops, was preceded by the ſatisfaction of having a ſon born, on the 4th of July, the ſame year; to whom he gave the name of Lewis, with the title of dauphin.

The earl of Richemont quarrels with the duke of Bedford.

Moreover, an event was preparing, in his favour, that was no leſs proper to reſtore his affairs; namely, the earl of Richemont's change, which drew after it that of the duke of Bretagne. Richemont, having conſummated his marriage, at Dijon, where the duke of Burgundy came, with the dauphineſs, his ſiſter, went and paid a viſit to the duke of Bedford, at Paris; and, during his ſtay, he often intimated to the duke, that he was extremely deſirous of commanding the Engliſh army, to which he offered to join a conſiderable body of the duke his brother's troops; but the regent did not judge it adviſable to place, at the head of his army, a young foreign prince, who had never commanded, in chief, nor even ſerved, ſince the battle of Azincourt. The earl of Richemont, being extremely haughty and ſelf-conceited, could not digeſt this refuſal; but, conſidering it, as a great affront, from that moment, he reſolved to be revenged; and, how he executed his reſolution, the ſequel will inform us. 1423.

A truce for Burgundy and Lyonnois.

Soon after, Charles and the duke of Burgundy made a truce, for Lyonnois and Burgundy; which was abſolutely neceſſary for theſe two provinces, as well as for the duke of Savoy, by whoſe means, it was procured; for, his ſubjects and the inhabitants of Burgundy and Lyonnois not being able to live, without trading together, the war was very detrimental to them.

The affairs of England. Act. Pub.

Whilſt France was the ſeat of war, England enjoyed a profound tranquillity, by the good order eſtabliſhed in the government; and, in May, Edmund Mortimer, earl of Marche, was made governor of Ierland, with a very extenſive authority; for policy required, that, during Henry's minority, this prince ſhould be removed from the kingdom, becauſe of his right to the crown. Not that he had given any cauſe for ſuſpicion; but there was a poſibility, that even, without his conſent, he might occaſion commotions, which the wiſdom of the council was willing to prevent; but he did not depart, till February, or March, the following year.

A ſubſidy is granted. Act. Pub.

The parliament, that met, on the 20th of October, granted the king a ſubſidy, for the ſupport of the war, in France, where king Charles ſtill maintained his ground, notwithſtanding the great diſproportion between his forces and thoſe of his rival.

A treaty about releaſing the king of Scotland. Act. Pub.

I have obſerved, that this monarch extremely careſſed the Scots; and that the nation began to follow maxims entirely different, from thoſe they had obſerved, during the duke of Albany's regency. The duke of Glouceſter and the council of England, perceiving this alteration, which might prove very prejudicial to the king's affairs, judged it neceſſary to countermine Charles's deſigns, by means of the king of Scotland, a priſoner in England, ever ſince 1408; and, with this view, they reſolved to releaſe him, upon ſuch terms as ſhould attach him to the intereſts of England. This was, indeed, the only method to ſtop the career of the Scotch nobility, who were almoſt all inclined to an open rupture with the Engliſh; but, whilſt the council was projecting, how to proceed, without too plainly diſcovering their deſign, an accident, in Scotland, ſaved them the trouble of making the firſt advances.

Buchanan.

Murdac Stuart, regent of Scotland, ſince the death of the duke of Albany, his father, had three ſons, all very ill-tempered; and who

1423. who gave him a great deal of trouble and vexation, becauſe he was neither able, nor had ſufficient, ſteadineſs to reſtrain them within the bounds of their duty. The youngeſt, asking, one day, for a certain hawk, being denied, wrung the bird's neck, tho' he knew it to be extremely valued by his father; but, this action convincing the regent, how difficult it would be for him to govern the nation, ſince his own children had ſo little reſpect for him, he aſſembled the ſtates, and propoſed a negotiation with England, about the liberty of king James. A motion, ſo agreeable to the wiſhes both of nobles and people, was received, with joy and applauſe; and, leſt he ſhould repent, ambaſſadors were, immediately, named, and impowered to negotiate the affair; who, as the court of England ſtood affected, met with a very civil reception; and commiſſioners were appointed to treat with them, whoſe inſtructions were, that they ſhould conſent to king James's enlargement, on the following terms: That the captive prince ſhould pay the king 40,000, or, at leaſt, 36000 marks, for his expenees, in England, during his captivity; and that a truce ſhould be made, during which, neither of the kings ſhould aſſiſt the other's enemies. Moreover, they were ordered to intimate to the Scotch ambaſſadors, that it would be very expedient to marry their king to a princeſs of the royal family of England; but the council wiſhed, that, if, poſſible, this motion ſhould come from the Scots.

The firſt conference, upon this affair, was held, at York, in the beginning of September; and, on the 10th of this month, the plenipotentiaries agreed, that James ſhould have his liberty, and return into his kingdom; that he ſhould pay, at ſeveral times, 40,000 marks, and give hoſtages, for ſecurity of the payment. In the ſecond conference, held, at London, on the 4th of December, all things, relating to the payment of the money, and the quality of the hoſtages, were ſettled; and then it was agreed, that the king of Scotland ſhould marry Joanna, ſiſter to the duke of Somerſet, and niece to the duke of Exeter and biſhop of Wincheſter; on account of which marriage, ſolemnized, in the beginning of February, next year, Henry, or the council, in his name, abated 10,000 of the 40,000 marks to be paid by the king of Scotland.

A match agreed upon between James and Joanna of Somerſet. Act. Pub.

1424. After this, the ambaſſadors of both nations ſigned a ſeven years truce, to commence, May the 1ſt, 1424; during which, each of the two kings was obliged to hinder his ſubjects from doing any damage to the other; ſo that, by this treaty, James bound himſelf, indirectly, to recall his troops out of France, before May the 1ſt; but, whether he neglected to ſend orders, for their return, or, as is moſt likely, his generals found ſome pretence, to evade them, theſe troops, as we ſhall ſee preſently, were there, in Auguſt. All theſe negotiations being, thus, ended, James was conducted to the borders, and ſet at liberty, the beginning of March.

A truce between England and Scotland. Act. Pub.

An Engliſh hiſtorian affirms, that, before James left England, he ſwore fealty, and did homage to young Henry, in Windſor-caſtle, for the whole kingdom of Scotland; but it could be wiſhed, that, in advancing a fact of ſuch importance, and ſo very improbable, this author, who relates the very words of the oath and homage, had diſcovered the fountain from whence it was drawn. It is undeniably evident, that, ſince John Baliol, all the kings of Scotland had conſtantly refuſed this homage; for we muſt not rank, among the kings, Edward Baliol, who, to obtain the crown, had made himſelf a ſlave to Edward III. but it will be ſufficient to remark, that Robert III, refuſed homage to Henry IV; and that nothing had been ſettled upon this point, ſince that time; ſo that James was upon the ſame terms with the king, his father. If, therefore, he did homage to Henry VI, it muſt have been, by vertue of a new agreement; and yet we do not find, in the inſtructions of the Engliſh commiſſioners, any orders concerning that point. The conventions of the plenipotentiaries, appointed to treat about the liberty of king James, do not give the leaſt hint of this homage, tho' they are very copious, upon particulars of much leſs importance; nor is there any thing like it, in the treaty of truce. In a word, in above 30 ſeveral acts, extant in Rymer's Collection, relating to the affairs negotiated in 1423, and 1424, between the Engliſh and Scots, there is not a ſyllable alluding to any ſuch homage. Upon all which accounts, it is to be preſumed, in my opinion, that what is advanced by this hiſtorian, and by ſeveral others after him, about the pretended homage, at Windſor, is the pure effect of their prejudice. They really believed, as many do ſtill, that this homage was due from the king of Scotland; and, accordingly, they imagined the captive king would not be releaſed, without being obliged to pay it; but, beſides the reaſons which the king of Scotland had to refuſe it, the ſilence of the records, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, I apprehend to be a clear demonſtration. The reader may look back to what has been ſaid, upon this ſubject, in the reign of Edward I; where the rights of the Engliſh and Scots were ſufficienrly explained.

1424. Miſtakes of the Engliſh hiſtorians concerning the homage. Hollingſh.

Whilſt the king of Scotland's enlargement was negotiating in England, the war was continued, in France, with various ſucceſs; but, in the beginning of the year, the French took, by ſcalade, Beaumont upon Oyſe, a ſmall town, in the iſle of France, ſix leagues from Pontoiſe.

Beaumont is taken by the French. Monſtrelet.

On the contrary, Perrinet Graſſet, a Burgundian adventurer, ſurpriſed La Charite, a place of great importance; which by opening the Engliſh a paſſage over the Loire, might enable them to carry their arms, beyond that river.

La Charite is ſurpriſed.

The taking of places, by ſurprize, was then ſo frequent, that it is a wonder, the daily inſtances ſhould not render the governors more vigilant; and the duke of Bedford was extremely concerned to find, that, as he promoted his projects, by taking the enemy's towns, about Paris, others were ſurpriſed, that retarded his deſigns. His ſcheme was, as I obſerved, to

1424. clear the northern provinces; and yet he could not accompliſh it. Before he could execute his from the French; wherefore, he opened the project, it was neceſſary to take Beaumont campaign, in March, with an army of 10,000 men; and, after he had recovered this place, he made himſelf maſter alſo, in the iſle of France, of ſeveral caſtles, which did not a little incommode the Pariſians.

Whilſt he was employed in theſe mighty expeditions, he was informed, that Giraut, a captain of king Charles's party, had ſurpriſed Ivry, on the frontiers of Normandy; but, poſting, immediately, into thoſe parts, not to give the French leiſure, to provide for its defence, he beſieged the town, in the beginning of July. Giraut, perceiving that he could not long defend it, without relief, capitulated to ſurrender, on the 15th of Auguſt, if not relieved, by that time; but Charles, having early intelligence, of this capitulation, reſolved to relieve Ivry, at any rate, and to employ, in that ſervice, the Italian and Scotch troops lately arrived. To theſe he joined about 11000 men, drawn out of ſeveral provinces and garriſons; foreſeeing, that, without a great ſuperiority of forces, it would be extremely difficult to ſucceed in his deſign. All theſe troops, in a body, made an army of 20,000 men, which was formed, in Maine; and Charles never had one ſo numerous, before. It was the earl of Buchan's place, as conſtable of France, to command, in chief; but he was pleaſed to reſign that honour to the earl of Douglaſs, his father-in-law; to whom the king ſent, for that purpoſe, a patent, conſtituting him his lieutenant-general of the whole kingdom, otherwiſe the conſtable could not have been under his command.

The earl of Douglaſs commands the army of France.

All the French noblemen of Charles's party repaired to the army, in order to ſhare in the glory, expected from this expedition; and the French, beginning to march, paſſed, on the 12th of Auguſt, by the walls of Verneuil, a town in Perche, poſſeſſed by the Engliſh. On the morrow, they came in ſight of the Engliſh army, which was advantageouſly intrenched, before Ivry; and Douglaſs had no ſooner viewed the enemy's camp, than he judged it impoſſible to be attacked; upon which, he, immediately, returned, reſolving to lay ſiege to Verneuil. He thought, that he ſhould have time ſo to fortify his camp, as to expect the Engliſh, with advantage; or, if they would not venture to attack him, the taking of Verneuil would make the king an ample amends, for the loſs of Ivry. Upon his appearing before Verneuil, the garriſon prepoſterouſly imagined, that he was come from defeating the Engliſh, before Ivry; taking it for granted, that, with ſo great a ſuperiority, he would never return, without action; and, in this belief, which the French took care not to deſtroy, they ſurrendered, upon the firſt ſummons, and Douglaſs garriſoned the place with French.

He does not think fit to attack the Engliſh. Hall.

P. Daniel.

The earl of Salisbury, hearing of the march of the French, haſtened to join the regent, with 1000 men at arms, and 2000 archers, who arrived at the camp, on the 14th; ſo that the Engliſh army was about 15000 ſtrong. 1424.

On the 15th of Auguſt, Ivry opened her gates to the beſiegers, according to the capitulation; and, next day, the regent marched to Verneuil, where the French ſtill remained; and, when he came within a league of their camp, he ſent a herald to offer them battle. At the ſame time, he bid him tell Douglaſs, "He was come to take a bit with him; to which the other anſwered, "He ſhould find "the cloth laid." Naturally, it was the duke of Bedford's buſineſs to advance, who was in queſt of his enemies; but, knowing the impetuous humour of the French, he did not doubt, that, being ſuperior in number, they would come and attack him; and, therefore, he reſolved to expect them. He choſe an advantageous poſt, for his camp, and for the field of battle, a ground flanked by a hill, on which he placed 2000 archers; and he ordered his foremoſt ranks to take ſuch piles, as the late king had ſo ſucceſsfully uſed, in the battle of Azincourt, for the better reſiſting the efforts of the French cavalry, among whom were all the nobles. In this poſture, he waited the enemies reſolutions, hoping they would be ſo imprudent as to attack him; and he was not deceived, in his expectation.

Ivry ſurrenders.

The earl of Douglaſs, having viewed the Engliſh camp, called a council of war; and he repreſented, that the duke of Bedford, inſtead of advancing, deſigned to fight, with advantage, on a ground choſen by himſelf; wherefore, it was, by no means, adviſable, to attack him, in that ſituation; that the danger, to which it would expoſe the king's affairs, was of too great conſequence, to hazard a battle; but that, if it was judged neceſſary to fight, the beſt way would be to chuſe an advantageous poſt, and there expect the enemy, in order not to engage, till ſuch precautions were taken, as would, in ſome meaſure, warrant ſucceſs. This advice, being given by a foreigner, was thought too cautious by ſome of the council; and, amidſt the debates, a party was formed, againſt the general, headed by Aymeri, viſcount of Narbonne. This lord alledged, that, if, with ſuch a ſuperiority, a battle was avoided, the reputation of the king's arms would be irreparably loſt; that this cowardice would ſtrike ſuch a terror into the troops, that it would be impoſſible to lead them againſt enemies, who were avoided, when they ought to have been attacked; that the king's affairs could not be reſtored, without ſome great action; and, as there could not be a fairer opportunity, to vanquiſh the enemy, to neglect it would be to betray the intereſt of the king and kingdom. Notwithſtanding theſe reaſons, the conſtable and oldeſt captains were of the general's opinion; but the contrary party were reſolutely bent to carry their point. Narbonne, their head, going out of the council, ordered his banner to be diſplayed, and began to march towards the enemies; and they, that were of his mind, did the ſame, who were joined by all the volunteers

Diſſenſions in the French council of war.

1424. luntiers of the army. Douglaſs was enraged at this diſobedience; but neither his, nor the conſtable's authority, could oblige them to return. Had he been in his own country, he would have left theſe raſh men to periſh; but, being in a foreign kingdom, he was afraid of being charged with cowardice, or with having voluntarily ſuffered part of his troops to be loſt. Moreover, the number of the diſobedient continually increaſing, he found himſelf forced, tho' with extreme indignation, to march with the reſt of the army; upon which, they readily left the general the conduct of the army, congratulating each other, for having conquered his obſtinacy. In the interim, in ſpite of Douglaſs's care, his troops, fearing victory would eſcape them, were in ſuch diſorder and confuſion, that, when they came in ſight of the Engliſh, they were almoſt quite out of breath; yet they, immediately, attacked them, regardleſs of thoſe that adviſed to reſt a little, before they engaged. The Italians, being expoſed to the arrows of the 2000 archers on the hill, were the firſt that took to flight; for the French and Scots behaved better; but they were concerned with ſoldiers inured to war. In a word, the leaders, finding the attack unſucceſsful, and themſelves liable to everlaſting diſgrace, and ſome even juſtly fearing an exemplary puniſhment, choſe an honourable death, before a ſhameful retreat; and, the earl of Douglaſs, the earl of Buchan, Narbonne, Ventadour, Graville, and Rambouillet being ſlain, and many others of the principal officers being wounded, there was ſcarce a general left, to lead the ſoldiers to the charge; ſo that the whole army was entirely routed, and hotly purſued. Then it was, that the greateſt ſlaughter was made, as it commonly happens, on ſuch occaſions; and, the Italians returning, upon a falſe information, that their friends had the advantage, many more of them were ſlain by the victorious Engliſh. Theſe foreign troops would have been all cut in pieces, had not the night cooled the ardor of the conquerors; and the French and Scots loſt above 5000 men, who lay dead, on the ſpot, beſides a great number of wounded and priſoners. Among the laſt, were the marſhal de la Fayette and Gaucour; and the young duke of Alenſon, who had behaved moſt gallantly, was found among the dead, with ſome remains of life, and, by the extraordinary care of the regent, cured of his wounds; but, as will be ſeen, hereafter, he purchaſed his liberty, at a very dear rate. The Engliſh loſt 16 or 1700 of their braveſt ſoldiers; and, the 17th of Auguſt, and the next day after the battle, the regent inveſted Verneuil, where Rambure commanded. This governor could have long defended himſelf, had he been well ſtored with proviſions; but that want, and, perhaps, the conſternation of the garriſon, obliged him to ſurrender, the third day; and there was found, in Verneuil, all the baggage of the French, Scotch, and Italian generals, with the money intended for the payment of the army. As they entered the town, the Engliſh met the corpſe of the viſcount of Narbonne, going to be buried; and, becauſe he was one of the duke of Burgundy's murderers, they took his body and hung it, on a gibbet. 1424.

The battle of Verneuil.

After the battle of Verneuil, the regent, leaving the command of the army to the earl of Salisbury, poſted to Paris, where ſome mutiniers had raiſed a ſedition, believing that he could not fail of being defeated by the French; but this commotion was appeaſed by the death of ſome of the ring-leaders; tho' it convinced the regent, that he muſt not truſt to the affection of the Pariſians, unleſs it was in his power to keep them always in awe. A commotion, at Paris, is appeaſed by the regent. Hall.

The earl of Salisbury, being in a condition to make ſome conſiderable attempt, entered Maine, and beſieged Mans, the capital of the province, and one of the ſtrongeſt cities, in France; and the governor made a long and brave defence; but, at length, deſpairing of relief, he came to a capitulation. After the taking of Mans, the Engliſh general inveſted La Ferte Bernard, another place in the ſame province, which could hardly be carried, by ſtorm, on account of its ſituation; but, whilſt part of his troops, kept it blocked up, he over-ran the reſt of the province, and took St. Suſanne, with ſome other places; and he finiſhed his glorious campaign, and the conqueſt of Maine, with taking La Ferte Bernard, after a four months blockade. Salisbury conquers Maine.

The defeats of Crevant and Verneuil had thrown king Charles's troops, and all his towns, into great conſternation; and, were it not for the approaching winter, probably, the Engliſh would have puſhed their conqueſts farther; but this delay, which the ſeaſon gave king Charles, would have only retarded his ruin, a few months, if a favourable and unexpected event had not given him time to breathe. I mean the quarrel, between the dukes of Glouceſter and Brabant, in which the duke of Burgundy was alſo engaged; and it may be juſtly affirmed, that this affair cauſed the Engliſh to loſe the fatal moment, which, probably, was to determine the ruin of the houſe of Valois, and render them maſters of all France. This will be manifeſtly ſhewn, in the ſequel; but it will be neceſſary, firſt, to give a brief account of the riſe of this quarrel, which proved ſo fatal to England. A favourable event for Charles.

William of Bavaria, late earl of Hainault, had, by Margaret, his counteſs, daughter to Philip le Hardy, duke of Burgundy, an only daughter, named Jacquelina, who had been eſpouſed to John, ſecond ſon to Charles VI; who, being dauphin, by the death of his elder brother, Lewis, died, at Compiegne, in 1416; and Jacquelina remained a widow, at her father's houſe. The earl, her father, dying ſhortly after, ſhe became heireſs to his dominions, viz. Hainault, Holland, Zealand and and Frieſland; and ſuch a noble inheritance could not fail to attract the addreſſes of many princeſſes; but the counteſs, her mother, deſirous of procuring this rich match, for a prince of her own family, caſt her eyes on John, duke of Brabant, her nephew, and perſuaded her daughter to marry him. The new-married couple ſoon quarrelled, for reaſons foreign The affair of Hainault.

to

1424. to our purpoſe; but their quarrel grew to that height, that Jacquelina, at laſt, cauſed herſelf be run away with, by ſome Engliſh knights, who conducted her to London. I have obſerved, in the preceding reign, that this voluntary rape was not a ſecret to king Henry V. for, in all probability, this monarch had then thoughts of marrying Jacquelina to the duke of Glouceſter.

Upon this princeſs's arrival, in England, ſhe attempted to annul her marriage with the duke of Brabant; and, with this view, ſhe applied to the anti-pope, Benedict XIII, who, tho' depoſed by the council of Piſa, perſiſted in retaining his title and dignity. The pretended pope, overjoyed at this addreſs, annulled Jacquelina's marriage, and permitted her to marry again; but, whether Henry V. was afraid of diſobliging the duke of Burgundy, couſin-german to the duke of Brabant, or judged it too irregular to uſe the diſpenſation of a pope, whom he did not own, for ſuch, he did not haſten the concluſion of the projected marriage.

Henry dying, in the interim, the duke of Glouceſter, believing that he ought not to delay, any longer, ſo beneficial a marriage, eſpouſed Jacquelina, either in 1422, or, at leaſt, in the beginning of 1423; for there is, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, a petition dated, March 7, 1423, and preſented to him, under the title of earl of Hainault. However this be, the duke had no ſooner conſummated his marriage, than he reſolved to take poſſeſſion of his ducheſs's dominions, now in the hands of the duke of Brabant; but, in the mean time, the duke of Burgundy, foreſeeing that Jacquelina's third marriage might create a war between the two princes, her husbands, had a conference, on that ſubject, with the duke of Bedford, at Amiens, and afterwards another, at Paris, in December, 1423. They agreed, that the deciſion of this affair ſhould be referred to the pope, as the proper judge of ſuch caſes; and the duke of Brabant approved of the expedient, being ſenſible that there was no ſufficient reaſon to induce the court of Rome to annul the marriage; but the duke of Glouceſter rejected it; tho' he proteſted, that he would readily conſent to a reaſonable agreement. In the mean while, he made preparations, to ſupport his pretenſions, whilſt the duke of Bedford triumphantly proſecuted the war, in France. At laſt, in October, 1424, he arrived, at Calais, with his ducheſs, and brought with him 5000 men; and he ſtaid there, till about the middle of November.

The duke of Burgundy comes to the duke of Bedford, at Paris.

Tho' the duke of Burgundy was entirely in the duke of Brabant's intereſt, he ſtill continued his good underſtanding with the Engliſh, hoping the duke of Glouceſter would deſiſt from his pretenſions; and the more, as the duke of Bedford, his brother, endeavoured to perſuade him. The arrival of the Engliſh troops, at Calais, did not alarm him, being yet ignorant that they were deſigned againſt the duke of Brabant; nay, very probably, they were ſent from England, to ſtrengthen the regent; and, therefore, whilſt the duke of Glouceſter ſtaid, at Calais, Philip, remained at Paris, partaking of the diverſions and entertainments made by the regent, on account of his glorious campaign. At his return to Dijon, he celebrated his ſecond nuptials with Bona of Artois, widow to Philip, earl of Nevers, his uncle; who was ſiſter to the carl of Eu, a priſoner, in England, and half-ſiſter of the earl of Clermont, eldeſt ſon to the duke of Bourbon. 1424.

The duke of Glouceſter becomes maſter of Hainault. Hall.

Whilſt this marriage was ſolemnizing, at Dijon, the duke of Glouceſter departed from Calais, and, with Jacquelina, his wife, marched towards Hainault; and he paſſed through part of the duke of Burgundy's dominions, but did not ſuffer his troops to commit any diſorder. Bouchain opened her gates to him, and, ſoon after, all the other towns of Hainault, ſubmitting, ſwore fealty to him and the ducheſs; upon which, the duke of Burgundy ordered Ligny and Liſle-Adam, to draw an army together, with all expedition, and join the earl of St. Pol, brother to the duke of Brabant, who was preparing, at Bruſſels, for the aſſiſtance of the duke, his brother; but, before we proceed in this affair, it will be neceſſary to conclude the account of the occurrences of the year 1424, with what paſſed, in England.

Sir John Mortimer, uncle to Edmund, earl of Marche, having been, ſome time, a priſoner in the tower, was accuſed of attempting his eſcape, in order to excite an inſurrection in Wales; for it was pretended, that he deſigned to proclaim the earl of Marche, his nephew, and, upon his refuſal, to proclaim himſelf; but, whether this accuſation was proved, or it was thought proper to diſpatch a perſon, who, if he had eſcaped, might have done miſchief, he was condemned and executed.

The death of the earl of Marche.

The earl of Marche, his nephew, did not long ſurvive him; who died, in Ireland, about the latter end of the year, without iſſue; and, by his death, the title of earl of Marche, and his right to the crown of England, deſcended to Richard, duke of York, his nephew, ſon to Ann, his ſiſter, and the earl of Cambridge, beheaded, at Southampton, in 1415. All the Engliſh hiſtorians unanimouſly agree, that this prince, then under age, did not, as yet, bear the title of duke of York, which, they affirm, was not conferred upon him, till the parliament of Leiceſter, in 1426; but it appears from the Collection of the Publick Acts, that he is ſtiled duke of York, in an act dated, February 26, 1425, 13 months before the parliament of Leiceſter, where he was only knighted.

1425. The miſerable ſtate of king Charles's affairs. P. Daniel.

In the beginning of the year 1425, king Charles's affairs were in a deplorable condition; for the battles of Crevant and Verneuil had deprived him of his troops and beſt generals; and, having neither money, nor credit, all his revenues being mortgaged, he was unable to bring any army into the field. The dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, the two moſt potent vaſſals of the crown, were in ſtrict alliance with the Engliſh; the king of Sicily, his

1425. his brother-in-law, who had juſt loſt Maine, could ſcarce preſerve the reſt of his dominions; and the king of Scotland, the ally of France, had made a truce with the Engliſh, which prevented him from ſending any ſuccours. Charles, being reduced to this wretched ſtate, was, as it were, forced, beyond the Loire, without hopes of keeping any longer his towns, about Paris; moreover, he was juſtly apprehenſive, of quickly ſeeing the enemy's armies in Berry, Languedoc, and Dauphine; and the Engliſh called him only the earl of Ponthieu, or in deriſion, the king of Bourges.

The affair of Hainault.

Doubtleſs, if the duke of Glouceſter had ſhewn the ſame zeal, for the king his nephew's intereſts, as for his own, and ſent the duke of Bedford the troops and money, he employed againſt the duke of Brabant, it may be reaſonably preſumed, that France would have been utterly ruined; and that Charles would have never been able to wreſt that conqueſt out of the hands of the Engliſh. This was the critical minute, which that nation ſhould have improved; for they were near the end of a war, that had laſted, 10 years, and, probably, was going to end, according to their wiſh, in ſecuring the crown of France to the kings of England. The duke of Bedford evidently perceived it; and he inceſſantly ſollicited his brother to defer the execution of his deſigns, till a more convenient ſeaſon, when he might even employ all the forces of France and England; but his remonſtrances were incapable of diverting the ambitious duke, from an enterprize that promiſed him the poſſeſſion of four of the fineſt provinces of the Low-Countries. He was a younger brother, and, if the king, his nephew, ſhould die, without iſſue, the crown of England would come to the duke of Bedford, before him; wherefore, he reſolved to embrace an opportunity, not likely ever to offer again, that would raiſe him above the rank of a ſubject; tho', at the ſame time, he hindered the duke, his brother, from compleating the conqueſt of France. The great number of garriſons requiſite, in a kingdom, where all the towns and caſtles were fortified, drained the Engliſh army; ſo that the regent, not receiving any ſupplies, by reaſon of the unhappy diverſion of Hainault, as well as Charles, was unable to bring an army into the field; which is the true reaſon, why, during the year 1425, the war was, as it were, diſcontinued, in France, by both the contending parties.

A continuation of the buſineſs of Hainault. Monſtrelet.

I left the duke of Glouceſter maſter of Hainault, and the duke of Burgundy preparing to diſpoſſeſs him; and, in Burgundy's orders to his generals, for levying an army, he repreſented, that, having agreed with the duke of Bedford, upon an expedient to end the quarrel, it was accepted by the duke of Brabant, but rejected by the duke of Glouceſter. The Engliſh prince, hearing of this, ſent the duke of Burgundy a letter, dated from Mons, January the 12th, 1424-5, charging him with ſaying an un-truth; and the duke of Burgundy, returning a very abuſive anſwer, told him he lied, and offered to prove his aſſertion, in ſingle combat, and to take the duke of Bedford for judge. The duke of Glouceſter accepted the challenge, and appointed St. George's day, for the combat; and ſeveral other bitter letters paſſed between them, but of no conſequence to the ſequel. 1425.

Braine is taken by the Brabanders.

Whilſt theſe two princes, thus, reviled each other, the earl of St. Pol, brother to the duke of Brabant, beſieged the ſmall town of Braine, in Hainault, defended by 200 Engliſh; but, after a feint reſiſtance, the garriſon capitulating, the Brabanders violated the articles, put the Engliſh to the ſword, and ſet fire to the town.

A truce between the duke of Glouceſter and Brabant.

In the interim, as the ſingle combat of the dukes of Burgundy and Glouceſter was to decide the principal quarrel, between Glouceſter and Brabant, it was judged proper to make a truce; upon the ſigning of which, the duke of Glouceſter returned into England. He would have taken his ducheſs along with him; but the people of Mons ſo preſs'd him to leave her behind, that he could not deny their requeſt; however, he obliged the magiſtrates to ſolemnly ſwear to defend her, at the peril of their lives, againſt all perſons whatever.

Charles takes advantage of the Hainault diverſion. P. Daniel.

The war of Hainault ſuſpending that of France, Charles endeavoured to improve this happy diverſion; and, in a great council, held to conſider the ſtate of his affairs, it was unanimouſly agreed, that there was only one way, to free him from his preſent circumſtances; namely, to offer the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne a Carte Blanche, in order to gain them from the Engliſh. The firſt had openly broke with the duke Glouceſter; and the other might be prevailed on by the earl of Richemont, who had a great influence over him, and, moreover, was highly incenſed againſt the duke of Bedford. This was a favourable juncture; and, on the other hand, Bona of Artois, lately married to the duke of Burgundy, being French, and half-ſiſter to the earl of Clermont, the king's zealous adherent, it was probable, that ſhe would readily exert herſelf, to gain the duke, her ſpouſe.

Upon the reſolution, then, taken, with reſpect to the two dukes, Charles ſent to the earl of Richemont private emiſſaries, who told him, what a great eſteem the king had for him; intimating, that he had often ſaid, he ſhould account himſelf invincible, if he could have him at the head of his army; which was attacking the prince, in the moſt ſenſible part. As he had a high conceipt of his own merit, it was no ſmall pleaſure to him, that Charles offered him a poſt, ſcornfully refuſed him by the duke of Bedford; yet, perceiving that the perſons that talked to him, thus, were ſent only to ſound him, he contented himſelf with returning a civil anſwer to their compliments, and artfully inſinuating, that he was ſtrongly inclined to ſerve their maſter.

Charles, afterwards, ſent to him the queen dowager of Sicily, his mother-in-law, with

1425. Tannegui du Chatel, and impowered them to offer him the conſtable's ſword; which poſt had been vacant, ever ſince the death of the earl of Buchan, ſlain in the battle of Verneuil. The queen of Sicily and Du Chatel found the earl entirely diſpoſed to the change; for, being exaſperated againſt the duke of Bedford, and extremely proud and vindictive, he was pleaſed with a proſpect of revenging his contempt; ſo that, without much ſollicitation, he accepted the king's offer, with great demonſtrations of gratitude, and promiſed to engage the duke, his brother, in his intereſts. However, he required two conditions, without which, he proteſted, he could not accept this honour, nor promiſe any thing, with regard to the duke, his brother. The firſt was, that Louvet and d' Avaugour, the principal authors of the Pontievrian conſpiracy, ſhould be removed from court; and the ſecond, that the duke of Burgundy ſhould conſent to the propoſed affair, becauſe he had engaged himſelf, by oath, with the duke of Burgundy, in the treaty of Amiens. He was not ſo ſcrupulous, with reſpect to the duke of Bedford, tho' he was no leſs engaged with him, than with the duke of Burgundy; but paſſion frequently cauſes the ſame thing to appear, in different lights, according to the perſons with whom we are concerned. The queen and Du Chatel readily aſſured him, that the king would comply with his demands; upon which, he came to Tours, where Charles took care to flatter his vanity, with all poſſible civilities and careſſes; but the earl plainly told the king, that he could liſt in his ſervice, only upon the two conditions propoſed. The king gave him hopes of the firſt, without fixing the time; and, as to the ſecond, he was pleaſed, that he ſhould talk with the duke of Burgundy, to obtain his conſent; moreover, he ſent to the duke of Burgundy the biſhops of Puy and Chartres, with orders to ſound him, whether it was poſſible to diſengage him from the king of England.

The duke of Burgundy is leſs tractable, with regard to Charles VII.

Tho' the duke of Burgundy was extremely incenſed againſt the duke of Glouceſter, he did not appear ſo inclinable to an agreement, as Charles and his council expected; for, the murder of the duke, his father, being ſtill freſh in his mind, he ſhewed, at firſt, an extreme averſion to a reconciliation. Nevertheleſs, preſſed by the king's envoys, who, to excuſe their maſter, caſt the blame on his evil counſellors, he replied, that the king ſhould diſmiſs thoſe pernicious counſellors, and then it would be time to confer, about an accommodation; which was a ſufficient intimation, that he was not inexorable, eſpecially, as he readily conſented, that the earl of Richemont ſhould accept of the conſtable's ſword.

The king's perplexity about his favourites.

Charles, in all appearance, had reaſon to congratulate himſelf, upon his good fortune; for he might now gain the duke of Bretagne; and, beſides, he had hopes, that the duke of Burgundy would not be proof againſt a reaſonable ſatisfaction. However, the terms impoſed upon him threw him into great perplexity; for, to procure theſe advantages, he muſt part with his two principal miniſters, favourites, and confidents, viz. Tannegui du Chatel, who ſlew the duke of Burgundy, and Louvet, preſident of Provence, whom the duke of Bretagne conſidered, as author of the Pontievrian conſpiracy. Du Chatel ſaved him part of his trouble, who came and fell at his feet, intreating him, in reward of his ſervices, to permit him to retire, ſince his preſence, at court, for the future, muſt, of courſe, be prejudicial to ſo good a maſter; but it was a long time, before the king could reſolve to grant his requeſt; tho', preſſed by the continual inſtances of a faithful ſervant, who deſired his leave, only to give him a freſh proof of his zeal, he ſuffered him, at laſt, to retire. There are few favourites, who, thus, prefer their maſter's good to their own; and Louvet, who was not ſo diſintereſted, would have kept himſelf in his poſt, at the expence of all the advantages the king could expect from an alliance with the duke of Bretagne. 1425.

Charles cannot think of diſcarding Louvet. P. Daniel.

In the mean while, the earl of Richemont, not doubting, in the leaſt, that the king would perform his promiſe, with reſpect to Louvet, came to him, at Tours, where he received the conſtable's ſword, the 7th of March, 1425; and he had promiſed to gain the duke of Bretagne from England; but, Louvet and d'Avaugour continuing ſtill about the king, he did not haſtily make good his engagement. Charles was not unwilling to ſacrifice the laſt; but Louvet had a firmer footing, at court. Beſides his being beloved by the king, one of his daughters, wife to the lord de Joyeuſe, ſhared Charles's heart with Agnes Sorrel, who began to appear, at court, as a favourite; ſo that, to gain the duke of Bretagne, Charles was forced to diſmiſs a beloved miniſter, and diſoblige a miſtreſs. On the other hand, Louvet did all that was poſſible, to ruin the conſtable, in his maſter's favour; repreſenting to him, how haughtily he had impoſed terms on his ſovereign, as if he had been his equal, and cauſed it to be conſidered, as a favour, that he was pleaſed to accept of the conſtable's ſword; and, in a word, he ſo managed the king, that Charles, who was very obſtinate, reſolved, at no rate, to part with his miniſter.

He is forced from court by the conſtable.

The conſtable, being diſappointed, determined to ruin Louvet, even in ſpite of the king; wherefore, knowing that this miniſter was not beloved by the great men at court, he ſo caballed with them, that a plot was formed, to remove him from the king. As ſoon as he was ſecure of the ſucceſs of his project, he withdrew from court, without taking leave, and ſent the king word, that he would never return, whilſt Louvet was there. Charles, regardleſs of his retreat, ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution to keep his miniſter; but, finding that, by degrees, the great men retired to their governments, under various pretences, that they refuſed to receive his orders, and that he had but two or three towns leſt, which he could call his own, he ſaw, that he muſt reſolve to part with Louvet, or his kingdom; and he was then apprehenſive, that the conſtable would

1425. would deliver the duke of Bretagne's places to the Engliſh; ſo that he was conſtrained, tho' with extreme indignation, to diſmiſs his miniſter, who had ſtill ſo much credit as to cauſe his creature, De Giac, to be received, in his room.

The duke of Bretagne does homage to Charles. Du Tillet. P. Daniel.

Upon this removal, the conſtable would have returned to court; but Charles was ſo provoked with him, that he could not bear to ſee him. However, the ſtate of his affairs obliged him, at length, to admit him again; and the conſtable, content with having accompliſhed his deſigns, performed his promiſe, relating to the duke, his brother, and brought him to Saumur, where he did homage to the king.

A quarrel between the duke of Glouceſter and biſhop of Wincheſter. Hall.

Whilſt the earl of Richemont was raiſing diſturbances, in the court of king Charles, Henry did not enjoy greater tranquillity. I have obſerved, that the duke of Glouceſter and the biſhop of Wincheſter, his uncle, were enemies; and, on which ſide ſoever the fault lay, they loſt no opportunity of plaguing one another; and the Hainault expedition furniſhed the biſhop with one, which he knew how to improve. When this undertaking was propoſed, in council, he ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, and evidently ſhewed, how prejudicial it might be to the king's affairs; but, tho', on this occaſion, he was in the right, the duke of Glouceſter had intereſt enough to have it approved; and he departed with a mind imbittered againſt his uncle, and with a reſolution to be revenged, the firſt opportunity.

The hiſtorians do not inform us, how the government was ſettled, during the duke of Glouceſter's abſence, which laſted, about a year; tho', very probably, the biſhop of Wincheſter had the greateſt ſhare in it, making uſe of this advantage to create his enemy many vexations; and ſome even ſay, that all his proceedings tended to deprive him of the protectorſhip, in order to obtain it for himſelf.

The duke returning to England, about October, 1425, this quarrel was kindled afreſh, with great animoſity, on both ſides; and, one day, intending to go to the tower, Sir Richard Woodville, the governor, refuſed him admittance, by the advice of the biſhop of Wincheſter. The protector, who was extremely high-ſpirited, flew into a furious paſſion with the biſhop, and proceeded even to threats; and, in a word, the quarrel roſe to ſuch a height, that they both began to arm their friends, either to attack, or defend. The duke of Coimbra, prince of Portugal, then in England, and the archbiſhop of Canterbury attempted to reconcile them, but to no purpoſe; and an hiſtorian affirms, that the biſhop of Wincheſter was forced to fly for refuge to the tower, and that eight or ten of his people were killed by the duke's; but this is improbable; ſince, in their mutual complaints, laid before the enſuing parliament, there is not the leaſt mention of any ſuch thing.

The duke of Bedford comes into England. Hall.

The prelate, having no warriors, on his ſide, did not find his account, in deciding the quarrel, by arms; for the intrigues of the cabinet were more within his province; and, therefore, to prevent the miſchief that might befal him, if things continued in this ſtate, he wrote to the duke of Bedford, deſiring him to come into England, repreſenting, in his letter, that, unleſs he made all poſſible haſte, the kingdom was in danger of being expoſed to fatal commotions, by his brother's impetuous temper; and the duke of Bedford, perceiving the importance of this quarrel, ſet out, immediately, leaving, in France, Richard de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, to command, in his room, and arrived, in England, the 20th of December. 1425.

Warwick commands in France. Act. Pub.

1426. The duke no ſooner landed in the kingdom, than he aſſumed the title of protector, and was received, as ſuch, purſuant to the act of parliament, in 1422; and it appears from the Collection of the Publick Acts, not only that petitions were preſented to him, as protector, but that the parliament aſſigned him the ſalary of 8000 marks, annexed to that dignity, which the duke of Glouceſter, till then, had enjoyed.

The duke of Bedford is received for protector. Act. Pub.

England proclaims war with Bretagne. Argentre.

A few days after his arrival, the duke of Bedford, taking notice, in council, of the treachery of the duke of Bretagne and the earl of Richemont, repreſented, how prejudicial it was to the king's affairs; upon which, and by his advice, it was unanimouſly reſolved, to declare war againſt the duke of Bretagne; and it was proclaimed, on the 15th of January. Moreover, to find that prince employment, in his own country, and prevent him from aſſiſting king Charles, a reſolution was taken to ſupport the Pontievrians, his enemies, in order, by their means, to raiſe a civil war, in Bretagne; and, with this view, ſafe-conducts were diſpatched to the two brothers of Pontievre, tho' it came to nothing; probably, becauſe their intereſt was not great, in that country.

A continuation of the quarrel of the duke of Glouceſter and biſhop of Wincheſter. Hall.

This affair being over, the duke of Bedford wholly applied himſelf, to procure a ſincere reconciliation between the duke, his brother, and the biſhop of Wincheſter; and the way was to favour neither. Had he eſpouſed his brother's cauſe, as the ties of blood ſeemed to require, he would not have been qualified for the office of a mediator; but, beſides the character of brother and nephew, he had another to maintain, viz. that of protector, principally concerned in the good of the ſtate, independently of the duties of nature. To determine, therefore, ſo nice an affair, he aſſembled ſome of the prime nobility, at St. Albans, in hopes of finding, with their aſſiſtance, ſome expedient, to content theſe two princes; but their animoſity was ſo great, that it was impoſſible to ſucceed, by this means. After many fruitleſs endeavours, the deciſion of the affair was referred to a parliament ſummoned, at Leiceſter, for March; and, when the parliament met, the duke of Glouceſter exhibited, againſt the biſhop, the ſix following articles.

Articles of accuſation againſt the biſhop. Hall.

I. He accuſed him of cauſing him to be denied entrance into the tower, and ſo rendering the dignity of protector contemptible.

II. That he would have removed the king from his palace, at Eltham, to Windſor, with an intent to become maſter of his perſon.

III. That,

1426. III. That, not being ſatisfied, with cauſing him to be denied admittance into the tower, he had placed armed men, on London-bridge, and in Southwark, on purpoſe to murder him.

IV. That he had concealed a villain, in the late king's room, when prince of Wales, in order to murder him.

V. That he had adviſed the ſame prince, to ſeize the crown, before the king his father's death.

VI. That his letter to the duke of Bedford evidently ſhewed, that he deſigned to raiſe a civil war in the kingdom.

The biſhop's reply.

The biſhop gave a particular anſwer to theſe accuſations, by explaining ſuch of his actions as might have been miſinterpreted or by denying the facts laid to his charge.

He is declared innocent.

The parliament, appointing commiſſioners to examine into this affair, declared, upon their report, that the charge was groundleſs, and acquitted the biſhop; and they obliged the two princes to be reconciled; upon which, they ſhook hands, and, in appearance, parted good friends, tho' they were, as much as ever, enemies to each other.

Expedients, to ſatisfy both parties. Act. Pub.

In the interim, as the times and circumſtances of affairs would not allow the duke of Glouceſter to be entirely ſacrificed to his enemy, the protector took care to procure him alſo ſome ſatisfaction; for, taking the great ſeal from the biſhop of Wincheſter, he gave it to the biſhop of London; and, beſides, as it was impoſſible for the two adverſaries to be together in the council, without great prejudice to the king's affairs, he perſuaded the biſhop to accompany him into France, under the pretence of performing a vow; but, to repair the injury his abſence might do him, he permitted him to ſollicit a cardinal's cap, which he received, ſhortly after.

Mowbray is reſtored, and the duke of York, with 40 others, is knighted.

This affair being, thus, happily over, the protector reſtored John Mowbray, earl marſhal, to the title of duke of Norfolk, which his father, Thomas, was deprived of by Richard II. and he made 40 knights, among whom was the young duke of York; which, doubtleſs, is the reaſon, that he is ſaid to receive, in this parliament, the title of duke of York; tho' it is certain he bore it, before, as has been obſerved.

The conſtable Richemont takes Pontorſon, and beſieges Beauvron. Argentre.

Whilſt the duke of Bedford was, thus, employed, in England, the conſtable Richemont levied an army, in Bretagne; being extremely impatient to ſhew, that he was not unworthy of his poſt; and, by his care and credit, this army amounted to 20,000 men. With theſe numerous forces, which the earl of Warwick was unable to withſtand, he entered Normandy, and took Pontorſon, about the end of February; and then he beſieged St. James de Beuvron, where the Engliſh had a ſtrong garriſon; but this ſiege proved more tedious and difficult than he expected. He had been promiſed a convoy of money; but De Giac, who had the management of the treaſury, was in no haſte to ſend it, being glad to have ſuch an opportunity of mortifying the conſtable; for he was apprehenſive, that, if he gained reputation, at this ſiege, he would grow more haughty and imperious, and pretend to rule the court, at his pleaſure; and, in the mean while, the army daily diminiſhed, by deſertions; which diſappointments exceedingly troubled the conſtable, who dreaded, that his reputation would be blaſted, in his firſt notable action. In a word, he had falſe intelligence, that the Engliſh were aſſembling all their forces, to raiſe the ſiege; and his fear of a diſgrace led him to reſolve to ſtorm the town, tho' the breach was not, as yet, ſufficiently wide or prepared. To ſecure himſelf againſt the dreaded relief, he detached 2000 men, with orders to poſt themſelves, on the road to Avranche, and oppoſe the firſt efforts of the enemy, if they came, during the aſſault; and then he cauſed the breach to be vigorouſly attacked; but the garriſon, which was very numerous, made ſuch a brave defence, as gave the beſiegers very little hopes of being maſters of it. Whilſt both ſides fought, with equal ardor, the detachment, hearing no news of the enemies, and imagining it diſhonourable to expect them, in vain, whilſt the reſt were engaged, haſtily returned to aſſiſt, at the aſſault; but their coming threw the beſiegers into a panic; who fancied, that the detachment, being repulſed by the enemies, were flying for refuge to the camp, and, in this belief, relinquiſhed the aſſault. The conſtable did all that was poſſible, to undeceive them; but the diſorder was already ſo great, that it was to no purpoſe. In the mean time, the beſieged, ſeeing the confuſion that prevailed in the camp, ſallied out; and, ſuddenly attacking the troops already terrified, they eaſily put them to flight. The conſtable himſelf was forced to follow them, and leave his baggage and artillery in the power of his enemies, extremely concerned to find all his projects confounded, by this unfortunate accident; yet, as he had not loſt many men, he was ſtill able, after drawing his army together, to march into Anjou, and take la Fleche and Galerand, belonging to the Engliſh. 1426.

He cauſes De Giac to be ſtrangled. P. Daniel.

However, the taking of theſe two places was incapable of comforting him, for his misfortune before St. James's; he openly accuſed De Giac of being the cauſe; and, regardleſs of the king's reſentment, he reſolved to be revenged. The moment he returned to court, after the campaign, which the deſertion of his troops forced him to end, ſooner than he intended, he cauſed De Giac to be ſeized, in his bed, and, by a ſentence, as violent as it was raſh and irregular, ordered him to be ſtrangled, and then thrown into the Loire. After this, he boldly declared, that he would treat, in the ſame manner, any perſon whatever, that ſhould endeavour to engroſs the king's favour; and the Camus of Beaulieu, notwithſtanding theſe menaces, accepting De Giac's place, was, by the conſtable's means, aſſaſſinated, in the king's own palace, and even before his eyes. Such was the haughtineſs of this prince, that he could not bear any perſon, at court, that was not his creature; but, by the way, this monſtrous arrogance is far from agreeing with the exceſſive encomiums beſtowed upon him.

Charles

1426. Charles, on account of theſe haughty proceedings, would not ſee the conſtable; nay, he could not hear him mentioned, without horror; but his diſpleaſure was diſregarded by a man, who had both the nobles and people, on his ſide. It was univerſally thought, that he did the king a favour, to ſerve him, in his extremity; and, upon the leaſt diſcontent, they threatened to abandon him, for the Engliſh, who received, with open arms, thoſe that ſubmitted to their ſovereign. Moreover, the earl of Warwick had now inveſted Montargis, about a month; and it was not poſſible for Charles to relieve that place, without the help of the Bretons; ſo that, at the inſtance of La Trimouille, he permitted this proud prince, to pay his reſpects to him; but his affairs were not, the more, advanced by it.

The king refuſes to ſee him.

Whilſt the duke of Bedford was, in England, the earl of Warwick, who commanded, in France, did all that lay in his power, to maintain the affairs of the Engliſh in a good ſituation; tho', at firſt, he was too weak, to oppoſe the conſtable's entrance into Normandy; but, hearing that the Bretons had diſbanded themſelves, becauſe there was no money to pay them, he believed himſelf in a condition to make ſome attempt. He entered Maine, with 5000 men, and retook ſeveral caſtles, which the Bretons had ſeized; for the ſurpriſing of places was, then, ſo frequent, that ſometimes the ſame town changed its maſter, twice or thrice, in a year; but it would be endleſs to relate the circumſtances of every particular. The earl of Warwick, finding that the conſtable's defeat, before St. James's, the deſertion of his troops, and the broils, in Charles's court, had long diſabled the French from having an army in the field, formed a deſign, to become maſter of Montargis; a place neceſſary for the execution of the regent's project, to carry the war, beyond the Loire. Indeed, he could not expect, with his few troops, to take Montargis, by a ſiege, in form; but yet he entertained hopes, that the place, being cloſely blocked up, would be obliged to ſurrender, before it could be relieved. The river Loin parting into three branches, near this town, there was a neceſſity for ſeparating the troops into three different quarters, the principal of which the earl of Warwick commanded; the command of the ſecond was given to the earl of Suffolk; and that of the third to John de la Pole, his brother. Theſe quarters were joined, by bridges of communication; and, in this poſture, the Engliſh patiently waited, till hunger ſhould compel the beſieged to come to a capitulation.

The defeat of the Engliſh, at the blockade of Montargis. Monſtrelet.

The blockade had now continued, three months; and Charles had taken no care, about relieving the place. At length, the beſieged acquainting him, that they could no longer reſiſt, without relief, he caſt his eyes on the conſtable for that undertaking. Richemont, who had now no army, refuſed the commiſſion; being unwilling, with new-levied troops, to expoſe himſelf to a diſgrace, like that of St. James; but, upon his refuſal, it was given to the baſtard of Orleans, who was returned from Avignon, where he had retired with Louvet, his father-in-law. This young lord, then only 22 years old, had already made eight campaigns; and, on ſeveral occaſions, he gave ſignal proofs of his conduct and valour; and he muſt needs have been young, to undertake ſuch an enterprize, with no more than 1600 men, againſt the earl of Warwick, whoſe reputation was equal to that of the moſt renowned generals. 1426.

The beſieged having intelligence, that ſuccours were preparing, let go their ſluices, to favour them; but the Loin was ſo ſwoln thereby, that the bridges of communication, between the Engliſh quarters, were overflown. The baſtard of Orleans arriving, in the interim, judged, that he ought, immediately, to attack the enemy, before the waters were fallen; and he gave half his troops to La Hire, to attack Pole's quarter, whilſt, with the other half, he fell upon the earl of Suffolk. It was a ſtrange ſort of battle, the ſoldiers, on both ſides, ſtanding up to their middle, in water; but, at laſt, after a long reſiſtance, the two quarters were forced, with the loſs of 1500 of the Engliſh; many of whom were drowned, in attempting to paſs into the other quarter, becauſe the bridges were under water. Warwick, perceiving it impoſſible to aſſiſt his men, choſe to retreat, in good order; and this action acquired the baſtard of Orleans a great reputation, being, thenceforward, conſidered, as a perſon, that would, one day, become a famous general.

Since the end of the preceding year, the dukes of Burgundy and Glouceſter had been preparing for their ſingle combat, which, probably, as it was not fought, at the time appointed, viz. St. George's day, was deferred, by conſent; but, tho' theſe two princes ſeemed to have nothing more to manage, and the deciſion of the affair of Hainault was likely to depend on the ſucceſs of their combat, the duke of Burgundy did not believe himſelf obliged to confound his perſonal quarrel with the duke of Brabant's affairs, or to overlook the advantages procured him by the truce, to put that prince in poſſeſſion of his wife's dominions. The duke of Glouceſter was no ſooner out of Hainault, than he began, by private emiſſaries, to cabal among the chief men of the country, for the delivery of Jacquelina, who continued, at Mons; and the counteſs, her mother, ever a friend to the houſe of Burgundy, came into the plot, tho' ſhe induſtriouſly concealed it from her daughter. When matters were brought to maturity, the towns of Hainault, ſuddenly, declared for the duke of Brabant; and the earl of St. Pol, his brother, appeared, before Mons, with an army. Then the magiſtrates of the city, pretending a fright, and intimating, that they could not alone bear the brunt of the war, entered into a treaty with him; and, as every thing had been ſecretly ſettled, they promiſed to deliver Jacquelina to the duke of Burgundy, till the pope ſhould decide the point in diſpute; and Jacquelina heard nothing of the matter, till it

The continuation of the affair of Hainault. Monſtrelet.

1426. was too late to prevent it. She wrote to the duke of Glouceſter, complaining of being baſely betrayed; but her complaints were ineffectual. On the 13th of June, 1426, ſhe was compelled to leave Mons, under the conduct of the prince of Orange, who guarded her, as far as Gaunt, the place appointed for her reſidence; and, after this, all Hainault unanimouſly received the duke of Brabant, for ſovereign.

Jacquelina was inraged to find herſelf a priſoner; but, as reſiſtance would only render her condition more inſupportable, ſhe feigned to be pleaſed, that her affair was referred to the pope's deciſion; and this diſſimulation procured her a gentle and honourable treatment, which ſhe knew how to improve. In September, ſhe found means to eſcape, in man's cloaths, and retire into Holland; where ſhe was well received by ſome of her ſubjects; whilſt others choſe rather to adhere to the duke of Burgundy, perceiving how difficult it would be to ſupport her againſt ſuch a powerful enemy. The duke, being vexed, at her eſcape, carried the war into Holland, to hinder her from fortifying herſelf, in that country; and this war, foreign to our hiſtory, laſted the year 1427, and part of 1428. I ſhall, hereafter, relate the ſucceſs; but, in the mean time, I muſt return to what paſſed, in France.

She makes her eſcape, and gets to Holland. Monſtrelet. Hall.

1427. The weakneſs of both parties, in France.

The earl of Warwick's loſs, before Montargis, and the neceſſity of garriſoning ſo many towns, prevented his keeping the field; moreover, the duke of Bedford had ordered him, to ſpare his troops for an important expedition, which it was not yet proper to diſcover; and Charles, all the while, was in no better condition; for the advantage, lately gained by his troops, had not augmented his forces. Thus, both ſides were forced to remain inactive; or, at leaſt, to content themſelves, with attempts to ſurpriſe ſome places.

The duke of Suffolk is ſurpriſed, in Mans, and relieved by Talbot. P. Daniel.

In the beginning of this year, the earl of Foix, who went over, at length, to king Charles, ſent him ſome troops, under the command of count d' Orval, of the houſe of Albret; and this general, approaching Mans, where the earl of Suffolk was, with a few ſoldiers, held intelligence with ſome of the burghers, who promiſed to ſurrender the city. Accordingly, he was admitted, and the earl of Suffolk forced to retire into the caſtle, where he had only three days proviſions; and, in this extremity, he ſent to Talbot, then at Alenſon, deſiring him to endeavour to relieve him. Talbot did not loſe a moment; for, by the next night, he was with ſome troops, at the foot of the caſtle, towards the country, and entered, at a poſtern-gate, whilſt d'Orval thought himſelf ſafe in the city, not imagining that the beſieged could be ſo ſoon relieved. At break of day, Suffolk and Talbot ſallied out of the caſtle, and, taking the French unprepared, expelled them out of the city; ſo that the place was, almoſt as ſoon, recovered, as loſt, by the extraordinary diligence of Talbot, one of the braveſt and moſt experienced commanders of the age.

After this expedition, the two generals marched to Laval, a ſmall town, in Maine, and took it, with eaſe; and then, joining the earl of Warwick, who was marching to thoſe parts, they beſieged Pontorſon, taken by the conſtable Richemont, the preceeding year; but, as this ſiege was very long, I ſhall leave the generals there, in order to relate what paſſed in other places. 1427. Suffolk and Talbot take Laval.

The duke of Bedford arrived from England, the beginning of this year, according to the Engliſh hiſtorians, or ſome months ſooner, if we believe the French, with a formidable reinforcement; being accompanied by the biſhop of Wincheſter, who had received, at Calais, a cardinal's cap, given with great ceremony. We find, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, that he was generally ſtiled the cardinal of England, doubtleſs, becauſe he was of the royal family; and yet the Engliſh authors ſeem to have been ignorant of this circumſtance, becauſe they always call him only the cardinal of Wincheſter; and I ſhall give him the ſame title, for the future. Shortly after, the biſhop was made the pope's legate, in England; by which means, he had an opportunity of increaſing his riches and credit, to the great prejudice of the duke of Glouceſter, his enemy. The duke of Bedford returns to France.

Richemont withdraws from court. P. Daniel. Hall.

The ſiege of Pontorſon ſtill continued, tho' king Charles was unable to relieve that town; for he was then employed, about much more important affairs, that more nearly concerned him. The conſtable Richemont was retired to Vannes, in Bretagne, extremely diſpleaſed at the king's coldneſs; for, ſince his receiving the conſtable's ſword, he had done nothing, to anſwer the expectations he had raiſed of his valour and abilities On the contrary, inſtead of advancing the king's affairs, he had rendered the royal authority ſo contemptible, that, by his pride and oppreſſions, and violent proceedings, it may be ſaid, that, now, Charles was leſs a king, than before; for the princes and great men, at court, after his example, preſumed to give law to their ſovereign. Since the death of Beaulieu, La Trimouille was the ſole favourite, and had ſuch an aſcendant over the king, that nothing was done, without his direction; and the conſtable expected, at firſt, to have been a great gainer, by this change, becauſe the new favourite had always profeſſed a friendſhip for him; but he was ſoon convinced of the contrary. His behaviour to the former miniſters making La Trimouille apprehenſive of the ſame treatment, he exerted himſelf, to inflame the king's averſion to him; and the whole court quickly perceived it, with extreme concern; for the great men could have no proſpect of preferments, unleſs the king's affairs were in a good ſituation, and were perſuaded, that the conſtable alone was capable of reſtoring them. For this, and ſeveral other reaſons, the new favourite became exceeding odious; inſomuch that, at laſt, a confederacy was formed againſt him, of which the earls of Clermont and De la Marche, his couſin, were the heads; who began with an attempt upon

1427. upon his life, after Richemont's example. Being informed, that the king was gone to Loches, and had left La Trimouille, at Bourges, they aſſembled ſome troops, and marched thither, to ſeize him; but they found, that he had already followed the king; however, not to loſe their labour entirely, they reſolved to carry away La Borde and De Prie, two of his creatures, who were retired into the great tower. De Prie was killed in his own defence; but La Borde held out, till the king himſelf came, to reſcue him. This affair turned to a civil war, which, having continued ſome months, was, at length, ended, by the duke of Alenſon's mediation. This young prince, who was taken priſoner, at the battle of Verneuil, was lately releaſed, by the duke of Burgundy's interceſſion, who, tho' an enemy to king Charles, ſought all occaſions, to gain the friendſhip of the French princes; but it coſt the duke of Alenſon 200,000 crowns, a very conſiderable ſum, at all times, but eſpecially at the preſent juncture; for, to procure this money, he was obliged to part with his jewels, and ſell the duke of Bretagne the town of Fougeres, at a very low rate. King Charles, in return for his late ſervice, made him a preſent of 80,000 crowns, tho' himſelf was in great want; and, in the interim, La Trimouille ſtill kept his poſt, at court.

The duke of Bedford marches againſt the duke of Bretagne. Du Tillet. Argentre.

Whilſt Charles was employed, in quelling his domeſtick enemies, the duke of Bedford was intent upon executing a deſign, formed, before he left England; namely, to reduce the duke of Bretagne to the obedience of king Henry. Ever ſince June, he had cauſed Pontorſon to be beſieged, a ſtrong town on the borders of Bretagne, which might have greatly obſtructed his entrance into that dukedom, had it continued in the hands of the French; and, this ſiege, which had been very long, being over, the duke of Bedford repaired to the army, with a reinforcement that increaſed it to 20,000 men. With this powerful body, to which he knew his enemies had nothing like it to oppoſe, he prepared to enter Bretagne, threatening the country with utter deſtruction; but, whether the duke of Bretagne was ſurpriſed, or was glad to have an excuſe, to abandon king Charles, whom he had joined, only out of condeſcenſion to the conſtable, his brother, he wiſely prevented the impending danger. He evidently perceived, that Charles was unable to protect him; and, beſides, he was diſpleaſed with him, on the account of the conſtable; wherefore, he ſent ambaſſadors to the duke of Bedford, to ſue for peace, upon what terms he pleaſed.

Tho' it was in the regent's power to be revenged on the duke of Bretagne, he judged it his duty, to prefer the intereſts of the king, his nephew, to his own ſatisfaction; and, indeed, it was much more beneficial for the king, to make, of the duke of Bretagne, a willing friend, by civil treatment, than a private enemy, by rigorous uſage; ſo that he required nothing more of him, than to ſwear to the peace of Troye, and cauſe all his ſtates to do the ſame, purſuant to his engagements with Henry V; and to promiſe, with an oath, to do homage to young Henry, when required. This moderation made great impreſſion on the duke of Bretagne, who, ever after, was a faithful friend to the Engliſh, even in the decline of their affairs. On the contrary, tho' the regent found, that he could expect no great aſſiſtance from the duke of Bretagne, becauſe of the influence the conſtable, his brother, had over him; yet he believed that the gaining that prince, from Charles's party, was no ſmall advantage to the Engliſh. 1427.

The continuation and end of the affair of Hainault. Monſtrelet.

I left the duke of Burgundy at war with Jacquelina, in Holland, under the plauſible pretence of ſupporting the honour and intereſt of the duke of Brabant, his couſin; tho', as the ſequel will ſhew, in reality, it was only for his own private views. This war, as may be preſumed, did not turn much to Jacquelina's advantage; for there was too great a diſproportion between the two parties. The duke of Glouceſter could not, of himſelf, give his ducheſs the aſſiſtance ſhe wanted; for, in order to this, he muſt have employed the publick revenues of England, or procured an extraordinary ſubſidy of the parliament; but that was not eaſily to be obtained, at a time when the war, in France, was expenſive to the nation. However, in the parliament held, this year, the duke had ſufficient intereſt to procure a ſmall aid; and we find, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, that the parliament petitioned the king, to aſſign the duke of Glouceſter 5000 marks, out of the ſubſidy granted him, to enable him to aſſiſt his ducheſs. To this ſum, the king advanced 5000 marks, upon the ſalary annexed to the protectorſhip; and, with this aid, the duke ſent a reinforcement of ſome Engliſh troops, under the command of Silvatier; but, theſe troops being defeated by the duke of Burgundy, preſently after their landing, Jacquelina was reduced to a very deplorable condition. In a word, by the duke of Bedford's interceſſion, ſhe obtained a truce, during which, the duke of Glouceſter was brought to conſent, that his affair with the duke of Brabant ſhould be decided by the pope; for the duke of Bedford had now annulled the ſingle combat, between the dukes of Burgundy and Glouceſter. Some time after, the pope publiſhed his ſentence, annulling Jacquelina's marriage with the duke of Glouceſter, and confirming her firſt marriage with the duke of Brabant, who ſurvived this determination, only a few months, and was ſucceeded by the earl of St. Pol, his brother. Upon the death of the duke, her husband, Jacquelina ought to have had peaceable poſſeſſion of her dominions; but the duke of Burgundy diſcovered, on this occaſion, that the duke of Brabant's intereſt was not the motive of his proceedings. He ſo managed, that Jacquelina's ſubjects refuſed to receive her, and made himſelf mediator between them; but the lion, in the fable, was literally practiſed, in this agreement; for the duke obliged Jacquelina to reſign to him the government of her dominions, appoint him her heir, and promiſe never to marry again.

The duke of Brabant dies.

The

1427. The hiſtorians generally place theſe occurrences, in 1427; and yet we find, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, that this affair was not over, May the 18th, 1428. At leaſt, the duke of Glouceſter and Jacquelina had not yet ſubmitted to the pope's ſentence; for Henry VI, ſpeaking there of this princeſs, calls her Jacquette, ducheſs of Glouceſter and Holland, his well-beloved aunt. Probably, the duke of Brabant's death had inſpired them with hopes, that their marriage might be confirmed, or a diſpenſation obtained to marry again; and, accordingly, it was, doubtleſs on this account, that the duke of Burgundy exacted from Jacquelina the foreſaid conditions, in order to lead the duke of Glouceſter to deſpair of ever returning into the Low-Countries. However that be, the duke of Glouceſter, preſſed by his brother and the council, who ſaw, how prejudicial, to the king's affairs, his obſtinacy was, relinquiſhed Jacquelina, and, ſoon after, eſpouſed Eleanor Cobham, whom he had long kept, as his miſtreſs. Thus, ended the quarrel, which had proved ſo fatal to England.

The duke of Glouceſter quits Jacquelina, and marries Eleanor Cobham. Monſtrelet. Hall.

Tho' the Engliſh were no longer concerned in Jacquelina's affairs, it will not be improper briefly to relate the ſucceſs; and likewiſe to ſhew the growth of the houſe of Burgundy's greatneſs. This princeſs, in ſpite of her involuntary engagement, married afterwards Borſel, a Zealander; upon which, the duke of Burgundy made war upon them. Borſel being made priſoner, Jacquelina was conſtrained, in order to free him, to conſent, that her children, by her late marriage, ſhould be incapable of inheriting her dominions, and to ſurrender all her towns to the duke of Burgundy. She lived 10 years, after this; and, upon her deceaſe, the duke of Burgundy was owned, for earl of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and lord of Friſeland. Before Jacquelina's death, he had taken poſſeſſion of the earldoms of Zutphen and Namure, of which he had purchaſed the reverſion, after the deceaſe of the earl of Namure, which, fell out, in 1428; and, in 1430, he inherited the duchies of Brabant, Lothier, Limbourg, and the marquiſate of Anvers, by the death of Philip, duke of Brabant, his couſin, without iſſue; all which dominions, joined to Flanders, Artois, the two Burgundies, and the towns on the Somme held of the king of England, put him upon a level with the crown'd heads. Let us, now, return to the war in France.

The continuation of Jacquelina's affairs. Monſtrelet.

1428. The Engliſh had ſtill a great ſuperiority over king Charles; for, tho' the buſineſs of Hainault had ſomewhat diſordered their affairs, they were, notwithſtanding that diverſion, in ſuch a flouriſhing condition, as ſeemed to promiſe certain ſucceſs. The duke of Bretagne no longer gave them any uneaſineſs; the earl of Richemont was at variance with king Charles, without the leaſt probability of a reconciliation; and the duke of Burgundy, having finiſhed the Holland-war, could, for the future, powerfully aſſiſt his allies. In fine, beſides their numberleſs garriſons in France, the regent had on foot a body of 20,000 men, and alſo expected a ſtrong reinforcement with the earl of Salisbury from England.

1428. The ſuperiority of the Engliſh, in France.

On the contrary, Charles was without allies, or refuge. Indeed, to obtain ſuccours from Scotland, he was negotiating a marriage, between the dauphin, his ſon, and Margaret, daughter to king James, tho' they were yet both in their infancy; but this was a diſtant proſpect. Moreover, the king of Scotland had not diſcovered the leaſt inclination to break the truce with the Engliſh; ſo that Charles, having no view of ſupporting himſelf, appeared to have entirely given over all care of preventing the deſigns of his enemies; and he lived in a ſurpriſing indolence, without loſing any of his uſual diverſions.

The poſture of the affairs of the two nations made the duke of Bedford conclude, that two or three campaigns would infallibly expel Charles out of the kingdom; wherefore, he reſolved to exert himſelf, during ſuch a favourable opportunity; but, as he had many troops, it was neceſſary, firſt, to provide for their ſubſiſtence. With this view, he held an aſſembly of the chief men, at Paris, to whom he propoſed revoking all the grants made to the church, for 40 years paſt; but he was ſo ſtrongly oppoſed by the clergy, that he was obliged to deſiſt, and to make uſe of other means, for the ſupport of his army.

The ill ſtate of king Charles. Buchanan.

An aſſembly of the chief men, at Paris. Monſtrelet.

Before he entered upon the execution of his projects, he loſt the aſſiſtance of the valiant earl of Warwick, who returned into England, being appointed governor to the king; who was deſigned for this place, immediately after the deceaſe of the duke of Exeter, in 1426; but, as he was neceſſary, in France, his patent was not drawn up, till the 1ſt of June, this year; for it was, probably, judged expedient to ſtay, till the earl of Salisbury, who was to lead a powerful reinforcement to the duke of Bedford, was ready for his departure.

The earl of Warwick is made governor to the king. Act. Pub.

The earl of Salisbury arrives, in France, in July, with 5000 men, raiſed, at his own charge, purſuant to an agreement with the council; and, upon his arrival, at Paris, the regent gave him the command of an army of 16000 men; which was more than ſufficient to be maſter of the field. The regent's intent was, to drive Charles, beyond the Loire, knowing that, when that prince was at a diſtance, all his towns, on this ſide of the river, would ſurrender, of courſe, for want of ſuccours; wherefore, there was a neceſſity of taking from him the places, which preſerved the communication with the northern provinces, in order to deprive him of all hopes of returning.

The earl of Salisbury arrives with 5000 men. Act. Pub.

It was with the ſame view, that the earl of Salisbury, aſſiſted by the earls of Suffolk, Talbot, Faſtolff, and ſeveral other famous generals, marched towards the Loire, the beginning of Auguſt. Orleans was the moſt important place, in thoſe parts; which belonged to the duke of Orleans, who was a priſoner, in England. The pretended treaty, as I obſerved, between Henry V. and the duke of Orleans, about the neutrality of this city, is a mere chimera; for it was invented

to

1428. to render the ſiege of Orleans odious, and make it believed, that Heaven interpoſed, in behalf of France, to puniſh the pretended perfidiouſneſs of the Engliſh. However that be, the earl of Salisbury holding a great council of war, it was reſolved to beſiege Orleans; and the Collection of the Publick Acts ſhews, that this reſolution was taken, without the duke of Bedford's privity, and contrary to his opinion. To ſucceed in this undertaking, the neighbouring places were, firſt, to be ſecured; and, accordingly, the months of Auguſt and September were ſpent, in that work; during which ſpace, the Engliſh took Jenville, Mehun, Baugenci, Gergeau, Clery, Sully, and ſome other ſmall towns, and, at laſt, appeared before Orleans, the 12th of October.

The ſiege of Orleans is reſolved. Act. Pub.

The French lay in ſtores. Act. Pub.

The French evidently perceived, from all the Engliſh general's proceedings, that he intended to beſiege Orleans; and, therefore, whilſt he was elſewhere employed, they had ſent thither both men and ammunition. Gaucour, a creature of the duke of Orleans, commanded there, tho' he was ſtill a priſoner of the Engliſh, and releaſed, upon his parole, only to provide his ranſom; who had even been recalled, ever ſince June; and the baſtard of Orleans, d'Orval, La Hire, Xaintrailles, Thouars, Bouſſac, Chabannes, La Fayette, Graville, and ſeveral other noted officers had thrown themſelves into the city, to acquire reputation, in the ſervice of their ſovereign.

The beſiegers raiſe forts, about the city, to prevent ſuccours. Hall.

The Engliſh army not being ſufficiently numerous to inveſt the city, on all ſides, the beſiegers received ſuccours, in the very beginning of the ſiege; but the earl of Salisbury, who apprehended this enterprize to be a deciſive action for the king, his maſter, and his own reputation, did all that was poſſible, to deprive the beſieged of that advantage. He run up round the city 60 forts or redoubts, then called Baſtilles; and, how great ſoever this work might be, nothing could divert him from it, ſince the ſucceſs of the ſiege entirely depended upon it; for it would be to no purpoſe for him to puſh his attacks, if the enemies could continually introduce freſh ſupplies; moreover, the ſeaſon, now far advanced, ſuggeſted to him, that he would be forced to paſs the winter in the camp, and, during that time, be expoſed to many inſults.

Among the 60 forts, ſix were much ſtronger than the reſt, upon the ſix principal avenues of the city; for the French could, before, eaſily introduce convoys into the place, and had frequently made uſe of that advantage; but, theſe forts being built, it was extremely difficult for them, even now and then, to give ſome aſſiſtance to the beſieged. Upon theſe ſix great redoubts, the general erected batteries, that thundered againſt the walls; but, as the artillery was not, then, arrived to its preſent perfection, it is not to be imagined, that the canons did the ſame execution.

It would be tedious to relate all the attacks, ſallies, and daily skirmiſhes of this ſiege, either to introduce or repulſe convoys; but it is natural to conclude, that one of the ſtrongeſt places of France, defended by a numerous garriſon, under the conduct of the moſt valiant and experienced general officers, then, in France, and aſſaulted by Engliſhmen, eſteemed the moſt undaunted warriors in the world, furniſhed the beſiegers and beſieged with many occaſions to diſcover their valour. 1428.

Charles comes to Chinon. Monſtrelet.

Charles plainly ſaw, that the taking of Orleans would deprive him of the advantage, of continuing the war in the northern provinces of France; but, having neither men, nor money, he could not raiſe the ſiege. However, he approached it, and came to Chinon, where he aſſembled the principal men, and obtained an aid of money; but whilſt he continued there, the conſtable Richemont ſent him an offer of his ſervice; but whatever his diſtreſs was, and however preſſing his want might be of a ſpeedy aſſiſtance, he could not reſolve to forgive him.

In the interim, the ſiege was vigorouſly proſecuted; and, the bulwark of the Tournelles being much ſhaken by the beſiegers canon, and the beſieged ſetting it on fire, the Engliſh extinguiſhed the flames, and lodged in that poſt. At the ſame time, they became maſters of the tower, on the bridge, from whence the whole city could be viewed; but the taking it proved fatal to the earl of Saliſbury, for, one day, as he was looking out of a window, a cannon-ſhot from the city hit him, as it paſſed, on the right ſide of his head, carried away his cheek, and ſtruck out one of his eyes; and he died, a few days after, at Mehun, whither he had been removed. Tho' this loſs was exceeding great to the Engliſh, it did not interrupt the ſiege; for the earl of Suffolk, taking the command of the army, carried it on, as vigorouſly, as before, being aſſiſted by Talbot, one of the braveſt and moſt experienced captains of his age.

The earl of Saliſbury is ſlain. Monſtrelet. Hall.

The garriſon and army both are increaſed, during the ſiege.

Nothing fell out daily, except continual aſſaults, ſallies, and skirmiſhes, in which the beſieged behaved, with equal valour and conduct; yet, in ſpite of the precautions of the Engliſh, to prevent ſuccours from being thrown into the city, troops and convoys were, from time to time, introduced, tho' always by dint of ſword. Thus, the garriſon, that, at firſt, conſiſted only of 1200 men, became 3000 ſtrong, by the end of December; and, on the contrary, the army of the beſiegers was augmented to 23000, by the ſupplies ſent by the regent.

1429. The battle of Herrings. Monſtrelet. Hall.

The Engliſh had now been, four months, before Orleans; and the ſucceſs of their enterprize was ſtill uncertain. The regent, who began to be uneaſy, at the length of the ſiege, was confirmed more and more in his opinion, that it was a raſh undertaking; yet, willing to do all that was in his power, he ſent from Paris a convoy of ſalt-fiſh, it being the lent-ſeaſon; and he committed the conduct of it to Faſtolff, one of the braveſt and moſt able generals, the Engliſh then had, and gave him a guard of 1700 men. Charles, having intelligence of the day the convoy was to ſet out from Paris, commiſſioned the earl of Clermont to way-lay it; who, at the head

1429. of 3000 men, attacked the convoy, on the road to Orleans, February the 12th, at ſeven in the morning. Faſtolff, hearing of the approach of the French, had made an intrenchment with his carriages, behind which he had ſecured himſelf againſt their firſt charge; and it was, indeed, very vigorous; but the Engliſh ſo reſolutely ſuſtained it, that, inſtead of being routed, by the firſt ſhock, they put their enemies into extreme diſorder, by the great ſlaughter of their men. Faſtolff, perceiving their confuſion, ordered the carriages to be removed; and, falling upon the French troops, already diſpirited, he entirely defeated them, with a great ſlaughter. Sixſcore lords, or officers of diſtinction, fell, that day, beſides a great number of common ſoldiers; but, the baſtard of Orleans, who had ſallied out, to aſſiſt the earl of Clermont in defeating the convoy, preſerving a preſence of mind, in this rout, found means to re-enter the city with 400 men. This action was called the battle of Herrings.

King Charles, upon this defeat, found himſelf upon the point of loſing Orleans; and the thoughts of ſeeing the Engliſh ravage the province, beyond the Loire, and ſo diſable him from continuing the war, could not but trouble him exceedingly; which misfortune would infallibly follow, upon their being maſters of Orleans. In this extremity, he deviſed an expedient, proper, in his opinion, to rob them of this advantage; imagining that they would be ſo blind, as not to ſee thro' his artifice; and this was, to impower the commanding officers to deliver the place to the duke of Burgundy, to be kept in truſt, till the end of the war. Xaintrailles and others, appointed to treat about this affair, going to Paris, made the duke of Bedford the offer, who laughed at the ſtratagem; and he roundly told them, that they were greatly miſtaken to think, he would beat the buſh, for another to run away with the game. Some affirm, that the duke of Burgundy was extremely offended with this reply, and even withdrew his troops from the ſiege; but this is a mere invention. The duke of Burgundy had no cauſe for complaint, on the account of the regent's refuſing to deliver a place of that importance to him, to gratify his enemies; moreover, we ſhall ſee, preſently, that the regent was, all along, very well ſatisfied with the duke of Burgundy.

Charles thinks of retiring into Dauphine.

This project failing, Charles ſeeing no other way, to ſave Orleans, entertained thoughts of retiring into Dauphine, when a very extraordinary accident gave a ſudden turn to the affairs of the two contending nations; for we are about to ſee the ſtrangeſt and moſt unexpected revolution, ever mentioned, in hiſtory. The French, from vanquiſhed, are going to be, on a ſudden, victorious; and the Engliſh, hitherto, accounted invincible, are to be every-where defeated, and, at laſt, expelled the kingdom; and what is ſtill more ſurpriſing is the inſtrument, that brought about this amazing revolution; but, before I deſcend to particulars, I muſt caution the reader, that, in my account of this remarkable event, I follow the French authors, without, however, warranting the truth of all their aſſertions. 1429.

An account of the maid of Orleans. Monſtrelet. P. Daniel. Hall.

About the end of February, 1429, a country girl, called Joan of Arc, a village, in Dommremy in Lorrain, came to Robert de Baudricourt, governor of Vaucouleurs, and told him, that ſhe had received expreſs orders from God, to raiſe the ſiege of Orleans, and crown king Charles, at Rheims; who, at firſt, conſidered the girl, as a viſionary; but, afterwards, finding that ſhe talked very ſenſibly, in the reſt of her diſcourſes, he ſent her to the king, who was ſtill, at Chinon. Charles, being informed of her coming, declared, that Maria d'Avignon, a nun, had formerly told him, "Heaven would arm one of her ſex, in "defence of France;" adding, that, perhaps, this girl, was the perſon appointed by Heaven. This was ſufficient to ſatisfy the court, beforehand, that Joan of Arc's calling was miraculous; for the ſupernatural miſſion perfectly agreed with the ſentiments of the queen, of Agnes Sorrel, the king's miſtreſs, and of the principal courtiers, who did all that was poſſible, to diſſuade the king from his purpoſe of retiring into Dauphine; ſo that nothing was more proper to divert him from his retreat, than the proſpect of a change in his fortune. In theſe diſpoſitions, was Joan of Arc expected; and, the firſt time ſhe appeared, at court, ſhe addreſſed herſelf directly to the king, diſcovering him, among all his courtiers, tho' ſhe had never ſeen him, and he had taken care to have nothing about him, to diſtinguiſh him. However, he ſeemed, at firſt, to take very little notice of this girl; but, ſtrenuouſly preſſing him to believe her words, which were the ſame ſhe had ſpoken to Baudricourt, he reſolved to have her examined. The divines, her examiners, declared, upon what evidence I know not, that her miſſion was divine; and then ſhe was ſent to the parliament, at Poictiers, who were of the ſame opinion; laſtly, to confirm this belief, the king declared, that ſhe had told him, ſecrets unknown to any mortal but himſelf.

Every one being, now, prepoſſeſſed, that Joan of Arc, commonly called la Pucelle, or the Maid, was ſent from God, to ſave France, ſhe was beheld, with eyes of admiration; and all her actions, words, and geſtures were interpreted to her advantage. There was diſcovered in her a fine genius, ſolid judgment, greatneſs of ſoul, and a knowledge very uncommon, in one of her ſex and condition; but this is the uſual effect of prejudice. It is eaſy to apprehend, that this might be an artifice, to revive the courage of the French, and, perhaps, of the king himſelf, diſmayed at ſo many loſſes, and ſeeing the kingdom juſt about to fall under the dominion of foreigners; but that this invention, if it be one, ſhould fully anſwer the deſign of the authors, affords juſt cauſe of admiration, and ample matter for moral and political reflections.

In the mean while, the ſiege of Orleans being carried on, Charles reſolved to attempt to throw a convoy into the city; and Joan, deſiring

1429. firing to be of the party, and to have arms and a man's habit, eaſily obtained her requeſt. To render herſelf more remarkable, ſhe would have a certain ſword ſent for, from the tomb of a knight buried, in the church of St. Catharine de Fierbois; and the convoy, intended for Orleans, departed, April the 25th. Several French writers tell us, that Joan commanded the guard, and conducted the convoy into the city; but Monſtrelet, a contemporary author, aſſerts the contrary. The convoy being arrived, on the 29th, in the morning, near the Burgundian gate, the baſtard of Orleans made a ſally, to favour their paſſage; and a fierce and bloody battle enſued, in which, after a long reſiſtance, the Engliſh were defeated, and compelled to let the convoy enter; and Joan made her entry into Orleans, amidſt the generals, and acclamations of the people, who aſcribed to her the ſignal ſucceſs of that day.

Joan marches with a convoy to Orleans. Monſtrelet. P. Daniel.

She takes four of the beſiegers forts. Monſtrelet. Hall.

On the 4th of May, Joan, at the head of a detachment of the garriſon, attacked, ſword in hand, the fort of St. Loup, one of the ſix largeſt above-mentioned; and, after a conflict of four hours, the fort was taken; and, of the 1200 Engliſh, that defended it, 400 were killed, on the ſpot. Two days after, ſhe alſo aſſaulted the fort of St. John; but, as it was almoſt abandoned by the Engliſh, ſhe met with little reſiſtance. Preſently after, without giving her troops any reſpite, ſhe led them againſt the fort, called London, the principal of the ſix, built upon the ruins of the church of the Auguſtines; and, in ſpite of the gallant defence of the Engliſh, this was alſo carried, with great loſs on their ſide. Joan's troops expected ſome reſpite, after ſo hard duty; but, immediately, ſhe marched them to the fort of the Tournelles; and, not being able to attack it, that evening, for want of day-light, ſhe kept it inveſted, all night. On the morrow, at break of day, the aſſault began, and continued, 14 hours, without intermiſſion; and the French were repulſed, four ſeveral times, and as often renewed the charge, Joan animating them, by her words and actions, tho' wounded with an arrow, between the neck and ſhoulders. At length, about eight at night, the fort was taken like the reſt, and 600 Engliſh cut in pieces; and, in all theſe actions, Joan gave proofs of an extraordinary valour and reſolution.

The Engliſh raiſe the ſiege. Monſtrelet. Hall.

It is natural to conclude, how great the conſternation of the Engliſh was, after the ill ſucceſs of that day; and, the loſs of four of their largeſt forts not permitting them to continue the ſiege, they raiſed it, the 12th of May, after having been before the place, ſeven whole months.

It appears from a fragment of the duke of Bedford's letter to the king, his nephew, after the raiſing of the ſiege of Orleans, how much the Engliſh, and the duke of Bedford himſelf, were diſcouraged by this ſurprizing event.

"And alle thing there proſpered for you, 1429.
"till the tyme of the ſiege of Orleans taken
"in hand, God knoweth by what advis. At
"the whiche tyme, after the adventure fallen
"to the perſone of my couſin of Salyſbury,
"whom God aſſoille, there felle, by the hand
"of God, as it ſeemeth, a grete ſtrook upon your peuple that was aſſembled there
"in grete nombre, cauſed in grete partie, as
"y trowe, of lakke of ſadde beleve, and of
"unlevfulle doubte, that thei hadde of a diſciple and lyme of the feende, called the
"Pucelle, that uſed fals enchauntments and
"ſorcerie. The whiche ſtrooke and diſcomfiture nought oonly leſſed in grete partie the
"nombre of youre peuple there, but as well
"withdrowe the courage of the remenant in
"merveillous wyſe, and couraiged your adverſe partie and ennemys to aſſemble hem
"forthwith in grete nombre, &c. *

The great alteration of the French and Engliſh.

The raiſing of the ſiege of Orleans uſhered in the decline of the Engliſh affairs; for, after it, the French ſeemed to have mutually changed tempers and characters. The Engliſh were ſeized with a ſpirit of terror and aſtoniſhment, whilſt the French were inſpired with a courage, almoſt entirely loſt, ſince the battles of Azincourt and Verneuil. Tho' the number of the French did not then exceed 6000, they, in a brisk and undaunted manner, purſued the Engliſh, who, tho' they were ſtill more numerous, retreated, in a ſtrange diſorder; and their conſternation was ſuch, that, not knowing what they did, inſtead of keeping together, to withſtand their enemies, they amuſed themſelves with throwing numerous garriſons into the places, conquered before the ſiege, about the Loire; by which means, they ſo weakened themſelves, that they were no longer in a condition to expect their enemies who cloſely purſued them. As they dreaded a battle, as much as they had formerly deſired it, they retired, at a diſtance, and gave the French leiſure to retake theſe places, one after another; and the earl of Suffolk was made priſoner, in Gergeau, where he had imprudently ſhut himſelf up, with only 400 men; which muſt have proceeded from his conſternation, at the defeat of his troops. Of all the places, in thoſe parts, Baugenci held out the longeſt; but it, at laſt, underwent the ſame fate, with the reſt; and, in a word, diſorder and confuſion ſo poſſeſſed the Engliſh, that Charles, by Joan's advice, reſolved to be crowned, at Rheimes. In the interim, this city was ſtill in the hands of the Engliſh; moreover, there was a neceſſity of traverſing above 120 miles of the enemies country, and of taking ſeveral places, which, at any other time, he would not have ventured to approach; an amazing effect of the terror ſtruck into the Engliſh by a woman, and of the confidence inſtilled into the French by the ſame!

The conſtable brings him troops. Hall.

The conſtable Richemont, perceiving the proſperity of the king's affairs, became leſs haughty and imperious; for, tho', hitherto,

* This fragment being without date, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, is miſplaced, among the records of of the year 1428. Rapin.

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1429. he imagined himſelf neceſſary, the late events convinced him, that he might be entirely forgotten, and loſe his ſhare of the glory the king would, probably, acquire. In this belief, he aſſembled all his friends; and, forming a body of 1200 horſe, and 12000 foot, he marched, to join the king who was then before Baugenci; and the duke of Bretagne, doubtleſs, connived at this levy, in his country, the late revolution inducing him to alter his meaſures. Whilſt the conſtable was upon his march, La Trimouille artfully perſuaded the king, that he was coming, with a powerful army, to have his perſon in his power; and this firſt impreſſion ſo affected Charles, that he was on the point of raiſing the ſiege of Baugenci, to give the conſtable battle; but, upon better information, he was pleaſed to receive him, with his ſuccours; however, which was extremely mortifying to a prince of his character, in complaiſance to Trimouille, it was required, that he ſhould not pretend to govern the king, nor even be preſent at the coronation.

The battle of Patay.

Baugenci being taken, the king was informed, that the Engliſh were aſſembling, in Beauce; upon which, Charles holding a council of war, it was unanimouſly reſolved to give them battle. Indeed, there was no likelihood of going to Rheims, with the enemies in the rear; for king Charles's army was, then, 10,000 ſtrong, including the Bretons, brought by the conſtable; but, of the 22000 Engliſh, lately before Orleans, there were only 6000 left with Talbot, who had taken the command of the army, after Suffolk was priſoner. Such was the amazement of the Engliſh, ſince the affair of Orleans, that they ſuffered themſelves to be ſurpriſed, near Patay, by the French; and they had ſcarce time to draw up, which was done, in ſuch confuſion, that they made but a very faint reſiſtance. Talbot alone maintained the fight, by his conduct and bravery; but, at laſt, this general being taken priſoner, the Engliſh army was routed, with the loſs of 2500 men. Faſtolff run away with the flying troops, being ſeized by a panic terror; which, whilſt it laſts, deprives a man of the uſe of his reaſon, and may happen to the moſt courageous.

The duke of Bedford ſhuts himſelf up in Paris.

If the raiſing of the ſiege of Orleans was a great checque to the affairs of the Engliſh, the defeat of Patay was a no leſs grievous and fatal blow; for the regent was now forced to keep within the walls of Paris, being unable to appear in the field, to oppoſe the progreſs of his enemies. In the interim, Charles improved theſe advantages; and Lewis III, duke of Anjou and king of Sicily, his brother-in-law, returning from Naples, where he had made a long ſtay, brought him, immediately after the battle of Patay, a ſupply of ſeveral valiant officers, who had attended him into Italy.

King Charles's adherents increaſing, in proportion to the proſperity of his affairs, he reviewed his troops, at Gien, and found them 1429. augmented to 15000 men; part of whom he gave to the conſtable, to make a diverſion, in Normandy, or rather, under that ſpecious pretence, to remove him, that he might not aſſiſt at the coronation, purſuant to agreement. The earl of Perdriac had another party, to carry the war into Guienne; and both theſe detachments contained no more than 5000 men. With the remaining 10,000, Charles took the road to Rheims, knowing there was no army in the field to oppoſe him; and, in paſſing thro' Burgundy, he ſummoned Auxerre, which promiſed to follow the example of the principal towns of Champagne. Troye and Chalon ſurrendered, upon the firſt ſummons, and a few days after, the citizens of Rheims drove the Engliſh garriſon out of the city, and ſent deputies to the king, to preſent him with the keys of their gates. Thus, every thing anſwering to his expectation, Charles entered Rheims, in triumph, and was crowned, preſently after. The ceremony being over, Joan would have retired, affirming that ſhe had nothing more to do, having executed what God had commanded; but the king ſollicited her ſo preſſingly, that, at laſt, he prevailed with her to ſtay.

Charles enters Rheims, and is crowned. Monſtrelet. Hall.

It is, now, time to ſee what paſſed, in England, during the late fatal revolution, in France. The quarrel ſtill ſubſiſted, between the duke of Glouceſter and the biſhop of Wincheſter, who was returned to London; and, as the prelate's new dignity rendered him more haughty, than ever, the duke of Glouceſter made uſe of that dignity, to give him a ſenſible mortification. St. George's day, patron of the moſt noble order of the garter, approaching, the cardinal was to officiate, as biſhop of Wincheſter; but the duke of Glouceſter and his friends oppoſed it, alledging that he could not hold the biſhoprick of Wincheſter, with the dignity of cardinal *, without the king's expreſs licenſe. The affair being brought before the council, it was reſolved, that, for this time, the cardinal ſhould not not officiate, as biſhop of Wincheſter; and two lords were ſent, to inform him of this reſolution. Next day, he came himſelf to the board, and demanded, why he was deprived of his right; but the council, perſiſting in their reſolution, replied, that it was for fear of prejudicing the prerogatives of the crown; whence the cardinal perceived, that his adverſary's intereſt was ſtill much greater than his own.

The duke of Glouceſter mortifies the cardinal of Wincheſter.

Soon after, the prelate received the pope's bull, appointing him his legate, in Germany, and general of the Cruſade againſt the Bohemian hereticks. The pope's deſign was to draw a powerful aid from England, againſt the Huſſites †; nay, it is not improbable, that, as he was a great friend to king Charles, he intended to weaken England, by draining the kingdom of men and money, under the pretence of the Cruſade. However, the car-

The cardinal is made general of the Cruſade. Act. Pub.

* Quia erat res inviſa eſſe cardinalem, & ſimiliter retinere in Anglia epiſcopatum Wyntonienſem. Rymer's Fœd.

† A large account of theſe people will be given, in the hiſtory of the council of Baſil, in the ſtate of the Church, at the end of the reign of Henry VII.

dinal,

1429. dinal, receiving the bull, the beginning of June, this year, tho' it was dated, the 18th of March, 1427-8, preſented to the king and council a petition, deſiring leave to publiſh the Cruſade, to levy, in England, 500 lances, and 5000 archers, and to appoint the generals and officers of this army; and, his petition being examined, in council, it was reſolved to grant it, in part, under the following reſtrictions:

That no perſon ſhall be obliged to contribute money, for the Cruſade, but every one give, what he pleaſed; that the ſums, voluntarily given, ſhould be lodged in ſuch hands, as the council ſhould nominate; and that the gold, or ſilver, ſhould not be conveighed, beyond ſea, but expended in the kingdom *.

That the cardinal ſhould be impowered to levy only 250 lances, and 2500 archers; and that even this ſhould be granted, only on condition that the pope, out of regard to the king and kingdom, ſhould not impoſe any tax on the laity or clergy.

That no ſoldiers ſerving, in France, ſhould be liſted or received among the troops of the Cruſade.

That the cardinal ſhould give the council ſufficient ſecurity, for the return of theſe troops.

That he ſhould exert himſelf, to perſuade the king of Scotland to leave England, in quiet, and obſerve the truce.

That, in publiſhing the Cruſade, it ſhould expreſly be ſaid, that it was with the king's aſſent and licenſe.

That the officers ſhould be nominated by the cardinal, but commiſſioned by the king.

That it ſhould be the ſame, with reſpect to the conſtable, or commander in chief of the army.

That, if the Cruſade did not take place, the money, furniſhed by private perſons, ſhould not be employed, without the king's approbation.

New levies for France.

Theſe reſtrictions evidently ſhew, how careful the council was, to prevent the pope's exerciſing, in the kingdom, an authority but too much abuſed by his predeceſſors.

The cardinal is to ſerve in France, till December. July. Act. Pub.

In the interim, the news of the battle of Patay, flying into England, cauſed a great conſternation, and made it eaſily concluded, that the regent wanted a ſudden and powerful aid; and, therefore, without loſing a moment, the council ordered new levies, the command of which was deſigned for Sir John Ratcliffe; but, as, at this juncture, it would have been very imprudent to ſend troops into Bohemia, the council reſolved to make ſome alteration, in what was granted to the cardinal of Wincheſter; and, upon this preſſing occaſion, a new agreement was made with him, by which he engaged to ſerve, in France, under the duke of Bedford, till the end of December, with the troops of the Cruſade, provided they were not employed in any ſiege. 1429.

The duke of Bedford's inſtructions to Garter. Act. Pub.

A few days after, Garter king at arms †, arrived from France, to inform the council of the ſtate of affairs, in that kingdom; and the ſubſtance of his inſtructions from the regent was, as follows.

I. That it was neceſſary to forward the departure of Ratcliffe's and the cardinal's troops, and let the regent know the preciſe time of their embarquement:

II. The dauphin (for ſo the regent called Charles) was maſter of Troye, Chalon, and ſeveral other places, ſome of which had voluntarily ſurrendered; that he was to enter, that very day, July the 16th, the city of Rheims, in order to be crowned; and that he afterwards deſigned to do all that was poſſible, to take Paris, but ſhould find it more difficult than he imagined.

III. That the duke of Burgundy had fully diſcharged his duty; and the city of Paris, were it not for him, would have been loſt, before now; and that he departed, that very day, for Artois, to haſten his troops, and join them with the Engliſh army.

IV. That the regent was to ſet out, within two days, for Normandy and Picardy, where he would draw the garriſons together, and expect the troops that were to come from England.

V. Laſtly, The council of France moſt humbly petitioned the king, to come and be crowned, at Paris.

Upon this laſt article, it was reſolved, that the young king, now only eight years old, ſhould go into France, and be crowned; but that he ſhould firſt be crowned, in England.

Henry is crowned, at London.

Purſuant to this reſolution, the ceremony of the coronation was performed, on the 6th of November; and, ſix days after, the parliament, then aſſembled, ordered the dignity of protector and defender of the church to be ſuppreſſed; but that the duke of Glouceſter ſhould retain that of firſt counſellor to the

* Viz. Laid out upon merchandizes, to be delivered to thoſe that engaged in the Cruſade, and by them exported. Rymer's Fœd.

† There are three kings at arms, in England; namely, Garter, Clarencieux, and Norroy. Garter is the chief, inſtituted by Henry V, as has been related; and his buſineſs is to attend knights of the Garter, at their ſolemnity, and to marſhal the funerals of the greater nobility. Clarencieux was created by Edward IV, who, attaining the dukedom of Clarence, by the death of his brother, made the herald, belonging to the duke of Clarence, a king at arms, and called him Clarentius; whoſe proper office is to marſhal the funerals of the leſſer nobility, or gentry, on the ſouth ſide of the Trent. Norroy's office is the ſame, on the north-ſide of the Trent, as his name ſhews, The Northern King. The buſineſs of the heralds is, alſo to proclaim war, or peace, or to be employed in the king's martial meſſages; and they are likewiſe judges of gentlemens arms, marſhal all the ſolemnities, at the coronation of princes, &c. Verſtegan derives the word Herald from Here, an Army, and Healt, a Champion, i. e. The Champion of the Army; and, beſides the three kings, there are ſix others properly termed Heralds, as they were created to attend dukes, &c. viz. York, Lancaſter, Somerſet, Richmond, Cheſter, and Windſor. There are four others, called Marſhals, or Purſuivants at Arms, who commonly ſucceed in the place of heralds; namely, Blue-Mantle, Rouge-Croſs, Rouge-Dragon, and Port-Cullis.

1429. king. This was an extreme as well as unexpected mortification to that prince; and, indeed, as the king's coronation did not increaſe his capacity, the kingdom ſeemed ſtill to require a protector; but it was pretended, that the protectorſhip was inconſiſtent with the dignity of a crowned head. The ſequel will ſhew, that this rule was not always obſerved; however, the duke handſomely ſubmitted to the ordinance, as far as it concerned him, the rights of his brother, the duke of Bedford, remaining entire.

Charles continues his conqueſts. Hall.

During the preparations, in England, for the coronation, Charles continued his conqueſts, with great rapidity; tho' his coronation detained him, 11 days, at Rheims. If the regent had, then, been provided with an army, he might eaſily have incloſed him in that corner of France, where he had but few places, ſurrounded with the enemies garriſons; but the duke was, at that time, in Picardy, with few troops, expecting thoſe that were to come from England; and Charles improved the advantage of that prince's diſtance. The inhabitants of the Engliſh towns being, generally, well affected to him, nothing hindered them from giving him proofs of their affection, ſince the duke of Bedford had been conſtrained to weaken the garriſons extremely, to compoſe an army; and, on this account, in a very ſhort ſpace, Charles became maſter of Soiſſons, Provins, Chateau-Thierry, Crepi, and ſome other places, even before they were attacked; for the Engliſh garriſons were unable to prevent the burghers from following their inclination.

The regent marches towards him. Monſtrelet.

In the mean while, the duke of Bedford, having, at laſt, received the expected ſupplies, began to march, with an intent to ſtop the progreſs of his enemy; and, at Crepi, Charles heard, that the duke was advancing, to give him battle. A few days after, the two armies approached very near each other, on a large plain, where nothing hindered their engaging; and the number of the troops, on both ſides, was much the ſame; but, as the king had more horſe, the regent was unwilling to attack him. Moreover, the poſture of his affairs required, that he ſhould not fight, without advantage; and, therefore, he ordered his camp to be ſtrongly intrenched. He was in hopes, that the impetuous humour of the French, would lead them to commit the ſame fault, as at Verneuil, and on many other occaſions; and that they would attempt to force his intrenchments, in which caſe, he promiſed himſelf certain victory; but, for once, he was diſappointed. Charles, grown wiſe, by ſo many former inſtances, was content with facing him, and trying to draw him out of his lines, without hazarding an attack, the ſucceſs of which ſeemed very doubtful; but, at laſt, finding the Engliſh kept their ſtation, he left his, to purſue his conqueſts, knowing that moſt of the towns were inclined to receive him. The regent cloſely followed him; but, as he would run no riſque, without an apparent advantage, he had the mortification to ſee him enter Senlis, Beauvais, Compiegne, Creil, Pont St. Maxence, Lagny, Bray, Gournay, Melunt, and Sens; all which places opened their gates to the king, being no longer overawed by the garriſons. 1429.

On the other hand, the conſtable Richemont, having found means to augment his troops, to the number of 8000, had taken Evreux, in Normandy, and threatened the whole province; but the duke of Bedford haſtened thither; not being able to bear the thoughts of loſing a country, from whence flowed, in a great meaſure, his ſubſiſtence.

Charles makes an attempt upon Paris. Monſtrelet. Hall.

Whilſt the duke of Bedford was employed, in Normandy, Charles, maſter of the field, in the iſle of France, approached Paris, and encamped, at Montmartre; and he, immediately, publiſhed a general pardon for the Pariſians, fancying that, terrified by his conqueſts, they would take up arms, and expel the Engliſh; but the regent had ſo ordered matters there, that not a man ſtirred. At laſt, perceiving that nothing was to be expected from the citizens, he attacked the ſuburbs of St. Honorius; but his troops were repulſed, with great loſs. Joan, who had greatly expoſed herſelf, in this aſſault, was wounded, and thrown into the ditch; and ſhe was thought to be dead, but, being drawn out, in the night, recovered of her wounds.

Lagni and St. Dennis are taken by the Engliſh.

The ſeaſon not permitting the two armies to keep the field, any longer, Charles, retiring, paſſed the winter, at Bourges; the regent, alſo, after driving the conſtable out of Normandy, returned to Paris; and, during the winter, he carried by ſcalade St. Dennis and Lagni, which exceedingly annoyed the Pariſians.

The diſpoſition of the duke of Burgundy, ſince the turn of affairs. Monſtrelet.

Before we conclude the occurrences of this year, it is neceſſary to ſhew, how the duke of Burgundy ſtood affected, ſince the revolution, in the Engliſh affairs. Charles, notwithſtanding his proſperity, was ſenſible it was inſufficient, unleſs he could gain the duke of Burgundy; and, indeed, if that potent prince had thought fit to aſſiſt the Engliſh, with all his forces, he would have, doubtleſs, prevented this fatal revolution; nay, if after the raiſing of the ſiege of Orleans, he had aided them, in proportion to his power, he would ſtill have turned the ſcale, on their ſide; but he had been, for ſome time, taking other meaſures. His policy ſuggeſted to him, that, by too powerfully aſſiſting the Engliſh, he ſhould procure himſelf troubleſome maſters, as he had already experienced, in the affair of Hainault; and, therefore, ſince he muſt have a ſovereign, he choſe much rather, to ſee a prince of his blood on the throne of France, than a foreigner; but he took care to conceal his ſentiments. It was manifeſt, that openly diſcovering his inclination, to abandon the Engliſh, would have been very prejudicial to him; for it would have rendered Charles leſs eager to agree with him; and, perhaps, the duke of Bedford would have endeavoured to prevent him, by making a ſeparate peace with the French, excluſive of him. This was, at leaſt, what the duke of

Burgundy

1429. Burgundy had reaſon to fear, conſidering the poſture of the affairs of the Engliſh, ſince the battle of Patay; and, therefore, he reſolved to continue to aſſiſt the Engliſh, but ſo as to give Charles ſome hopes, that, his reſentment was abated. He rightly judged, that, by this courſe, he ſhould procure better terms, or, at worſt, might remain in his preſent ſituation, till what he deſired was offered; and, Charles, having had ſome intimation of the duke of Burgundy's diſpoſition, diſpatched ſecret agents, to treat with him; but the duke did not think it proper, as yet, to diſcover himſelf, being apprehenſive that, if the duke of Bedford ſhould know it, he would, without him, agree with Charles; whereas his view was, to make his own peace, at the expence of the Engliſh. The ſequel evidently proved this to be his deſign; and it is moſt certain, that he was now determined, tho' he did not believe it expedient to begin the negotiation ſo early. A remarkable inſtance this, of the inſtability of the ſeemingly firmeſt alliances; a ſad effect of inſincerity, too common among men, and eſpecially among princes. In ſpite of their treaties, they cannot truſt one another, but live in continual fear of being deceived by their allies; and, therefore, taking for granted that they may be abandoned, they endeavour to prevent, and, without ſcruple, violate their engagements, upon the proſpect of any conſiderable advantage; nay, let a man run over all hiſtories, as well antient as modern, and he will hardly find any one conſiderable alliance, that was not broken by ſome notorious deceit.

1430. Murmurings in England. It would be difficult to deſcribe the concern, trouble, complaints, and murmurings, in England, upon the revolution, in France. Some accuſed the generals, of not diſcharging their duty; and others, perceiving no natural cauſe of ſuch a ſurpriſing change, affirmed, that it muſt have happened by the malice of the devil, who had made uſe of Joan, for his inſtrument, and boldly aſſerted ſhe was a witch. In a word, ſome threw all the blame on the council, and the duke of Glouceſter; and they juſtly charged them, with unſeaſonably proſecuting the affair of Hainault, when, if all the forces of England had been united againſt France, they would have infallibly compleated the conqueſt of that kingdom. In ſhort, nothing but complaints were heard, from all quarters, every one ſeeking, in the faults of the miniſtry, for a cauſe of this fatal revolution; but, among all the reflections caſt on the government, the council took moſt notice of their reaſoning, who ſaid, "It was "an extremely great error to keep the French "princes, and particularly the dukes of Or-"leans and Bourbon, ſo long priſoners, in "England; that none could be ignorant, "what ſignal advantages were reaped by the "late king, from the diſſenſions of the French; "and that, conſequently, the priſoners ſhould "have been ſent home, where, probably, "they would have renewed their old quar-"rels; whereas detaining them captive had "procured France a tranquillity, deſtructive "to England; that, at leaſt, if the dukes "of Orleans and Bourbon had been, in "France, with king Charles, the Engliſh "would have had greater aids, from the duke "of Burgundy, than what he had, hitherto, "furniſhed. In a word, it was not yet too "late to releaſe theſe two princes; and as "England was drained by ſuch a tedious war, "their ranſoms might ſerve to put things "on a better footing." Theſe reaſons ſeemed very ſpecious; but, on the contrary, the late king's orders, concerning the priſoners, were, to the duke of Glouceſter and the council, an inviolable law. 1430

There were, however, eſpecially, as to the duke of Bourbon, motives, which might have induced the council to overlook the late king's orders; for, in 1421, that prince made a treaty with Henry V, promiſing to ſwear to the peace of Troye, to pay a certain ſum, for his ranſom, and deliver two of his ſons, and his fortified towns, in hoſtage, till his engagements were fully performed. Henry V. dying, before the treaty was executed, it was renewed, with ſome alteration, in 1428; and young Henry had received, as king of France, the duke's homage. There was nothing wanting, except the ratification, which was ſolely deferred, leſt the people ſhould diſapprove of this proceeding. In ſhort, this year 1430, all difficulties were ſurmounted, and the treaty was ratified; but ſome obſtacles, that occurred in the execution, hindered the duke from being releaſed; who died, at laſt, in England, in 1433, after an 18 years captivity. Articles for releaſing the duke of Bourbon. Act. Pub.

Another motive, inducing the council to treat with the duke of Bourbon, was the hopes, that his ranſom would help to defray the charges of the king's journey, who was in a readineſs to embarque for France; but, this means failing, it became neceſſary to have recourſe to borrowings, which manifeſtly diſcovered the low condition of the treaſury; and, with how great difficulty, ſufficient funds were raiſed, for carrying on the war.

Henry departed, at length, on the 24th of April, attended by many of the nobility, and particularly the cardinal of Wincheſter, who was appointed chief counſellor to the king, with a large ſalary; for this honourable pretence was uſed, to keep him out of England, leſt, in the king's abſence, and under the duke of Glouceſter's regency, who was made guardian, their diſſenſions might create commotions. Henry, arriving at Calais, proceeded immediately to Roan, where he ſpent, almoſt all the reſt of the year; whilſt preparations were making, at Paris, for his coronation, which could not be finiſhed, till December. About the middle of this month, he came to the metropolis; where he was crowned, on the 17th, with all the ſolemnity the preſent juncture of his affairs would allow. Henry goes to France.

Whilſt the king was, at Roan, the duke of Bedford, foreſeeing the duke of Burgundy's deſigns, and their dangerous conſequences, did all that was poſſible, to prevent them; The duke of Bedford ſecures the duke of Burgundy to England.

1430. them; and it coſt him Champagne and la Brie, or, at leaſt, the places he ſtill poſſeſſed, in thoſe provinces, to ſecure him in the alliance of England; but, at the ſame time, he was enabled, by this means, to ſtop the progreſs of Charles, who had carried on his conqueſts, with an amazing rapidity.

The duke of Burgundy's third marriage.

Another reaſon, to keep the duke of Burgundy in the intereſt of the Engliſh, was, his third marriage with Iſabella of Portugal, a near relation to the king of England, and who had not the ſame affinity with king Charles, as Bona of Artois, his former wife; ſo that the duke of Bedford, receiving an aid from the duke of Burgundy, took the field, and became maſter, in the iſle of France, of ſeveral places; which, tho' inconſiderable in themſelves, were of great importance, as they were incommodious to Paris.

The duke of Burgundy beſieges Compiegne.

Soon after, the duke of Burgundy himſelf entered France, at the head of a numerous army; and he retook firſt Torſy and Soiſſons, and then beſieged Compiegne. Flavy commanded, in that place, with an able garriſon, and ſix months proviſions; but, upon the firſt news of this ſiege, the maid of Orleans and Xaintrailles threw themſelves into the town, not without the governor's ſecret reſentment, who eaſily perceived. that they came to rob him of the honour of the defence.

The maid makes a ſalley, and is taken priſoner. Monſtrelet.

On the 25th of May, Joan, making a ſalley, fought, with great conduct and reſolution; but, being, at length, forced to retreat, ſhe put herſelf in the rear, and, now and then, made a ſtand, to ſtop the enemies, by whom ſhe was preſſed. In this manner, ſhe preſerved all her men; but ſhe found the gates ſhut, and the draw-bridge up, when ſhe would have entered the town. It is ſaid, that this was done by the governor's order, to deſtroy her, who pretended, that he did not know ſhe was ſtill without; but this circumſtance is not ſufficiently proved. However it be, Joan, finding it impoſſible to eſcape her purſuers, ſurrendered herſelf priſoner to the baſtard of Vendoſme, who, forthwith, delivered her to the earl of Ligny, the duke of Burgundy's general; and the duke of Bedford, over-joyed that this prey was in the power of his allies, demanded her ſo urgently of the earl of Ligny, that he could not deny him; yet he required a reward ſuitable to the importance of his priſoner. ſome time after, the town was relieved by the earl of Vendoſme, who introduced troops and ammunition, when it was almoſt reduced to extremity; upon which, the earl of Ligny, commander in chief, deſpairing of ſucceſs, raiſed the ſiege; and the duke of Burgundy, who had ſtaid, all the while, at Noyon, retired into Artois.

Bouſſac and Xaintrailles are deceived by a ſhepherd. Monſtrelet.

I paſs over in ſilence numberleſs attempts, on both ſides, which contributed very little to the deciſion of the main affair; however, it will be proper to obſerve, that Joan's pretended inſpiration had made ſuch an impreſſion in the minds of the French, that marſhal Bouſſac and Xaintrailles ſuffered themſelves to be deceived by an artifice, which, doubtleſs, would have miſcarried, had it not been ſupported by this prepoſſeſſion. A ſhepherd, living near Roan, came and informed the marſhal, that Heaven had revealed to him a certain private way, by which he would lead him into the very city of Roan; and Bouſſac imparted the ſecret to Xaintrailles; upon which being both perſuaded that they had God himſelf for their guide, they marched, with a body of choſen troops after the ſhepherd, who led them into an ambuſh, where Talbot expected them; and, their troops being cut in pieces, Xaintrailles remained a priſoner, in the hands of the Engliſh. 1430.

Theſe are the moſt memorable events, in France, during the year 1430, with reſpect to the war; but we muſt now return to what paſſed, in England.

The cardinal receives a freſh mortification. Act. Pub.

During the cardinal of Wincheſter's abſence, the duke of Glouceſter repreſented to the council, that the cardinal deſigned to leave the king, in order to take his place in the council, with an intent to raiſe troubles in the kingdom; that his deſign was the more criminal, as he intended to make uſe of the pope's authority, to free himſelf from the obligation to aſſiſt the king, in France; which was evidently ſubjecting the orders and regulations of the council, to a foreign power; and, upon theſe complaints, the council iſſued out a proclamation, prohibiting all the king's ſubjects, on pain of impriſonment, to attend the cardinal, if he left the king, without licenſe.

A truce with Caſtile,

On the 8th of November, a truce of one year was concluded, at London, with the king of Caſtile, to commence, the 1ſt of May, 1431.

and Scotland.

About the middle of December, the ambaſſadors of England ſigned, at Edinburgh, a five years truce with Scotland, to begin, the ſame day with the former.

1431.

Joan having been in the hands of the Engliſh, ever ſince the ſiege of Compiegne, the duke of Bedford had ordered her to be conducted to Roan, were he reſolved to ſacrifice her, to the vengeance he thought due to the Engliſh nation; and there was, doubtleſs, great policy, in this reſolution. All France was poſſeſſed with the Belief, that ſhe was ſent from God; and the Engliſh ſoldiers fancied, that, in fighting againſt her, they had to deal with the devil. Wherever ſhe appeared, they imagined the French troops invincible; at leaſt, the conſternation that ſeized their ſouls, and the ſurpriſing change it wrought in their tempers and diſpoſitions, cannot be aſcribed to any other cauſe; and it was, therefore, of the laſt importance to undeceive them. The taking of Joan had already begun to produce this effect; for it was very naturally inferred, that, had ſhe acted by God's command, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that ſhe could fall into ſuch a misfortune; but, to confirm this firſt impreſſion, it was very expedient to inſinuate to the terrified Engliſh, that all that ſhe had done was, by way of witchcraft and ſorcery. Perhaps, this was the, duke of Bedford's own opinion, as

may

1431. may be concluded from his expreſſions, in the foreſaid letter to the king; but, however that be, he ſo managed, that the king, by the advice of his council of France, ordered Joan to be tried, for a witch; and, accordingly, ſhe was delivered over to eccleſiaſtical judges, who, after a long examination, condemned her, as a heretick, to do penance, upon bread and water, all the days of her life. Some time after, under the pretence of her relapſing into her former errors, ſhe was tried again by the ſame judges, who delivered her over to the ſecular arm, to be burnt alive; which ſentence was executed, in the old market-place at Roan, the 30th of May, 1431.

The maid is condemned to impriſonment, and afterwards to be burnt. Monſtrelet.

Various opinions about her.

Thus far, the French and Engliſh agree; for it cannot be denied, that Joan performed remarkable exploits, and inſpired the French with courage, whilſt ſhe terrified the Engliſh; but the French aſcribe what appears wonderful, in her, to the ſupernatural power of God, and the Engliſh to the artifices of the devil. How, then, ſhall we form a judgment? Perhaps, they are both miſtaken; and, indeed, there is a third opinion, that does not want plauſible reaſons. As the examination of theſe three opinions would occaſion too large a digreſſion, I ſhall not ſtay, to diſcuſs them, here; and they, who deſire a more particular account of this matter, may peruſe a Diſſertation, inſerted at the end of this reign, where I ſhall endeavour to ſet this point, in as clear a light, as the nature of it will allow.

The extreme weakneſs of the two kings.

Charles, notwithſtanding his advantages, was not in a condition to continue the war; for moſt of the places he had taken, being ruined, were incapable of giving him much aſſiſtance. Moreover, as they had voluntarily ſurrendered, he was unwilling to preſs them, leſt they ſhould return to the Engliſh; for it was not in his power to place in them garriſons, of ſtrength ſufficient to keep them in awe. On the contrary, the Engliſh, by reaſon of their many loſſes, were alſo unable to keep armies in the field; ſo that, during the reſt of this year, the war was continued only by parties, and ſurpriſing of places, moſt of which were but weakly guarded.

The French ſurpriſe Chartres. Monſtrelet.

Thus, the French became maſters of Charters, by means of a cart loaden with wine, which they cauſed to be overturned, juſt under the port-cullis; and the Engliſh took Montargis, by holding intelligence with a young woman, who perſuaded a barber, her lover, to introduce them into the town.

The fair of Caen is plundered. J. Chartier.

Lore, a French captain, made an inroad, to the very gates of Caen, upon a fair-day, and carried away 2000 perſons, with a very great booty; and he, afterwards, retired to Silley, a ſmall town, in Maine, where he was beſieged by the earl of Arundel; but the duke of Alenſon, on a ſudden, coming to his relief, obliged the Engliſh to retire.

Other exploits of the two parties. Monſtrelet.

This year, Xaintrailles and Gaucour, ravaging Normandy, were defeated and made priſoners; and a party of Engliſh took alſo Villeneuve lez-ſen from the French. Nothing elſe, that was remarkable, paſſed, in France; but a more important event fell out, in Lorrain, wherein king Charles and the duke of Burgundy were concerned, and which, therefore, it will not be improper briefly to mention. 1431.

The war of Lorrain. Monſtrelet. Hall.

Lewis, cardinal of Bar, and marqueſs of Pont-a-Mouſſon, being the laſt male of the houſe of Bar, the children of Violante, his ſiſter, queen of Arragon, became his heirs; among whom, Violante of Arragon had married Lewis II, king of Sicily, and duke of Anjou, and by him had three ſons, Lewis, Rene, and Charles. Of theſe, the cardinal duke of Bar choſe Rene, for his heir, and married him to Iſabella, third daughter to Charles, duke of Lorrain, who had no iſſue male; and it is ſaid, that Iſabella's two elder ſiſters had renounced the ſucceſſion of the duke, their father. Rene, being duke of Bar, by the deceaſe of the cardinal, his uncle, would alſo have taken poſſeſſion of Lorrain, upon the death of the duke, his father-in-law; but Anthony, earl of Vaudemont, ſon to Frederick, younger brother to duke Charles, diſputed the ſucceſſion with him; which cauſed a war between theſe two princes, wherein king Charles ſupported Rene, his brother-in-law, and the duke of Burgundy, the earl of Vaudemont. On the 2d of July, this year, the two competitors fought, at Bulegneville, a bloody battle; where Rene was defeated, taken priſoner, and carried to Dijon; and 1200 French were ſlain, in this action; which loſs, doubtleſs, helped to hinder Charles from continuing his progreſs.

An attempt to take the ſee from the biſhop of Winchester.

The affair relating to the ſee of Wincheſter, of which the duke of Glouceſter would have deprived the cardinal, was rather ſuſpended, than determined, in 1429, by an order of council to the prelate, to forbear, for that time, officiating, as biſhop, on St. George's day; for the duke, taking advantage of the cardinal's abſence, who was with the king, at Paris, about the end of this year, procured this affair to be brought again upon the board. On the 6th of November, the king's attorney-general, appearing before the council, required, that the cardinal ſhould be deprived of his ſee; alledging that, by the laws of the land, the ſame perſon could not be a cardinal and biſhop, in England; and he ſupported his allegation with the examples of Simon Langham and Robert Kilwarby, formerly archbiſhops of Canterbury, who, upon their being made cardinals, reſigned the archbiſhoprick. Then the duke of Glouceſter, addreſſing himſelf to the biſhop of Worceſter, requeſted him to declare, upon his oath of allegiance to the king, whether the cardinal had not obtained of the pope an exemption from the juriſdiction of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, for himſelf, the city, and even the whole dioceſe of Wincheſter; for his intent was to ſhew, how inconvenient it was, to ſuffer a cardinal to hold a biſhoprick, in England. The biſhop of Worceſter, after ſome intreaty, replied, that the biſhop of Litchfield, being at Rome, had ſued for, and obtained this exemption for the cardinal, who had reimburſed all the charges; and that he had this from that prelate's own mouth. After a long debate about this affair, in the coun-

1431. cil, it was, at length, reſolved, that, before any deciſion, the cardinal ſhould be heard, and the judges conſulted; ſo that it was, as yet, impoſſible for the duke of Glouceſter to compaſs his ends.

A conference about a peace. Monſtrelet.

Whilſt Henry was in France, pope Eugenius II, ſucceſſor to Martin V, ſent thither the cardinal of Santa Cruz, in order to perſuade the two kings to a peace; and he prevailed with them, at laſt, to ſend their ambaſſadors to Auxerre; but this congreſs was ineffectual. They did not ſo much as enter into a conference, becauſe, if we may believe the French hiſtorians, the ambaſſadors of England refuſed to own king Charles's for ambaſſadors of France; however, the 31ſt of March, the enſuing year, was appointed for their meeting; but to no purpoſe, ſince no place was appointed for holding the congreſs. The court of England had named, for plenipotentiaries, the biſhop of Rocheſter, and ſome others.

1432. The ill ſtate of the duke of Bedford, in France.

Henry returned into England, the beginning of the year 1432, being full 10 years old; but neither his journey into France, nor his return, produced any alteration, in his affairs; which were ſtill managed by the duke of Bedford, in France, and by the duke of Glouceſter, in England; but the government of two kingdoms was a weighty burden for theſe princes, at a time when the king's affairs were manifeſtly in a decaying condition. The duke of Bedford was obliged to be always on his guard, to reſiſt his enemies, now, very formidable; but this was nothing, in compariſon of the trouble, occaſioned by his perpetual diffidence of his own pretended friends. The duke of Burgundy's ambiguous proceedings juſtly gave him uneaſineſs; the duke of Bretagne was not a firmer friend; and, in a word, ſince the decline of the affairs of the Engliſh, the towns, that ſeemed to ſide with them, were faithful, only in proportion to the ſtrength of their garriſons. Paris herſelf, the metropolis, on which, in a manner, all depended, was not ſo well affected, as that any ſtreſs could be laid on her fidelity; or, at leaſt, her attachment to the intereſt of England had an entire dependence on that of the duke of Burgundy. To this may be added, the inconſiderable aids of men and money, received by the duke of Bedford, at a time when they were the moſt wanted; and, to compleat his misfortune, the regent found himſelf almoſt alone, burdened with the weight of the publick affairs, as well military as civil; thoſe who had aſſiſted him, in the beginning of his regency, being, for the moſt part, either dead, or priſoners in the hands of the French. In this perplexity, he propoſed to king Charles the exchange of Talbot, for Xaintrailles; and his offer was accepted. As he durſt not leave Paris, and the war was carrying on, in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, he could not be without ſuch a general, as Talbot; tho', to procure him, he was obliged to reſtore his equal to the enemy.

If the affairs of the Engliſh were upon an ill footing, in France, they were not in a better ſituation, in England; for ſubſidies were granted by the parliament, with great reluctance, for continuing ſuch a deſtructive war, which did not proſper, as formerly; and, on the other hand, the quarrel, between the duke of Glouceſter and the cardinal, ſtill ſubſiſted, with greater animoſity, than ever, and began to turn, to the duke's diſadvantage. In the laſt year's parliament, the cardinal, having found means to gain the commons to his intereſt, extremely mortified his adverſary; and the houſe, to ſhew him marks of their favour, petitioned the king, that, in conſideration of the cardinal's great ſervices to the ſtate, he would give him a full pardon, for whatever he had done contrary to the laws, particularly, with reſpect to the ſtatute of Præmunire; and, this petition being granted, the cardinal was ſcreened from all proſecution. However the duke of Glouceſter ſtill pretended, that he had ſufficient evidence, to prove the cardinal guilty of high-treaſon; a crime which could not be ſuppoſed to be included in the letters of pardon. The cardinal, then in Flanders upon the king's affairs, ſpeedily repaired to London, without asking leave, and ſo furniſhed his enemy with a pretence to ſeize his baggage; and, the very day after his arrival, he went to the houſe of lords, with a deſign, as he ſaid, to vindicate his innocence, againſt any that ſhould offer to accuſe him. The duke of Glouceſter not thinking it proper to ſupport what he had advanced, the prelate was anſwered, that, as no accuſer appeared, he was acknowledged, for a loyal ſubject; and he thanked the houſe for this declaration, deſiring that it might be drawn up, in form, which was granted. Then he complained, that, at his arrival at Sandwich, his baggage was ſeized; and he petitioned the reſtitution. He alledged, that the ſeizure was unjuſtly made, and offered to lend the king 6000 l. for ſix years; and that, if, in that time, the ſeizure was proved lawful, the money lent ſhould be forfeited to the king; and he likewiſe offered to lend him the like ſum, and to defer the demand of 13000 marks, due to him, on another account, on condition that the payment of the whole ſhould be aſſigned, out of the next ſubſidy granted to the king. His view was, to ſhew his regard for the king's and the people's wants; and his offers were accepted, and the ſeizure reſtored. Thus, the duke of Glouceſter, inſtead of triumphing over his enemy, had the mortification, to ſee him receive the applauſes of both houſes; but, in the interim, this diſcord produced very ill effects; for, whilſt the duke and the cardinal were ſolely intent on their own private concerns, the war, in France, was neglected; tho' it was, now, more neceſſary, than ever, to do all that was poſſible, to ſupport it.

1432. A continuation of the quarrel between the duke of Glouceſter and the cardinal.

The indolence of king Charles.

England, had ſhe improved her preſent advantages, might have repaired ſome of her former loſſes. King Charles languiſhed in the arms of Agnes Sorrel, his miſtreſs, leaving the management of every thing, however important, to his miniſters and generals; and it

was

1432. was with extreme reluctance, that he beſtowed a few moments upon the war, and the affairs of ſtate. So impatient was he to return to his pleaſures, interrupted by theſe perplexing cares, that he only ſtudied to intruſt with others whatever might embarraſs him; and La Trimouille, his favourite, was generally accuſed of ſoothing him, in this ſupineneſs; but it was perceived by perſons of penetration, that the king, growing weary of him, was uneaſy under a yoke he had impoſed upon himſelf. The conſtable, tho' abſent, ſoon received intelligence of it; for his ſpies at court were too vigilant, to ſuffer ſuch an important thing to be long concealed from him. As he was of a haughty and violent ſpirit, he could not bear, without indignation, to be ſurpaſſed by La Trimouille; and he had reſolved to ſerve him, as he had done Louvet, De Giac, and Beaulieu. When he found, that the king had not the ſame regard for him, as before, he thought it a fair opportunity, for executing his reſolution; but, finding that Trimouille's ruin would not ſo far reſtore him to the king's favour, as that he could hope for his place, he projected to introduce Charles of Anjou, the queen's brother, into this poſt; a ſtrange project, haughtily to attempt to deprive a prince of one favourite, and give him another, againſt his will, or, at leaſt, without conſulting him! As ſoon as matters were ripe for execution, La Trimouille was ſeized, in his bed, in the king's own houſe, who was then, at Chinon, and carried to priſon, at Montreſor; but, Charles incenſed at the news, would immediately, have taken vengeance, had not all the princes of the blood, and the great men, at court, declared againſt this favourite. He, with dread, remembred the confederacy formed againſt him, when he would have ſcreened Louvet; and, his diſguſt againſt this miniſter, who was no more than a favourite, in name, being added to that political reaſon, he abandoned him, without extreme concern. Charles of Anjou came to comfort him; and ſuch was his ſucceſs, that he became the favourite, and La Trimouille was forgotten.

It is natural to conclude, that a prince, of Charles's character, would not have been very formidable to the duke of Bedford, if the ſupplies from England had been ſufficient, to put him in a condition to make ſome conſiderable attempt; but he had not, for ſome time, been able to bring an army into the field, without diminiſhing his garriſons, and ſo expoſing his towns either to be ſurpriſed, or tempted to follow the example of thoſe, that had voluntarily ſurrendered to king Charles.

Lagni is taken by the French. Monſtrelet. J. Chartier.

About the end of the preceding year, Foucaut had conquered Lagni upon him, a place often taken and retaken, and which the neighbourhood of Paris rendered of the laſt importance; and, a little after, the regent, to no purpoſe, attempted to retake it. In the beginning of this year, the marſhal de l'Iſle-Adam and the earl of Arundel attacked it, in vain, being compelled, by a vigorous ſalley from the town, to abandon their enterprize; and, at laſt, in the beginning of Auguſt, the duke of Bedford beſieged it himſelf, with an army of 6000 men; but, on the 10th of the ſame month, the baſtard of Orleans, in ſpite of the duke's precautions, introduced a convoy, and then paſſed the Marne. This march leading the duke to apprehend, that he held ſome intelligence, in Paris, he ſuddenly raiſed the ſiege, to prevent his deſigns; and thus, Lagni was, beſieged, unſucceſsfully, three times within the ſpace of ſeven or eight months. 1432.

The French ſurpriſe Montargis, and quit it again. J. Chartier.

On the other hand, a ſmall body of French, drawn out of the garriſons, near the Loire, ſurpriſed Montargis; but, the caſtle making a vigorous defence, the French, being unable either to force it, or keep the town, were obliged to retire. In Normandy, 1200 Engliſh inveſted la Hire, in Louviers; and, after a three months blockade, he conſtrained the place to come to a capitulation.

The death of the ducheſs of Bedford. Monſtrelet. Hall.

Theſe were inconſiderable events; but, on the 13th of November, there happened one of much greater conſequence, viz. the death of Ann of Burgundy, ducheſs of Bedford. This loſs was common to all the Engliſh, ſince it broke the bond of union between the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy; and, by the coldneſs ſucceeding it, it proved very fatal to England.

An ambaſſy to the council of Baſil. Act. Pub.

The council of Baſil had been aſſembled, ſince the laſt year, but England had ſent no ambaſſadors; and, about the end of this year, the pope and council, who were diſputing about pre-eminence, ſending, each a-part, legates to the king, the archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of Rocheſter, the earl of Huntingdon, and ſeveral others were appointed to go to the council.

1433. An inſurrection, in Normandy. Monſtrelet. J. Chartier.

In the beginning of 1433, there was a dangerous inſurrection, in Normandy; which would have been no leſs prejudicial to the Engliſh, than the raiſing of the ſiege of Orleans, if they had not, by their diligence, timely prevented part of the miſchief, which might have enſued; for 60,000 peaſants of that province, having taken arms, divided themſelves into two bodies, one of which, conſiſting of 40,000 men, marched into Vexin, and the other towards Caen. Had Charles's army been near enough, to ſupport them, he would, doubtleſs, have been maſter of all Normandy; for the rebels ſoon conquered Caen, Harfleur, Dieppe, and Lillebonne; and, probably, they would have made a much greater progreſs, if the earl of Arundel had not, with the utmoſt expedition, marched againſt thoſe that were aſſembled, in Vexin. Theſe men, being without an eminent leader, were ſurpriſed, in the night, and eaſily yielded him a victory, more beneficial to his maſter than glorious to himſelf; but thoſe of Caen, tho' not ſo numerous, would have given him more trouble, becauſe the marſhal of Rieux was at their head; yet, terrified by the defeat of their companions, they retired, file after file, to their own habitations. The marſhal, being thus deſerted, taking with him ſome of the braveſt, threw himſelf into Dieppe; and, in the interim, Arundel, improving their conſternation, found means to recover Caen

and

1433. and Lillebonne; but Dieppe and Harfleur, places of very great importance, remained in the hands of the French.

The duke of Bedford marries Jacquelina of Luxemburgh.

The ſame year, another event contributed to diſconcert the affairs of the Engliſh; for the duke of Bedford, being a widower, eſpouſed, in March, Jacquelina, daughter to Peter of Luxemburgh, earl of St. Pol; and this marriage gave great offence to the duke of Burgundy, becauſe it was made, without his knowledge. He expected, that the duke of Bedford would have ſhewn him more reſpect, ſince, beſides the many ties by which they were united, he married the daughter of one of his vaſſals. The duke of Bedford, who was very circumſpect, had, doubtleſs, his reaſons for haſtening his marriage, without imparting it to the duke of Burgundy; yet, as it highly concerned him not to incenſe that prince, he paid him ſome compliments, by the cardinal of Wincheſter, who even procured an interview, at St. Omer, where the two princes met, in April; but an unfortunate diſpute, about precedency, prevented their reconciliation. Theſe two princes had formerly frequent meetings, without the leaſt conteſt, on that account; but the duke of Burgundy was obliged to ſtart ſome diſpute, now, for a cloke to the ſteps he deſigned to take; tho', as he owned Henry, for king of France, and the duke of Bedford, for regent, uncle of the reigning king, how could he pretend to the precedence?

The duke of Burgundy takes ſome places from the French. Monſtrelet. Hall.

During this year, nothing of importance paſſed, with reſpect to the war. Charles ſeemed to have entirely relinquiſhed all care of his affairs, the better to reliſh the pleaſures of love and eaſe; and the duke of Bedford was weak, and, receiving no farther ſupplies from England, was more ſollicitous to keep what he had, than to make new conqueſts. In the mean time, tho' the duke of Burgundy reſolved to make a ſeparate peace with Charles, he believed it would be more advantageous, if he could do it, with full hands; wherefore, he became maſter of St. Valery, which Gaucour had ſurpriſed; and the town of Ham, defended by the baſtard of Orleans and Xaintrailles, with Laon and Provins, were likewiſe taken by him. On the contrary, the earl of Arundel beſieging Silley-le-Guillaume, in Maine, the conſtable Richemont forced him to raiſe the ſiege; but the French were ſcarce gone, when the earl returned and took the town.

The duke of Orleans offers to mediate a peace. Act. Pub.

During theſe tranſactions, the council of England were more intent, how to procure a peace, than to recover the king's loſſes, in France; and the duke of Orleans, ſtill a priſoner, at London, made the firſt overtures, offering to uſe his utmoſt endeavours, to accompliſh an affair, on which his freedom depended. With this view, he propoſed to bring to Calais, or any other place the council ſhould name, the queen dowager of Sicily, Charles of Anjou, her ſon, the duke of Bretagne, with the earls of Richemont and St. Giles, his brothers, the duke of Alenſon, the earls of Armagnac, Foix, Perdriac, Clermont, and the archbiſhop of Rheims, to treat with the ambaſſadors of England; and he alſo deſired leave to be at the congreſs, to promote, to the utmoſt of his power, the concluſion of a peace. As he deſigned to engage the court of England to enter into a negotiation, he demonſtrated, that it would be very beneficial to the Engliſh, whether this treaty broke off, or ſucceeded; and the two articles he propoſed to the council, concerning himſelf, are, as follows. 1433.

His offers. Act. Pub.

I. Provided a peace was concluded, between Henry and the Dauphin, for ſo he ſtiled king Charles, he promiſed to do homage to Henry, whenever required, and never to own any other king of France, than him, or his lawful ſucceſſors.

II. He promiſed the ſame, for all his vaſſals, for the duke of Alenſon, the earls of Armagnac, Perdriac, Angouleſme, and the dukes of Milan and Savoy.

In another article, he ſuppoſed, that the dauphin would be contented with an honourable and conſiderable appenage; which was the very point the Engliſh aimed at, in this negotiation.

But, if a peace was not concluded, the duke engaged to acknowledge Henry, for ſole and lawful king of France; promiſing alſo to deliver to him Blois, Orleans, and all his demeſne-towns, with Rochelle, Mont St. Michel, Limoges, Bourges, Chinon, Poictiers, Tournay, Beziers, Saintes, and Loches, or what other places he pleaſed, inſtead of theſe, except Rochelle and Mont St. Michel, which were not to be changed.

That, if the king ſhould grant him any demeſne, in England, he would own him, as king of England, for his liege-lord, and, as ſuch, ſwear fealty to him.

That he would do all that was poſſible, to put the king in poſſeſſion of the countries and cities of France, which did not yet own him, and would ſerve him, at his own expence.

That, if the treaty did not ſucceed, he promiſed to return a priſoner to England, till all the articles were performed, on his part, on condition that he ſhould afterwards be releaſed, without a ranſom.

They are accepted.

Theſe articles, previouſly concerted, between the king's commiſſioners and the duke, being approved by the council, the duke ſigned and ſealed them, and ſwore to obſerve them; then paſſports were prepared for the queen dowager of Sicily, and the reſt mentioned, in the firſt article, that they might repair to Calais, in October; and the council likewiſe appointed plenipotentiaries, to treat with the French.

Reaſons why the duke of Orleans did not act ſincerely.

When the engagements, here entered into by the duke of Orleans, are conſidered, they evidently prove, that he joined with the court of France, to impoſe upon the court of England; which plainly appears from the hopes he gave, that Charles would be ſatisfied with a bare appenage; a thing, doubtleſs, very far from that prince's thoughts, and which was inſinuated, only to cauſe the Engliſh the more readily to fall into the ſnare. Moreover, in engaging

1433. engaging to bring to Calais the queen of Sicily, and the other French princes and lords, he would have intimated, that it was their intent to conclude a treaty, upon that foundation; which was, however, directly contrary to their design, as the sequel shewed; and, in the next place, the duke's servile expressions to the king of England, calling him, in the articles, his king and sovereign lord, are a manifest proof, that he flattered him, only to deceive him. In a word, he promised things, that he was unable to perform; for instance, to deliver places which did not belong to him; but, in this, precisely, consisted the fraud, because he designed to intimate, that he was impowered, tho' the court of France judged it improper, openly to discover themselves. These are not mere conjectures; for the consequences of this negotiation demonstrate, that the duke did not act, with sincerity; and yet this is the same duke of Orleans, whom the French would represent, as a saint, and, upon whose account, Joan pretended to have several revelations.

1434. It is obvious, that the duke of Orleans acted, in concert with the court of France, when it is considered, that Charles was now reconciled with the duke of Burgundy, who only wanted a pretence to break with England. The constable Richemont had concluded a separate treaty, in an interview with the duke, at Nevers; whither he repaired, under colour of adjusting a difference, between the duke of Burgundy and the earl of Clermont; and where all the articles of the separate peace were settled with the duke. All he, now, wanted, was an occasion to take this step; to which the project of a conference for a general peace was made subservient. It was well known that the English would not consent to the terms that should be proposed to them; and their refusal was to be the duke of Burgundy's pretence to make a separate peace. This was the real motive of the duke of Orleans's large offers to the king of England, on condition a peace was not concluded; and the design was, to engage Henry's council in this negotiation, by amusing them with hopes, that, whatever was the result of the conference, it would prove very advantageous to England. The duke of Bedford and the council of England, being entirely ignorant of what passed, between king Charles and the duke of Burgundy, fell into the snare; but they had no sooner agreed to the proposed negotiation, than the duke of Burgundy, pretending to be still strictly united to the English, so managed, that, instead of Calais, the city of Arras was appointed for the place of congress, where all the parties concerned were to send their ambassadors; and we shall, presently, see what was transacted, in this assembly.

The English are imposed upon.

The continuation of the war in France. Monstrelet.

In the mean time, the war, in France, degenerated into real plundering; and, both kings being unable to keep great armies on foot, only small parties acted, on either side. The most memorable occurrences of this year were these: The French having surprised Rue, in Picardy, the earl of Arundel posted thither, to retake the town; and, whilst he was on his march, he heard, that the French were fortifying Herberoy, near Beauvais; but he expected to expel them from thence, before their works were finished. Accordingly, he appeared, before that place; yet, upon intelligence that Vignoles and Xaintrailles approached, with 1200 men, he raised the siege, to go and meet them; and a bloody battle ensued, wherein the earl of Arundel was mortally wounded, and made prisoner; who died, a few days after, to the great grief of the regent. 1434.

About the same time, the earl of Clermont, now duke of Bourbon, by his father's death, became master of Corbeil and Brie Compte-Robert, sold him by the governors; and a Scotch officer found also means to take Vincennes, but could not keep it.

Talbot arrives in France, and retakes several places.

In the mean while, Talbot, arriving from England, with 3 or 4000 men, to whom he joined some other troops, drawn out of the garrisons, became master of the field, so that all the French vanished before him; for, with little opposition, he retook Beaumont upon Oyse, Creil, Pont St. Maxence, and Clermont, in Beauvoisis. He even began the siege of Beauvais, but the extremity of the weather obliged him to desist; and, during these inconsiderable exploits, king Charles went into Languedoc and Dauphine.

Charles's advantages in the continuation of the war. Stow.

The frost, which was very severe, about the end of this year, and the beginning of the next, did not prevent the two parties from continuing the war, all the winter, by sieges, and surprisings of several places; but the French had a great advantage, in that most of the English towns thought of returning to the obedience of king Charles, because the affairs of the English were gone to decay; but it was not from these progresses, that Charles hoped to conclude the war. It must have been long, before he could have taken, one by one, all the places possessed by the English, in France; but the congress, which was to be, at Arras, promised him much more beneficial successes, since he was sure of making a peace with the duke of Burgundy.

The congress of Arras. Monstrelet.

The news being spread over Europe, that a peace, between France and England, was about to be negotiated, at Arras, there was hardly a sovereign prince that was not desirous of sending ambassadors; and pope Eugenius II. and the council of Basil, still at variance, sent theirs also, but separately. From the pope came the cardinal Santa Cruz; and from the council the cardinals of Cyprus and Arles. King Charles sent 17 plenipotentiaries; the principal of whom was the constable Richemont. Henry appointed 27, for France and England, of whom the duke of Burgundy was the first, impowering eight of them, viz. four English and four French (among whom were to be the duke of Burgundy and the archbishop of York) to sign the peace; and the same power was afterwards given to the cardinal of Winchester. Hitherto, the duke of Bedford and the council of England had no 1435.

 suspicion

1435. ſuſpicion of the duke of Burgundy's ſincerity; which appears from his being truſted with the ſecret of the ambaſſy, ſince nothing could be treated, or concluded, without him; and it cannot be denied, that the duke acted a baſe part, in this congreſs. However, ſoon after, private advice was received, in England, that he had deſired the pope to abſolve him from his oath to Henry V; upon which, the king wrote to the pope, to know the truth. Eugenius replied, that no French prince had ever applied to him, on any ſuch account, that he had never granted ſuch a diſpenſation, and, for the future, would behave, in that reſpect, ſo as to give the king entire ſatisfaction; but, how he performed his promiſe, the ſequel will inform us.

Charles's propoſals for peace. Du Tillet. Hall.

The congreſs of Arras was opened, on the 6th of Auguſt; and it began with king Charles's propoſals. His ambaſſadors offered, in his name, to king Henry, Normandy and Guienne, provided he would renounce the title of king of France, and do homage for thoſe two provinces: That is, he offered, as a favour, the two provinces which the king of England was entirely poſſeſſed of; a favour, which he was to purchaſe with the reſignation of the title of king of France, and a great part of the kingdom ſtill in his poſſeſſion. If there was no other proof of Charles's being certain of gaining the duke of Burgundy from the Engliſh, this alone would be ſufficient; for otherwiſe, how could Charles, who, for three years paſt, was in no condition to bring an army into the field, make ſuch a propoſal? but, as was obſerved, it was not his deſign to conclude a peace with the Engliſh, but only to furniſh the duke of Burgundy with a pretence to proceed, as he had reſolved. The ambaſſadors of England, ſurpriſed at an offer, ſo remote from what the duke of Orleans had led them to expect, on a ſudden, broke off the conference, and withdrew, extremely diſſatisfied, without vouchſafing an anſwer. Several French writers diſplay their eloquence, on this occaſion, to ſhew to what height the Engliſh had carried their pride and inſolence, in rejecting ſo reaſonable offers; a remarkable inſtance of the uſual prejudice of hiſtorians, in favour of their own nation.

The duke of Burgundy makes a ſeparate peace with Charles.

The retreat of the Engliſh did not ſurpriſe either the duke of Burgundy, or the French ambaſſadors; who muſt have foreſeen, that ſuch offers would be refuſed. Nay, it may be aſſerted, on the contrary, that, in making them, conſidering the poſture of affairs, their ſole view was to induce the Engliſh ambaſſadors to withdraw; yet this abrupt departure was highly exaggerated, and repreſented, as an undeniable evidence, that they never intended to make peace; and this alſo gave the duke of Burgundy a pretence, to conclude a ſeparate treaty with king Charles. He pretended that he was not obliged to render the war everlaſting, in complaiſance to their humour; and, upon this foundation, the pope's legate abſolved him from all his oaths, as well to the late as to the preſent king of England; after which, as all the articles were previouſly ſettled, his ſeparate peace was ſoon concluded. 1435. No king of France had ever made ſuch a diſhonourable peace; for Charles was bound, by this treaty, to diſown the murder of duke John, to deliver up the murderers, or, if this was impracticable, to baniſh them the realm. He likewiſe engaged to found certain chapels, where the ſoul of the deceaſed was to be prayed for, day and night; and he conſented, that the duke of Burgundy ſhould nominate the prieſts that were to officiate, and a croſs ſhould be erected, on Montereau-bridge, for a ſtanding monument of the reputarion of the murder. Moreover, he promiſed to pay 50,000 crowns of gold, for duke John's equipage, which was pillaged, and to reſign to the duke of Burgundy certain towns, for the charges of the war; and, laſtly, he freed him from all homage, during life. The duke agreed, on his part, that the king might redeem the towns of St. Quentin, Peronne, Amiens, and Corbie, ſituated on the Somme, for 400,000 crowns; which ſhews, that the duke was not very ſcrupulous, ſince he ſold to France places, held only by the bounty of the king of England, purſuant to his engagement with the duke of Bedford. It may be proper alſo to remark, that the ſervice done by the duke to France, in making a ſeparate peace, greatly outweighed, in the opinion of the French hiſtorians, all his proceedings againſt her; and this has made them extremely cautious in their expreſſions, before the treaty of Arras, leſt their language ſhould diſagree with what they had to ſay afterwards; but, after this happy peace, they have extolled to the skies his goodneſs, wiſdom, and probity. However, this was the very man, who, to gratify his revenge, had ruined France; and he found no other way, to repair his fault, than by a notorious treachery to England. What would the French have ſaid, if he had always firmly adhered to the Engliſh? I am ſorry to be obliged to ſpeak, thus, of a prince, who was ſirnamed the Good; but it is of uſe to prove, how the ſirnames and encomiums, beſtowed on princes, ſometimes contradict their real character.

I ſhall paſs over the diſpenſation granted to the duke of Burgundy, leaving every one to his own reflections upon it; and only add, that, in November, was publiſhed, in England, pope Eugenius's foreſaid letter, atteſted by the king; and, probably, it was intended for an indirect information of the court of Rome's ſincerity. Act. Pub.

The treaty of Arras changes the affairs of the Engliſh for the worſe. Monſtrelet. Hall.

The Engliſh no ſooner loſt the aſſiſtance of the duke of Burgundy, than their affairs began ſo viſibly to decline, as to portend their ſudden ruin; for, as they had not troops ſufficient to defend all their towns, they were obliged to rely on the loyalty of the inhabitants, who very frequently proved falſe; and, on the other hand, the places upon the Somme, reſigned to the duke of Burgundy, being now againſt them, it was neceſſary for them to provide for that quarter, leſt they might be uſed to invade the neighbouring provinces; ſo that their whole attention was confined

1435. confined to the preſervation of Normandy and Paris, it being impoſſible to take care of all, by reaſon of the continual defection of the towns truſted to the inhabitants. Houdan, St. Denis, Pontoiſe, Melun, Pont St. Maxence, and Meulant, voluntarily ſurrendered to the French, during the congreſs of Arras, or a little before; but the duke of Bedford, retaking St. Denis, razed the walls; and then he ordered Meulant to be inveſted, but the baſtard of Orleans raiſed the ſiege. The lord of Chatillon, governor of Epernay, for the Engliſh, going out of the town, found the gates ſhut againſt him, at his return; and the inhabitants called in the French.

The death of queen Iſabella of Bavaria. Monſtrelet.

Iſabella, queen dowager of France, perceiving the proſperity of the king, her ſon, whom ſhe mortally deteſted, and the deſperate condition of the Engliſh, died, at Paris, with vexation, 12 days after the concluſion of the treaty of Arras. She was univerſally hated by the French, who regarded her, as the principal cauſe of the ruin of the kingdom; and the Engliſh had very little eſteem for her; at leaſt, they did not ſhew much regard for her, ſince ſhe was become unſerviceable to them.

The death of the duke of Bedford. Hall. Sandford.

Her death was of no conſequence to either party; but the deceaſe of the duke of Bedford, on the 14th of the ſame month, at Roan, was of the laſt importance. In all probability, his indignation to be, thus, impoſed upon by king Charles, and the duke of Burgundy, occaſioned the ſickneſs, of which he died, four days before the concluſion of the treaty of Arras, the fatal news of which he expected, every moment; for he foreſaw, with a mortal concern, that king Henry's affairs were upon the point of being irretrievably reduced to a very deplorable condition. During the whole courſe of his adminiſtration, he behaved, with ſo much wiſdom and prudence, as juſtly ranked him among the greateſt men of the age; and his valour, and other martial virtues, ſhone, with no leſs luſtre, on all occaſions, where he commanded, in perſon. Had he been well aſſiſted by England, he would, probably, have compleated the war, to his own glory, and the king's advantage; ſince he had every qualification proper to accompliſh the greateſt undertakings; but, unhappily for him, he was abandoned, when he, moſt of all, wanted aſſiſtance. The only thing, he could be charged with, was his ſuffering himſelf to be ſurpriſed, in the affair of the congreſs of Arras; but is there any man, that can always guard againſt treachery? Nothing better demonſtrates the eſteem, due to this renowned prince, than the regard Lewis XI, ſon of Charles VII, expreſſed for him, when he could have no inducement to flatter him; who being, one day, in the church of Roan, and looking upon the duke of Bedford's tomb, a certain lord of his retinue adviſed him, to demoliſh that ſtanding monument of the diſhonour of the French. "No, replied the "king, let the aſhes of a prince reſt in peace, "who, were he alive, would make the "boldeſt of us tremble; I rather wiſh, that "a more magnificent monument was erected "to his honour.

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The duke of York is appointed regent of France.

Upon the duke of Bedford's death, the duke of York was, immediately, appointed regent of France; but Edmund Beaufort, aſpiring to that dignity, ſo managed, by his intrigues, that his rival's patent was long deferred. Probably, he expected to obtain a change, in his favour; but this delay proved extremely prejudicial to the king's affairs, as the relation of the occurrences of the next year will inform us.

1436.

All England was extremely incenſed, at the news of the duke of Burgundy's defection; and the moſt opprobrious names were, there, liberally beſtowed upon him. In the interim, the duke, to ſhew ſtill ſome regard for Henry, ſent two heralds, to excuſe him, for concluding a ſeparate peace; pretending that his ſubjects were exceedingly oppreſſed, by the continuance of the war. This is the uſual pretence for a peace, tho' generally the intereſts of the poor people are overlooked, when a war is undertaken; and the duke likewiſe offered his mediation to Henry, if he deſired to conclude a peace with king Charles. This offer was conſidered, as a freſh inſult; and, indeed, what could be expected from the mediation of a prince, who had ſo openly ſacrificed the intereſt of England to his own advantage? Accordingly, no anſwer was returned to his letters; which, beſides, were writ in a ſtile very different from what he had, hitherto, uſed; and his heralds were received with indignity. The law of nations had like to have been violated, on their account, and all the Flemings and Burgundians, then in England, torn in pieces by the populace; ſo highly were they inraged againſt their prince; but this behaviour was very ſerviceable to the duke. He only wanted a pretence to join the French; and he did not fail to find one, in the inſults upon his heralds and ſubjects; for, in May, this very year, he ſent the conſtable Richemont 500 lances, under the earl of Lalain, by which he openly declared himſelf an enemy to the king of England.

The conſtable approaches Paris. Monſtrelet. Hall.

The conſtable, joining this aid to 6 or 7000 men, drawn together from other places, approached Paris, where no more than 1500 Engliſh remained, under Sir Richard Woodville; and, beſides, the conſtable held intelligence with the inhabitants, who, being almoſt all attached to the duke of Burgundy, ſided with England, purely out of reſpect to that prince. Whilſt he adhered to king Henry, Paris wanted no other guard, but her own citizens; but, upon his declaring for king Charles, they all changed with him; ſo that it was no wonder, if 1500 Engliſh could not keep them in awe. The death of the duke of Bedford, the abſence of the new regent, and the little care taken, to ſend ſuccours from England, diſabling the Engliſh to keep an army in the field, the conſtable proceeded on his march, without the leaſt oppoſition; he took ſeveral ſmall places, near Paris, and ſlew 500 of a detachment, ſent by the governor to throw themſelves into St. Denis;

1436. nis; and then he encamped, at the very gates of Paris, with his little army. In the mean while, there were continual parlies between the burghers and beſiegers, the governor being in no condition to prevent it; and, at length, the whole city roſe in arms, whilſt the marſhal de l' Iſle Adam ſcaled the walls. The garriſon, advancing to repulſe the aſſault, were pelted with a ſhower of ſtones from the windows, whilſt all the city reſounded with, "Long live the king, and the duke of Bur-"gundy." The governor, finding it in vain to reſiſt ſo many enemies, retired into the Baſtile, with all his people; and, immediately all the ſtreets were chained, to hinder his return. In the interim, l' Iſle Adam entered the city, with eaſe, and opened the gates to the conſtable; and, thus, Paris was taken, for king Charles, by the very l' Iſle Adam, who had ſurpriſed it, in the ſame manner, 17 years before, for the duke of Burgundy. The Baſtile, which might have held a long ſiege, had it been well ſtored with proviſions, was ſo deſtitute, that it could hold out only three days; and it was very well for the governor, that he could obtain an honourable capitulation.

England thinks of a peace.

The decline of the affairs of the Engliſh was ſo viſible, that the council of England were extremely deſirous of a peace; for the war, in France, no longer concerned the conqueſt of that kingdom, as in the reign of Henry V, and till the raiſing of the ſiege of Orleans; and the little that king Henry could expect to preſerve, by vigorouſly carrying it on, coſt England immenſe ſums. This was a very ſpecious reaſon, to perſuade the publick, that it was neceſſary ſeriouſly to think of a peace; I ſay, a ſpecious reaſon, becauſe it was not the real motive of the council's proceedings, The cardinal of Wincheſter had, for ſume time, gained ground upon the duke of Glouceſter, his rival; and the council, at length, was filled with his creatures, who, no more than himſelf, found their own advantage, in the continuation of the war; which, being unſucceſsful, rendered them odious to the people. Coin was become exceeding ſcarce, in England; and yet the council was obliged continually to project means, to raiſe money, which of courſe, occaſioned great murmurings; and, on the other hand, the cardinal was in hopes of ruining his enemy more eaſily, during a peace, becauſe the war, and the unexpected accidents thence ariſing, rendered the perſon and councils of the duke of Glouceſter abſolutely neceſſary. In a word, as theduke was ever of opinion, that vigorous efforts ſhould be uſed, to recover what was loſt, in France, this was an argumenr for the contrary party to inſiſt, with the ſame earneſtneſs, upon the neceſſity of concluding a peace; and, this opinion prevailing in the council, the duke of York, whoſe commiſſion to be regent of France, was, at laſt, ſigned, had inſtructions and full power, to treat with king Charles, if he ſaw any proſpect of ſucceſs; moreover, on ſuppoſition of a negotiation. the council impowered the cardinal of Wincheſter and the duke of Burgundy, jointly to treat of king Henry's marriage with one of his adverſary's daughters.

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The duke of York drives the French out of Normandy. Monſtrelet.

Soon after, the duke of York embarqued for France, and landed, in Normandy, a good body of troops, with which he retook many ſmall places, or caſtles, ſeized by the French, ſince the death of the duke of Bedford; and, among the reſt, Feſcamp was recovered by the regent, but, preſently after, retaken by ſcalade.

The duke of Burgundy prepares to beſiege Calais. Monſtrelet.

Tho' the duke of York was maſter of the field, in Normandy, and about Paris, it gave him not a little uneaſineſs to hear from all parts, that the duke of Burgundy was drawing all his forces together, in Picardy, and making great preparations for a ſiege; and, as theſe preparations could be deſigned only againſt Calais, he ſent notice to the council of England, that they might provide, in time, againſt the threatened ſiege. Indeed, a powerful fleet, a great train of artillery, and an army of 50,000 men, aſſembled by the duke of Burgundy, were evident proofs, of his reſolution not to be diſappointed, in the deſign he had formed; and this news flying to England, the whole nation was alarmed, and, more than ever, exaſperated againſt the duke of Burgundy. The council, trembling for Calais, the firſt conqueſt of the Engliſh, in France, reſolved to do all that was poſſible, to preſerve it; and, with this view, they ordered 15000 men to be raiſed, and petitioned the duke of Glouceſter to undertake the relief of that place. Fifteen thouſand men were ſcarce ſufficient for ſuch an undertaking; but it was expected, that the regent would join them, with all his forces; and, beſides, the enemy's army was known to conſiſt almoſt entirely of the militia of Flanders, who were very little valued.

Henry diſpoſes of Boulogne and Flanders. Act. Pub.

Whilſt the troops were levying, with the utmoſt diligence, the king, by the advice of his council, to expreſs his reſentment againſt the duke of Burgundy, granted, by letters under his great ſeal, the earldom of Boulogne to the lord Beaumont, and Flanders to the duke of Glouceſter; but it was eaſier to give them, in parchment, than to wreſt them out of the hands of the poſſeſſor.

The duke of Glouceſter comes before Calais. Monſtrelet.

All things being in a readineſs, for the departure of the army, intended for the relief of Calais, the duke of Glouceſter ſet ſail, and landed, in Normandy, the beginning of October. The duke of Burgundy had now been, before Calais, ſix weeks, with his numerous army, and vigorouſly carried on the ſiege; and the beſieged made as brave a defence. In the interim, the duke, tho' he hoped to acquire immortal glory, by taking one of the ſtrongeſt pleaces, in Europe, was yet very far from ſucceeding; nay he began to perceive, that the attempt was impracticable; and, his fleet, by the unskilfulneſs of the pilots, or ſome other accident, comnig too near the town, at low water, run on ground, and was reduced to aſhes, before his eyes, by the beſieged. This was a very mortifying accident, but a worſe befel him, preſently after; for, a rumour being ſpread in the army, that the duke of Glouceſter was approaching, to relieve

1436. lieve the town, the Flemings, diſheartened by the fatigues of the ſiege, and terrified, at the approach of the Engliſh, ſuddenly unpitched their tents, and began to retire. The duke endeavoured to remove their fears, but to no purpoſe; and, the ſcouts of the Engliſh army beginning to appear, it was ſtill leſs practicable for the duke to ſtop his diſpirited troops, who ſought only to avoid a battle; ſo that the duke was forced to follow them, in their retreat, which was made in great diſorder, tho' with ſo much ſpeed, as to prevent the Engliſh from taking any advantage. He was farther mortified to receive a defiance from the duke of Glouceſter, offering him battle, and not to be in a condition to accept it, tho' his army was much ſuperior to that of his enemy. Moreover, he was ſcarce returned into his own country, when the towns of Flanders revolted againſt him; he was even in danger of loſing his life, at Bruges, in a ſeditious tumult of the inhabitants; and he was himſelf wounded, after ſeeing, with grief, l' Iſle Adam torn in pieces by the mutinous populace. In the interim, the duke of Glouceſter over-ran Artois, Flanders, and Hainault, and carried off 1200 waggon-loads of booty; and thenceforward, the duke of Burgundy had ſo much diſturbance, at home, that he was but little ſerviceable to king Charles.

The marriage of Lewis, the dauphin.

In June, this year, Lewis, the dauphin, ſon to king Charles, married Margaret of Scotland, daughter to James I, about 12 years of age.

1437. The death of the two queen dowagers of England.

The beginning of 1437 was remarkable, for the death of Joan of Navarre, and Catharine of France *, both queen dowagers of England; the one widow to Henry IV, and the other to Henry V, who had eſpouſed Owen Tudor, a Welch gentleman, deſcended, as it is reported, from the antient kings of Wales. I do not know, whether, in thoſe days, this deſcent was much regarded, or was attempted to be traced, till after the crown was devolved to the family of the Tudors, by the advancement of Henry VII. to the throne; but, however that be, when queen Catharine married Owen Tudor, the marriage ſeemed ſo unſuitable, that all England was offended at it; and the more, as it was made, unknown to the duke of Glouceſter, then protector; but that prince's veneration, for the memory of the king, his brother, prevented him, from giving the queen, his ſiſter-in-law, any trouble. Upon her deceaſe, the council thought it their duty to puniſh her ſecond huſband, for his raſhneſs, in preſuming to eſpouſe the king's mother, without the conſent of thoſe who governed the kingdom, and ordered him to be ſent to the tower; yet, ſome time after, Tudor made his eſcape, but was taken, and put under cloſer confinement. Some affirm, that he eſcaped, a ſecond time, but, being retaken, was beheaded; whilſt others ſay, that he did not loſe his head, till 1460, upon being taken in battle, fighting for the houſe of Lancaſter. I cannot tell, whether it be certain, that Tudor was put to death; but it may be ſaid, that they, who ſay it was, in 1460, miſtake Owen Tudor, his third ſon, for Owen Tudor, the father. 1437.

Tudor's iſſue by queen Catharine Sandford.

Tudor had, by queen Catharine, three ſons, Edmund, Jaſper, and Owen; and the eldeſt was created earl of Richmond by Henry VI, his half-brother, who gave him in marriage Margaret, only daughter to John, duke of Somerſet; from whom deſcended Henry, earl of Richmond, whom we ſhall ſee, hereafter, aſcend the throne of England, by the name of Henry VII, all the male heirs of the houſe of Lancaſter being extinct. Jaſper, the ſecond ſon, was made earl of Pembroke; and Owen, the youngeſt, loſt his head on the ſcaffold, in 1460.

The ſecond marriage of the ducheſs of Bedford. Act. Pub.

Jacquelina of Luxemburgh, widow to the duke of Bedford, followed the example of queen Catharine; and, after the death of the prince, her husband, ſhe eſpouſed Sir Richard Woodville, who was only a knight, and much her inferior. This match was almoſt as unſuitable as queen Catharine's; for it was not only made, without the king's licenſe, but alſo contrary to Jacquelina's expreſs oath, not to marry, without his permiſſion; ſo that both the bride and bridegroom would have been liable to the rigour of the law, had not the king been pleaſed to forgive them.

The death of the king of Scotland.

On the 19th of February, James I, of Scotland, was murdered, in his bed, by aſſaſſins ſuborned by the earl of Athol, his uncle; and James II, his ſon, ſeven years old, was his ſucceſſor, under the guardianſhip of Joan of Somerſet, his mother, who was herſelf wounded, by endeavouring to ſave the king, her husband; but it is, now, time to return to what paſſed, in France.

The affairs of the Engliſh, in France, begin to have a better face.

After the arrival of the duke of York from England, the affairs of the Engliſh began to be upon a better footing. King Charles, ever a ſlave to his pleaſures, had no conſiderable body of troops in the field; and the revolt of the Flemings hindered the duke of Burgundy from ſending him any aſſiſtance. Indeed, the towns, that had voluntarily ſurrendered to him, conſiderably ſtrengthened his party; but, at the ſame time, his army was much weakened, on account of the garriſons he was obliged to keep. As matters then ſtood, in France, both monarchs had almoſt equal reaſon to fear the diſloyalty of their adherents; who, for the moſt part, were attached rather to the fortune of their maſter, than to his perſon, or the juſtice of his cauſe; ſo that the preſervation of the towns, they were poſſeſſed of, entirely depended upon the ſtrength of the garriſons.

Talbot takes Pontoiſe.

The firſt months of this year, the cold was ſo exceſſive, that the generals, on both ſides,

* Queen Catharine died, January 3, 1437, in the monaſtery, of Bermondſey, in Southwark; and, on the 18th of February, her body was brought to St. Catharine's by the tower, from thence to St. Paul's, and ſo to Weſtminſter-abbey, where it was interred; but, her corpſe being taken up, in the reign of Henry VII, when he laid the foundation of his new chapel there, ſhe was never ſince buried; but ſhe remaineth ſtill above ground, in a coffin of boards, near the ſepulchre of Henry V, her firſt husband. Sandf. Geneal.

1437. did not appear desirous of forming any enterprize, till it should be abated; however, Talbot, who found nothing impossible, reaped a considerable advantage from the French, caused by the severity of the season. On Shrove-Tuesday, at night, he scaled Pontoise, by means of the ditches being frozen, and carried it, whilst the garrison and inhabitants were wholly intent upon their diversions. The taking of this important place was a great blow to king Charles; especially, as it extremely annoyed the Parisians, who were exposed to the continual incursions of the new English garrison, to the very gates of Paris.

The French, in some measure, repaired this loss, by the acquisition of Dreux and Chevreuse, sold them by the governors.

The duke of Burgundy rouses king Charles.

The superiority the English had recovered, in France, rendered the duke of Burgundy apprehensive of some fatal revolution; being sensible that, without his aid, king Charles could never end the war; and, as he had openly declared against the English, it was his interest that they should be entirely expelled the kingdom. In the mean while, it grieved him to act alone, for the benefit of a prince, whose indolence kept him from all the enterprizes, where he ought to have been the principal actor; but the duke, in order to rouse him out of this lethargy, represented to him, that his honour and interest called upon him to assemble all his forces, put himself at their head, and approach Paris, to drive his enemies out of the heart of his kingdom; and, at the same time, he offered to make a powerful diversion, in Picardy, to favour his undertakings.

Charles heads his army.

No prince was ever less inclined to war than Charles VII. and yet never did any king of France make greater conquests than he, since it may be said, that he conquered his whole kingdom; but it was chiefly by his generals, who, most of them, were men of eminent merit. The duke of Burgundy's remonstrances and proposals having raised him from his sloth, he drew all his forces together, to approach Paris, where he was greatly wanted; and, by the way, he attacked Montereau-Faut-Yonne, whilst the duke of Burgundy besieged Crotoy, a strong place, in Picardy.

Crotoy is infested by the duke of Burgundy. Act. Pub.

It was about the end of August, when the duke of Burgundy invested Crotoy, with a numerous army, whilst four French ships blocked up the place, by sea; and the duke of York, being recalled by the intrigues of the earl of Somerset, his enemy, was about to depart, and only waited for the arrival of the earl of Warwick, who was to succeed him in the regency; wherefore, not being able to undertake the relief of Crotoy, in person, he commissioned the valiant Talbot, for that purpose, whose name alone was sufficient to intimidate the enemies of the English. Talbot, at the head of 5000 men, boldly advanced towards Crotoy, to relieve it, tho' the river Somme parted him from the duke of Burgundy's camp round the town, which was on the other side; but the duke, hearing of his march, left part of his troops, at the siege, and, with the rest, posted himself, on the river-side, to oppose his passage. Such was the aversion of the English to this prince, that they thought nothing impracticable, when an opportunity offered to be revenged; and Talbot, improving this disposition, rushed first into the river, sword in hand, and, by his intrepidity, so animated his troops, that they instantly followed him; and, the more bold, or rather rash, this action was, the more it astonished the Burgundians, who, fancying they had to deal with devils rather than men, took to flight; and, their terror infecting those, that were left at the siege, the whole army ran away, and it was not in the duke of Burgundy's power to rally them. At the same time, the duke of York appeared, with seven men of war, in sight of four French ships, and chaced them so briskly, that they very narrowly escaped to St. Valery. Talbot entered the town, in triumph; and, after levelling the trenches of the besiegers, he marched back to Normandy. In his return, he conquered five or six small places, in Picardy; and, retaking, once more, Tancarville, in Normandy, he entered Roan, covered with glory. 1437.

The success of the siege of Montereau. Monstrelet.

The success of the siege of Montereau was not so favourable to the English; yet it was not inglorious; for Thomas Gerard, governor of that poor place, made a long defence, in spite of the vigorous efforts of the besiegers, tho' he had only 400 men. Hitherto, king Charles was not remarkable, for his valour; but, at this siege, he performed such exploits, as began to conveigh a higher idea of his courage; and, after a pretty long siege, he took the town, by storm, having been himself one of the first to mount the breach, and fight, hand to hand, with those that defended it. Doubtless, he had been told, that it was necessary to procure the esteem of his subjects, by some extraordinary action; and the intrepidity, he discovered, on this occasion, greatly redounded to his advantage; for, henceforward, his friends, as well as enemies, entertained very different thoughts of him from those they had before. In the interim, the garrison retiring into the castle, a second siege was to be formed; but Charles, with the glory acquired, in the first, and, perhaps, discouraged with the fatigues he had endured, left the management of this to the dauphin, his son. Gerard, who was no less brave than experienced, held out, 15 days longer, and then was forced to capitulate; but, when he came before the dauphin, he very politely told him, that, against any other but him, he should have been able to make a longer defence; which compliment was well received by the young prince, who was pleased to see himself set, in some degree, above the king, his father; but Charles, being informed of it, was extremely mortified; and it is said, that, from this time, he began to be jealous of the prince, his son, which proved very fatal to him.

Whilst the war continued, in France, the duke of Orleans, a prisoner, in England, projected means to obtain his liberty; and nothing

1437. thing but a peace, between the two kings, could poſſibly procure it; wherefore, no one was more concerned than he, to attempt to ſet on foot a freſh negotiation. With this view, he deſired leave to go and confer with the duke of Bretagne, at Calais, who was thought to be the only prince, that could be employed, as mediator; and the council, being all inclined to peace, would have readily granted his deſire; but it was judged neceſſary to ſee firſt, how Charles was diſpoſed; moreover, the duke of Glouceſter was of opinion, that a peace was not to be thought of, till it could be made, with advantage.

The cardinal gains ground upon the duke of Glouceſter.

In the mean time, as the king advanced in age, the credit of the duke, his uncle, ſenſibly declined; and that of the cardinal of Wincheſter daily increaſed. The cardinal had gained ground upon his adverſary, in that his riches enabled him often to lend the king money; for the kingdom was ſo exhauſted, that aids of this ſort were conſidered, as the greateſt ſervice to the ſtate. He artfully improved the king's diſpoſition towards him, to prevent any freſh attacks from the duke of Glouceſter; for, by letters under the great ſeal, the king granted him a general pardon, for all offences whatever, to the 26th of June, 1437.

1438. A plague and famine in England and France. Hall. Monſtrelet.

The year 1438 abounded with few memorable events; for a terrible famine, raging, at the ſame time, in France and England, and followed by a plague, hindered the generals, on both ſides, from forming any great projects. However, there were ſome unſucceſsful attempts, and others inconſiderable; but I ſhall only take notice of the moſt remarkable. Surienne, governor of Montargis, for the Engliſh, being ſurrounded with the enemy's towns, and receiving no aſſiſtance from England, ſurrendered that place to the French, for 10,000 ſalutes of gold; which, at preſent, was of little importance to the Engliſh, ſince they could not poſſibly carry the war from that quarter; but, ſhortly after, Edmund, earl of Mortagne, brother to the earl of Somerſet, leading ſome troops from England, and joining Talbot, they made ſome inconſiderable conqueſts, in Normandy.

The duke of Burgundy makes another attempt upon Calais.

The duke of Burgundy's diſgrace, before Calais, grieving him extremely, he wanted to repair it, by taking that place; but, as it was difficult to take it, by a ſiege, in form, he reſolved to make uſe of another method. He was informed, that, by digging through a certain bank, the town would be infallibly overflowed; and that, lying within diſtance, with an able body of troops, it would be eaſy to enter it, amidſt the conſternation of the garriſon and inhabitants. This project was executed; but, the ſea being lower than the town, all the water ran out; and the duke, being diſappointed, reſolved to attempt the ſiege of Guiſnes. However, the earl of Huntingdon, coming very ſeaſonably from England, with a ſupply of troops, obliged him to retire; and the troubles, which were, ſoon after, rekindled, in Flanders, found him ſo much employment, for ſome years, that he had no leiſure to form any new deſigns againſt the Engliſh.

1438. The truce is renewed with Scotland. Act. Pub.

The dauphin's marriage raiſed ſuch a jealouſy in the Engliſh, that, after ſeveral inſults, on both ſides, England and Scotland came, at length, to an open rupture; but, in the interim, the minority of James II, and the favourable diſpoſition of the queen-mother to the Engliſh, her country-men, procured a nine years truce, from the 1ſt of May, 1438.

The duke of Somerſet's brother is exchanged for the earl of Eu.

John and Thomas Beaufort, brothers to the earl of Somerſet, having been long priſoners, in France, it had been often attempted, to exchange them for others of the French, but to no purpoſe. By the agreement, in 1430, with the duke of Bourbon, that prince had engaged, to procure their releaſe, without ranſom; but, as that agreement was never put in execution, they remained priſoners. I am ignorant, what became of Thomas, who bore the title of earl of Perth; perhaps, he died, during his captivity; but, this year, John was exchanged for the earl of Eu, of the houſe of Artois, who had been confined, in England, ever ſince the battle of Azincourt. He afterwards became duke of Somerſet, upon the deceaſe of Henry, his elder brother; and there was alſo a fourth brother, named Edmund, who ſucceeded them, and, of whom, much will be ſaid, in the ſequel of this reign.

1439. The conſtable Richemont beſieges Meaux, and takes it, by ſtorm. Monſtrelet.

The famine and plague ceaſing, in England and France, both ſides took up arms again; and, in March, 1439, the conſtable Richemont, at the head of a powerful army, beſieged Meaux, one of the ſtrongeſt places, in France, which had formerly held out, ſeven months, againſt Henry V. The baſtard de Thian, an officer of diſtinguiſhed bravery, was governor; who made ſuch a gallant defence, as aſtoniſhed the conſtable. However, after a three weeks ſiege, the city was taken, by ſtorm; but the work was but half finiſhed, ſince the garriſon retired into the market, for ſo that part of the city is called, which is ſeparated from the other, by the Marne. The Engliſh breaking down the bridge of communication, the conſtable was conſtrained to begin, on the other ſide of the river, a ſecond ſiege much more difficult than the former; which very thing happened to Henry V, when he inveſted this place; but the conſtable, having taken the governor priſoner, in the aſſault, cut off his head, becauſe he was a Frenchman. This is what king Charles's generals had not, hitherto, ventured to practiſe, on account of the great number of priſoners in the hands of the Engliſh; yet they no ſooner found themſelves ſtrongeſt, than they overlooked that conſideration, being no longer apprehenſive of reprizals.

Talbot throws in ſuccours. Monſtrelet.

The difficulties of the ſiege of the market of Meaux daily increaſing, the conſtable drew round his camp lines with redoubts, to prevent all relief; and the king came to the army, to animate the troops by his preſence. In the mean time, Talbot, who did not doubt, that the beſieged would make a long reſiſtance, was prepared to relieve them; and, however difficult this undertaking ſeemed, he

1439. he did not fail to attempt it. The obſtacles he foreſaw ſerved only to invigorate him, the more; for, with a good body of choſen troops, he boldly advanced towards the beſiegers lines; and, aſſaulting and taking one of the redoubts, that obſtructed his paſſage, he entered the place, with a convoy. On the morrow, he ſallied out, whilſt the beſiegers were ſtill diſmayed, at the action of the preceding day, to prepare for a freſh effort; but the conſtable, incenſed to receive ſuch a diſgrace from a handful of men, ſo vigorouſly preſſed the place, that the garriſon were compelled to capitulate, before the ſuccours could be ready.

Talbot raiſes the ſiege of Avranche. Hall.

The ſiege of Avranche was not attended with the ſame ſucceſs; for, after the conſtable had been, three weeks, before that place, Talbot, with the troops deſigned for the relief of Meaux, attacked and forced the lines of the beſiegers, and ſupplied the town with proviſions.

and beſieges Harfleur. Monſtrelet. Stow.

Talbot, perceiving that, after this exploit, the French were diſheartened, and their troops ſo weakened, that they could not withſtand him, appeared, before Harfleur; but, his army not being in a condition to form a ſiege, he choſe to block up the town. With this view, he ſo intrenched himſelf, in an advantageous poſt, that an army of 50,000 men was incapable of forcing him; and the earl of Somerſet kept the place blocked up, by ſea. The earl of Eu, lately arrived from England, where he had been long a priſoner, approached, to attack the intrenchments of the Engliſh; but, finding it impracticable, he retired, after a faint attempt, in which Gaucour was taken priſoner. At length, after a four months blockade, Talbot became maſter of this important place, the firſt conqueſt of Henry V. and he afterwards cleared Normandy of the garriſons, which the French ſtill kept, in ſeveral caſtles; ſo that nothing remained to them, in that province, except the town of Dieppe.

The diſpoſition of the duke of Burgundy.

The duke of Burgundy was concerned, to ſee the affairs of the Engliſh begin to be reſtored, and dreaded the conſequences; for king Charles waged war, in a very careleſs manner, and could ſcarce be prevailed on to head his army; and France was ſo ruined, that he could draw but few ſuccours from the provinces he poſſeſſed; whilſt, on the other hand, the war, in Flanders, wholly employing the duke, afforded him no proſpect of any conſiderable aſſiſtance from that quarter. If the Engliſh had, then, exerted themſelves, they would, probably, have recovered a great deal of ground; but, out of blindneſs, or inability, they made only faint efforts, being ſatisfied with ſending, from time to time, ſuch ſupplies, as were inſufficient to recover what they had loſt. Thus, on both ſides, it was manifeſt, that the war would be eternal, if it was continued, till one of the two kings ſhould loſe, one after another, the places in his poſſeſſion; for which reaſon, the duke of Burgundy reſolved either to procure a peace, if poſſible, between the two kings, or ſecure himſelf by a neutrality; but ſuch a deſign required great prudence and caution, in the management of it, leſt both parties ſhould agree, to his prejudice, or the Engliſh grow more reſerved, if they knew his intention. 1439.

They begin to talk of peace.

In the mean while, the pope exhorted the two kings, by the cardinal of Santa Cruz, to put a ſtop to the effuſion of chriſtian blood, ſhed in their quarrel; and he likewiſe wrote to the duke of Bretagne, deſiring him to be a mediator of peace. The duke, ſending to both monarchs, found them equally inclined to a treaty; and the duke of Burgundy gladly received the propoſal. The duke of Orleans offered, on this occaſion, his mediation to the king of England, jointly with the duke of Bretagne; and he renewed his inſtances, for leave to confer with the duke, at Calais. This was granted him, tho' the duke of Glouceſter oppoſed it, with all his might, becauſe he evidently perceived, that prince could not be an impartial mediator; but, for ſome time paſt, the duke of Glouceſter had loſt his intereſt, in the council, where it was even continually affected, to proceed contrary to his opinion. Beſides, the counſellors were ſo deſirous of peace, that they forgot, or were willing to forget, that the falſe ſtep taken, in ſending ambaſſadors to Arras, was altogether owing to the vain hopes given the duke of Orleans; ſo that this captive prince was conſidered, as a diſintereſted mediator, tho' it was obvious, that he was entirely byaſſed, in favour of king Charles. The duke of Burgundy was extremely well pleaſed with the preparations for a conference; which would either end in a peace, between the two kings, or give him a pretence, to conclude a ſeparate truce with England. The two courts being, thus, diſpoſed, commiſſioners were appointed, on both ſides, to ſettle the preliminary articles of the congreſs; who, being met, judged, that, to ſucceed in a negotiation of peace, a truce was abſolutely neceſſary; upon which, Henry impowered his to conſent to it, tho' ſome obſtacles occurred, that prevented the concluſion. What has been ſaid, about a peace, was tranſacted, in 1438; but I thought proper to defer ſpeaking of it, till now, that I might not interrupt the recital of what relates to this affair.

The place of the congreſs is appointed. Act. Pub.

In January, 1439, Iſabella of Portugal, ducheſs of Burgundy, and the cardinal of Winchester had an interview, between Calais and Graveline; the reſult of which was, that the two kings ſhould appoint a proper place to treat of a peace, with the mediation of the dukes of Bretagne and Orleans, and ſhould ſend their plenipotentiaries thither; and, accordingly, the very place, where the ducheſs and cardinal were, was choſen, and ambaſſadors were nominated, on both ſides. They were all choſen out of the princes and principal lords of both kingdoms; but, before we enter upon the ſucceſs of this congreſs, it will be expedient to ſee, how the council of England ſtood diſpoſed, with reſpect to a peace. Now, this manifeſtly appears from the ambaſſadors inſtructions, extant in the Collection

1439. tion of the Publick Acts; and these will shew, which of the two parties is to blamed, for breaking off the conference, and rectify several mistakes of the historians.

I. The ambassadors had orders to demand, that the king's adversary should leave him in peaceable possession of the whole kingdom of France; and they were to support this demand with several reasons, mentioned in the instructions, but too long to be inserted here; besides, the reader is no stranger to the foundation of the pretensions of the kings of England.

II. If the French should expostulate against this demand, as unreasonable, the ambassadors, after a previous protestation, were to offer Charles the provinces, beyond the Loire, which were of the king's demesne, but on the condition of homage.

III. If the adversaries refused this proposal, the cardinal of Winchester, as a clergyman, was to enlarge on the considerations proper to persuade the two nations to peace; which being many and long, I shall only relate the substance of the three principal. The first was, that the war, undertaken for the title of king of France, claimed by each of the two monarchs, had destroyed more men, than were in both kingdoms; the second was, that the two kings ought seriously to consider, that God made not the people for the sovereign, but the sovereign for the people; that is, to govern them, with justice and peace, that the subjects may be the better enabled to serve him; and the third was, that France had not been always governed by a single monarch; but, before and after Charlemain, there were often two, sometimes three, nay, four kings, at the same time.

IV. This last consideration was in order to proceed, in the fourth place, to another offer, which the ambassadors were impowered to propose; viz. that Henry would resign to Charles all the provinces, beyond the Loire, in full sovereignty; yet he expressly reserved Guienne, Poictou, and whatever was possessed by his ancestors, in France, before the crown of England devolved to them.

V. If this was rejected, the ambassadors had power to offer, from the king, their master, that he would be contented with what his ancestors enjoyed, in France, by right of inheritance, on condition that Calais, Guisnes, and the adjacent marches were added; and the whole, in full sovereignty, without any dependence upon the crown of France, or any person whatever, but God alone.

VI. If the French insisted, that Normandy should be restored to Charles, in the state it was in, before it was conquered by Henry V, that is, notwithstanding the grants of several lordships to private persons, as well by the late as the present king, this article might be allowed, rather than break off the conference.

VII. If Charles was brought to be satisfied with this proposal, provided Henry would renounce the title of king of France, in that case, the instructions afforded the plenipotentiaries many reasons and arguments to be alledged against that condition; but, in a word, they were ordered to leave this matter to the cardinal of Winchester, to whom the king had made known his pleasure. 1439.

It is evident, that the council had resolved to submit to this, if the peace could not otherwise be concluded; for, if Henry had absolutely refused to quit the title of king of France, there was no secret to be kept, and the instructions would have contained an express order, to reject the proposal.

The VIIIth article related to the king's marriage with one of Charles's daughters.

IX. If the French rejected all these proposals, and made any offers, on their part, the ambassadors, without accepting or refusing them, were to answer, that they had no instructions to treat of a peace, upon those grounds, but would acquaint their master with them.

X. In the interim, they were to propose, by the duchess of Burgundy, or the duke of Orleans, a 50 years truce, with a free communication between the two nations; and they were also impowered to reduce the truce to 20, 30, or 40 years; and, rather than fail, they might limit it from three years to eight, provided it was without communication.

XI. If the truce was accepted, they were to represent, that, for the better observance thereof, it would be expedient to make an exchange of some places; and, with this view, they were ordered to offer Meaux, Creil, and St. Germain in Laye, which were in the hands of the English, when these instructions were drawn, for Dieppe, le Mont St. Michael, and Harfleur, which Talbot had not yet taken.

XII. Lastly, the king, in order to facilitate the exchange of these places, agreed to release the duke of Orleans, for a ransom of 100,000 marks, and to abate 50,000, on account of the proposed exchange.

These instructions were drawn, May the 21st, 1439; and, if we had likewise those of Charles's plenipotentiaries, perhaps, we should find, that the two kings were not at so great a distance from each other, as it seemed, in the conference; but, as, on such occasions, the managers are chiefly sollicitous to be upon their guard, lest their secret instructions should be discovered, it frequently happens, that the negotiation is broke off, before there is occasion to shew all their concessions; so apprehensive are they of giving their adversaries the least advantage. This was really the case, in the present treaty; for the English did not think proper, to go beyond the second article of their instructions, viz. that Charles should have the provinces, beyond the Loire, on the condition of homage to Henry; expecting that the French would give them room, by their offers, to make some farther advances. For the same reason, the French adhered to the proposals made, at the congress of Arras, namely, that their master, remaining sole king of France, would resign

1439. Guienne and Normandy to Henry, on the the condition of homage; and they laid great ſtreſs upon this offer, and on Charles's condeſcenſion, in ſtanding to what he had offered, at the congreſs of Arras, tho' he had ſince made great conqueſts, and was become maſter of Paris.

The conference breaks up. Hall.

It was next to impoſſible, for a peace to be concluded, on the terms propoſed by both parties; for each prince offered to reſign only what was out of his power, and, by vertue of this pretended ceſſion, expected that the other ſhould diveſt himſelf of his actual poſſeſſions. This was properly, to deſire to gain, with the daſh of a pen, what they could have no hopes of obtaining, without many ſucceſsful ſieges and battles; ſo that, after the ambaſſadors of the two kings had long tried to diſcover, how far their adverſaries inſtructions allowed them to advance, they parted, without coming to any concluſion.

The dukes of Burgundy and Orleans were the only gainers by this congreſs; the firſt of whom wanted, at any rate, to eaſe his ſubjects, in Flanders, Brabant, Holland, and Zealand, who were great ſufferers, by the interruption of their commerce with England; and, with this view, he employed his ducheſs, who, being a near relation to Henry, was not ſuſpected by the Engliſh. Under the pretence of acting, as a mediatrix between the two kings, ſhe had frequent interviews with the cardinal of Wincheſter, and negotiated a trading-truce, between England and the Low-Countries; which appears from ſeveral papers of the Collection of the Publick Acts; and, indeed, this truce was concluded, preſently after.

1440. The temper of Henry and his court.

But the late congreſs was moſt beneficial to the duke of Orleans, ſince it procured him his liberty, after a 25 years captivity. It has been often obſerved, that there were two parties, in the court of England, viz. the duke of Glouceſter's and the cardinal of Wincheſter's; and that the latter gradually prevailed, ſince the king began to take notice of his affairs. Henry, now 19 years old, had a very mean genius, very little like his father's; and he eaſily ſuffered himſelf to be governed by thoſe about him. Inſtead of having the preſumption very common to young princes, he was ever diffident of himſelf; and he choſe rather to follow the counſels of others, than his own. However, he had principles of honour, virtue, and religion; which, indeed, made him wiſh, that he could always act juſtly; but they frequently furniſhed his counſellors with a pretence and foundation, to draw him into many unjuſt proceedings. As he wanted penetration, he was deceived with appearances; and of this his miniſters knew, how to take advantage, being aſſured of his incapacity to diſcern their ſelf-intereſted counſels. During his youth, he had contracted a habit of blindly following the ſuggeſtions of the duke of Glouceſter, his uncle, who governed, in his name; but he was no ſooner of an advanced age, than the cardinal of Wincheſter and his party inſinuated to him, that his uncle had formed deſigns deſtructive of his quiet, and intended to keep him always in guardianſhip; which diſcourſes, being often repeated, at length, produced the expected effect. At laſt, the king ſo deteſted the duke, that he no longer regarded him; and it was made a ſort of rule of to mortify him, upon all occaſions. His moving any thing, in council, was ſufficient to have it vigorouſly oppoſed; and the king generally countenanced the cardinal's party, leſt he ſhould give room to the duke, to keep him in ſubjection. Such, for ſome time, had been the ſtate of the king and the court. 1440.

The duke of Glouceſter is againſt releaſing the duke of Orleans.

The duke of Glouceſter continually oppoſed the duke of Orleans's releaſe; for the late king his brother's will was, to him, an inviolable law. Moreover, he was convinced, that this duke's liberty would only increaſe the number of the enemies of England; but his oppoſition was of ſo little weight, that it rather ſerved to induce his enemies the more ſtrenuouſly to favour the duke of Orleans. We have ſeen this prince's offers, before the congreſs of Arras; which the duke of Bedford and the council accepted, becauſe they ſeemed very advantageous, their aim, not having been, as yet, diſcovered. After the treaty of Arras, he perceived it was no proper time, to ſollicit his enlargement; but, finding that they begun to talk of a peace, he renewed his inſtances, and offered to become joint mediator with the duke of Bretagne. He found the council, diſpoſed, as before; and, in ſpite of the duke of Glouceſter's oppoſition, it was reſolved to accept of his mediation, and to treat with him afterwards, concerning his liberty. He was permitted, therefore, to repair to the congreſs, where he ſeemed very zealous to procure a peace, between the two kings; and, by means of the ducheſs of Burgundy, he was reconciled with the duke, her husband. The cardinal, after his return into England, ſpoke extremely much to his advantage, and repreſented to the council, that, as it was not his fault, that the peace was not concluded, it was unreaſonable he ſhould ſuffer by the rupture; and his friends urged, on this occaſion, the two reaſons already alledged, to colour the favour deſigned for him. The firſt was, that the diſſenſion, between the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, might rekindle, and become exceedingly advantageous to the Engliſh; and the ſecond, that the captive prince might pay a large ranſom, which would help to carry on the war. In a word, they intimated, that, before his enlargement, he would be obliged to take the oath to the king, and ſo prevented from aſſiſting king Charles; wherefore, in ſpite of all the duke of Glouceſter's objections, it was reſolved to treat with him for his liberty.

The duke of Glouceſter proteſts againſt the reſolution of the council.

Upon this reſolution, the duke of Glouceſter believed himſelf bound, both in duty and for his own ſecurity, to proteſt againſt it, in form, to convince the publick, that he had oppoſed it, to the utmoſt of his power; and, tho' this proteſtation be of ſome length, it will be neceſſary to inſert the ſubſtance, becauſe it may

1440. may be of use, in clearing several facts; besides, it discovers the disposition of the members of the council, who, to mortify the duke, sacrificed the king's interest to their passion. This knowledge is the more requisite, because, as the sequel will inform us, the unhappy success of the war, in France, is to be ascribed to the fatal enmity between the duke and the cardinal. The sum of the duke's protestation was, as follows:

The protestation. Act. Pub.

"My first reason, for opposing the duke of "Orleans's release, is drawn from the known "incapacity of king Charles, and the dau- "phin, his son; wherefore, considering the "extreme subtlety, and cautelous disposition "of the duke of Orleans, with his extensive "knowledge, it may be presumed, that the "states of France will entrust him with the "administration of publick affairs; now, no- "thing can happen more prejudicial to Eng- "land, since that prince is thoroughly ac- "quainted with the strong and weak side of "the kingdom, during a 25 years residence.

"II. The dissension, between king Charles "and the dauphin, his son, being no secret, "there was reason to fear, that the duke of "Orleans, when in France, will be a pro- "per mediator, to procure their reconcilia- "tion.

"III. Normandy being the province which "contributes most, towards supporting the "war, it is to be feared, that the Normans, "seeing the succours, so often promised, both "by word of mouth and letter, not sent, and, "on the other hand, the duke of Orleans "released, will conclude they are designed to "be abandoned, as well as the rest of the "conquests; and, as to its being said, that "20,000 marks may be deducted out of the "duke of Orleans's ransom, for the defence "of that province, I leave it to be consider- "ed, whether such a sum is sufficient for "that purpose.

"IV. The king and council are very sen- "sible, that the duke of Orleans owns king "Charles, for his sovereign; and is it, there- "fore, to be imagined, that, having taken "two opposite oaths, the one to a prince "whom he regards, as a foreigner, the other "to him whom he believes to be his lawful "king, he will choose to keep the first, ra- "ther than the last; which is the more im- "probable, as he will always look upon the "first, as extorted, whilst he was actually a "prisoner; moreover, he cannot stand to this "engagement, without forfeiting his posses- "sions, in France.

"V. It would be expedient to see, what "security may be taken, if he violates his "oath, under the pretence of obeying the "absolute command of his sovereign.

"VI. The earl of Huntingdon, who com- "mands, in Guienne, will, probably, be ob- "liged to quit his government, because the "king does not perform what was promised "him, by agreement; and, that province "being thus abandoned, and the duke of "Orleans in alliance with the houses of Al- "bret and Armagnac, it should, at least, be "considered, how that antient inheritance of "the king will be defended, if the duke of "Orleans joins forces with those two houses. 1440.

"VII. The king has no ally, in all Eu- "rope, but only the king of Portugal; and, "if he would make alliances with other "princes, how shall they be brought to "hearken to his proposals, when they shall "find, that he could not preserve his father's "conquests, without releasing one of his mor- "tal enemies?

"VIII. The late reconciliation, between "the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, at Ca- "lais, ought to create a dread, of their join- "ing forces to expel the English out of "France, as they certainly may do, unless "God interposes, instead of expecting any "advantage by their dissension; and if the "oath to be taken by the duke of Orleans, "before he leaves England, is believed to be "of any consequence, let it be examined by "the civil laws, what stress is to be laid on "the oath of a prisoner.

"IX. If any of the princes or lords, serv- "ing the king, in France, chance to fall in- "to the enemies hands, as it may easily "happen, four or five might be exchanged, "for the duke of Orleans alone; but, if that "prince is released, the English princes and "lords cannot fight for the king, without be- "ing liable to utter ruin.

"X. If, as it is probable, the enlarge- "ment of the duke of Orleans occasions the "loss of Normandy, and the rest of the king's "possessions, in France, what will the king's "counsellors be able to offer, in their own "vindication? What murmurings will there "be among the people, when it shall be con- "sidered, that these conquests, purchased "with the lives of the late king, the duke "of Clarence, the duke of Bedford, and an "infinite number of princes, lords, and "gentlemen shall have been all lost, by this "fatal counsel?

"XI. Lastly, Every one knows, that the late "king, wisely weighing the danger which "would arise from the enlargement of the "duke of Orleans, ordered, upon his death- "bed, that he should not be enlarged, till a "peace was concluded.

"And, as possibly, after my decease, I "may be accused of consenting to this reso- "lution, I humbly intreat the king, that "this my protestation may be recorded, "and an authentick copy given me, under "the great seal, to serve for my justifica- "tion."

The duke of Gloucester's request was granted; but his protestation did not prevent the execution of the council's resolution. The 2d of July, the agreement for the duke of Orleans release was signed by the king and the duke, in two originals, extant in the Collection of the Publick Acts.

The council persists in their resolution. Act. Pub.

The terms, required of the duke, were much easier than those offered by himself, before the congress of Arras; for he was not obliged to acknowledge Henry, for king of France, or to swear to him, much less to give him

1440. him any towns, in hoſtage; only his word and oath were taken, for the payment of his ranſom, ſet at 120,000 crowns. Indeed, by this agreement, he engaged to give obligations from the dauphin, the duke of Bretagne, and ſome others, for 60,000 crowns, which he was not to pay, till after his releaſe; and likewiſe to procure the king's letters patents from king Charles, authoriſing the agreement, and promiſing not to hinder the execution, and to account the duke of Orleans baſe and infamous, if he violated the articles; and, finally, the duke proteſting, that, as for the half of his ranſom, which he was to pay, before he left England, it was impoſſible for him to make good his engagement, without going to France, leave was granted him, for a year.

The duke of Orleans is releaſed. Act. Pub.

The council was, then, compoſed of perſons, who blindly followed their paſſion, regardleſs of the intereſts of the king and ſtate; of this we ſhall, preſently, ſee very convincing proofs. The only thing, that gave them any uneaſineſs, was, that the releaſe of the duke of Orleans ſeemed directly contrary to the will of the late king; who had expreſly enjoined that the duke of Orleans ſhould be kept priſoner, till the king, his ſon, was of age, unleſs his enlargement ſhould be a means to procure a peace; but they contrived an expedient, to ſcreen themſelves from the murmurs of the people. The king declared, by a publick act, that, in releaſing the duke of Orleans, he did not intend to contradict his father's will, but only more ſpeedily to obtain a peace; and, to ſhew more plainly, that this was his intent, the duke was obliged, by freſh articles, to exert himſelf to procure a peace, between the two kings; and, if he proved ſucceſsful, his ranſom was to be forgiven, and what he ſhould have paid, to be reſtored; whereas, if his endeavours did not ſucceed, he was to return into England, and remain a priſoner, as before, but the money, advanced towards his ranſom, to be repaid. It is manifeſt, that theſe new articles were deviſed, purely to throw duſt in the people's eyes, ſince they were directly contrary to the others, and a condition was added, not in the duke's power; and this is ſtill more evident, in that, the peace not being concluded, the duke did not return into England, nor was ever called upon; but he punctually performed the firſt agreement.

Remarks upon a miſtake of the French hiſtorians. Act. Pub.

All the French authors have done the duke of Burgundy the honour to affirm, that he lent the duke of Orleans money, to pay his ranſom; but the Collection of the Publick Acts ſhews, that he did no more, in favour of his newly reconciled enemy, than conſent, that his ducheſs ſhould promiſe, in her own name, to ſend the king the obligation for 30,000 crowns, which the dauphin was to give, or, in caſe of refuſal, to become reſponſible; but, as the dauphin did not ſcruple to give his obligation, the ducheſs of Burgundy's promiſe was rendered uſeleſs. Indeed, the duke of Burgundy magnificently received the duke of Orleans, at Graveline; where they confirmed their reconciliation. I have inſiſted the longer upon the duke of Orleans's releaſe, becauſe it diſcovers the diſpoſition of the court and council, on which depend all the future events of this reign. Let us return, now, to the general affairs. 1440.

Conventions between Henry and the duke of Bretagne.

The duke of Bretagne pretended, all along, to obſerve a neutrality; and yet the ſuccours, brought by the conſtable, his brother, from time to time, to king Charles, could neither be levied, in his country, nor led from thence, without his permiſſion, or connivance. If the Engliſh had been in a better condition, they would, doubtleſs, have ſhewn their reſentment; but, in their preſent circumſtances, they judged it no ſmall advantage, that the duke of Bretagne did not openly declare for their enemies. In the interim, as the Engliſh and the Bretons annoyed one another, at ſea, contrary to the intereſt of both nations, the king and the duke thought fit to conclude a treaty, mutually engaging, not to ſuffer any naval armaments to be made in their ports, to the detriment of each other's ſubjects.

The death of the earl of Warwick.

Richard de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, and regent of France, dying, in the beginning of the ſummer, the duke of York was reſtored to the regency; tho' he had been recalled, to give place to the earl of Warwick.

Quarrels in Charles's court.

If the Engliſh, in France, had been able to improve the preſent opportunity, a fairer had never offered, to repair their paſt loſſes. The dauphin and all the princes of the blood, the duke of Burgundy and the earl of Eu excepted, were joined in a confederacy againſt the king; and this league tended to no leſs than dethroning him, and placing the crown on the head of the prince, his ſon; but, fortunately for him, the confederates had engaged La Trimouille in their party, by which they entirely loſt the conſtable; for, as he had a mortal averſion to that lord, his hatred extended to the whole party, and induced them to bring the king a powerful aid, which enabled him to give law to the princes. This civil war was termed La Praguerie; but for what reaſon I know not; but the league was ſo ill managed by the confederates, that the king, at length, forced them to implore his mercy. In the mean while, the Engliſh, who very faintly carried on the war, made ſome incurſions, about Paris; but the baſtard of Orleans, who, from ſiding with the dauphin, was returned to the king, put a ſtop to their progreſs, which was inconſiderable, on account of their weakneſs.

Charles, having put an end to this dangerous war, approached Paris, and, in his way, became maſter of La Charite, by bribing the governor.

Act. Pub.

In the mean while, the ducheſs of Burgundy inceſſantly, endeavoured to renew the conferences for a peace, and, after ſhe had laboured, the whole year, prevailed on the two monarchs, to appoint plenipotentiaries to meet, at St Omer; and the duke of Orleans was choſen to be one of the mediators.

This new congreſs was as ineffectual, as the former; for the earl of Vendoſme, head of

1441. of the French ambaſſy, refuſed to treat with the Engliſh ambaſſadors, on pretence of their inferior quality; tho' they were peers of the realm, viz. the biſhop of Rocheſter and the lord Fanhope. In the reign of Henry V, the French did not ſtand upon ſuch punctilio's; who readily conferred with bare doctors in law, provided they were duly impowered. Indeed, the ambaſſadors for this congreſs were not of ſo high a character, as the former; but, as there was no probability, that the French would be more moderate in their demands, the council did not think fit to put the king, or the princes, or any of the principal lords, to a needleſs expence; yet Charles took occaſion, from thence, to revoke the powers given to his ambaſſadors. Thus, the congreſs broke off, without being ever pened; and the French pretended, that the court of England had, on purpoſe, choſen perſons of no birth or diſtinction, that they might not be treated with; but the truth is, both parties, for the moſt part, only amuſed each other by theſe conferences. They both gueſſed, what their adverſaries would demand, and as they were reſolved not to grant it, could expect very little benefit from theſe negotiations; tho' they conſented to them, as well to juſtify themſelves to the publick, as to flatter each other with the hopes of a peace.

Charles takes Creil. Monſtrelet.

Whilſt the ambaſſadors repaired to St. Omer, Charles aſſembled an army to make a powerful effort, and take advantage of the indolence of the Engliſh; and he was no ſooner ready, than he ordered admiral de Coitivy to inveſt Creil upon Oyſe, with a detachment of the army. The conſtable joining him, with the reſt of his troops, the ſiege was regularly formed; and the king came, about the end of April, to receive the town, by capitulation.

He lays ſiege to Pontoiſe. Monſtre. let.

This was only a preparative to a more important undertaking, namely, the ſiege of Pontoiſe, which Charles formed, the beginning of July, with an army of 12000 men; having with him the dauphin, his ſon, and all the noted generals and officers, in France. This ſiege was, at firſt, proſecuted with great vigour, but the beſieged made as brave a defence. Talbot, whom the moſt difficult enterprizes could not diſcourage, being commiſſioned by the duke of York, to introduce a convoy into the town, attacking one of the enemy's quarters, and forming it, ſent in his convoy; which ſeaſonable relief ſo animated the garriſon, that the ſiege proceeded but ſlowly; and, tho' the beſiegers were extremely vigilant, they could not hinder ſuch an experienced warrior from throwing ſuccours into the town, three ſeveral times. However, Charles obſtinately reſolved to continue the ſiege, undertaken at the inſtance of the Pariſians, who defrayed all the charges; but, at length, the duke of York's army, being increaſed to 12000 men, by a reinforcement from England, approached the town, and ſent a herald to the king, to offer him battle. Charles anſwered, he ſhould ſee what was to be done; and that he did not intend to regulate his time, by that of his enemies. He ſaw the Engliſh army, on the other ſide of the Oyſe, which they could paſs only by a bridge, guarded by a detachment of 1000 men; ſo that, withour any apprehenſion of a ſudden attack, he leiſurely continued the ſiege. In the interim, the duke of York, reſolving, at any rate, to relieve the place, found means to to paſs, in the night, 5 or 600 men, in boats of boiled skins; which detachment, on a ſudden, attacking the guard of the bridge, and cutting them in pieces, opened a paſſage for the duke, who, immediately, advanced, on the other ſide, with his whole army. Charles was ſo aſtoniſhed at this action, that he, inſtantly, raiſed the ſiege, and retired, under the canon of Poiſſi; but the duke of York purſued him, and offered him battle, in vain; and, at laſt, after braving him, for ſome time, and plundering, before his face, the abbey of Poiſſi, he retired, not judging it expedient to attack him, in that poſt.

Charles ſuffers in his reputation by it. Monſtre. let.

The ſpeedy retreat of king Charles, before an enemy much weaker than himſelf, was vaſtly injurious to his reputation; for all the French loudly murmured, but eſpecialy the Pariſians. The king's beſt friends openly diſcovered their fear, that ſuch a general diſcontent would prove fatal to him; and, in ſhort, thoſe neareſt his perſon, repreſenting to him, how he had expoſed his reputation, by ſo inglorious an action, he reſolved, at all adventures, to retrieve his credit; wherefore, when leaſt expected, he returned, before Pontoiſe, and carried it, by ſtorm. He ſo ſignalized himſelf, in the aſſault, that all the ill impreſſions, made by his former conduct, to his diſadvantage, were effaced; for he was ſeen, on the breach, ſword in hand, fighting with an undaunted bravery, and expoſing his perſon, like a common ſoldier. By this reſolute action, he evidently ſhewed, that, if he did not delight in war, it was not ſo much, for want of courage, as from an immoderate attachment to his pleaſures; and, ſome time after, the town of Evreux was taken from the Engliſh, by the help of a fiſherman, who found means to introduce the French.

The ducheſs of Glouceſter is accuſed of witchcraft and treaſon. Stow. Hall.

During theſe tranſactions, in France, a very ſurpriſing ſpectacle attracted the eyes and attention of the people of England. I have often obſerved, that the duke of Glouceſter's credit ſenſibly declined, or rather was entirely ſunk; and of this was ſeen a remarkable proof, in the courſe of the preſent year. This prince was blameleſs, in his conduct, with reſpect to the king; and, whatever ſpies were planted about him by his enemies, they could find no pretence to the leaſt charge againſt his perſon; but, at length, by narrowly inſpecting what paſſed, in his family, they learnt, that his ducheſs had frequent conferences with Sir Roger Bolinbroke, a prieſt, who was accounted a necromancer, and a certain woman*,

* Margery Gurdemain of Eye, who was burnt, in Smithfield, the 27th of October; Thomas Southwell and Sir John Hume, prieſts, were alſo accuſed of being concerned with the ducheſs; and Bolingbroke was hanged and quartered. Hall.

1440. him any towns, in hoſtage; only his word and oath were taken, for the payment of his ranſom, ſet at 120,000 crowns. Indeed, by this agreement, he engaged to give obligations from the dauphin, the duke of Bretagne, and ſome others, for 60,000 crowns, which he was not to pay, till after his releaſe; and likewiſe to procure the king's letters patents from king Charles, authoriſing the agreement, and promiſing not to hinder the execution, and to account the duke of Orleans baſe and infamous, if he violated the articles; and, finally, the duke proteſting, that, as for the half of his ranſom, which he was to pay, before he left England, it was impoſſible for him to make good his engagement, without going to France, leave was granted him, for a year.

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Richard de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, and regent of France, dying, in the beginning of the ſummer, the duke of York was reſtored to the regency; tho' he had been recalled, to give place to the earl of Warwick.

Quarrels in Charles's court.

If the Engliſh, in France, had been able to improve the preſent opportunity, a fairer had never offered, to repair their paſt loſſes. The dauphin and all the princes of the blood, the duke of Burgundy and the earl of Eu excepted, were joined in a confederacy againſt the king; and this league tended to no leſs than dethroning him, and placing the crown on the head of the prince, his ſon; but, fortunately for him, the confederates had engaged La Trimouille in their party, by which they entirely loſt the conſtable; for, as he had a mortal averſion to that lord, his hatred extended to the whole party, and induced them to bring the king a powerful aid, which enabled him to give law to the princes. This civil war was termed La Praguerie; but for what reaſon I know not; but the league was ſo ill managed by the confederates, that the king, at length, forced them to implore his mercy. In the mean while, the Engliſh, who very faintly carried on the war, made ſome incurſions, about Paris; but the baſtard of Orleans, who, from ſiding with the dauphin, was returned to the king, put a ſtop to their progreſs, which was inconſiderable, on account of their weakneſs.

Charles, having put an end to this dangerous war, approached Paris, and, in his way, became maſter of La Charite, by bribing the governor.

Act. Pub.

In the mean while, the ducheſs of Burgundy inceſſantly, endeavoured to renew the conferences for a peace, and, after ſhe had laboured, the whole year, prevailed on the two monarchs, to appoint plenipotentiaries to meet, at St Omer; and the duke of Orleans was choſen to be one of the mediators.

This new congreſs was as ineffectual, as the former; for the earl of Vendoſme, head of

1441. of the French ambaſſy, refuſed to treat with the Engliſh ambaſſadors, on pretence of their inferior quality; tho' they were peers of the realm, viz. the biſhop of Rocheſter and lord Fanhope. In the reign of Henry the French did not ſtand upon ſuch punctilio's; who readily conferred with barristors in law, provided they were dignified. Indeed, the ambaſſadors for the congreſs were not of ſo high a character as the former; but, as there was no probability that the French would be more moderate in their demands, the council did not think fit to put the king, or the principal lords, to a needleſs expence: yet Charles took occaſion, from thence to revoke the powers given to his ambaſſadors. Thus, the congreſs broke off, without being ever pened; and the French pretended, that the court of England had, in this affair, choſen perſons of no birth or diſtinction, that they might not be treated with: but the truth was, both parties, for the moſt part, came to each other by theſe conferences, only to be guеſſed, what their adverſaries intended; and as they were reſolved not to grant it, could expect very little benefit from theſe negotiations; tho' [illegible] to flatter [illegible]

Charles takes Creil. Monſtrelet.

Whilſt the [illegible] Omer, Charles [illegible] powerful effort, and [illegible] indolence of the Engliſh; [illegible] ſooner ready, than he ordered [illegible] Coitivy to inveſt Creil upon Oyſe, with a detachment of the army. The conſtable joining him, with the reſt of his troops, the ſiege was regularly formed; and the king came, about the end of April, to receive the town, by capitulation.

He lays ſiege to Pontoiſe. Monſtrelet.

This was only a preparative [illegible] portant [illegible] which [illegible] ning of July, [illegible] having with him [illegible] the noted generals and [illegible] This ſiege was, at firſt, proſecuted [illegible] vigour, but the beſieged [illegible] fence. Talbot, whoſe [illegible] terprizes could [illegible] being [illegible] miſſioned by [illegible] to introduce a convoy into the town, attacking one of the enemy's quarters, and forming [illegible] in his convoy; which ſeaſonable relief [illegible] the garriſon. After the [illegible] ſlowly [illegible] the beſieged [illegible] ly [illegible] ex- [illegible] throwing [illegible] into [illegible] time. However, Charles obſtinately reſolved to continue the ſiege, undertaken at the inſtance of the Pariſians, who defrayed all the charges; but, at length, the duke of York's army, being increaſed to 12000 men, by a reinforcement from England, approached the town, and ſent a herald to the king, to offer him battle. Charles anſwered, he ſhould ſee what was to be done; and that he did not intend to regulate his time, by that of his enemies. He ſaw the Engliſh army, on the other ſide of the Oyſe, which they could paſs only by a bridge, guarded by a detachment of 1000 men; ſo that, without any apprehenſion of a ſudden attack, he leiſurely continued the ſiege. In the [illegible] the duke of York, reſolving, at any [illegible] to relieve the place, found means to [illegible] in the night, 5 or 600 men, in boats [illegible] boiled skins; which detachment, on a ſudden [illegible] the guard of the bridge, and [illegible] in pieces, opened a paſſage for [illegible] who immediately, advanced, on [illegible] with his whole army. Charles [illegible] to [illegible] his action, that he, in- [illegible] raiſing the ſiege, and retired, under [illegible] canon [illegible] iſſi; but the duke of York purſued [illegible] offered him battle, in vain; and, [illegible] braving him for ſome time, and [illegible] ering, before [illegible] e, the abbey of Poiſſi, [illegible] on [illegible] it expedient to attack him, in [illegible]

Charles ſuffers in his reputation by it. Monſtrelet.

The [illegible] eat of king Charles, before [illegible] much weaker than himſelf, was [illegible] ious to his reputation; for all [illegible] French [illegible] murmured, but eſpecially the Pariſians [illegible] openly diſcover [illegible] a general diſ- [illegible] to him; and, in [illegible] thoſe near his perſon, repreſenting to him, how he had expoſed his reputation, by ſo inglorious an action, he reſolved, at all adventures, to retrieve his credit; wherefore, when leaſt expected, he returned, before Pontoiſe, and carried it, by ſtorm. He ſo ſignalized himſelf, in the aſſault, that all the ill impreſſions, made by his former conduct, to his diſadvantage, were effaced; for he was ſeen, on the breach, ſword in hand, fighting with an undaunted bravery, and expoſing his perſon, like a common ſoldier. By his reſolute action, he evidently ſhewed, that he did not delight [illegible] ſloth, for want of courage, but from an immoderate attachment to his pleaſures: and, ſome time after, the town of Lieux was taken from the Engliſh, by the help of a fiſherman, who found means to introduce the French.

The ducheſs of Glouceſter is accuſed of witchcraft and treaſon. Stow. Hall.

During theſe tranſactions in France, a very ſurpriſing ſpectacle attracted the eyes and attention of the people of England. I have often obſerved, that the duke of Glouceſter's credit ſenſibly declined, or rather was entirely ſunk; and of this was ſeen a remarkable proof, in the courſe of the preſent year. This prince was blameleſs, in his conduct, with reſpect to the king; and, whatever ſpies were planted about him by his enemies, they could find no pretence to the leaſt charge againſt his perſon; but, at length, by narrowly inſpecting what paſſed, in his family, they learnt, that his ducheſs had frequent conferences with Sir Roger Bolinbroke, a prieſt, who was accounted a necromancer, and a certain woman*,

*Margery Gurdemain of Eye, who was burnt, in Smithfield, the 27th of October; Thomas Southwell and Sir John Hume, prieſts, were alſo accuſed of being concerned with the ducheſs; and Bolingbroke was hanged and quartered. Hall.

1441. who was reputed a witch. This was ſufficient to found a charge of high-treaſon againſt her; for ſhe was accuſed of making, with theſe two perſons, the king's image, in wax; and of placing it, before a gentle fire, with an intent, that the king's ſtrength ſhould waſte inſenſibly, as the wax melted, and his life be at an end, when the image was all diſſolved. The deſign of this accuſation was to prove, that the ducheſs deſigned to deſtroy the king, that the crown might fall to the duke, her huſband; and, at the ſame time, ſuſpicions were inſtilled into the duke himſelf. When the parties accuſed were examined, the prieſt denied the whole; but the ducheſs confeſſed, that ſhe had deſired the woman to make her a love-potion for her ſpouſe, who ſometimes went aſtray. Tho' this confeſſion did not make her guilty of the crime charged upon her, the duke's enemies had ſo managed, that the prieſt was condemned to be hanged, and the woman to be burnt; but, as for the ducheſs, tho' ſhe would have been the moſt criminal, had the thing been well atteſted, out of a pretended regard to the duke, ſhe was only condemned to do publick penance, in St. Paul's church, and to be impriſoned for life. This was a horrible mortification to the firſt prince of the blood, who had been protector of the realm, and always ardently zealous for the king's intereſt and honour; but ſuch was the power of his enemies, that he was conſtrained to be ſilent, leſt he ſhould give them occaſion to fall directly upon his perſon.

A new league againſt king Charles. P. Daniel. Monſtrelet.

Charles had ſcarce taken any repoſe, after the ſiege of Pontoiſe, before he was extremely embarraſſed; for all the princes of his houſe were engaged in a freſh confederacy againſt him, with the duke of Orleans at their head. This prince highly reſented the king's cold reception of him, after a 25 years captivity ſuffered for the intereſt of France, and even, during which, he had done him very ſignal ſervices; and, probably, this proceeding would have entirely ruined the king's affairs, if, by a fortunate advice, he had not gained the head, by conſiderable favours. The duke of Orleans's defection diſconcerting all the confederates meaſures, they were forced to implore the king's mercy; and, thus, ended the league, as all thoſe, of ſubjects againſt their ſovereigns uſually do, when the ſovereigns find means to content their leaders.

Beſides the rebellion of the princes, Charles had another cauſe for uneaſineſs; becauſe his honour, as well as intereſt, called upon him to relieve Tartas, a town of Guienne beſieged by the Engliſh. This was the moſt conſiderable place belonging to the houſe of Albret, which had long been ſerviceable to France, by their diverſions, in Guienne; and it was, therefore, of the laſt conſequence to the king to ſuccour this houſe; leſt all the lords of Guienne, of his party, ſhould leave him, and turn to the king of England. In the mean while, the league of the princes having hindered him, from thinking ſooner of relieving Tartas, he did not begin his march to Guienne, till November; yet the town ſtill defended itſelf, 1441. and it was even January, before the garriſon capitulated, upon a condition which afforded Charles more than ſufficient time, to prepare for their relief. According to the capitulation, the town was to be delivered to the lords Cognac and Saint Par, for the Engliſh, if, on the 24th of next June, there appeared not a French army able to give battle; but, if it was relieved on the day appointed, it was to be reſtored to the lord d' Albret.

1442. Charles advances towards Guienne. Monſtrelet.

Charles, having leiſure to prepare, ſpent the winter, in Poictou, where he aſſembled a conſiderable army, conſiſting of 400 lances 8000 croſs-bow-men, and as many archers; and, all the French lords repairing to him, he counted 160 banners in his army. In the interim, England made no effort, to defend Guienne, or give the enemy a diverſion, elſewhere; for the council, being no longer influenced by the duke of Glouceſter, ſeemed to be grown entirely thoughtleſs.

The death of La Hire. Monſtrelet. P. Daniel.

Charles, with the forces he had raiſed, in Poictou, humbled ſome tyrannical Poictevin lords, and from thence came to Limoges, where he made ſome ſtay; after which, he paſſed ſome time, at Montauban, where he loſt the valiant La Hire or Vignoles, one of his moſt able generals. The relief of Tartas was not the ſole motive of his journey; for his principal view was to become maſter of the earldom of Cominge, which he claimed, by vertue of a ſettlement in his favour; but, as this affair has ſome relation to thoſe of England, it will be neceſſary to relate the ground of his pretenſions.

Charles's claim to the earldom of Cominge. P. Daniel.

Margaret, heireſs of Cominge, had two daughters, by her firſt husband, John III, earl of Armagnac, who died, in 1391; as did alſo the two daughters, ſoon after. The counteſs was afterwards married to John d' Armagnac, earl of Fezenſaquet; but, by an outrage unheard of, in France, ſhe divorced her ſecond husband, whoſe grief occaſioned his death, in 1404. Then ſhe eſpouſed Matthew de Grailley, brother to John, earl of Foix, and by him had a daughter, but of ſo weak a conſtitution, that Matthew, her father, was apprehenſive, that the death of the mother and daughter would deprive him of the earldom of Cominge, of which he was in poſſeſſion; wherefore, he preſſed his counteſs, who was much older than himſelf, to make a will, and ſettle it upon him, after their daughter; but ſhe refuſed it. Margaret's obſtinacy cauſed ſuch a quarrel, between her and her husband, that he reſolved to diſpoſſeſs her, aſſiſted by the earl of Armagnac, who very readily joined in the project, on condition of going ſhares with him; upon which, the earl of Armagnac attacked, defeated, and took the counteſs priſoner, and, with her husband's conſent, confined her in a caſtle, where ſhe remained 22 years; but this rough uſage only inflamed the old counteſs's reſentment. At laſt, in 1435, ſhe found means in her confinment to make a will, wherein ſhe nominated her daughter, Jane, for her heir, and, after her, ſettled the earldom upon king Charles VII.

Jane

1442. Jane dying, ſome time after, Charles heard of this ſettlement; and, the counteſs being ſtill alive, he formed a deſign, to free her from her impriſonment, and cauſe her to confirm her will. Having made ſome ſtay, at Montauban, he came to Tholouſe, and ordered the earls of Armagnac and Cominge to be ſummoned, before the parliament of that city; and the two earls appeared, not daring to reſiſt a prince, who was in a condition to compel them; moreover, as the earl of Armagnac's anceſtors had voluntarily acknowledged the kings of France, for their ſovereigns, he could have no pretence to decline the juriſdiction of their parliaments. He was forced, therefore, to bring the old captive counteſs, now 80 years old, to Tholouſe, where the parliament decreed the ſettlement upon the king to be valid; and, accordingly, the king took poſſeſſion of the earldom of Cominge; but, for the ſake of Gaſton, earl of Foix, who had ſucceeded his father, John, in 1437, he was pleaſed to conſent, that Matthew, his uncle, ſhould enjoy his part of the earldom, during life. The earl of Armagnac was treated, in a more rigorous manner; for the king not only diſpoſſeſſed him of the part he had uſurped, but ſtripped him of the privilege of the regale in his territories, forbidding him alſo to ſtile himſelf, John by the Grace of God, Earl of Armagnac, as he had done, and his anceſtors before him.

The earl of Armagnac is highly offended.

The earl of Armagnac did not think he deſerved ſuch treatment, after all the ſervices his houſe had done the kings of France. If, to eſpouſe their intereſts, his anceſtors had not caſt off the dominion of the kings of England, he would not have been liable to appear, before the parliament of Tholouſe, nor have loſt the privileges, which the kings of England, dukes of Guienne, had never diſputed with his predeceſſors; and, therefore, he was, to the laſt degree, impatient to free himſelf from this yoke and be revenged; but, as he was ſenſible, that his forces alone were incapable of procuring him that ſatisfaction, he reſolved throw himſelf into the arms of the king of England. Shortly after, he ſent to deſire his protection, with an offer of one of his daughters in marriage; and, the propoſal being conſidered in the council, it was judged, that, in the preſent ſtate of the king's affairs, in France, the alliance, propoſed by the earl of Armagnac, could not but be very beneficial; ſo that, without loſs of time, ambaſſadors were diſpatched to the earl of Armagnac, to ſettle the marriage-articles, and affiance one of his daughters, in the name of the king.

Charles relieves Tartas, and takes ſeveral places, in Guienne. Hall.

In the mean time, Charles appearing, before Tartas, on the 24th of June, and no enemy offering to give him battle, the place was reſtored to the lord d'Albret, purſuant to the capitulation. The preparations of the French were not a ſecret to the Engliſh; and yet no meaſures were taken for the defence of Guienne. Charles, improving this negligence, became maſter of St. Sever; and then he beſieged Acs, one of the ſtrongeſt places, in thoſe parts, which held out, ſeven weeks. La Reole was carried, by ſtorm; and Marmande was alſo taken by the French. During the following winter, which was extremely ſharp, Acs and St. Sever opened their gates to the Engliſh; but the earl of Foix retook St. Sever; and Charles paſſed the whole winter, at Tholouſe. 1442.

Talbot is made earl of Shrewſbury, and the baſtard of Orleans earl of Dunois. Hall.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacted, at one one end of the kingdom, the Engliſh were preparing to make a diverſion, at the other; but they ſhould have thought of it ſooner, to prevent Charles's march into Guienne; and, thus, they would have infallibly preſerved the places lately loſt; however, orders being given to raiſe 5000 men, in England, the command was conferred on Talbot, whom the king had now created earl of Shrewsbury. Talbot, landing, in Normandy, ſoon obliged the baſtard of Orleans to quit the field; who had alſo a new title, being made earl of Dunois. He preſently beſieged the caſtle of Conches; and, to make a diverſion, the French general inveſted Galardon. Talbot having taken the caſtle, in a few days, the earl of Dunois did not think fit to expect his enemy, who was marching, directly, to give him battle; upon which, the earl of Shrewsbury advanced towards Dieppe, in Normandy; a place of great importance, ſtill poſſeſſed by the French; and ſuch was his expedition, that Eſtouteville, tho' he marched, with the utmoſt diligence, to throw in a ſupply of troops, could not arrive, in time. When he was before the place, he formed the ſiege; but his army was very unequal to ſuch an undertaking, and eſpecially in November. Indeed, he did not expect to be maſter of the town, during the winter, and without more forces; but his intent was to take the fort of Charles-Meſnil, ſituated on Mount Polet, which defended the paſſage to Dieppe. After that, he hoped to preſs it ſo cloſely, that it ſhould be conſtrained to ſurrender; and, having thus taken his meaſures, he attacked and carried the fort, which he ordered to be made larger and ſtronger; upon which, mounting his batteries, he left the management of the ſiege, or rather blockade, to his baſtard ſon, and returned into England, to ſollicit a ſupply.

The duke of Glouceſter accuſes the cardinal of Wincheſter. Hall.

This was an improper ſeaſon for the earl of Shrewsbury, to obtain from England the ſuccours he deſired, at leaſt, ſo ſoon as was neceſſary; for the duke of Glouceſter, perceiving that the king's affairs daily declined, brought, at this juncture, before the council, an accuſation of high-treaſon, againſt the cardinal of Wincheſter. Probably, his enmity to that prelate induced him to think, that he was the ſole occaſion of all the misfortunes, befallen the Engliſh; and, perhaps, he only intended to clear himſelf to the publick, by accuſing his enemy. Indeed, as he was well acquainted with the members of the council, he could not flatter himſelf, with the leaſt hopes of ſucceſs, in an affair of that nature; but, however that be, the charge conſiſted of 14 articles, the ſubſtance of which was, as follows:

Articles of accuſation. Hall.

I. That the biſhop of Wincheſter had accepted the dignity of cardinal, contrary to the late

1442. late king's orders, and in derogation to the metropolitan church of Canterbury.

II. That, by the ſtatute of Proviſors, having forfeited the ſee of Wincheſter, he had procured the pope's bull, to ſecure it, contrary to the laws of the kingdom, and particularly to the ſtatute of Præmunire.

III. That, jointly with John Kemp, archbiſhop of York, he had aſſumed the government of the king's perſon, without being authoriſed.

IV. That he had defrauded the king of his jewels.

" This article was founded upon the cardi-
" nal's lending the king money, upon
" pawn."

V. That, being chancellor of the kingdom, he had ſealed an order, for the enlargement of the king of Scotland; and another, to forgive that prince part of his ranſom, provided he married his niece.

VI. That he had defrauded the king of his revenues, by applying to his own uſe the cuſtoms of wooll, at the port of Southampton.

" Probably, the cardinal ſo ſtopped the mo-
" ney, he had lent the king."

VII. That he had the preſumption to ſummon people, before him, in derogation of the prerogatives of the crown, and the royal authority.

" He did this, probably, as legate; but
" he could not do it legally, without the
" king's licenſe."

VIII. That he had procured from Rome an exemption, for his dioceſe, from paying tenths to the king; by which he gave a pernicious example to the reſt of the biſhops.

IX. That he had been inſtrumental, in reconciling the duke of Burgundy to king Charles and the duke of Orleans, to the great prejudice of England.

X. That, when he was the king's ambaſſador and plenipotentiary, to treat of a peace, he had ſent the archbiſhop of York to the king, to perſuade him to renounce the title of king of France, to the diſhonour of the king and his illuſtrious anceſtors.

XI. That the duke of Orleans's releaſe had been procured by his, and the duke of York's intrigues, contrary to the poſitive order of the late king.

XII. That, being chancellor, he had himſelf purchaſed crown-lands, inſtead of preventing ſuch alienations, according to the duty of his office.

XIII. That, by commiſſioning ſuch officers only in the army, as were his creatures, he had cauſed all the loſſes ſuſtained, in France.

XIV. That he had ſold captains commiſſions, and ſo introduced into the king's ſervice ſuch as were incapable of doing their duty.

Theſe accuſations were read, in council; but it, for ſome time, had conſiſted only of the cardinal's creatures, and the duke of Glouceſter's enemies; ſo that, under the pretence of being unwilling to meddle with the royal prerogative, the pardon, granted to the cardinal, in 1437, was urged. The duke of Glouceſter, perceiving it was impoſſible to procure the condemnation of his enemy, dropped the proſecution; and the king granted the cardinal a freſh pardon. 1442.

The duke of Glouceſter loſes ground daily.

Doubtleſs, the duke of Glouceſter was in a diſmal ſituation; who not only perceived that the miniſtry ſteered a courſe, directly contrary to that marked out by the glorious Henry V, his brother, but that there was alſo a ſettled deſign to mortify him, on all occaſions; for the king, his nephew, tho' ſo highly obliged to him, ſuffered himſelf to be miſ-led by the artifices of his enemies; being incapable of diſcerning, that they ſolely conſulted their own advantage. He was made to conſider his uncle, as a ſecret enemy, that would rejoice at his deſtruction, becauſe he was his next heir; nay, they repreſented him, as a counſellor, whoſe intereſt it was to engage him in wrong courſes, in order to render him contemptible and odious to his ſubjects, and ſo pave his own way to the crown. It is no wonder, that a young prince, of ſo mean a genius as Henry, ſhould be blinded by ſuch inſinuations; for he had none about his perſon, to undeceive him. The cardinal always took care not to admit any perſon to court, or in the council, that was not devoted to him; and this he made his principal buſineſs. He it was, that introduced to court the earl of Suffolk, for whom the king conceived ſo great an affection, that he ſaw nothing, but with his eyes, and did nothing, without his advice; and, as the new favourite was entirely indebted to the cardinal, for his fortune, he continually inſinuated to his maſter, that, of all his ſubjects, the cardinal was moſt ſafely to be truſted; by which means, he daily ſunk the duke of Glouceſter's credit, whoſe counſels were always directly oppoſite to thoſe of his enemy. John Kemp, archbiſhop of York and cardinal, was likewiſe a counſellor inviolably attached to the cardinal of Wincheſter, and his inſtrument, to confirm the king in his ſuſpicions of the duke of Glouceſter; and theſe three miniſters, being ſo ſtrictly united together, ſo managed, that the king daily gave his uncle ſome freſh mortification; whilſt, on the other hand, the haughty and impatient temper of the duke of Glouceſter, not permitting him to bear indignities, without complaining and threatening the authors, he promoted his own ruin, by the continual faults that were the reſult of his impatience.

The birth of prince Edward, ſon to the duke of York.

In September, this year, the ducheſs of York was delivered of a prince, whom we ſhall ſee hereafter aſcend the throne, by the name of Edward IV.

John V, duke of Bretagne, dying the 28th of Auguſt, Francis, his eldeſt ſon, was his ſucceſſor, in the ſovereignty of that duchy.

1443. A truce between England and Burgundy. Act. Pub.

The year 1443 began with a private negotiation, between the king and the duke of Burgundy; for the latter, finding the affairs of the two kings likely to be decided, either by war, or peace, judged it adviſable to ſecure himſelf, by a ſeparate truce with England. He was diſpleaſed with king Charles, for ſeveral reaſons, too tedious to be related; and, on the contrary, he had cauſe to fear, that

1443. that Charles was reconciled to him, only out of policy; wherefore, he reſolved, not to aſſiſt him any longer to finiſh a war, the proſperous iſſue whereof might render him too powerful. Theſe conſiderations induced him to give his ducheſs full power, to conclude with the king of England a general truce, for all their reſpective dominions; for the former concerned only the trade, between England and the Low-Countries; but this, ſigned, the 23d of April, included Burgundy, and all the duke's territories, and was to laſt, till one of the parties ſhould put an end to it; in which caſe, the other was to have three months notice.

Charles ſends the dauphin to relieve Dieppe.

The blockade of Dieppe was ſtill continued, in expectation of ſupplies from England; but Charles, perceiving that it would be in great danger, if not relieved, before the arrival of the Engliſh troops, determined, at laſt, tho' not without reluctance, to ſend the dauphin, his ſon, who ſo preſſed him to entruſt him with the care of this expedition, that he granted him this favour. He was not only afraid to venture out of his ſight this young prince, who had given ſo many proofs of a turbulent ſpirit, but likewiſe to afford him opportunities of acquiring glory; yet theſe reaſons gave way to the neceſſity of relieving Dieppe, which was reduced to extremity, by an eight months blockade. The dauphin departed from Guienne, with 4000 horſe, and marched towards Normandy; and, coming within ſight of Dieppe, he eaſily ſaw, that the fort of Charles-Meſnil, where the Engliſh had fortified themſelves, was impregnable, on the ſide next the country, and, therefore, reſolved to enter the town; and, in ſpite of the Engliſh, he, immediately, put his deſign in execution. He ſcarce entered, when, without giving them time to come to themſelves, he ſallied out, with all his troops, and ſtormed the fort, on the ſide next the town; and he was thrice repulſed, but, the fourth time, carried it, ſword in hand. The Engliſh, being unable to continue the blockade, after the loſs of their fort, raiſed it, and retired, in good order; but John, duke of Somerſet, arrived, five days after, with a reinforcement of 5000 men. Had he arrived ſooner, the dauphin would not, perhaps, have performed this enterprize, with ſo much honour; but, the blockade being raiſed, the duke could do nothing more than ravage part of the enemy's country, after retaking ſome caſtles, in Normandy.

The earl of Armagnac takes poſſeſſion again of Cominge. P. Daniel.

After the dauphin's departure, Charles, at laſt, left Guienne, and came to Tours, where he diverted himſelf, after the fatigues of the war; but his pleaſures were ſomewhat interrupted, by the news of the earl of Armagnac's taking arms, and ſeizing that part of the earldom of Cominge, of which he had been lately diſpoſſeſſed; yet ſo fond was Charles of the voluptuous life he led, at Tours, that he waited, till the dauphin's return, and, as he had behaved bravely, in the affair of Dieppe, ſent him, immediately after his arrival, to chaſtiſe the earl of Armagnac. Upon the dauphin's approach, the earl found himſelf abandoned by all his friends, and unſupported by the Engliſh, tho' the king was affianced to his daughter; ſo that the dauphin eaſily became maſter of Rovergne, and of all, in general, that belonged to the earl, who was deprived of all, except the little town of Liſle en Jourdain, about 12 miles from Tholouſe. The dauphin held it long beſieged, to no purpoſe; but, at length, deſpairing of honourably compleating the ſiege, he artfully drew the earl to a conference, upon the promiſe of a ſafe conduct; and he no ſooner had him in his power, than he ſent him to the king, his father, who did not ſcruple to detain him; tho', two years after, he reſtored him his territories, at the requeſt of the kings of Caſtile and Navarre. 1243.

Upon the earl of Armagnac's misfortune, the king and council of England grew cold, with reſpect to the marriage, which was entirely dropped; for no ſcruple was made to put that affront upon an unhappy prince, who was unable to be revenged.

1444. The two kings are equally deſirous of a peace. Du Tillet.

Since the duke of Burgundy's ſeparate truce with Henry, the French were not ſo eager, to proſecute the war; and, indeed, they had no leſs need of repoſe than the Engliſh. France was utterly ruined, by this deſtructive war, which had laſted, 30 years, without interruption; and by the inteſtine troubles raiſed, ſeveral years before the violation of the truce, by the quarrel between the houſes of Orleans and Burgundy. The princes and great men were diſheartened at the fatigues and loſſes, they ſo long ſuſtained; for the country and towns were become deſolate; and France, tho' generally well peopled, could no longer find ſoldiers. Moreover, the duke of Orleans, who had engaged to do all that was poſſible, to procure a peace, willing to make good his engagement, inceſſantly, ſollicited king Charles about it; the duke of Burgundy preſſed him; and the whole kingdom, in general, ardently deſired to ſee a ceſſation of ſo many calamities. A peace was no leſs eagerly wiſhed for, in England; ſince all the money, levied there, was ſwallowed up, in France, as in a bottomleſs gulf, from whence it never returned. In a word, the king was not of a martial diſpoſition; and the moſt of his council were eccleſiaſticks, introduced by the cardinal of Wincheſter, to ſtrengthen his party. The council plainly foreſaw, that the continuance of the war would, by no means, recommend them to the people; and, as the war had, for ſome time, been prejudicial to England, it was natural to charge the blame, upon thoſe that ſat at the helm, rather than upon the king, who only approved of what was ſuggeſted by his miniſters. The duke of Glouceſter alone was of opinion, that freſh efforts ſhould be made, to improve king Charles's weakneſs, and the late truce with the duke of Burgundy; but this prince had loſt his credit, nor were his counſels regarded.

It is agreed to treat about a truce, at Tours. Act. Pub.

Theſe conſiderations, which were very weighty, on both ſides, prevailed, at length, on the two kings, to regard the inſtances of the duke of Burgundy, who urged them to conſent to a truce, in order more calmly to endea-

1444. vour a peace; and it was agreed, that the negotiation ſhould be, at Tours, where king Charles reſided, tho' this ſeemed to intimate, that the Engliſh were going to beg it, as a favour. At any other time, the bare mention of treating, at Tours, would have occaſioned a rupture; but Henry's council were for having a truce, at any rate, and nothing appeared diſhonourable, to attain that end. We ſhall even ſee, preſently, that almoſt every thing was ſecretly ſettled, before the ambaſſadors ſet out for Tours; and this truce, tho', in appearance, founded on the publick good, was properly deſigned, purely for the ſupport of the miniſters, who had nothing leſs in view, than the intereſt of the kingdom. Henry did not, in the leaſt, underſtand it; but he ſuffered himſelf to be guided, according to cuſtom, by his counſellors, who made him believe, that they had his advantage at heart, when, in reality, they were working only for themſelves.

The earl of Suffolk acts cautiouſly in the matter. Act. Pub.

William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, was appointed head of this ambaſſy; who had more reaſons than one to deſire this office, as the ſequel will inform us. In the interim, as he was not ignorant, what a tickliſh ſtep he was about to take, and how liable to be ſtrictly inquired into, he preſented to the king a petition, which, probably, had been concerted with the principal members of the council; in which he ſhewed a great ſcruple, with reſpect to his inſtructions, pretending that they exceeded his capacity, tho', it is likely, he was himſelf the author of them. Then, he modeſtly begged to be eaſed of the burden of the negotiation; or, at leaſt, if the king would not grant him that favour, that he would be pleaſed to ſecure him againſt all imputation; upon which, the king, by the advice of his council, cauſed an authentick order to be drawn up, to execute fully whatever was contained in his inſtructions. This order, probably, was to be ſhewn, only in caſe of neceſſity; and, after the execution, the king ſaid in it, that the inſtructions concerned not only the general good of the kingdom, but alſo his own perſon and marriage; a convincing evidence, that the marriage, ſpoken of, preſently, was already reſolved.

A truce is concluded, at Tours.

The ambaſſadors of England, being come to Tours, entered, immediately, into a negotiation with king Charles's commiſſioners, concerning a peace; but, after ſome mutual and ineffectual propoſals, they were content with a truce, which was ſigned, the 28th of May; which was to commence, the 7th of July, this year, and end, the firſt of April, 1446.

Act. Pub.

At the ſame time, the truce, between England and Scotland, was prolonged, at Edinburgh, for ſeven years, to begin, the 1ſt of May, 1447, the day when the former was to expire.

Suffolk propoſes a marriage between the king and Margaret of Anjou.

The affair of the truce with France being over, the earl of Suffolk propoſed, or cauſed to be propoſed, the king's marriage with Margaret of Anjou, daughter to Rene of Anjou, who bore the title of king of Sicily, after the deceaſe of Lewis III, his elder brother; and the Engliſh charge the earl of Suffolk, with making this propoſal of himſelf, without any authority; but we have already ſeen the contrary. Indeed, in all probability, he was the firſt contriver; but he had taken care to procure the king's approbation. He was deſirous of keeping his preſent poſt; and nothing was more proper to ſupport him, than this marriage. He knew, that Henry was himſelf incapable of governing; and that, of courſe, his miniſters would be envied, and incur the blame of whatſoever was diſagreeable to the people. In this belief, he imagined, that the moſt effectual way, to ſecure himſelf, was, at once, to give the king a wife, and the kingdom a governeſs. With this view, it was neceſſary, that the princeſs, who was to aſcend the throne, ſhould be endowed with an underſtanding, proper to ſupply the defect of the king, her husband, and have a firm reſolution to protect the miniſtry; beſides, that ſhe ſhould be of a rank, not to diſparage the king, but, at the ſame time, to have no ground naturally to aſpire to ſuch a marriage, that, entirely owing her advancement to the managers, ſhe might be always ready to ſupport them; and the earl farther deſigned to be ſtrictly united with the queen, in order to compleat the ruin of the duke of Glouceſter, who was a perpetual obſtacle to the proceedings of the miniſtry. All theſe requiſites were found in Margaret of Anjou, daughter to Rene, king of Sicily, and niece to the queen of France, who was a princeſs of a briſk and enterpriſing ſpirit, of great penetration, uncommon reſolution, and not to be deterred by oppoſition, or difficulties; and, on the other hand, the marriage, propoſed by the earl of Suffolk, was ſo advantageous, that ſhe could not have expected it, without the concurrence of ſeveral circumſtances, in her favour. I do not ſpeak of her birth, which, doubtleſs, was ſufficiently illuſtrious, to give her a pretenſion to this honour; but ſhe wanted a dowry. On this account, the Engliſh miniſters extolled her noble qualities, which, they affirmed, were more valuable than all the money in the world; but they principally inſinuated to the people, that, as this princeſs was niece to the queen of France, and to king Charles's favourite, ſhe would be extremely ſerviceable, in procuring a peace; which was evidently ſhewing, how much this peace was wanted. Accordingly, the court of France, having a perfect intelligence of what paſſed, in England, made an advantage of it, by engaging the earl of Suffolk to promiſe, in the king's name, to reſign Mans, and the whole province of Maine, to the king of Sicily, on the condition of his preſenting them to Charles of Anjou, his brother; ſo that, inſtead of receiving Margaret's dower, Henry purchaſed her with the reſtitution of one of the ſtrongeſt places, in France, or rather, with the whole province of Maine.

1444.

The terms being, thus, ſettled, the earl of Suffolk returned to England, to propoſe them to

He returns to England.

1444. to the king, and cauſe them to be approved; which was an eaſy task, ſince the chief counſellors, having been in the ſecret, had already given their conſent. The duke of Glouceſter, who had never heard of it before, vigorouſly oppoſed it, for two reaſons, which ſeemed unanſwerable; the firſt was, that, the king being already affianced to the earl of Armagnac's daughter, it would be very diſhonourable to violate his faith, without alledging the leaſt excuſe; and the ſecond was no leſs cogent, namely, that Maine, being, as it were, the bulwark of Normandy, could not be abandoned, without expoſing Normandy to manifeſt danger, as ſoon as the truce ſhould expire. However, theſe reaſons were diſregarded; and, by the advice of the council, the earl of Suffolk was impowered, to eſpouſe the princeſs Margaret, in the name of the king.

Divers new creations. Hall.

The king, for joy the marriage was concluded, created the earl, his ambaſſador, marqueſs of Suffolk, and John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, duke of Exeter; and, at the ſame time, he made Humphrey, earl of Stafford, duke of Buckingham, and Henry de Beauchamp, ſon to the late earl of Warwick, duke of Warwick.

The king's marriage is ſolemnized, at Tours. Hall.

The king's marriage was celebrated, by proxy, at Tours, in the preſence of king Charles and his whole court, in a magnificent manner, unſuitable to the preſent circumſtances of the two kings, and the indigence of the new queen.

1445. The queen's arrival.

Tho' the nuptials were ſolemnized, in November, the queen did not come into England, till the May following; and, on the 30th of that month, ſhe was ſolemnly crowned; but ſhe was no ſooner with the king, than, perceiving his weakneſs, ſhe ruled him, with an abſolute ſway. By this means, the marqueſs of Suffolk, the cardinal of Wincheſter, and the archbiſhop of York had the ſame credit, as before the king's marriage; and they ſtood in as much need of the queen, as ſhe did of them, ſince, as yet, ſhe had no creatures, but what they had procured her; on which account, a very ſtrict union was formed, between the queen and the miniſters, that muſt neceſſarily end, in the ruin of the duke of Glouceſter, whom they all conſidered, as their common enemy.

The truce is prolonged, at an interview of the two kings.

The truce being made only to pave the way for a peace, this whole year was ſpent, in ſeveral negotiations, about the time and place of a new congreſs; and it was alſo believed, that an interview of the two kings might promote the concluſion of a treaty; wherefore, the miniſters of both courts agreed, that the two monarchs ſhould meet, ſomewhere in France, and that Henry ſhould repair to Calais, in order to be near the place to be appointed for the interview; but, ſeveral difficulties occurring about the choice of the place, the truce was prolonged, till the 11th of November, 1446.

Henry Chicheley, having held the ſee of Canterbury, 30 years, died, this year, being ſucceeded by John Stafford, biſhop of Bath and Wells. 1445.

1446. The duke of York is made regent of France, for five years longer.

The duke of York, who had no farther buſineſs, in France, returned into England, where he was very civilly received, and thanked by the court, for his ſervices to the ſtate; and the king, to ſhew his gratitude, granted him a patent to be regent of France, another five years; but we ſhall ſee, hereafter, that his enemies would not ſuffer him to enjoy that dignity ſo long.

A ſubſidy is granted for the war: Cotton.

The parliament, which met, the beginning of the year 1446, granted the king a conſiderable ſubſidy, for a vigorous proſecution of the war, in France, upon the expiration of the truce; but this pretended deſign of carrying on the war was only a decoy, to draw money from the parliament. Inſtead of preparations for a war, negotiations for the interview of the two kings, and for a congreſs of ambaſſadors, to conclude a peace, were zealouſly continued; and, in the interim, the truce was farther prolonged to the 1ſt of April, 1447. This proves, that the council did not intend to proſecute the war, tho' the parliament was called, on that pretence; and we ſhall ſee, preſently, that the truce was again prolonged, and interrupted only by an unexpected accident, contrary to the intent of the Engliſh miniſtry.

The parliament gives the marqueſs of Suffolk thanks. Cotton.

The parliament might eaſily have diſcerned the devices made uſe of, to procure ſubſidies, if they had not voluntarily ſhut their own eyes; for this was one of thoſe parliaments that are managed, as it is but too often the caſe, by the intrigues of the court. This evidently appeared, in a reſolution to return the marqueſs of Suffolk publick thanks, for his great ſervice to the kingdom, in negotiating the king's marriage; tho' the advantages, accruing to the king, or ſtate, from an alliance with the family of the moſt mortal enemy to both, had not, hitherto, been perceived. They, moreover, addreſſed the king, beſeeching him to reward the marqueſs; and they even granted a ſubſidy, on purpoſe to ſatisfy him for the expences of his ambaſſy.

A project againſt the duke of Glouceſter. Hall.

The queen, the cardinal of Wincheſter, the marqueſs of Suffolk, and the reſt of that party, having nothing to fear from a parliament ſo much at their devotion, began to project the ruin of the duke of Glouceſter, who was ever their formidable enemy; for, not only the bulk of the people were in his intereſt, but, as he was, as yet, the preſumptive heir to the crown, they had reaſon to dread, that, if he ſhould, one day, aſcend the throne, he would call them to a ſtrict account. Their firſt ſtep was to remove him from the council; and, to varniſh over this injuſtice, perſons were ſuborned to accuſe him of various crimes; the principal whereof was, that, whilſt protector of the realm, he had put ſeveral to death, by his own authority, and aggravated the condemnation of many others. Upon theſe accuſations, which made a great noiſe, he was ſummoned, before the council; but he vindicated himſelf, with ſuch evidence,

from

1446. from all that was charged upon him, that the council, tho' entirely conſiſting of his enemies, thought fit to drop his proſecution. It is not in England, as in other countries, where the lives of the ſubjects depend, in ſome meaſure, on the will of the ſovereign, who appoints commiſſioners, at his pleaſure, to proſecute thoſe he is inclined to deſtroy; for, to take away the duke of Glouceſter's life, in a legal manner, he muſt have been tried by his peers; but his enemies were well aware, notwithſtanding their credit, that the body of the nobility was not ſo corrupted, as to expect to cauſe the firſt prince of the blood to be condemned, upon forged crimes. In the interim, this proceeding ſo moved the Londoners, that nothing was heard, but praiſes of the duke of Glouceſter, and curſes againſt thoſe who governed, in the name of the king; and theſe murmurs, which were plain indications of the people's affection for the duke, convinced his enemies, that there was no medium between his and their ruin; and, accordingly, without farther conſideration, they reſolved to diſpatch him. The queen, who was of a bold and enterpriſing genius, was the perſon that firſt encouraged this reſolution; which is, at leaſt, inſinuated by the hiſtorians, if not expreſly aſſerted; and, indeed, the miniſtry would never have ventured upon ſuch an action, without having her at their head.

1447. The parliament is ſummoned to St. Edmundsbury. Hall.

It was impoſſible, as was obſerved, to put this prince to death, by the uſual courſe of juſtice; and it would have been very dangerous, to murder him openly. His enemies were reſolved to deſtroy him, but would conceal the hand that gave the blow; and, to execute their deſign, with all imaginable ſecrecy, they deviſed a means, countenanced, if not contrived, by the queen; namely, to accuſe him of ſome crime, in order to have a pretence to impriſon him. To accompliſh this purpoſe, it was rumoured, that a very important affair required the ſpeedy meeting of a parliament; and, accordingly, one was called for the February following. In the interim, the queen and miniſtry affected to load the duke of Glouceſter, with honours and careſſes, not to inſpire him with confidence, but with ſuſpicions; and they would have been glad, at his abſenting himſelf, or taking ſome other courſe, that would have given them an advantage againſt him. They, therefore, in order to terrify him, employed ſecret emiſſaries, to warn him to take care of himſelf, and hint that every thing was prepared for his condemnation in parliament; which was purpoſely to be convened, at St Edmundsbury, as a place more proper for this deſign than London, where he was ſupported by the people. The ſole intent of all this was to induce him to withdraw, and ſo to give himſelf ſome appearance of truth to the calumnies, to be fixed upon him; but, as he was conſcious of his own innocence, he would not, by his abſence, give occaſion to the world, to believe him guilty; yet he could not, after all, avoid falling into the ſnares of his enemies.

1447. The duke is confined. Hall.

The firſt day of the ſeſſion, the duke was apprehended and cloſely confined, without being ſuffered to keep any of his domeſticks; and, to colour over this ſevere uſage, it was induſtriouſly publiſhed, that he was accuſed of conſpiring to kill the king, in order to ſeize the crown; and, with an armed force, to deliver his ducheſs out of Kenelworth-caſtle, where ſhe was impriſoned. The firſt of theſe accuſations was ſo far from being credited by the people, that there was, preſently, a commotion in the city, in his favour, but it was ſoon appeaſed. As the people were convinced of his innocence, they imagined, that he would clear himſelf from theſe, as he had from the former charges; but he was allowed neither time, nor opportunity, to make his defence; for, the very next day, he was found dead in his bed, without any marks of violence on his body. However, the people believed, that he was murdered; and ſome ſay, that he was ſmothered, between two feather-beds; but others, that he underwent the ſame fate with Edward II. To remove theſe ſuſpicions, his body was ſhown to both houſes of parliament, and expoſed, for ſome days, to publick view; but it would have been an inſtance of great boldneſs, for a man to charge this murder upon thoſe that were conſidered, as the authors; ſince they were no leſs than the preſent miniſtry, who, by ſacrificing the firſt prince of the blood, manifeſtly diſcovered, what treatment might be expected by enemies of an inferior condition.

He is found dead in his bed.

His domeſticks are condemned for high-treaſon. Act. Pub.

In the mean while, to juſtify, in ſome meaſure, the impeachment againſt the deceaſed, ſeveral of his domeſticks were apprehended, and accuſed of being in the plot to kill the king; upon which, they were all ſentenced to die, by judges commiſſioned by the king, of whom the marqueſs of Suffolk was chief; but, tho' their crime was the moſt heinous, the king pardoned them all, without exception. This act of grace was founded upon the conſideration of Good-Friday, and the Aſſumption of the Virgin, with the like pious and religious motives; which renders it probable, that theſe people were bribed to confeſs themſelves guilty, upon aſſurance of their pardon. However this be, no inquiry was made after the ſudden death of the duke of Glouceſter; nay, it was pretended, that he was notoriouſly guilty of the crime, for which his domeſticks were condemned, tho' they had never been confronted with him; but, as theſe domeſticks were not thoſe in whom he confided, nor even ſome of the principal, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that he would have been ſo imprudent, as to employ ſuch inſtruments, or communicate to them ſuch a deſign, if he had really conceived it.

The hatred of the people againſt the queen and miniſtry.

The outrage exerciſed upon a prince of this character, ſo univerſally beloved and eſteemed by the people, drew upon the queen and the miniſters an almoſt univerſal hatred, which time could never efface; and the queen, particularly, was publickly charged with the murder; yet this is the very queen, whom the French load with exceſſive encomiums, probably,

1447. bably, becauſe ſhe was of the royal family of France; tho', indeed, they very ſlightly paſs over the duke of Glouceſter's death, without attempting her vindication. As for the king, in all probability, he was not conſulted, in this infamous action; but, whether he did not ſo much as ſuſpect the authors of the murder, or wanted reſolution, to puniſh them, he can, in ſome meaſure, be excuſed, only on account of his natural weakneſs. I cannot leave this ſubject, without remarking, how ſhort-ſighted human policy is; for the queen and the reſt of the duke of Glouceſter's enemies fancied, that his death had ſecured them, from all oppoſition; but, by the juſt judgment of God, this very event was the cauſe of the ruin of the king, queen, and all that were concerned. The duke of York, now, found himſelf at liberty to aſſert his claim to the crown; a claim which occaſioned the effuſion of torrents of Engliſh blood; and which, doubtleſs, he would never have aſſerted, if there had been ſuch a competitor, as the duke of Glouceſter *.

The truce is prolonged. Act. Pub.

When this tragedy was acting, in England, the negotiations for a peace were carrying on, in France; but, as great difficulties occurred, about the projected interview of the two kings, the truce was farther prolonged to the 1ſt of January, 1448.

The truce between Burgundy and England is prolonged. Act. Pub.

In the interim, the ducheſs of Burgundy, being impowered by the duke, her husband, prolonged the truce with England, till 1459, on condition that, which of the two monarchs ſhould be deſirous of breaking it, ſhould give the other a year's notice; and, after that, a new treaty was concluded, the 4th of May, purſuant to which the truce was not to be broke, within the firſt four years.

The death of the cardinal of Wincheſter. Hall. Sandford.

The cardinal of Wincheſter, one of the principal authors of the duke of Glouceſter's death, ſurvived, only one month, the fall of his enemy; who was a prelate much more proper for the world than the church. Accordingly, he remained, to his dying moment, attached to the former; and he is reported to die, in a ſort of a paſſion, that his riches could not exempt him from the common fate of all mankind, and to ſee himſelf, in this reſpect, upon a level with the moſt miſerable.

In the mean while, the people, perceiving that the time allotted, for procuring a peace, was ſpent, in vain, loudly murmured againſt the marqueſs of Suffolk; nay, it was openly ſaid, that he had betrayed the king and the ſtate; that his treaty with the French tended only to a truce deſtructive to England, as it gave the enemy leiſure, to fortify himſelf; and that he had engaged to reſign Maine to the French, in order to marry the king to a princeſs, who had given convincing proofs of the calamities the Engliſh might expect, under her government. Theſe murmurs being ſo publick, the marqueſs, in order to ſilence them, requeſted the king to hear his defence; upon which, the king ſet him a day, to vindicate his innocence, and heard him, in his own apartment, ſeveral lords being preſent; but none of them were there, with an intent to refute him. He related all his proceedings, in France, and could eaſily juſtify his conduct, ſince he had taken care to get the king's orders, before his departure; and, having ended his ſpeech, the king declared his ſatisfaction, and granted him letters patent, under the great ſeal, acquitting him from all imputations of guilt, and prohibiting all perſons, on pain of his diſpleaſure, to accuſe or revile him; but this was incapable of putting a ſtop to the people's murmurs. Notwithſtanding the marqueſs's pretended vindication; he was looked upon, with horror, as the principal author of the duke of Glouceſter's murder; moreover, the king's marriage, procured by him, was conſidered, as one of the greateſt calamities that could befal the nation. This was the general opinion of town and country; but the court, conſiſting entirely of the queen's creatures, ſtood otherwiſe affected. The miniſters had alſo adherents, in all parts of the kingdom, that found their account, in their attachment to the court, that is, whoever held any poſt, or office, under the miniſtry; and theſe employed their authority and endeavours, to ſtifle the complaints of the people, who could not bear to ſee the adminiſtration of the publick affairs in the hands of a foreigner. The truth is, the king, incapable of governing, only lent his name to the queen, who made uſe of it, at her pleaſure; whilſt he minded nothing but his devotions, wherein the queen took care to make him ſpend his whole time, in order to divert him entirely from the government. Some have made a ſaint of this prince; but he may be ſaid to be one of thoſe ſaints, that deſerve more commendation, for the vices they have not, than for the virtues they have, and to whom a great weakneſs of mind is inſtead of merit and real worth.

The people's diſpoſition, with regard to the queen.

It was impoſſible for the queen and the marqueſs of Suffolk to rule the kingdom alone, without raiſing jealouſy; for it was very un-

* His body was carried to St. Albans, where a noble monument, erected to his memory, ſtill remains, in the Conventual Church; and the vault, wherein his body was laid, the exact place of which was, it ſeems, then unknown, was diſcovered, in the reign of the late queen Ann. He was ſtiled, The Good Duke of Glouceſter; and, being educated in Baliol-college, he became a great proficient in learning, and was a great patron of learned men; and he was the firſt founder of the famous library, at Oxford, ſince known by the name of Bodleian, from Sir Thomas Bodley, by whom it was wonderfully increaſed. Sir Thomas Moor gives the following inſtance of this duke's ſagacity: The king coming in progreſs to St. Albans, a beggar, born blind, as he ſaid, recovered his ſight, at the ſhrine of St. Alban. The duke, being there with the king, deſired to ſee him; and, the beggar being brought, he asked him, whether he was born blind? He anſwered, Yes, truly. And can you now ſee, ſays the duke? Yes, I thank God and St. Alban, replies the beggar. Tell me, then, ſays the duke, what colour is my gown? The beggar readily told him the colour. And what colour, ſays the duke, is ſuch a one's gown? The beggar told him; and ſo of ſeveral others. You counterfeit knave, ſays the duke, how came you that was born blind, and could not ſee, till now, ſo ſuddenly to know the difference of colours? And, upon this, inſtead of an alms, he ordered him to be ſet in the ſtocks.

1447. usual to see the queens take upon them the government; and, accordingly, this was perceived with uneasiness to usurp an arbitrary power, in the name of the king, who signed, without examination, the orders that were brought him. The queen's imperious carriage, her partiality in disposing of places, and, above all, the duke of Gloucester's murder, had drawn upon her the hatred of the nation, to such a degree, that she was every-where talked of, with very little respect; and her intimate union with the marquess of Suffolk furnished her enemies with a fresh occasion to spread dishonourable reports concerning her. The marquess was no less detested than the queen; who brought her into England, and, to accomplish the marriage, sacrificed the welfare of the kingdom. Nevertheless, the king's name was so reverenced, that, besides those who were, by interest, attached to the court, many others adhered to him, from a motive of duty; wherefore, it was extremely difficult, to wrest from the queen and the favourite their present authority.

They begin to talk of the duke of York's title to the crown.

The disposition of most people, with respect to the queen and the ministers, inspired the duke of York with hopes, that he should, one day, be able to assert his title to the crown; who was, by his mother, the only heir to the house of Mortimer or Marche, descended from Lionel, third son to Edward III, and elder brother to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, whose posterity was in possession of the throne; but, perhaps, he would never have formed such a design, if the duke of Gloucester had been alive, or the people well affected to the queen and the ministry. In the interim, he contented himself, with employing secret emissaries, who industriously spread among the people discourses, tending to turn their thoughts to his title to the crown; for it was whispered about, that the house of Lancaster had usurped the throne; that, indeed, this usurpation was tolerable, whilst the kings of that house were princes of distinguished merit, and consulted the happiness and honour of the nation; and that even the present king, during his minority, gave hopes of his treading in the steps of his ancestors, and his being a worthy follower of the king, his father; but that, since he became of age, nothing glorious was to be expected from him: That, therefore, it was unreasonable for the English, to support any longer the usurpation of the crown, for the sake of a queen; who, being descended from a most mortal enemy, governed the kingdom, with an arbitrary sway; that, in viewing the posterity of Edward III, it was manifest, that the house of Marche had been unjustly deprived of the crown; that, as the duke of York was the sole heir of that house, he ought to enjoy his due right; in fine, that his illustrious qualities, his known virtue, and his signal services to the nation very strongly supported his hereditary title. These discourses, artfully spread among the people, began to gain the duke of York a party; but he appeared not himself, all this being done, in private, by his friends.

In the mean while, the queen, the favourite, and all the house of Lancaster, did not fail to take notice of what was divulged, about the pretensions of the duke of York; for, tho' he might keep himself concealed from others, it was not easy to deceive such quick-sighted persons, who were so greatly concerned in the affair. As they did not doubt, that these discourses were spread abroad, with his approbation, they judged it requisite to lessen his credit, by giving him some mortification; and, John, duke of Somerset, dying, in the interim, Edmund, his brother, who succeeded him, was considered, as a very fit person to oppose the duke of York; so that, without the least pretence, the queen and the marquess of Suffolk caused the king to remove the duke of York from the regency of France, before his term was expired, and conferred it on the new duke of Somerset. The latter was of an exceeding haughty temper; and, as his brother had been engaged in great contests with the duke of York, he behaved to him, on this occasion, so as to render him his implacable enemy. On the contrary, the duke of York extremely resented this affront; but he dissembled his resentment, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity, to discover it.

1447. The court takes from the duke of York the regency of France, and gives it to the duke of Somerset. Hall.

In the beginning of the year 1448, the king, entirely swayed by the queen's suggestions, created the marquess of Suffolk, duke of Suffolk; and it seemed to be her intent to brave the people, by daily showering her favours upon a lord, to the last degree, odious to the whole nation; but, in this, she gave her own enemies a great advantage, who only wanted occasions to incense the people against her. It is a frequent error, for those at the helm, to despise the complaints of the people; being always surrounded with flatterers, or ignorant of what passes any where, but at court, or fancying that, having most of the great men in their interest, the rest of the people are to be accounted, as nothing; but it often happens, to their cost, that the great men, and even kings, have no more power than private persons, when abandoned by the people. This will, more particularly, appear, in the course of the present reign; but we must first return to the affairs of France, which will yet afford us matter for several years.

1448. The marquess is made duke of Suffolk. Dugdale. Stow.

In the negotiation relating to the king's marriage, it was agreed, that the city of Mans, and whatever the English possessed, in Maine, should be delivered to Charles of Anjou, the future queen's uncle; but the noise this article made, in England, and the duke of Gloucester's opposition, caused the restitution to be deferred, till the present year; and, in February, Charles of Anjou, at the head of some troops, appeared before Mans, in order to take possession. The French affirm, that he besieged the city; and that the duke of Exeter, the governor, surrendered, by capitulation; but it is certain, that the duke of Exeter was not then in the place, nor was there any appearance of a siege.

Mans is delivered up to Charles of Anjou. Monstrelet. Act. Pub.

The

1448. The reſtitution was made, purſuant to an agreement between the two courts; and Henry ſent to Mans two commiſſioners, to deliver the city to the prince of Anjou. As he was entering, the two commiſſioners met him, upon the bridge, and, before a publick notary, made a formal proteſtation, declaring that the king of England's ſole deſign, in reſtoring that place, was to procure a final peace between him and Charles, his uncle, and only during the truce; moreover, he reſerved to himſelf the ſovereignty of the city and province; and, in caſe of any attempt upon his right to this ſovereignty, a power to revoke the ceſſion, without injuring his honour. Charles of Anjou did not approve of this proteſtation; but he took poſſeſſion of the place.

The truce is prolonged. Act. Pub.

After the ſurrender of Mans to the French, the negotiations for a peace, and the interview of the two kings, were continued; but, on account of ſome difficulties, the truce was farther prolonged to the 1ſt of April, in 1449; but an unforeſeen accident put an end to it, ſooner than was expected.

Surienne ſurpriſes Fougeres.

About the middle of this year, Surienne, an Arragonian, who had ſerved the king of England, 20 years, and was a knight of the garter, and governor of lower Normandy, ſcaled, in the night, the town of Fougeres, belonging to the duke of Bretagne, and took a great booty; upon which, the duke of Bretagne ſent a herald to the duke of Somerſet, then at Roan, and demanded the reſtitution of the place, with all the plunder; and the regent anſwered, that he was exceedingly diſpleaſed with this action, and he would give him all the ſatisfaction he could reaſonably deſire.

In the mean while, as it would require ſome time, to be fully informed of this affair, and to notify it to the court of England, the duke of Bretagne complained to the king of France of the truce, in which Bretagne was expreſly included; who, his affairs being in a good ſituation, and thoſe of the Engliſh in great diſorder, took fire at this news, as if the injury had been done to himſelf; and yet, if we look back on the duke of Bretagne's conduct, during the whole former war, we ſhall find, that Charles had no great cauſe to be ſatisfied with that houſe. However, perceiving it to be a fair opportunity, to renew the war, whilſt the Engliſh were unprepared, he ſent a gentleman to the duke of Somerſet, and two ambaſſadors to London, to demand reparation for this inſult; but, at the ſame time, to render it impracticable, he inſiſted on the payment of 1600,000 crowns to the duke of Bretagne, for the damages ſuſtained by the taking of Fougeres; which ſum was ſo exorbitant, that it muſt not be thought ſurpriſing, if the court of England refuſed to pay it down; moreover, it was almoſt impoſſible, that, in ſo ſhort a time, a juſt eſtimate could be made of the damages done by the Engliſh. It was alſo very ſtrange, that Charles ſhould ſo eagerly eſpouſe the duke of Bretagne's quarrel, who was not included in the truce, as his ally, but rather as a neutral prince who had often been mediator between the two kings. However, the ambaſſadors were told, that the king would take care to indemnify the duke, as ſoon as it was known, what his loſs might amount to; and, if Charles would ſend ambaſſadors to Louviers, the king of England would do the like, to ſettle all things to the common ſatisfaction of the two kings and the duke of Bretagne. 1448.

The conference, at Louviers, Hall.

At this congreſs, at Louviers, the Engliſh repreſented, that the taking of Fougeres was, without orders, and unknown to the regent; and they alſo expoſtulated againſt the ſum demanded, as highly unreaſonable; but the French roundly replied, that unleſs the duke received the ſatisfaction their maſter demanded, he would conſider the refuſal of it, as a violation of the truce. This haughty and peremptory way of negotiating, on Charles's part, aſtoniſhed the Engliſh; but, the French perſiſting in their firſt propoſition, the conference borke up, without any effect.

Charles ſeeks occaſion to renew the war. Hall.

So intent was Charles upon renewing the war, during the indolence of the Engliſh, that, if the Engliſh ſhould reſolve to give the ſatisfaction required, he had another pretence for a rupture; pretending that they had violated the truce with Scotland, and he was obliged to undertake the cauſe of the Scots. Indeed, there had been a conflict between the Engliſh and Scots; wherein the Engliſh had been defeated; and Buchanan makes it a pitched battle, affirming that the Engliſh loſt 3000 men; yet this affair does not appear to have been of ſo great conſequence, ſince it was preſently ſuppreſſed. This year, the two nations renewed their truce, without fixing the time of its continuance; only it was agreed, that, which of the two kings ſhould deſire to break it, he ſhould give the other notice, ſo long beforehand; however, king James had not deſired Charles, to interpoſe in this quarrel, and, conſequently, it is manifeſt, that Charles ſought an occaſion of rupture.

1449. The imprudence of the council of England.

Whilſt Charles was preparing for a war, he amuſed the Engliſh with fruitleſs negotiations; and the court of England's imprudence, at this juncture, is very amazing; for they knew neither, how to preſerve the truce, nor make preparations for war. To avoid a rupture, they ſhould, at leaſt, have reſtored Fougeres to the duke of Bretagne, with the promiſe of a reparation of all damages; but they kept the place, without uſing any effectual endeavours, to appeaſe that incenſed prince. The council, who took more care to introduce the queen's and the duke of Suffolk's creatures, than perſons qualified to manage the publick affairs, ſeemed to be ſeized with a ſpirit of inconſideration; and one would have imagined, that the queen, being without iſſue, was in a plot with the king's enemies, to deprive him of all he ſtill poſſeſſed, in France. If ſhe, and her favourites and miniſters, or even the whole council, had ſuch a deſign, they were but too ſucceſsful; but, however that be, the faults they committed, on this occaſion, are only to be excuſed, from the conſideration of Charles's haughtineſs, who rendered an agreement impracticable; yet, at the ſame time, they ſhould have prepared for their defence.

As

1449. As ſoon as Charles was in a condition to renew the war, he cauſed the caſtle of Conches, and Pont de l' Arche, in Normandy, and alſo Gerberoy, in Beauvoiſis, Cognac and St. Maigrine in Guienne, to be ſurpriſed, in the name of the duke of Bretagne. The Engliſh complained, in their turn, of the violation of the truce; but they were told, that it was by way of reprizals for Fougeres. Thus, the war was rekindled, when it was diſadvantageous to the Engliſh; for, as they were unprepared, the duke of Somerſet, regent of France, wanted forces, when he had moſt occaſion for them. Charles had, therefore, free ſcope to puſh his conqueſts; which renders it improbable, that the ſurprize of Fougeres was unknown to the court of England. It muſt otherwiſe be thought, that either the miniſters had loſt their ſenſes, in not providing for the ſupport of their enterprize, or had among them traytors, who, by this means, intended to re-engage the Engliſh in war, before they were ready; doubtleſs, when it is conſidered, that the court was ſo remiſs to ſatisfy the duke of Bretagne, and to prepare for war, it is hard to know, what judgment to paſs on ſuch a conduct.

Charles ſurpriſes ſeveral places of the Engliſh. Monſtrelet.

Charles's principal deſign was to recover Normandy, and, with this view, he had prepared four armies; a plain demonſtration, that he did not deſire, that the affair of Fougeres ſhould end in an agreement. The firſt of theſe armies was headed by himſelf; the earl of Dunois, lately made earl of Longueville, and generaliſſimo of the kings forces, under the conſtable, commanded the ſecond; the duke of Alenſon had the command of the third; and the duke of Bretagne, of the fourth, entirely conſiſting of his own troops. All the towns of Normandy were ill ſupplied with men and ammunition; and moſt of the governors, depending upon the truce, were gone to England; ſo that the French armies eaſily recovered moſt of the towns. Several places ſurrendered, even without an attack; ſome, taking arms, expelled the Engliſh garriſons; and others were ſold by the commanding officers. Pont Audemer and Chateau-Galliard were the only places, that made a tolerable defence; and, in a word, without a needleſs detail of all the ſieges, whether real, or feigned, it is ſufficient to ſay, that, before the campaign was ended, Charles was able to beſiege Roan, where he had friends. Having aſſembled all his forces, making 50,000 men, he ordered the capital of Normandy to be inveſted, the 8th of October; but he would not form a regular ſiege, being well aſſured, that the duke of Somerſet and the earl of Shrewſbury, ſhut up there, with only 3000 men, were unable to defend themſelves againſt the inhabitants, who had promiſed to riſe, in his favour; and, indeed, within a few days, the earl of Dunois was going to be introduced, at St. Hilary's gate, with 300 men, if the earl of Shrewsbury had not come very ſeaſonably, and repulſed that detachment.

He acts againſt Normandy with four armies. Monſtrelet.

The inhabitants, in ſpite of this diſappointment, perſiſted in their reſolution; and, on the 19th of October, the whole city riſing in arms, all, that the duke of Somerſet could do, was to diſtribute his garriſon, in ſome of the moſt advantageous poſts; but the French quickly forced all theſe poſts, ſword in hand. There was only the palace left, where the duke of Somerſet and the earl of Shrewsbury were, with 800 men; who foreſeeing that they ſhould ſoon be in want of proviſions, the duke deſired an interview with the king, in order to capitulate; which being granted, he offered to retire, upon honourable terms. The king inſiſted upon his ſurrrendering, at diſcretion, unleſs he would treat, for the reſt of Normandy; but, as this point could not be adjuſted, the duke returned to the palace, and held out, 10 or 12 days longer; tho', at laſt, he was conſtrained to capitulate, on condition of leaving all his artillery, paying 50,000 crowns of gold, and delivering to the king Caudebec, Arques, Lillebonne, Tancarville, Montravilliers, and Harfleur. The earl of Shrewsbury was left, in hoſtage, for the performance of this engagement; and, the Engliſh garriſon marching out of Roan, Charles made his entry, on the 19th of November. The governor of Harfleur refuſing to comply with this capitulation, the earl of Longueville was detached by the king, to beſiege that place, which ſurrendered, the beginning of January; yet, tho' Charles might, in juſtice, have detained the earl of Shrewsbury, ſince the capitulation of Roan was not fully obſerved by the Engliſh, he releaſed him, as a mark of his eſteem, without a ranſom. In the interim, the earl of Foix, commander, in Guienne, for king Charles, took the caſtle of Mauleon, ſtanding upon an inacceſſible rock; and, thus, ended the firſt campaign, which proved ſo fatal to the Engliſh.

1449. The citizens of Roan open the gates to the French. Monſtrelet.

The court of England was not only concerned for the ill poſture of affairs, in France, but a rebellion, raiſed in Ireland, at the ſame time, increaſed their uneaſineſs; yet the queen and the duke of Suffolk reaped ſome advantage, by theſe commotions, as they afforded them a pretence, to remove the duke of York. This prince, being a trouble to them, was ſent into Ireland, under colour of being the moſt proper perſon, to ſuppreſs the rebellion; but with ſo few troops, that it was hoped, he would either periſh, in the attempt, or forfeit his reputation. The duke, perceiving their deſign, wiſely turned againſt themſelves the artifice they uſed for his ruin; and he ſo managed, that, by his mild and gentle behaviour, he won the Iriſh, and reſtored them to their duty, without compulſive methods; nay, thenceforward, they were always attached to the ſervice of himſelf and family, even in the midſt of his greateſt misfortunes.

A rebellion in Ireland.

The univerſal confuſion of the affairs of France, the negligence of the court, in that reſpect, and the loſs of almoſt all Normandy, in a ſingle campaign, the conqueſt whereof had coſt ſo much blood, began, at length, openly to provoke the impatient temper of the Engliſh; and the whole kingdom rung with complaints againſt the duke of Suffolk. It was publickly

1450. The complaints of the people againſt the duke of Suffolk and the queen.

1450. publickly ſaid, that he had betrayed the ſtate; and that Maine, the key of Normandy, was reſigned to the French, for the accompliſhment of a marriage, beneficial to none but himſelf; and he was accuſed of being the chief author of the duke of Glouceſter's death, leſt that diſcerning prince ſhould ſee through his treaſonable practices. It was complained, that there were few perſons of parts, and ſtill fewer of virtue, in the council; that, on the contrary, the board was filled with vicious counſellors, without principles of honour, or conſcience, that they might be entirely devoted to the will of the queen, and her miniſter; and that it was the ſame thing, with reſpect to thoſe in the publick poſts, in whom honeſty and capacity were not ſo much required, as an attachment to the miniſtry. It was likewiſe ſaid, that the queen governed, with inſupportable haughtineſs, a free nation, and which had never ſuffered a deſpotick power; and it was added, that the uſurpation of ſuch a power was intolerable, even in a king, much leſs in a foreign queen. It was farther obſerved, that, by degrees, ſhe had turned out of the council all thoſe that gave her any umbrage, in order to ſubſtitute ſuch as were at her devotion; being altogether regardleſs, whether they were qualified for ſo high an employment.

The parliament meets. Cotton.

Thus, were the people diſpoſed, when the parliament met, the beginning of the year 1450. The court wanted a ſubſidy, to enable them to reſtore the affairs of France; or elſe muſt entirely abandon them, and ſo give their enemies a farther advantage againſt them. The queen ſoon perceived, that a general diſcontent had ſeized the very members of parliament; and ſhe judged, that it would be more advantageous to remove the parliament to Leiceſter, where ſhe expected to have a greater ſway, than at London, of whoſe inhabitants ſhe was jealous; but ſhe was ſo vigorouſly oppoſed by the lords, that ſhe was obliged to deſiſt; and, in all probability, ſomething was feared like what had paſſed, at St. Edmund's-bury, with reſpect to the duke of Glouceſter.

Upon the meeting of the parliament, the commons preſented to the lords an indictment againſt the earl of Suffolk, containing the following articles:

Articles of impeachment againſt Suffolk. Cotton.

I. That the duke of Suffolk had treated with the baſtard of Orleans, and the other French ambaſſadors, to perſuade king Charles to invade England; that he might place his ſon on the throne, whom he deſigned to marry with Margaret, only daughter to John, duke of Somerſet.

II. That, bribed by the French, he had releaſed the duke of Orleans, againſt the expreſs orders of the late king.

III. That Normandy was invaded, by his means and advice.

IV. That, whilſt an ambaſſador, in France, he engaged to ſurrender Maine to the French, without the conſent of the other ambaſſadors, and drew the king and council to confirm his engagement.

V. That he had informed the enemies, of the weakneſs of the Engliſh towns, in France, and encouraged them to aſſault them. 1450.

VI. That he had betrayed the ſecrets of the council to the enemies of the ſtate.

VII. That he had hindered the concluſion of a peace, by diſcovering the weakneſs of England.

VIII. That he had boaſted, in the hearing of ſeveral lords, that his credit, at the French court, was no leſs, than at the Engliſh.

IX. That he had obſtructed the ſending of ſuccours to France, that the enemies might make the greater progreſs.

X. That he had included, in the treaty of truce, neither the king of Arragon, nor the duke of Bretagne; by which affected neglect, England had loſt their alliance.

The duke's defence.

The duke of Suffolk anſwered theſe accuſations, by a formal denial of the greateſt part, and required the proofs; but, as to the articles which he owned, he produced the king's expreſs orders; tho' that was not a ſufficient vindication, ſince his principal crime was the abuſe of his credit with the king, and his impoſing upon the council. Hiſtorians remark, that he cleared himſelf from all, except the laſt article, relating to the duke of Bretagne. Indeed, it is certain, in the firſt treaty of truce concluded, at Tours, and in ſeveral treaties to prolong it, the duke of Bretagne was included only by France; but this is a myſtery, that it is extremely difficult to unravel. The duke of Bedford obliged the duke of Bretagne to abandon Charles, and acknowledge Henry, for king of France; ſince that time, there had been no rupture between England and Bretagne; and yet Charles took care to comprize the duke of Bretagne in the treaty of truce, concluded at Tours, tho' he is not ſo much as mentioned by the Engliſh. Was it through negligence, forgetfulneſs, or with deſign? The laſt is the moſt probable. However, the duke of Suffolk had, in ſome degree, repaired this error, by including the duke of Bretagne, as an ally of England, in the prolongation of the truce, in 1447, as appears from the Collection of the Publick Acts; but that was not, enough, it ſeems, to ſatisfy enemies.

The queen, ſeeing the ill ſituation of the duke's affairs, ſo managed, that the king ſent him to the tower, not ſo much with an intent to puniſh him, as to give ſome appearance of ſatisfaction to the commons; and, in the interim, leſt they ſhould perſiſt in their proſecution, ſhe cauſed the parliament to be adjourned to Leiceſter. Preſently after, the duke came out of the tower, and reſumed his old poſt, at court; and the news of his enlargement raiſed a ſedition, in Kent, headed by a fuller; but, before the rebels could make any conſiderable attempt, the ring-leaders were apprehended and executed, and, by that means, the ſedition was ſtifled, in its birth.

A ſedition in Kent.

The parliament being re-aſſembled, at Leiceſter, the king and queen appeared, attended by the duke of Suffolk, as their prime miniſter; but the commons were extremely

1250. offended, at this proceeding, which they conſidered, as a bravado; and they went, in a body, and petitioned the king, that the perſons concerned, in delivering Normandy to the French, might be puniſhed, according to their deſerts. This petition alarmed the queen; who perceived, that the commons were intent upon the duke of Suffolk's ruin, and that it was impoſſible to prevent it, without coming to an open rupture with the lower-houſe; wherefore, to ſave the miniſter a part of the puniſhment which, probably, was deſigned him, ſhe reſolved to prevent a formal ſentence, which could not but have been very ſevere, in the preſent juncture. A few days after, the king baniſhed the duke, for five years, and removed all his creatures; and the duke, apprehending this exile to be a proper means, to ſecure him from the fury of the people, ſpeedily embarqued for France; but he could not avoid his deſtiny. He was met, in his paſſage, by an Engliſh ſhip, called the Nicholas; and the captain, ſearching the duke's veſſel, and finding him there, ordered his head to be ſtruck off, without any farther ceremony. Thus, fell William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, who, a few days before, was the greateſt and moſt potent perſon, in England. It is uncertain, whether he was guilty of all the crimes, the commons laid to his charge; but it cannot be denied, that the diſaſters, which, ſucceſſively, happened to the affairs of the Engliſh, in France, were the effects of his ill conduct; if it be true, that they are not to be conſidered, as the conſequences of a plot, formed to deprive the king of all his conqueſts, in France.

The duke of Suffolk is beheaded, in his paſſage to France. April. Hall.

By the duke of Suffolk's death, the duke of York was freed from a powerful enemy; who, being attached to the houſe of Lancaſter, would, queſtionleſs, have vigorouſly oppoſed the execution of his deſigns. Tho' this prince was, in Ireland, his friends effectually ſerved him, in England, by extolling his merit, and repreſenting to the people the king's incapacity, and the queen's male-adminiſtration; and theſe diſcourſes, together with the entire loſs of Normandy, which fell out, at the ſame time, daily augmented the number of the duke's adherents. He had perfect intelligence of what paſſed; but, unwilling to hazard himſelf, to no purpoſe, he deviſed an expedient, which he judged proper, in order to ſound the people's inclinations. By his inſtigation, Jack Cade, an Iriſhman, aſſumed the name of John Mortimer, of the houſe of Marche, executed in the beginning of this reign; and, under this fictitious name, he repaired into Kent, where the duke of York had a good intereſt, and drew together great numbers of malecontents, under the pretence of its being neceſſary to reform the government, and eaſe the people; but ſuch was the general diſaffection of the nation, with reſpect to the court, that, in a few days, Cade found himſelf in a condition to incamp on Black-Heath, near London.

The duke of York aſpires to the crown. Hall. Biondi.

Jack Cade's inſurrection in Kent. Hall.

The king, hearing of the approach of the rebels, ſent to know the reaſon of their appearing in arms. Cade anſwered for all, that they had no ill deſign againſt the king's perſon; that their intent was, to petition the parliament, that the evil miniſters might be puniſhed, and the people rendered more happy than of late; and, a few days after, they preſented to the parliament two petitions, ſetting forth the grievances of the nation. Among other things, they prayed, that the duke of Somerſet might be puniſhed, ſince he was the principal author of the loſs of Normandy; and that the king's council might be filled with the princes of the blood, and other prudent and penetrating perſons, and not with vicious and profligate men, of ill principles and manners, and incapable of managing the affairs of the ſtate. Theſe petitions being communicated to the king, the council condemned them, as ſeditious, and reſolved to ſuppreſs the rebellion, by force of arms; upon which, the the king, aſſembling a body of 15000 men, headed them himſelf, and marched againſt the rebels. Henry approaching, Cade, as if he was afraid, retired, and lay in ambuſh in a wood, near Sevenoak, not doubting but the king would purſue him; but Henry, fancying that the rebels were diſperſed, returned to London, being contented with ſending after them a detachment of his army, commanded by Sir Humphrey Stafford; which, falling into the ambuſh, were cut in pieces, and the commander himſelf loſt his life, in the fight. 1450.

He preſents two petitions to the parliament. Hall. Stow.

At the ſame time, Cade marched towards London, whilſt the king and the whole court haſtily retired to Kenelworth-caſtle, leaving a garriſon in the tower, under the command of the lord Scales; and his ſucceſs againſt Stafford increaſed his army with multitudes, who flocked from all parts, to join him. The city of London opened her gates to the rebels; and Cade entered, as it were, in triumph, at the head of his troops; but he prohibited, under rigorous penalties, the offering any injury to the inhabitants. Next day, hearing that the lord Say, high-treaſurer, was in the city, he ordered him to be apprehended, and beheaded; and towards the evening, he retired to Southwark, and continued, for ſome days, to enter the city, in the morning, and go out again, at night, on purpoſe to remove from the citizens all occaſion of fear.

Cade is let into London. Stow.

He beheads the high-treaſurer.

Cade's ſoldiers and the Londoners lived, at firſt, very friendly together; but at laſt, the former committing ſome riot in the city, when they would have entered, according to cuſtom, in the morning, they found the bridge-gate ſhut againſt them; upon which, a battle enſued, between them and the citizens, which laſted, all day, and ended, at the approach of night, by a ceſſation of arms, till the morrow. In the interim, the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the chancellor, who ſecured themſelves in the tower, obſerving, by their ſpies and the proceedings of the rebels, that they began to be diſpirited, inſtantly drew up a general pardon, put the great ſeal to it, and cauſed it to be proclaimed, in the night, in Southwark; which produced ſuch a ſudden and ſurpriſing effect, that, before day, Cade was

1450. was deſerted by his followers, and forced to fly, alone, and conceal himſelf, in the county of Suſſex, but the king promiſing, by proclamation, 5000 marks to any perſon that ſhould bring him dead, or alive, he was ſlain, in his retreat, by Alexander Iden, a gentleman of Kent, who brought his body to London. Notwithſtanding the pardon, under the great ſeal, many of his acomplices were executed; and, thus, ended this dangerous rebellion, which might have been attended with more fatal conſequences, had it been conducted by a more experienced leader.

Cade is deſerted, and ſlain Act. Pub.

In the mean while, the war was carried on, in Normendy, but ſtill to the diſadvantage of the Engliſh; but the queen, perceiving that the people's diſcontent partly proceeded from the ill ſucceſs of the affairs of France, had ſent 1500 men to the duke of Somerſet, under Sir Thomas Kiriel, who landed, at Cherburg. His intent was to lead his troops to Caen, where the duke of Somerſet then was; but, it being dangerous to march with ſo ſmall a body he was joined upon the road by ſeveral detachments of the Engliſh garriſons. The French authors affirm, that, by this junction, the Engliſh army amounted to 5000 men, but this is very improbable. However that be, the conſtable Richemont, being informed of Kiriel's deſign, ſpeedily drew together a body of 7000 men, and expected him, at Fourmigni, through which he was to paſs. The two armies engaging, the Engliſh, tho' leaſt numerous, long defended themſelves, with undaunted bravery; but, at length, they were put to rout, and their general taken priſoner. Upon comparing this battle, with a certain prediction of the Maid of Orleans, that the Engliſh ſhould be entirely expelled the kingdom, by a defeat, much greater than thoſe of Orleans and Patay, one is apt to conclude, ſhe was not perfectly inſpired; for in the battle of Fourmigni, the only one, ſince Joans death, the Engliſh, even according to their enemies, were, at moſt, but 5000, and loſt only 1500; tho' for the ſake of the prophecy, the French hiſtorians talk of the battle of Fourmigni, in very lofty terms, comparing it to the moſt memorable engagements

The continuation of the war in Normandy.

Kiriel's reinforcement being defeated, the duke of Somerſet could no longer withſtand the victorious arms of the French; but it is needleſs to give a particular account of the ſieges carried on by the French, in this ſecond campaign; ſince it is ſufficient to ſay, in a word, that, about the middle of Auguſt, Charles became maſter of all Normandy. The city of Caen was inveſted, the 4th of June; and, the 21ſt, the duke of Somerſet capitulated, contrary to the opinion of ſome of the officers, who maintained that he did it too ſoon. Falaiſe, Domfront, and Cherburg were beſieged, at once; and the campaign ended in Normandy, with the taking of Cherburg, which ſurrendered, the 12th of Auguſt. Thus, in two campaigns Charles reduced the whole province, not ſo much as a ſingle town remaining in the hands of the Engliſh.

Charles compleats the conqueſt of Normandy.

The parliament met, at Weſtminiſter, the 6th of November; and, about the ſame time, the duke of Somerſet, having nothing more to do, in France, returned into England. He was blamed, for the loſs of Normandy, and particularly of Caen, where he was accuſed of having failed in his duty. Theſe complaints were ſo publickly made, that the commons could not avoid taking notice of them; who petitioned the king, to ſend the duke of Somerſet to the tower, that his conduct might be examined. Henry, unwilling to diſoblige the commons, at ſuch a juncture, granted their requeſt; and the populace of London were ſo tranſported with joy, at the news of the duke's being in the tower, that they, immediately, roſe and plundered his palace. They would have proceeded farther, if the king had not ſpeedily iſſued out a proclamation to diſperſe them; nevertheleſs, ſome of the moſt audacious continued the tumult, till one of the moſt inſolent was beheaded. The parliament was no ſooner broke up, than the duke of Somerſet was releaſed; who aſſumed, at court, the poſt enjoyed by the duke of Suffolk. 1450.

If the Engliſh were unable to prevent the loſs of Normandy, they were ſtill leſs in a condition to defend Guienne, which was more remote; and king Charles, improving the preſent opportunity, had now ſent his troops into that province, where, this very year, his generals took Bergerac, Genſac, Montferrand, Chalais, and St. Foi, which made but a very faint reſiſtance; but the ſeaſon, being very far advanced, hindered them from purſuing their conqueſts.

Charles takes ſeveral places in Guienne. Monſtrelet.

During the winter, the earl of Orval, of the houſe of Albret, making inroads, to the very gates of Bourdeaux, the mayor ſallied out with 10,000 men, to attack him; but, how inferior ſoever Orval might be, in number of troops, he defeated this undiſciplin'd militia, ſlew a great part of them, and took many priſoners.

The earl of Orval beats the trained bands of Bourdeaux. Monſtrelet.

In April, 1451, the army of France, commanded by the baſtard of Orleans, earl of Dunois and Longueville, was 40,000 ſtrong; who ſoon became maſter of Montguion, in Xaintonge; and, May the 16th, he laid ſiege to Blaye, and carried it, the 21ſt. There was not only no Engliſh army in the field, but not even the leaſt appearance, that the court of England effectually thought of defending Guienne; and the French general, taking the advantage of this juncture, divided his army into four bodies, the moſt conſiderable of which he commanded himſelf. He gave the command of the other three to the earls of Foix, Pontievre, and Armagnac; and all theſe generals very eaſily made ſeveral conqueſts. Libourn, Caſtillon, Dacs, Rioure, and Bourg ſurrendered, in a ſhort time; and Fronſac, the ſtrongeſt place of the province, held out, only three days; however, the caſtle made a brave defence. 1451.

1451. The great progreſs of the French, in Guienne. Monſtrelet.

The inhabitants of Guienne finding themſelves, thus, abandoned by the king of England, thought it time to provide for their ſafety; and, the ſtates of the province, being aſſembled,

Bourdeaux and the reſt of Guienne treat with Charles.

1451. aſſembled, at Bourdeaux, in June, reſolved voluntarily to ſubmit to king Charles, to avoid their utter deſtruction. Accordingly, they concluded, with the earl of Dunois, a treaty, promiſing to own the ſovereignty of the king of France, if, before the 24th of the ſame month, they were not relieved by an army, able to give battle. The French general ran no riſque, in granting this condition, being well aſſured, that no preparations were made, in England, for the aſſiſtance of Guienne; and, the army not appearing, all the towns of the duchy opened their gates to the French, except Bayonne, which refuſed to be included in the treaty. This place, the only one the Engliſh had left, was inveſted, the 6th of Auguſt; and, the breach being large enough, on the 19th, the beſiegers were preparing to ſtorm; but the inhabitants ſaved them the the trouble, by riſing in arms, and obliging the garriſon to come to a capitulation. The French hiſtorians affirm, that a white croſs was ſeen in the air, juſt over the town; an evident ſign of God's protection to France.

The court's uneaſineſs, with reſpect to the duke of York.

Whilſt the court of England careleſly ſuffered Guienne to be loſt, they grew extremely uneaſy, with reſpect to the duke of York; for, as, in the Kentiſh rebellion, Jack Cade aſſumed the name of Mortimer, it was evident, that his intent was to ſound the people's inclination to the houſe of Marche; and conſequently, that he was encouraged by the duke of York, the ſole heir of that family. Indeed, the thing was palpable; but there was no evidence, to convict the duke, becauſe Cade was ſlain; moreover, as the people were diſpoſed, with regard to the court, they would infallibly have joined with the duke of York, if, by being publickly attacked, he had been forced to ſtand upon his defence. In the interim, as he was ſuſpected of forming ſome plot, in Ireland, and of deſigning to bring an army of Iriſh into England, the king ſent orders to the ſheriffs of Wales, Shropſhire, and Cheſhire, to be in a readineſs to hinder his landing; which precaution produced ſeveral pernicious effects. Firſt of all, it demonſtrated, that the court was afraid of the duke of York, which it would have been prudent to conceal, leſt the people ſhould, from thence, take occaſion to inquire into the reaſon; and, in the next place, the duke found it was his buſineſs to be upon his guard; whereas, if the court had ſeemed ignorant of his deſigns, they might have drawn him into ſome ſnare, or given him room, to make ſome falſe ſtep, which would have given them an advantage. In fine, this furniſhed him with a pretence to complain, ſince he was ſo far from being convicted of any project againſt the king, that he had not taken any apparent ſtep, on which an accuſation could be grounded; and, accordingly, he wrote to the king, complaining of this ſuſpicion, which he repreſented, as extremely injurious, and as purely contrived to pave the way for his ruin. The king ſent him a very civil anſwer, giving him ſome ſort of ſatisfaction; but he did not revoke his orders.

Tho' Cade's enterprize had miſcarried, it anſwered the end the duke of York propoſed; 1451. for by it he diſcovered, how much the nation was diſpleaſed with the queen and the miniſtry; and that the memory of the rights of the houſe of Marche was not entirely aboliſhed. He judged, that, if the bare ſhadow of one of his family was capable of cauſing ſo great a multitude take up arms, much more would the people be attached to a prince of the blood-royal, the ſole heir of this houſe; but, in the interim, not to be too haſty, in the execution of a project of ſuch conſequence, he reſolved, before any thing was attempted, to conſult his friends. The time of his government of Ireland being expired, he embarqued for England; but, when he would have landed, in Wales, he found, at the port, the militia in arms ready to oppoſe him. He landed, however, at another place, which was not ſo ſtrongly guarded; and with the greater boldneſs, as he had only his own ſervants with him, and had, as yet, given his enemies no handle againſt him; after which, he repaired to London, from whence the court was gone, ſome time before, in progreſs to the weſtern counties.

He concerts meaſures with his friends. Biondi.

The duke of York was impatiently expected, at London; for his friends had often conferred together, in his abſence, but could not come to any reſolution, without him. His principal adherents were John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, Richard Nevil, earl of Salisbury, ſon-in-law to the general of that name, ſlain before Orleans, Richard Nevil, his ſon, who was, ſoon after, earl of Warwick, by his marriage with Ann Beauchamp, daughter to the earl of Warwick, who died, in France, Thomas Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, tho' brother-in-law to the duke of Somerſet, and Edward Brook, baron of Cobham; and with theſe lords the duke, immediately after his arrival, concerted meaſures, for the execution of his deſigns. The reſult of their conſultations was, that the duke ſhould retire into Wales, where the family of Marche had always had a great intereſt; that he ſhould privately be aſſured of ſeaſonably raiſing an army, by means of his friends; and that he ſhould then write to the king, to adverti ſe him of the people's diſlike of the miniſtry, and particularly of the duke of Somerſet.

He retires into Wales and writes to the king to reform the government. Stow.

Purſuant to this reſolution, the duke, repairing into Wales, having previouſly taken all proper ſteps, wrote to the king, "That "the whole nation was diſſatisfied, becauſe "traytors were ſcreened from juſtice; and "that he took the freedom to adviſe him, to "prevent the dangerous conſequences of ſuch "a general diſcontent: That the ſpeedieſt "means was to give orders for the trial of "the guilty, and particularly the duke of "Somerſet, who, tho' impeached by the "commons, was reſtored to favour, without "any examination; and, in fine, that, if he "would give the nation this ſatisfaction, he "offered to aſſiſt, in the accompliſhment of "ſo good a deſign." The miniſtry evidently perceived, that the duke of York ſought an occaſion of quarrel; but, as, in their preſent ſituation,

1451. situation, they durſt not act imperiouſly, it was judged adviſable for the king, to ſend the duke a civil anſwer, which would diſappoint him of the pretence he wanted. Accordingly, the king, in his letter, told him, that he had reſolved, ſome time ſince, to reform all abuſes in the government; and intended to appoint a certain number of virtuous and able counſellors, of whom he was deſigned to be one: That, as for the traytors mentioned, in his letter, he did not mean to let them paſs, with impunity; but the affair, being of very great conſequence, required mature deliberation; and that, as for the duke of Somerſet, in particular, he ſhould not be excuſed from anſwering the accuſations laid to his charge.

1452. The duke marches to London with an army. Hall. Stow.

Tho' this anſwer deprived the duke of York of all pretence to take up arms; yet he imagined that the king's bare refuſal to remove, or puniſh, the miniſters complained of, was a ſufficient warrant. He did not expect ſo mild an anſwer; and, as he had raiſed an army, he determined, not to ſuffer himſelf to be decoyed by a moderation, which might be as well feigned as real; and, therefore, putting himſelf, at the head of his army, he marched towards London; but he found, that the queen had not been ſo remiſs, as he expected. Upon notice of the duke's retiring into Wales, ſhe had ordered troops to be levied, in the king's name, without diſcovering her intentions; ſo that the duke was no ſooner on his march, than he heard the king was advancing, to give him battle. Tho' he wanted neither valour, nor experience, he thought it imprudent to hazard a battle with the king, without a more plauſible pretence than he had, at preſent. His intent was to gain the people; but to fight the king, without a more ſpecious reaſon, was not the way to compaſs his ends, tho' he could even have been ſure of proving victorious. Beſides, conſidering the city of London, as able to incline the balance to his ſide, he believed, that, before all things, he ought to ſecure this metropolis; wherefore, when he found, that the king was coming againſt him, he, on a ſudden, altered his rout, and, by ſpeedy marches, got before him, and appeared before London, where he expected to be received with open arms; but he had the mortification to find the gates ſhut, the inhabitants not thinking it expedient to declare for him, whilſt the king was ſo cloſely purſuing him with a more powerful army. He was forced, therefore, to paſs the Thames, at Kingſton, and encamp, on Burnt-Heath, 12 miles from London; and the king, following him, marched over London-bridge, and encamped, about four miles from him.

The two armies being ſo near each other, that nothing could prevent an engagement, the king ſent two biſhops to the duke, to know the cauſe of his appearing in arms; and, as his hopes of gaining London were defeated, he ſhewed ſome regard for the court, leſt he ſhould ruin his affairs, by haſty reſolutions. He replied, that he never had entertained the leaſt thoughts of revolting from the king, but that his ſole intent was to remove from his perſon evil counſellors, of whom the duke of Somerſet was the chief; and that, if the king would impriſon him, till he ſhould, in parliament, anſwer to the accuſations againſt him, he would diſmiſs his troops. He did not expect, that his demand would be granted, ſince the king and queen were ſolely directed by the counſels of him, who was moſt concerned to have it rejected; hoping, by this means to, throw all the blame on the court, and demonſtrate to the people, that the miniſtry did not ſcruple to expoſe the kingdom to a civil war, for the ſake of a man whom the nation ſo extremely deteſted; but, for once, he was the dupe of his own policy. The king took him at his word, promiſed to ſend his enemy to the tower, and even ordered him to be, forthwith, arreſted; and the duke of York was ſurpriſed at his condeſcenſion. He could have heartily wiſhed to recede from his engagement; but, as this would lay himſelf too open, he believed, that he ſhould run ſome riſque, rather than hazard the loſs of the people's affection, which was the foundation of all his expectations; wherefore, he, immediately, disbanded his troops and came to court, not vouchſafing even to take any precaution for his ſafety. When he was in the king's preſence, he accuſed the duke of Somerſet, with great warmth, and attempted to perſuade the king, that he was a traytor, and had ſacrificed the welfare of the kingdom to his avarice and ambition. Upon theſe words, the duke of Somerſet, who was concealed, behind the hangings, ſuddenly appeared, to anſwer him, and accuſed him of conſpiring to dethrone the king; but the duke of York, ſeeing his enemy before him, and in the king's apartment, whom he imagined to be in ſafe cuſtody, found he was amuſed, and perceived his danger. Nevertheleſs, without diſcovering any concern, he modeſtly complained of the king's breach of promiſe, by the ſuggeſtions of the duke of Somerſet, on whom he charged the baſeneſs of this fraud; upon which, the king diſmiſſed the duke of York, and ordered him to be apprehended, as ſoon as he was out of his preſence.

1452.

The duke of York is apprehended.

If the duke of York's enemies had dared to gratify their reſentment, he would never have eſcaped from the ſnare, into which he had imprudently fallen; but ſuch was the poſture of affairs, and the diſpoſition of the people, that they durſt not proceed againſt him. Two other reaſons alſo contributed to preſerve him; for it was rumoured, at court, that the young earl of Marche, his ſon, attended by all the adherents of his family, was advancing, with a powerful body of troops, to deliver his father; which would, probably, be joined by the duke's army, that was lately disbanded; and, on the other hand, the Gaſcoigns had ſent deputies to the king, to offer to reduce Guienne to his obedience, if he would ſend them ſupplies. At ſuch a juncture, it was believed, that, as the duke of York's blood could not be ſpilt, without involving the kingdom in a civil war, it would be neceſſary to detain the

1452. troops designed for the recovery of Guienne. These considerations prevailed on the queen and the duke of Somerset to release the duke of York, tho' their own, the king's, and the whole house of Lancaster's interest, required, that he should be sacrificed to their safety; and, perhaps, all the calamities, England afterwards suffered, might, have been, prevented by his death. However, as the queen and ministers were willing, by all possible means, to secure themselves against his designs, they obliged him to take an oath to the king, by which he swore to remain his faithful subject, during his life, and never to take up arms against him. Upon this, the duke of York retired to his castle of Wigmore; and the duke of Somerset enjoyed, without a rival, his authority, at court.

A quarrel between king Charles and the dauphin.

Whilst Henry was employed, at home, in opposing the duke of York, Charles had a no less enemy to encounter, in his own kingdom; for the dauphin, his son, a prince of a turbulent disposition, gave him the greatest uneasiness. He had, for some time past, resided, in Dauphine, where he acted, as sovereign, regardless of the king his father's orders; and he had even the rashness, to demand of the duke of Savoy his daughter, Violante, in marriage; who complied with his request, neither of them vouchsafing to acquaint the king with the matter. Charles, provoked at this proceeding, put himself at the head of 30,000 men, and marched towards Lyons, intent upon chastising his son, and punishing the duke of Savoy's presumption; but the revolution, that fell out, at the same time, in Guienne, caused him to take other measures.

The Gascoigns, who had been, for 300 years, without interruption, under the dominion of the kings of England, had submitted to king Charles, solely because they were neglected by the English; and no sooner had the French army quitted Guienne, than the lords of the country, in concert with the inhabitants of Bourdeaux, resolved to return to their antient sovereigns. With this view, they deputed the lords of Candale and l' Esparre, to contrive the means, at London; but the troubles, excited by the duke of York, had, for some time, hindered the court from attending to this affair; yet, when they were appeased, the queen and council, after mature deliberation, judged, that nothing should be neglected, to accomplish the enterprize; for they expected, that the success would redeem their credit, and gain them an interest with the people, which they wanted, to support themselves against their enemies. Talbot, the

Talbot is sent into Guienne.

valiant earl of Shrewsbury, being returned from a voyage into Italy, was chosen for this expedition; and, tho' he was 80 years old, he readily accepted an employment, which afforded him an opportunity, once more, before his death, to do his king and country a considerable service. As diligence was absolutely necessary, he embarqued what troops were ready, consisting of 700 men at arms, upon a promise that the rest, intended for him, should quickly follow; and, setting sail, the 18th of October, on the 21st, he landed, near Bourdeaux. On the morrow, he appeared, before the city; and, every thing being prepared to receive him, he was introduced, at a gate, of which the citizens had the guard. The French garrison, who had not heard of his arrival, surprised at this unexpected accident, would have retired at another gate, but were almost all taken. 1452.

He retakes several places, in Guienne. Monstrelet. Act. Pub.

The promised reinforcement arriving from England, a few days after, the earl of Shrewsbury took the field, at the head of 7000 men; and, with this little army, he reconquered some of the towns of Guienne, and, among others, Fronsac and Castillon, as rapidly as they were lost; and, if winter had not prevented him from pursuing his conquests, he would have rendered himself master of all Guienne.

1453. Charles, then at Lyons, upon this ill news, desisted from the execution of the design he had formed, the affair of Guienne appearing to him to be of greater importance; wherefore, he permitted the dauphin to marry the princess of Savoy, and gave one of his daughters in marriage to the young prince of Piedmont; and he resolved to send all his troops into Guienne, the following spring. In the interim, he dispatched before a body of 10,000 men, under the command of Chabanes, and the earl of Pontievre; and these generals, upon their arrival in Xaintonge, besieged Chalais and Castillon, whilst the earl of Clermont followed them, with the rest of the army designed for Guienne. Chabanes was taken up with the siege of Chalais, till June, after which, he joined Pontievre, before Castillon, which still made a vigorous defence; and the dread, inspired by the earl of Shrewsbury's valour add experience, made them use precaution seldom practised, in those days, of making lines, and defending the avenues of their camp with palisadoes.

The earl of Shrewsbury was, at Bourdeaux with 6 or 7000 men, in suspence, what course he should take, with respect to the siege; and he was desirous to relieve the place, but was afraid of encountering many difficulties, as well on account of the intrenchments, of the French, as of the superiority of their number. On the other hand, knowing that the earl of Clermont was advancing, with all expedition, he considered, that it must be done, before the arrival of these fresh troops, unless he would oppose all the forces of France; wherefore, leaving Bourdeaux, with his whole army, and approaching the French camp, he attacked them, with the same vigour, the English had shewn, at the battle of Azincourt, and on several other occasions; and he soon defeated 4000 men, commanded by Chabanes, without the intrenchments, drove them into the camp, and, in spite of the besiegers cannon, which swept away his men, by whole files, forced their lines, and entered with the flying troops. It is, thus, related by the English historians; but the French only say, that the lines were like to be forced, when the English were attacked, in the rear, by a body

Castillon is besieged. Hall.

1453. body of French horſe. This cooled their ardor, and obliged their general to diſcontinue the attack of the lines, and face thoſe that preſſed him behind; which motion gave the French an opportunity to draw all their troops out of the camp; ſo that the earl of Shrewſbury, who had not above 5000 men left, was reduced to the neceſſity of making two fronts, and withſtanding 10,000; and, at length, the Engliſh, being overpowered by numbers, began to give way. At the ſame time, the earl of Shrewsbury was wounded, in the thigh with a muſquet-ball, and his horſe killed under him; and, being unable to remount, by reaſon of his wound, he bid Sir John Talbot, his ſon, to retire, and ſave himſelf, for another occaſion, where he might be ſtill ſerviceable to his country; but Talbot, rather than baſely fly, choſe to die, by the earl, his father, who, preſently after, reſigned his laſt breath. The Engliſh loſt 2000 men; but their greateſt loſs was their general.

The end of the war, with France.

After this defeat, Caſtillon ſurrendered, the 16th of July; and, a few days after, the earl of Clermont being arrived, and the king come to the camp, the army was divided into four bodies, which, at once, beſieged Cadillac, Libourne, Fronſac, and Bourdeaux. Fronſac and Libourne reſiſted, only a few days; but the caſtle of Cadillac maintained a ſiege of two months. Upon the taking of this place, the whole army joined before Bourdeaux, which capitulated, the 17th of October; and the garriſon were permitted to return into England. Thus, of the many conqueſts made by the Engliſh, in France, ſince Edward III, there remained only Calais and Guiſnes; poor remains of ſo many provinces, ſeveral of which had belonged to their kings, by hereditary right; and the reſt were acquired by ſo many victories, and at the expence of ſo much blood!

Henry falls ſick. Act. Pub. The birth of Edward the king's ſon. Hall.

In the mean while, Henry was ſeized, at London, with a long and dangerous ſickneſs, inſomuch that his life was often deſpaired of; and the queen was delivered, on the 23d of October, of a prince, named Edward; who was inauſpiciouſly born, at the very time the Engliſh loſt all their poſſeſſions, in France. His birth occaſioned ſeveral reports, injurious to the queen's honour; for ſome even publickly ſaid, that he was not the king's ſon; and others maintained, that he was ſuppoſititious, becauſe the queen had never before been with child, tho' married nine years. In fine, ſome, without queſtioning the queen's honour, or honeſty, took occaſion, from this prince's birth, to hope well, for the future; and that becauſe the queen, having a ſon, would be more firmly attached to the intereſt of England, by this evidently intimating, what they thought of her former conduct.

Thomas Bourchier is archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Cardinal Kemp, tranſlated from the ſee of York to that of Canterbury, dying, this year, Thomas Bourchier, brother to the earl of Eſſex, was elected archbiſhop; who was a prelate of eminent merit, and was afterwards made chancellor, and then honoured with the dignity of cardinal.

1453. The civil war is renewed, in in England. Hall.

The war, in France, which had continued, 38 years, being over, the ſucceeding events of this reign conſiſt only of the quarrels, between the houſes of Lancaſter and York; the firſt of which had, for a device, a red, and the other a white, roſe; which devices, are famous, for the vaſt torrents of Engliſh blood, ſhed upon their account. The commotions, raiſed by the duke of York, ſeemed entirely ſuppreſſed, ſince his reconciliation with the king; but they were ſoon renewed, with ſo much greater fury, as the Engliſh were no longer diverted by a foreign war. I now proceed to give as brief an account, as poſſible, of the events occaſioned by the duke of York's pretenſions; which ended, at laſt, in the ruin of the king, and the whole houſe of Lancaſter.

The rights of the houſes of York and Lancaſter.

The duke of York had renewed his oath to the king; but it was only to free himſelf from the danger, in which his imprudence had involved him; for he was ſtill reſolutely bent to maintain his pretenſions, and take the advantage of the king's incapacity, and the people's diſaffection for the queen and her miniſters. If we conſider only the laws and cuſtoms of the realm, his title was indiſputable; for he was deſcended from the third ſon to Edward III, whereas Henry came only from the fourth ſon of the ſaid monarch. Indeed, it was by a daughter; but the Salick law did not take place, in England. On the contrary, in the reign of Richard II, Roger, earl of Marche, his grandfather, by the mother's ſide, was declared, by the parliament, the preſumptive heir to the crown, if Richard died, without iſſue; and, even ſince the houſe of Lancaſter was on the throne, the parliament, as was obſerved, in the reign of Henry IV, had confirmed, by a ſolemn act, the the right of the daughters and their deſcendants; and yet Henry VI. was not an uſurper. It was now above 50 years, ſince the houſe of Lancaſter had enjoyed the crown, by the authority of the parliament, who ſettled it on the family of Henry IV; ſo that the duke of York could only pretend to the crown, on the ſuppoſition, that the parliament had not power to alter the ſucceſſion. He could not, therefore, openly diſcover his intention, without directly attacking the privileges of the parliament, of which the Engliſh nation has ever been jealous; moreover, he ſtood in need of the parliament, to ſucceed in his deſign; but how could he hope to gain the parliament to his ſide, if he diſputed the validity of their acts? On the other hand, he was to break through a 50 years poſſeſſion, confirmed by the unanimous conſent of the people, and rendered ſtill more authentick by the glorious advantages, procured the nation by the late king Henry V.

His advantages.

Theſe obſtacles were ſufficient, to divert the duke of York from his enterprize, if the preſent conjunctures had not encouraged him to purſue it; for Henry was a prince unable, of himſelf, to oppoſe the duke's efforts againſt him; and, tho' he was not deteſted by the people, he was conſidered, as the ſhadow of a king,

1453. a king, who only lent his name to the queen and his miniſters. However, the ſole name of king would have kept the people in ſubjection to thoſe at the helm, had they not abuſed their power, as is too commonly the caſe of perſons, who are in the like ſtation. But the authority, uſurped by the queen and the duke of Somerſet, was not the only cauſe of the diſcontent of the Engliſh; for, when they reflected, that all the conqueſts of Henry V, and Guienne itſelf, which had been, for 300 years, under the dominion of England, were loſt, in a few years, they could not forbear throwing the blame upon thoſe, that governed, in the name of the king. Normandy was loſt, in two campaigns only, under the duke of Somerſet's regency, whilſt he was actually on the ſpot, to defend it; and he was alſo accuſed, of having been too haſty, in ſurrendering Caen. On the contrary, it was conſidered, that, during the regency of the duke of Glouceſter, the affairs of France were maintained, upon a tolerable footing; and yet, the queen, to gratify her paſſion, had diſpatched that prince, in a baſe and violent manner, which occaſioned all the ſubſequent loſſes. Thus, the king was looked upon, as a prince, incapable of retrieving the honour of the nation, and reſtoring the affairs of the kingdom; the queen as too well affected to France, and graſping at the ſole authority, in England; and the duke of Somerſet, as a rapacious miniſter, whoſe ſole ſtudy was to enrich himſelf, at the expence of the publick. It was farther, and loudly, complained, that, to maintain his authority, the duke filled the higheſt poſts with his creatures, without any regard to their merit and abilities; and this laſt article made a deep impreſſion on the minds of the people; who were incenſed, to ſee the council entirely conſiſt of vicious perſons, and all the places of the kingdom poſſeſſed by men of no principles; which gave occaſion to ſuſpect, that the queen's miniſtry intended to hinder religion, honour, virtue, and love of one's country, from inducing thoſe, that were in the publick poſts, to oppoſe the abuſes and diſorders, ſpread over the kingdom. This diſpoſition of the people, was ſo advantageous to the duke of York, that he judged it adviſable, not to act directly for himſelf, but, under the pretence of procuring the good of the people, to oblige the king to make uſe of other miniſters; for he was ſenſible, that if he could remove his enemies from the council, and introduce his creatures, it would be an eaſy matter to put his deſign in execution.

The earl of Salisbury and Warwick are the chief friends of the duke of York. Hall.

Such an undertaking could not be accompliſhed, without the aid of friends; and, therefore, he engaged ſeveral lords in his plot, ſome under colour of turning out the duke of Somerſet, who was generally hated and envied; and others, by diſcovering to them his moſt ſecret intentions. Among the latter, the two Nevils, father and ſon, were the chief; for the father, the earl of Salisbury, was remarkable for his virtues and conſummate prudence; and the earl of Warwick, his ſon, was univerſally eſteemed, for his valour, and adored by the people, for his engaging behaviour. He ſo well underſtood the art of behaving himſelf, that he ſeemed ſolely to conſult the welfare and glory of the nation; but, hitherto, he had affected, between both parties, a neutrality; which, by rendering him agreeable to the people, had deprived the miniſters, not only of all pretence to deſtroy him, but even of all occaſion of ſuſpecting him. Theſe two lords, with ſome others, conſulting with the duke of York, about the means to accompliſh his project, agreed, that it was too ſoon, as yet, to diſcover his intent; but that, on the contrary, his carriage to the king ſhould be very ſubmiſſive, in order to efface the ill impreſſions, his former conduct might have made in the people; and the frankneſs, with which he had disbanded his troops, and his new oath to the king, were extremely proper to inſtill a belief, that he had formed no evil deſign. 1453.

Advice is given the queen and duke of Somerſet, for their ruin.

The parliament had been ſummoned to Reading; but, on account of the king's relapſe, it was adjourned to Weſtminſter, for the 14th of February. In this interval, the duke of York's private adherents, who pretended to be of the court party, intimated to the queen and the duke of Somerſet, that, in the preſent diſpoſition of the people, it was to be feared, that the parliament would come to very diſagreeable reſolutions; that, whilſt the king was in health, they could act, in his name, becauſe all orders were ſuppoſed to iſſue from him; but that the caſe was different, during his ſickneſs; that, their authority being entirely founded upon the king's royal will, there was reaſon to apprehend, that, the royal will no longer appearing, the parliament would nominate other governors; and that, therefore, it was expedient to admit into the council the duke of York, the two Nevils, and ſome other of the moſt popular lords, to demonſtrate, that thoſe, who governed, did not deſire to ingroſs all the power. This advice was ſo ſpecious, that the queen and the favourite could not avoid falling into the ſnare; ſo that the duke of York, the two Nevils, and ſome others of their cabal, were called to the council, before the meeting of the parliament. They were no ſooner admitted, than they gained the ſuperiority; inſomuch that thoſe, who before managed all, had no longer any credit.

The firſt remarkable ſtep of theſe new counſellors was to arreſt the duke of Somerſet, in the queen's bed-chamber, and commit him to the tower; and, in the interim, the parliament was farther prorogued, to the 15th of March, to afford the duke of York and his friends leiſure to concert meaſures with the members. Two days before the parliament met, the council impowered the duke of York to hold it, in the king's name; and, in the beginning of the ſeſſion, the commons ſent to the houſe of lords an accuſation againſt the duke of Somerſet, for ſuffering Normandy to be loſt, and by his fault, during his regency. The 2d of April, the great ſeal was given to the earl of Salisbury; and, the following day, the

1454. The duke of York is made protector. Act. Pub.

1454. the parliament appointed the duke of York, protector of the kingdom, defender of the church, and firſt counſellor of the king; till the young prince Edward, the king's ſon, was of age, to exerciſe that exalted office. Hence it appears, firſt, that it was believed, the king's indiſpoſition would laſt, to the day of his death, and that it affected his underſtanding, more than his body; in the next place, by reſerving this office for a child, only ſix months old, the parliament ſhewed, that they were reſolved to preſerve entire the rights of the houſe of Lancaſter, tho' the duke of York was declared protector. Too much, or too little, is generally done, on theſe occaſions; which gives riſe to civil wars. If the parliament had publickly declared againſt the houſe of Lancaſter, in all probability, at ſuch a juncture, it would have found but few friends; and, on the other hand, if, inſtead of placing the duke of York ſo near the throne, care had been taken to curb his ambition, which was only too manifeſt, doubtleſs, he would have loſt many of his adherents, and, perhaps, the civil war, which laid waſte the kingdom, been avoided; but it is extremely difficult for a parliament, at ſuch junctures, to act, with freedom, and according to reaſon and equity.

The duke of York is made governor of Calais. Act. Pub.

The duke of York, having all the power in his own hands, removed the duke of Somerſet, who was ſtill in the tower, from being governor of Calais, and, by the king's letters patent, placed himſelf, in his room; and it was univerſally believed, that the accuſation, againſt the impriſoned duke, would be vigorouſly proſecuted; yet this affair was ſuffered to lie dormant, and ſeemingly unregarded, all the reſt of the year; probably, becauſe the evidences againſt him appeared inſufficient.

1455. The king reſumes his authority. Stow.

In the beginning of 1455, the king being ſomewhat recovered from his long illneſs, the duke of York's authority ceaſed, of courſe; ſince it was wholly founded on the king's inability, by reaſon of his indiſpoſition, to govern the kingdom himſelf; and the duke of York's matters were not ſo ripe, as to enable him to diſpute with the king the right of reſuming his authority, tho' it was, in effect, only to replace it in the hands of the queen. The firſt effect of this change was the duke of Somerſet's enlargement; for, on the 5th of February, the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Wiltſhire, and two knights, offering to be his pledges, their offer was accepted, and the governor of the tower was ordered to releaſe the priſoner. A month after, theſe lords were diſcharged from their ſureties, without any ſentence intervening; for, as the duke was apprehended, by order of the council, it was ſuppoſed, that they might be enlarged, by the ſame authority; but much might be alledged againſt this ſuppoſition. The impeachment of the houſe of commons being made, ſince his confinement, it could not be pretended, that the king had power to relea e him, before he was legally acquitted; yet the court overlooked this conſideration. After the king reſumed the government, the duke of York and his party had no longer any credit in the council, where the queen and the duke of Somerſet bore an abſolute ſway; ſo prevalent was the bare name of the king to give a new turn to affairs. 1455.

The duke of York and Somerſet put things to arbitration. Act. Pub.

In the mean time, ſome of the moſt prudent lords, dreading the ill effects of the quarrel, between the two dukes, laboured to reconcile them; and it was the intereſt of both toſhew, that they did not act from ambitious motives; for their view was to gain the people. They therefore, both conſented to chuſe arbitrators, and ſubmit to their deciſion, under the penalty, for him that refuſed, of paying to the other 20,000 marks; but it was on condition, that the ſentence of the arbitrators ſhould be pronounced, before the 20th of June.

The duke of York is removed from the government of Calais.

Whilſt people were in expectation of this ſentence, the duke of Somerſet repreſented to the king, that he was removed from the government of Calais, upon a bare accuſation, that was never determined; and that it was unjuſt, that his adverſary ſhould remain cloathed with his ſpoils, ſince their difference was not yet decided. Upon this remonſtrance, the king deprived the duke of York of the government, he had conferred on him, for ſeven years; and then, under the pretence of obſerving a perfect neutrality between the two rivals, he declared himſelf governor of Calais. In the act, by which the duke of York was removed, it was ſaid to be done, at the duke's own requeſt; but the duke, conſidering it, as a heinous affront, withdrew from court, where he found his affairs began to be in an ill ſituation. Act. Pub.

He retires into Wales and raiſes an army. Hall.

He retired into Wales, not only to ſcreen himſelf from the attempts of his enemies, but with an intent to levy an army, in order to attack them; for he knew, that the queen and the duke of Somerſet, being abſolute maſters of the king's perſon, had an advantage, of which nothing but force could deprive them. The court's proceedings, in releaſing the duke of Somerſet, without giving the nation any ſatisfaction, induced him to hope, that he ſhould be ſtrongly ſupported, when he came to uſe that pretence; and he was not deceived in his expectations; for he ſoon found himſelf at the head of a numerous army, and in a condition to make head againſt the king, who had alſo prepared himſelf, and was marching directly towards him, to give him battle. The two armies meeting, near St. Albans, on a level ground, where nothing hindered their engaging, the duke of York, to demonſtrate, that he had taken up arms, ſolely for the good of the publick, ſent and offered the king to diſmiſs his troops, provided the duke of Somerſet was delivered to juſtice, to be condemned, if guilty, or acquitted, if innocent; but the court, knowing that this was no more than a vain pretence, and that, one time or other, the quarrel muſt be decided, by arms, rejected the propoſal, and the battle was fought, the 31ſt of May.

The earl of Warwick, who commanded the duke of York's vanguard, expecting this anſwer,

1455. attacked the king's army, whilſt the court was waiting for new offers from the male-contents; and this attack, as vigorous as it was ſudden, put the royal army into ſuch a diſorder, that it was not in the duke of Somerſet's power to repair it. The duke of York alſo advanced from his quarter, not to give the enemies time to recover themſelves; and he preſſed them ſo briskly, that the royal army was defeated, in a few moments, with the loſs of 5000 men, without making any conſiderable reſiſtance. The duke of Somerſet was killed, on the ſpot, with the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Stafford, eldeſt ſon to the duke of Buckingham, the lord Clifford, and ſeveral other lords and officers of diſtinction, all firmly attached to the houſe of Lancaſter; and the duke of Buckingham, receiving a wound, retired out of the battle, and, by his retreat, compleated the diſorder among the kings troops.

The king falls into the hands of the duke of York, who treats him with reſpect.

In the interim, the king, who was wounded in the neck with an arrow, finding himſelf deſerted, in the rout of his army, retired to a little houſe, which was preſently inveſted; but the duke of York, having intelligence of it, poſted thither, with the earl of Salisbury; and, preſenting themſelves before him, on their knees, they told him, that, ſince the publick enemy was dead, all the perſons he ſaw were ready to obey him, in whatever he ſhould pleaſe to command them. The king, upon theſe words, recovering a little from his conſternation, cauſed by the duke's approach, intreated him, for God's ſake, to put a ſtop to the ſlaughter, aſſuring him, that he would give him all the ſatisfaction he could reaſonably deſire. Upon this, the duke ordered a retreat to be ſounded, and a proclamation to be made, that no more blood ſhould be ſhed; and then he conducted the king to St. Albans, from whence they returned to London.

The parliament meets.

Soon after, Henry called a parliament, which met, in July; and, the king being then relapſed, the duke of York was commiſſioned to hold it, in his name. The parliament, which, at ſuch a juncture, could ſcarce conſiſt of any but the duke of York's adherents, made the following declaration: "That the government "had deen miſmanaged by the queen and "the duke of Somerſet, who had abuſed the "king's goodneſs and confidence; that the "late duke of Glouceſter had been unjuſtly "accuſed; that all the alienations of the "crown-lands, made ſince the firſt year of "the preſent reign, ſhould be revoked; that "the duke of York, the earls of Salisbury and "Warwick, or any who had liſted under their "banners, did not incur the guilt of rebellion, "in taking arms againſt the king, ſince it "was neceſſary to free his perſon from captivi-"ty; but that the whole blame was to be laid "on the duke of Somerſet and his adherents, "who concealed from the king the duke of "York's letter, which might have prevented "theſe diſorders." After this, the parliament intreated the king to nominate a protector, becauſe of his indiſpoſition; and this requeſt was repeated, ſeveral times, without the king's returning any anſwer; not that he had reſolved to reject it; for he was no more at liberty to follow his own counſels, than when he was under the guardianſhip of the queen and the duke of Somerſet; but the duke of York was deſirous, that this nomination ſhould not ſeem conſtrained. At length, the parliament being prorogued to the 12th of November, on that very day, the king ſigned a patent wherein he ſaid, that, having been often petitioned by his parliament to nominate a protector, he appointed the duke of York, till he ſhould be removed by the parliament, or the young prince of Wales was capable of exerciſing that important employ; and then, after a month's ſeſſion, the parliament was prorogued to the 14th of January. 1455.

1456. A project againſt the duke of York. Hall.

In the interim, the queen, who was no ſtranger to the duke of York's deſigns, was too much concerned, as well for her own, as the king's and her ſon's ſake, not to try to diſappoint them; Henry, duke of Somerſet, ſon to him ſlain, at St. Albans, and the duke of Buckingham were alſo equally deſirous of revenging, the one his ſon's, and the other his father's death; and, in fine, all the princes and lords, allied to the houſe of Lancaſter, or attached to its intereſt, perceiving the duke of York to take large ſteps towards the throne, were prepared to do all that was poſſible, to ſtop his progreſs; whilſt the duke of York lived in a ſecurity, that even aſtoniſhed his enemies. He was ſenſible, that it would be very dangerous, openly to aſpire to a crown, which had been, 56 years, in the houſe of Lancaſter; wherefore, he choſe to wait, till time ſhould afford him a favourable opportunity, to proſecute his pretenſions. Above all things, he wanted to gain the people's affection, without which he was convinced, that all his endeavours would prove abortive, and to demonſtrate, that he was not ſwayed by paſſion, or intereſt, he left the king and queen at full liberty. He thought, that it was not in their power to deprive him of the protectorſhip, which, according to the patent, he was to enjoy, till removed by the parliament; but he was concerned with an able and enterpriſing princeſs, who was not diſcouraged, at the obſtacles ſhe met in her way.

The king recovers.

The king being recovered, the duke of York's enemies reſolved to improve this juncture, to diveſt him of his high office of protector, which rendered him ſo powerful; and it would have been eaſy for him to foreſee, that the pretence of the king's recovery might be uſed, as it was, once before, if he had not been blinded by the clauſe in his patent; but this clauſe, on which he relied, was a weak defence againſt the attempts of his enemies. The parliament being re-aſſembled, the king went, in perſon, and declared, that, being by God's grace in good health, and able to reſume the reins of the government, the kingdom had no farther occaſion for a protector; and then he deſired the parliament to conſent, that the duke of York might be diſmiſſed from that office. Whether the parliament judged the king's demand reaſonable, or the members had been gained, unknown to the duke, it was, immediately,

1456. diately, reſolved, to comply with the king's requeſt; and the ſame day, the king ſent the duke an order, to reſign the office of protector.

The duke of York withdraws from court.

The duke of York and his party, amazed at this proceeding, eaſily apprehended, that the combination was too ſtrong to be broken; and, therefore, making, as it is ſaid, a virtue of neceſſity, they pretended patiently to ſubmit to the king's and the parliament's orders. However, under colour of having no farther buſineſs, at court, they retired into the country; but the duke of York, and the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, kept within diſtance of each other, in Yorkſhire.

A ſedition at London.

Soon after this, there was a ſedition, at London, cauſed by a ſudden quarrel between two merchants, the one an Engliſhman, and the other an Italian; but, the mob riſing in the behalf of the Engliſhman, the king impowered the dukes of Exeter and Buckingham to bring the guilty to a trial; but the populace would not ſuffer them to execute their commiſſion. The queen, ſuſpecting that this tumult was raiſed by the duke of York's adherents, and not thinking the king ſafe, at London, carried him to Coventry, under the pretence of taking the air; but her principal motive to this was, to inſnare, at once, the duke of York and the two earls, his friends, who were retired into the north. She received intelligence, that, tho' they were ſeparated, in appearance, they had, under various pretences, frequent conferences together, at which ſeveral other lords of their party were preſent; and, as ſhe could not doubt, that it was to concert meaſures againſt the king, ſhe expected to have them in her power, by drawing them to Coventry, where they would not find the ſame protection, as at London; and, with this view, ſhe ſent them letters, under the king's own hand, requiring their preſence, at court, where their advice was wanted, in an affair of the utmoſt importance.

The duke of York, as yet, had done nothing openly, which ſhewed that he aſpired to the crown; for this was a ſecret between him and his particular friends. Indeed, the court was perſuaded of it, but it was impoſſible to convict him; for, hitherto, he had varniſhed his actions with the good of the publick, and, for that very reaſon, was formidable to the court; but, tho' it was difficult to condemn him legally, he could not be ignorant, that there were ſpeedier and more effectual ways to diſpatch him, and that his enemies were not over-ſcrupulous; moreover, tho' he had artfully concealed his deſigns from the people, the queen was too much concerned, not to diſcover them. The three lords, notwithſtanding theſe reaſons to the contrary, upon the receipt of the king's letters, determined to repair to the king; flattering themſelves, that Henry, at length, convinced of the miſmanagement of the queen and the miniſtry, required their aſſiſtance, in making ſome alterations, at court; but, whilſt they were on the road to Coventry, their private emiſſaries undeceived them, by warning them of their danger. Upon this advice, they altered their meaſures; for the duke of York withdrew to his caſtle of Wigmore, in the Marches of Wales; the earl of Salisbury to his ſeat, at Middleham, in Yorkſhire; and the earl of Warwick went, directly, to Calais, of which he was made governor, after the battle of St. Albans. The queen was extremely mortified, at this diſappointment; but it was ſome ſatisfaction to her, that ſhe had ſeparated theſe lords, and ſo rendered them leſs formidable to her. 1456.

1457. The French invade the coaſts of England. Hall.

The fears and jealouſies of both parties were ſomewhat interrupted, during the year 1457, by foreign affairs; for, as the Engliſh had formerly improved the diſſenſions, in France, to conquer that kingdom, Charles VII. believed, that he ſhould not neglect the advantages, ariſing from the quarrels of the Engliſh court; wherefore, he prepared two fleets, in order to invade England, in two different quarters. The firſt, ſailing to the Downs, plundered the town of Sandwich; and the other treated, in the ſame manner, Foy, a little town of Cornwall; but this was all they did worthy to be related. Probably, they were not in a condition to venture upon more important attempts; ſo that it was properly but a ſort of bravado, to inſult the Engliſh, in their own country, after their expulſion out of France.

The Scots invade the northern parts. Act. Pub.

About the ſame time, the Scots alſo made an inroad into the northern counties, and carried off ſome booty. Indeed, a truce was concluded, in 1453, between England and Scotland, till the 21ſt of May, this year, on condition, that, upon the expiration of this term, which ever of the two kings deſigned to renew the war, he ſhould give the other 180 days notice; but ſo many outrages had been committed, on both ſides, that neither party thought themſelves obliged to obſerve the treaty. The very preceding year, the two kings had ſent each other abuſive letters, abounding with haughtineſs and contempt; yet, whether the Scots intended only to revenge ſome particular injury, or for ſome other reaſon, the truce was renewed, from the 6th of July, this year, to that day twelvemonth, 1459, and afterwards prolonged, to the 6th of July, 1463.

1458. The two parties are outwardly reconciled.

The affairs with the foreign enemies being ended, domeſtick quarrels were about to be renewed, if ſome peaceful perſons had not actively interpoſed, to prevent the deſtructive conſequences of theſe diviſions; for it was obvious, that the two parties, in deciding their quarrel, by arms, muſt, of courſe, ruin the kingdom, and occaſion, at laſt, ſome fatal revolution. Neither party was ſo ſuperior, as to promiſe themſelves certain victory; ſucceſs depended on the events of the war, too doubtful for either to found upon them any raiſed expectations; and the duke of York was ſenſible, that it was no eaſy matter to diſpoſſeſs, by force, a king that had been on the throne, 35 years. The truth is, Henry was deſpiſed by his ſubjects, on account of his incapacity; but he gained their affection by his innocent life, and good intentions, tho' ill-ſupported by his ſlender abilities. On the other hand, the queen, and the new duke of Somerſet, who

1458. who held the late duke his father's poſt, the reſt of the miniſtry, and the whole houſe of Lancaſter were in a very tottering ſituation; for the French and Scots improved theſe quarrels, to invade the kingdom, and all the miſcarriages were charged upon thoſe who governed, in the name of the king. The court evidently perceived, that the duke of York uſed this pretence, to excite the people againſt them; and tho', hitherto, he had not all the ſucceſs he could have wiſhed, he ſaw himſelf, however, very ſoon, in a condition to make a much more conſiderable progreſs. Theſe reaſons, together with the king's inſtances to adjuſt theſe differences, at length, moved the queen and the duke of Somerſet, to ſend the duke of York an offer of a ſincere reconciliation; after which, the king deſired the duke of York and his friends to repair to London, a place they did not ſuſpect, in order to endeavour an agreement; and he wrote them a letter, with his own hand, promiſing, upon his ſalvation, that he would do them no injury, and that he was ſincere in his intention.

Such an invitation could not be rejected, without openly declaring himſelf, which the duke of York was willing to avoid; wherefore, the lords of his party reſolved to accept it; yet they were jealous of the queen, who, on her part, had as little confidence in them: Perhaps, they were both equally in the right; for, in all probability, each party hoped to reap ſome advantage from this proceeding, without intending to alter their firſt projects. In the interim, to remove all fears, it was agreed, that both parties might be attended with a certain number of armed followers; nay, the king permitted the earl of Warwick, who was to come from Calais, to bring with him 24 foreigners, beſides Engliſh.

Every thing being, thus, ſettled, the lords of both parties came to London, in January; but the earl of Warwick did not arrive, till February; and they were lodged, in two different quarters, to avoid the diſorders that might be occaſioned, by their being together. The mayor of London rode, every night, round the city, with his train-bands, to the number of 10,000; and the king and queen entered the city, the 27th of March, and lodged in the biſhop's palace, at an equal diſtance from both the parties.

Mediators being unanimouſly choſen, on the 3d of April, a reconciliation was made, to the common ſatisfaction of the king, the queen, the parties concerned, and the whole kingdom; and the ſubſtance of the agreement was, that, all animoſity being laid aſide, the lords ſhould live together in peace and amity, and in perfect obedience to the king's commands. But, to avoid all occaſion of complaint, it was likewiſe agreed, that the duke of York, the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, with ſome others of that party, ſhould be admitted into the council; and the 5th of April was appointed for a publick thankſgiving-day, for this reconciliation, by a ſolemn proceſſion to St. Paul's church. The king and queen, and all the lords were preſent, and walked, two and two, one of each party, in token of a perfect union; and the duke of York led the queen, by the hand, who gave him publick proofs of confidence and eſteem. 1458.

However, it, ſoon after, appeared, that this confidence, of which there was ſo great a ſhow made, on both ſides, was far from being reſtored. The duke of York and his two principal friends, continually apprehenſive of ſome treachery from their reconciled enemies, withdrew from court, under various pretences; the duke and the earl of Salisbury went to York; and the earl of Warwick to his government of Calais. The Engliſh hiſtorians affirm, that this earl, being admiral of the channel, equipped 14 ſhips, to give chace to ſome Spaniſh corſairs, who infeſted the narrow ſeas, and, meeting them, ſunk ſeveral, and brought ſix to Calais; but, probably, they were miſtaken, ſince the Collection of the Publick Acts repreſents this affair, in a quite different light. Indeed, we find there complaints from the republicks of Genoa and Lubeck to the king, againſt the earl of Warwick; and that the king appointed commiſſioners, to take informations; but, in this commiſſion, there is not the leaſt mention of Spaniſh ſhips. It is even evident, that this engagement was occaſioned by an accidental quarrel, between the ſhips of Genoa and Lubeck and thoſe which conveighed the earl of Warwick, with his retinue, to Calais; but this does not prove, that they were pyrates, or that the earl of Warwick deſignedly attacked them; yet, however that be, upon this complaint, he was obliged to return to England, to anſwer for himſelf, where he ſtaid, ſix or ſeven weeks.

The earl of Warwick ſeizes upon ſome foreign ſhips.

During the earl's ſtay, at London, it fell out, one day, whilſt he was preſent at the council, that one of his people quarrelled with a ſervant of the king's, and wounded him; upon which, the reſt of the king's domeſticks, arming themſelves, ſome with ſwords, others with clubs, or other weapons, ran to revenge their comrade; but, not finding the aggreſſor, they fell upon the reſt of the earl of Warwick's retinue. In a word, they even aſſaulted his perſon, as he was coming out of the council to go to his barge, which waited for him, on the Thames; and with ſo much violence, that he very narrowly eſcaped to his barge, after ſeeing ſeveral of his people killed, on the ſpot He did not doubt, that this was a contrivance of the queen to diſpatch him, without ſeeming to be concerned; and he was confirmed in his opinion, when he heard, that the king had ordered him to be arreſted and ſent to the tower; but he had ſuch timely notice, that he diſappointed thoſe who were ſent to arreſt him. It is extremely difficult to decide, whether the queen contrived this quarrel, to diſpatch him, or whether it happened, by accident; but, however that be, the order to apprehend him, tho' he himſelf had reaſon to complain, convinced him, that he ſhould never be ſecured from the plots of his enemies, unleſs he attacked them, with open force;

A quarrel between his and the king's ſervants.

1458. force; and, with a mind full of reſentment at this affront, he repaired to the earl of Saliſbury, his father; and, without delay, they went together to the duke of York, to conſult what was to be done, in this juncture. From the late proceedings, they concluded, that the reconciliation, at London, was only a ſnare to ſurpriſe them the more eaſily, and deſtroy them, one after another; perhaps, they were glad to have this excuſe, to juſtify their reſolution of acting, in a publick manner; and, purſuant to this project, the earl of Warwick ſpeedily returned to Calais, to ſecure that place, not doubting that there was a deſign to take it from him.

1459. In the interim, the duke of York and the earl of Salisbury concerted meaſures, to accompliſh their deſign; and they agreed, that, whilſt the duke was levying an army, in Wales, the earl ſhould advance towards London, at the head of 5 or 6000 men, and openly demand ſatisfaction, for the injury done to his ſon. As this could not be effected, unknown to the queen, the lord Audley was commiſſioned to raiſe troops, and oppoſe the earl of Salisbury; and Audley, in a very ſhort time, was at the head of 10,000 men, and in a condition to march towards Lancaſhire, thro' which the earl of Salisbury was to paſs; but he found, that the earl was already advanced, as far as Shropſhire. The two armies meeting there, the earl of Salisbury, tho' but half as ſtrong as the enemy, reſolved to make uſe of a ſtratagem, to obtain a victory, which otherwiſe he could not expect; and, Audley being encamped, on Blore-Heath, near a little river, Salisbury poſted himſelf, on the other ſide, as if he intended to guard the paſs, and hinder his being attacked; after which, on a ſudden, feigning a fear, he retired, in the night, marching ſo, as that, at break of day, his enemies could ſtill ſee the rear of his army. This ſeemingly precipitant retreat invigorating the royaliſts, they began to paſs the river, in diſorder, fancying they had nothing to do, but to purſue the flying enemy; but, in the mean time, ſome being over the river, others in the water, and others ready to paſs, the earl of Saliſbury returned, and fell upon the troops already over, who had ſcarce leiſure to draw up. The fight, however, laſted, four or five hours, becauſe the king's troops were ſupported by thoſe that were continually paſſing; but, as this could not be done, without confuſion, the royal army was, at length, put to rout, with the loſs of 2400 men; and Audley himſelf was ſlain, with all the principal officers.

The battle of Blore-Heath.

The earl of Salisbury, having, thus, opened a paſſage, joined the duke of York, who was raiſing troops, in Wales; for it would have been too dangerous to proceed on his march towards London, becauſe the court had now aſſembled a great force, at Coventry. The queen, who ſtill commanded, in the king's name, exerted her utmoſt endeavours, to have a numerous army; being ſenſible, that nothing could be done, without a great ſuperiority. On the other hand, the duke of York and the earl of Salisbury were no leſs ſollicitous to procure all poſſible aſſiſtance, in order to withſtand the forces that were preparing againſt them; and they ſent word to the earl of Warwick, that it would be very neceſſary for him to come and join them, and try to bring them ſome troops; upon which, Warwick left Calais, under the government of William Nevil, lord Falconbridge, his uncle, and took with him part of the garriſon, giving the command to Sir Andrew Trollop, who had ſignaliſed himſelf, in the wars of France. 1459.

The king marches towards the male-contents, Hall.

It was ſeven months after the battle of Blore-Heath, before the two parties had drawn all their forces together; but, at length, the king departed from Coventry, where he had aſſembled his troops, and marched towards Wales, in queſt of the male-contents, who were encamped, about Ludlow; and, when he came to Glouceſter, he made a halt, and ſent an offer of pardon to the rebels, provided they would lay down their arms; who anſwered, that they could no longer rely on ſuch promiſes, that were ſolely intended to ſurpriſe them, as was manifeſt in what befel, at London, the earl of Warwick; but that, nevertheleſs, they were ready to ſubmit to the king, if an expedient could be found for their ſafety. Upon this anſwer, the king ordered his army to advance; and, at the ſame time, he gave the duke of Somerſet a patent to be governor of Calais, in the room of the earl of Warwick; but it was eaſier to give the duke this government, in parchment, than to put him in poſſeſſion.

A letter of the male-contents to the king. Stow.

The king, having advanced, with an intent to give battle, the Yorkiſts ſent him a very ſubmiſſive letter, beſeeching him to conſider, that they had taken arms, only in their own defence, againſt the attempts of their enemies; that this was evident from their continuing in a corner of the kingdom, without undertaking any thing, being determined not to fight, unleſs forced; that their ſole deſire was to redreſs the grievances introduced into the government, to the great oppreſſion of the people, by the miſmanagement of the miniſtry; and, laſtly, they prayed the king, to conſider them, as loyal ſubjects, who had formed no deſign againſt his perſon, and to reſtore them to favour.

They are deſerted by their troops. Hollingſh.

This letter did not anſwer the end propoſed by the rebels; for their enemies, not doubting but it was the reſult of their fear, advanced, within half a mile of them, reſolving to give them battle, next day; and, at the ſame time, they found means to diſperſe, in their camp, the king's proclamation, offering pardon to all the Yorkiſts, on condition they would lay down their arms. This proclamation had a ſurpriſing effect; for the duke of York's troops, fancying that the king's offer of pardon proceeded from the ſuperiority of his forces, and that it might be of dangerous conſequence to delay taking the benefit of it, immediately, began to diſband themſelves. Sir Andrew Trollop, the commander of the

1459. detachment of the garriſon of Calais, put the whole army in diſorder, by flying, in the night, to the king's camp, with the troops under his command; and this deſertion, increaſing, every moment, ſo terrified the leaders, who were apprehenſive of being delivered to the king, as ſoon as day ſhould appear, that they choſe to ſave themſelves, by flight. The duke of York, with the earl of Rutland, his ſecond ſon, embarqued for Ireland; the earl of Warwick fled towards Calais; and the earl of Salisbury quickly followed him, with the earl of Marche, eldeſt ſon to the duke of York, who was then 19 years old; but, the generals being retired, the reſt of the officers and ſoldiers, thus, abandoned, were reduced to the king's mercy, who was pleaſed to pardon all, except a few that were executed, for an example.

The duke of York and his adherents are attainted.

The parliament, that met, in December, declared the duke of York and his adherents guilty of high-treaſon; and they confiſcated their eſtates, pronouncing them and their poſterity incapable of inheriting, to the fourth generation. This is a remarkable inſtance of the variableneſs of the parliament, according to the alteration of the poſture of affairs; but I ſhall have frequent occaſion, hereafter, to make the like remarks.

The duke of Somerſet is repulſed, at Calais. Hollingſh.

Upon the breaking up of the parliament, the duke of Somerſet ſet ſail, with a body of troops, in order to take poſſeſſion of his government of Calais; but, the garriſon firing upon him, he was forced to land, elſewhere, and retire to Guiſnes, from whence he made ſeveral incurſions, about Calais; but thoſe little ſallies were inſufficient to render him maſter of ſo ſtrong a place.

1460. The queen ſends him ſupplies. Act. Pub.

The queen, perceiving the earl of Warwick would not be deprived of his government, equipped a fleet, to tranſport ſuccours to the duke of Somerſet; which, being well provided with all neceſſaries, lay at Sandwich, in expectation of a fair wind; but the earl of Warwick, having intelligence of it, ſent a body of troops privately from Calais, under the command of Sir John Dinham, who arriving, at Sandwich, about break of day, ſurpriſed moſt of the officers, in their beds; and he no ſooner had them in his power, than he found means to gain the ſoldiers and mariners, and carried the king's ſhips to Calais.

Warwick conſults with York.

The earl of Warwick made uſe of theſe ſhips, to convoy him into Ireland, where he went, to concert meaſures with the duke of York; and, after he had been, about a month, on this voyage, he met, in return, the duke of Exeter, admiral of England, who waited, to take him in his paſſage; but the royal fleet were ſo little inclined to fight againſt him, that the duke of Exeter, fearing to receive ſome diſgrace, judged it improper to attack him.

The court reſolves to be rid of the Yorkiſts. Act. Pub.

The queen and the miniſters being perſuaded, that the interview of the duke of York and the earl of Warwick would produce a freſh rebellion, at a council held, on that occaſion, it was reſolved, that a ſtrict ſearch ſhould be made, in all the counties and towns of the kingdom, after the adherents of the duke of York; and that ſuch ſhould ſuppreſſed, as were moſt in his intereſt, and beſt able to ſerve him; 1460. for it was not queſtioned, that this method would put an effectual ſtop to his ambitious purſuits. Accordingly, James Butler, earl of Wiltſhire, and the lord Scales were impowered, to inquire out thoſe that carried arms for the male-contents, in the late rebellion, and to puniſh them, as the law directed; and theſe two lords began to execute their commiſſion, in ſome of the towns that had moſt openly declared for the duke of York, and condemned ſeveral perſons to death; but no county, in England, had more reaſon to dread the court's reſentment than that of Kent. This county, upon all occaſions, had diſcovered a very ſtrong attachment to the duke of York; and what was done there, in favour of Cade, was not yet forgotten; ſo that the inhabitants of Kent, perceiving, from what was practiſed, in other places, that their ruin was unavoidable, began early to think of means to prevent it. With this view, they acquainted the lords, at Calais, that, if they would invade their country, they ſhould be received, with open arms; and that the inhabitants were ready to hazard their lives and fortunes with them.

This overture was extremely agreeable to the lords; yet, not to embarque raſhly, in this affair, they ſent the lord Falconbridge, to be aſſured of their ſincerity; who, meeting, at ſea, with Sir Simon Montfort, appointed to guard the coaſts, attacked him; and, taking him priſoner, with many other officers, he ſent them all to Calais. Upon their arrival, the earl of Marche ordered Montfort, with 12 of his captains, to be beheaded, in retaliation for his father's adherents, who had been executed, in England; which are almoſt unavoidable cruelties, in ſuch civil wars.

Falconbridge, arriving at Sandwich, found the inhabitans of that place, and of the whole county, ſo well affected to the lords, that he wrote to Calais, that there was occaſion for the utmoſt expedition; that the county of Kent was on the point of being ruined, if not ſpeedily relieved; and that, in the terror people were under, it was not to be queſtioned, that ſeveral other counties, as well as Kent, would riſe againſt the court, if they could hope to be ſupported. This juncture ſeeming very favourable, the lords, at Calais, determined to improve it, and took care to inform the duke of York, who was ſtill, in Ireland; and, before they ſailed, a manifeſto was diſperſed, in Kent and the neighbouring parts, declaring that the ſole motive of their taking up arms was to free the poor people from their inſupportable oppreſſions, and ſecure their privileges. It was added, that they were ſure all honeſt Engliſhmen would aſſiſt, in the execution of ſo good a deſign; and this manifeſto had ſuch an effect, that the lords, arriving at Sandwich, with only 1500 men, found there a body of 4000 armed men conducted by the lord Cobham. With this reinforcement, they began their march towards London, knowing the citizens were ready to receive them; and, indeed, the gates being opened to them, they entered the city, at the head of 40,000 men, their

The lords publiſh a manifeſto.

1460. their army increaſing to that number, in ſo ſhort a march; and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhops of London, Lincoln, Ely, and Exeter declared for them.

The queen tries, in vain, to prevent them.

In the interim, the queen, at Coventry, who was not idle, endeavoured to hinder the entrance of the male-contents into London, by ſending the lord Scales, with an able body of troops; but the mayor refuſed him admittance, even before the arrival of the lords. Scales, being, thus, repulſed, threw himſelf into the tower, from whence he threatened to demoliſh the city, with his cannon, if the rebels were received; but his menaces were ineffectual. In the mean while, the king and queen were aſſembling their forces, at Coventry, with all poſſible expedition; and, the army being ready to march, they gave the command to the duke of Somerſet, lately returned from Guiſnes, and the duke of Buckingham; but this was only, for form's ſake, the queen herſelf being, in reality, general, ſince nothing was done, without her orders, even tho' the king was preſent, in perſon. The young earl of Marche, hearing that the queen was marching to London, departed thence, with 25000 men, to give her battle, before ſhe ſhould augment her forces, leaving, at London, the earl of Salisbury, with a conſiderable part of his troops; and he took with him the earl of Warwick and the lord Cobham, who ſerved, as his lieutenants. At his departure from London, the lord Scales ordered the tower-cannon to fire upon the city, and did ſome damage; but, by the earl of Salisbury's care, to prevent his having any proviſions, he was himſelf reduced to great neceſſities.

She paſſes a river to fight them.

The queen, advancing towards the rebels incamped on a plain, near Northampton, with a ſmall river behind her, which ſhe had haſtily paſſed, leſt the enemies ſhould make uſe of it, to avoid fighting; ſo deſirous was ſhe to decide the quarrel, by a battle; but this precaution was not only uſeleſs to her, but, as will be ſeen, preſently, extremely prejudicial. The earls of Marche and Warwick, alſo advancing, incamped, the 17th of July, between Touceſter and Northampton; and, the ſame day, they ſent the biſhop of Salisbury to the king, beſeeching him to ſuſpend his indignation, and conſider with them about an agreement, without blood-ſhed; but the court, apprehending it to be only a general propoſal, purely deſigned to ſalve the appearances, would, by no means, liſten to it; ſo that both ſides prepared for battle.

The battle of Northampton. Hall.

On the 19th of July, the Yorkiſts advanced towards the king's army; the earl of Warwick commanding the right wing, the lord Cobham the left, and the earl of Marche in the center; and the dukes of Somerſet and Buckingham were at the head of the royaliſts, whilſt the queen kept at ſome diſtance, to obſerve what ſhould paſs, and give orders, accordingly. The king remained in his tent, waiting the iſſue of a battle, which, probably, would ſecure or deprive, him of the crown, for ever; and the fight did not begin, till two in the afternoon, the lords having firſt publiſhed in their army a ſtrict charge, not to hurt the king's perſon, to ſpare the common ſoldiers, and to fall upon the officers only. The battle laſted two, ſome ſay five, hours, with great fierceneſs and obſtinacy, on both ſides, till, at length, the lord Grey of Ruthin, who commanded a numerous body of the king's army, ſuddenly went over to the male-contents; which unexpected defection entirely diſpirited the royaliſts; who, being apprehenſive that other bodies would follow this example, began, by degrees, to give way, and, at laſt, were routed, with the loſs of 10,000 men. The river, in their rear, cauſed the ſlaughter to be greater than it would have been, if the vanquiſhed could have more eaſily taken to flight; and, beſides, many were drowned, in endeavouring to repaſs it. The duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewsbury, ſon to the renowned Talbot, the lord Beaumont, and ſeveral other lords and officers of diſtinction were ſlain, on the ſpot; and the queen, with the young prince of Wales and the duke of Somerſet, fled, without reſting, into the biſhoprick of Durham; ſuch was their dread of being delivered to their enemies. The unfortunate king, who remained in his tent, fell once more into the hands of the victorious lords, who paid him, however, all the reſpect he could have demanded of them, in his greateſt proſperity. This deference was ſome comfort to him, in his preſent condition; which would have been more worthy of pity, had not his natural imbecillity rendered him inſenſible of good and bad fortune. Immediately after the battle, he was honourably conducted to Northampton, where he reſided, ſome time; after which, on the 16th of Auguſt, he came to London, ſurrounded with a crowd of lords, who, a few days before, were in arms againſt him. In the interim, the queen, believing herſelf not ſafe, in Durham, privately retired, with eight perſons only, into Wales, where ſhe would never have been ſought; but, ſhortly after, ſhe left that retreat, and, with the prince, her ſon, fled into Scotland.

Upon the king's arrival, at London, he called a parliament, for the 2d of October; for they, who governed him, wanted this delay, in order to ſend for the duke of York, who was ſtill, in Ireland; and, acquainting him with what had paſſed, they intreated him to repair to London, with all poſſible ſpeed, that he might be there, at the opening of the parliament, or ſooner, if the wind would permit. In this interval, they acted, in the king's name, and obliged him to ſign what orders they pleaſed; for, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, there is a patent, confirming to the earl of Warwick the government of Calais; and an order to the duke of Somerſet, to reſign him that of Guiſnes; moreover, the king's declaration, acknowledging the duke of York and his adherents, for good and faithful ſubjects, as having given undoubted proofs of their loyalty.

The king's declaration, in favour of the duke of York.

Whilſt the kingdom was in this combuſtion, James II, king of Scotland, tho' the preceding year, he had concluded a four years truce with England,

1460. England, prepared to invade it; for the duke of York, after his retreat into Ireland, had, by ſome beneficial offers, engaged him to break with Henry, in expectation of reaping ſome advantage himſelf from this diverſion. Indeed, James alledged ſeveral reaſons, to varniſh his invaſion; but the circumſtances of England was the ſole and real motive of his preparations. However this be, a few days after the battle of Northampton, he entered England, at the head of an army, and beſieged Roxborough; but he had not time, to make any remarkable progreſs. One of his own cannon happening to burſt, he was killed, with a ſplinter, on the 4th of Auguſt; being ſucceeded by James III, his eldeſt ſon, then but ſeven years old; but the queen, his widow, who was in the army, carried on the ſiege, till the town was ſurrendered.

Charles VII. dies, and is ſucceeded by Lewis XI.

The death of James II. had been preceded, ſome days, by that of Charles VII, king of France; and it is pretended, that he ſtarved himſelf, to prevent his being poiſoned by the dauphin, his ſon, who aſended the throne of France after him, by the name of Lewis XI.

The duke of York arrives, goes to the parliament, and expects in vain to be asked to ſeat himſelf on the throne. Hall.

The duke of York could not reach London, till two days after the opening of the parliament; who rode directly to Weſtminſter, and, alighting from his horſe, went to the houſe of lords, where he ſtood, ſome time, under the canopy of ſtate, with his hand on the throne, expecting, as it were, to be deſired to ſeat himſelf thereon; but the ſilence of the houſe was an evident indication, that his intention was not univerſally approved. At the ſame time, to increaſe his confuſion, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, approaching him, asked him, whether he would not go and pay his reſpects to the king; but, how cautiouſly ſoever the duke had, hitherto, beheaved, he changed countenance at this queſtion, and told the archbiſhop, that he knew no perſon, to whom he owed that honour. Upon theſe words, he, immediately, withdrew to his own houſe; and, plainly perceivlng that he, in vain, expected to be intreated to accept of the crown,

He ſends the parliament a memorial to juſtify his claim. Cotton.

without concealing his ſentiments any longer, he ſent, next morning, a writing to the parliament, containing the grounds of his pretenſions. As they have been often mentioned, it will be ſufficient to ſay, in a word, that he claimed the crown, as heir to the houſe of Marche; and this affair was very warmly debated, in parliament, according to the knowledge and inclinations of the members. To relate all the arguments advanced, pro and con, would be exceſſively tedious; but, as this is a matter of great importance, it will be expedient to give the ſubſtance of the objections to the duke of York's claim, and the replies of his friends; and I muſt not forget to remark, that both ſides referred to the deciſion of the parliament, which they equally acknowledged, for the ſole judge of the affair in diſpute.

Arguments pro and con.

I. It was alledged, that, when Henry IV, grandfather to the preſent king, took poſſeſſion of the throne, no perſon oppoſed him.

The duke of York's friends replied that, 1460. ſince Edmund, earl of Marche, who was then living, could not diſpute it, without manifeſt danger, his ſilence could not be interpreted, for conſent.

II. It was ſaid, in behalf of the king, that Henry IV, his grandfather, received the crown, by the parliament's authority.

It was anſwered, that the duke of York did not pretend to aſcend the throne, without the ſame authority, as appeared in his memorial directed to both houſes; but, as the parliament had weighty reaſons, to proceed, contrary to cuſtom, in favour of the houſe of Lancaſter; ſo they had, at preſent, no leſs powerful conſiderations, to do the duke of York juſtice. The duke's friends took care not to diſpute the parliament's authority, at a time, when they intended to make uſe of it, to place him on the throne; but, probably, they did not ſpeak, upon this ſubject, all their thoughts.

III. The reſignation of Richard II. was pleaded, in behalf of the houſe of Lancaſter.

Anſwer was made, by denying that Richard's reſignation concerned that houſe, in particular, or even the perſon of Henry IV; but, ſuppoſing it did, it was not in the power of a captive king, juſt going to be depoſed, to appoint a ſucceſſor.

IV. It was objected againſt the duke of York, that, as the earl of Cambridge, his father, was executed, for high-treaſon, his poſterity were rendered incapable of any inheritance.

It was anſwered, that he had been reſtored to his honours, and all his hereditary rights, and owned, for duke of York and earl of Marche, by the king himſelf, and the whole kingdom.

V. It was farther urged, that the houſe of Lancaſter had enjoyed the crown, above 60 years.

It was replied, that preſcription was no plea againſt the right of ſucceſſion to the crown, which was natural, and not to be deſtroyed by a poſitive law.

VI. Laſtly, it was repreſented, that Henry, having now reigned, 38 years, and, all along, led an innocent life, without giving any perſon cauſe of complaint, it would be an inſtance of great cruelty to deprive him of the crown.

This objection ſeemed very weighty; but the duke of York's friends replied, that, Henry, being incapable of governing, by himſelf, to leave him in poſſeſſion of the crown was acting rather for the queen and the miniſters, who abuſed his name and authority, than for him; moreover, the whole kingdom was not to be ruined, for his ſake, or an injuſtice to be committed, from a motive of charity.

It may eaſily be imagined, that theſe and ſeveral other reaſons, alledged by both parties, were enlarged and diſplayed, to the beſt advantage, eſpecially in the parliament, where there are generally many perſons of extenſive abilities; for this was a very proper ſubject to exerciſe the ingenious, intricate in itſelf, and ſtill more ſo, by the preſent poſture of affairs. At length, after a debate of ſeveral days, it

It is decreed that the king ſhould enjoy the crown, during life,

was

1460. was reſolved, that Henry ſhould enjoy the crown, during his life, and the duke of York be declared his ſucceſſor; which reſolve was paſſed into an act of parliament, declaring, that, notwithſtanding the duke of York's unexceptionable title to the crown, he had freely conſented, that Henry ſhould poſſeſs it, for his life, and promiſed to ſwear allegiance to him, as his lawful ſovereign; but, if the king ſhould, any way, violate this agreement, then the crown ſhould, immediately, devolve to the duke of York, or his lawful heirs.

The duke of York conſents to the decree. Hall.

In all probability, this agreement did not fully anſwer the duke of York's expectations; yet he was contented, becauſe he perceived, that it would be extremely difficult to obtain more, without compulſive methods. It muſt be confeſs'd, that he behaved with a moderation very unuſual, in ſuch caſes; for, in his preſent circumſtances, and according to the rule generally obſerved, by parliaments, to declare for the ſtrongeſt, he might, with the greateſt eaſe, cauſe the crown, forthwith, to be adjudged to him. He had, at his command, a victorious, and, at that time, an irreſiſtible army; moreover, moſt of the members of parliament were in his intereſt, and, probably, after acknowledging his title to be indiſputable, with very little ſollicitation, they would have placed him on the throne; whence it is manifeſt, that, if the parliament ſhewed any regard for Henry, it was, becauſe they believed themſelves at liberty to uſe this equity, notwithſtanding the victorious army which might have offered them violence, if the duke would have taken this advantage. It muſt be farther remarked, that the duke of York was older than the king, and, therefore, naturally could not expect to ſurvive him; and yet thoſe, who have related theſe troubles, put an ill conſtruction upon all they ſay, concerning this prince. The reaſon is obvious; for, the houſe of York enjoying the throne, only 24 years, we have no hiſtorian, during that interval; all we have being later, and written ſince the reſtoration of the houſe of Lancaſter, in the perſon of Henry VII. This muſt be always remembered, in reading the hiſtory of theſe civil wars.

A proceſſion, at St. Paul's. Hall.

The day after paſſing the foreſaid act, a proceſſion was made, at St. Paul's, where the king was preſent, with his crown on his head, attended by the duke of York.

The duke is abſolute maſter of the government.

After this agreement, the king continued the ſame; and, tho' he could not but perceive, how very prejudicial the late ſettlement was to his family, and particularly to the prince of Wales, his ſon, he patiently bore his ſervitude; for, reſting ſatisfied with the duke of York's ſuggeſtions, he entirely gave himſelf up to devotion, and left the management of publick affairs to thoſe that governed, in his name. The duke, being, thus, abſolute maſter of the government and perſon of the king, cauſed him to ſign an order, enjoining the queen to repair to him; tho' he was not inſenſible, that it would prove ineffectual; but his view was, to render her criminal, by her refuſing to obey the king, and ſo to juſtify his intended proceedings againſt her. He imagined, that ſhe was without refuge; and that he only wanted a pretence, to lay an inſuperable obſtacle to her return, in order to be freed from ſuch a dangerous enemy; but he relied too far on his own good fortune, and the queen's weakneſs. Inſtead of being diſheartened, at the ill ſituation of the king's and his family's affairs, ſhe was now returned into England, with the prince of Wales, her ſon, and had drawn together, in the north, an army of 18000 men; and, the better to engage the people of thoſe parts to her intereſt, ſhe ordered it to be reported, that they were allowed to plunder the country, on the ſouth of the Trent; which, probably, was moſt conducive to her aſſembling ſo great a number of troops. 1460.

The duke of York had heard of the queen's endeavours, to levy an army; but he did not know ſhe had made ſo great a progreſs; yet he thought he could not be too ſpeedy, to prevent the execution of her deſigns. He departed, therefore, from London, with only 4 or 5000 men, leaving orders with the earl of Marche, his ſon, to lead the reſt of the army into Wales, to refreſh them, and then come and join him; but, as he proceeded towards the north, he received the mortifying news of the queen's great ſucceſs, in the levying of troops; and, at length, arriving near Wakefield, in the county of York, he was informed, that the queen was advancing towards him, at the head of 18000 men. Upon this, he reſolved to retire to his caſtle of Sandal, till the arrival of the earl of Marche; for he knew, that the queen, who had no artillery, could not force him, in that caſtle, which was well fortified, and he did not doubt but the earl, his ſon, would ſpeedily come to his relief.

The queen provokes him to fight.

The queen was extremely mortified to ſee her enemy, thus, ſecured from all attack; for, as ſhe was then much ſuperior, in number of troops, if the duke would have engaged, ſhe might have promiſed herſelf a compleat victory; but it was not certain, that, after the earl of Marche's arrival, ſhe ſhould remain in the ſame ſituation. On this account, ſhe did all that was poſſible, to provoke her enemy to come out of his retreat; and, as ſhe did not deſpair of ſucceſs, ſhe placed a body of troops in ambuſh, behind a hill; upon which, ſhe appeared, before the walls of Sandal, not only threatening, and ſending him defiances, but even upbraiding him, that a man, who aſpired to the crown, ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be, thus, ſhut up by a woman.

The duke of York, had, hitherto, acted, with great prudence and conduct; and, during the wars of France, where he was often commander in chief, he had diſcovered no leſs wiſdom, than true valour; but, on the preſent occaſion, his courage unfortunately prevailed, contrary to the opinion of his friends, who adviſed him to deſpiſe thoſe vain reproaches: Perhaps, his hatred to the queen induced him, as it were, againſt his will, to commit an unpardonable fault, in ſuch a re-

1460. nowned general. Theſe, at leaſt, were the motives aſcribed to him by the hiſtorians; but, for my part, if I may be allowed to give my opinion, I rather believe, that the want of proviſions forced him to a battle, in order to avoid the danger to which he was expoſed; ſo that, if he committed a fault, it was in ſhutting himſelf up, in a caſtle, inſtead of returning, or meeting his ſon, who could eaſily join him. However this be, he marched out of Sandal, and drew up his men, on Wakefield-green, imagining that his courage and experience would ſupply the defects of his army; but he was no ſooner drawn up, than he ſaw himſelf attacked by the queen's troops, which, being more numerous than his, had a great advantage over him. Whilſt he was preſſed, in the front, by his powerful enemies, the ambuſhes roſe, and attacked him, in the rear; which unexpected aſſault cauſed ſuch confuſion among his troops, that, within half an hour, they were routed, and himſelf ſlain, valiantly fighting. The young earl of Rutland, his ſecond ſon, not above 12 years of age, flying with his governor, was overtaken by the lord Clifford, who plunged his dagger into his breaſt, in ſpite of the preſſing intreaties of the governor, to ſpare the young prince's life *; and, afterwards, the ſaid lord, finding the duke of York's body, cut off the head, and, crowning it with a paper crown, fixed it, on the end of his lance, and preſented it to the queen, who ordered it to be placed on the walls of York.

The battle of Wakefield, wherein the duke of York is ſlain.

A remark on the partiality of the hiſtorians to the houſe of Lancaſter.

Thus, fell the duke of York, about 50 years old. It may be ſaid, that no prince was ever ſo near throne, and not in it; and that he might have taken poſſeſſion, had he been willing to uſe the power he had in his hands. I ſhall not undertake either to condemn, or juſtify his pretenſions; leaving the reader to form his own judgment, upon the grounds already explained, in ſeveral places of this Hiſtory. Unhappily for this prince, the Engliſh hiſtorians that wrote, when the reſtoration of the houſe of Lancaſter was ſtill freſh, I mean, in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII, have put an ill conſtruction on all his actions; and thoſe, that came after them, not contented with taking the facts, as they found them related, have alſo copied the reflections, and even the very invectives; by which they have all unanimouſly given the cauſe, for the houſe of Lancaſter, notwithſtanding its being ſo intricate and perplexing; and, ſhould the ſame thing happen again, the deciſion of it would be no leſs difficult, than it was formerly. The earl of Salisbury, being taken priſoner, in the battle, was carried, notwithſtanding his wounds, to Pontefract, where he loſt his head on the ſcaffold; and the queen ordered it to be ſet on a pole, near that of the duke of York.

The earl of Marche reſolves to maintain the quarrel.

Such was the ſucceſs of this battle, fought, on the laſt day of December, near Wakefield; which ſeemed firmly to have reſtored the affairs of the king and queen; and yet it only haſtened their deſtruction, and ſooner advanced the houſe of York to the throne. The earl of Marche, hearing of the defeat and death of the duke, his father, reſolved, at all hazards, to maintain the quarrel; and, indeed, as the caſe ſtood, at preſent, one of the two houſes muſt neceſſarily be eſtabliſhed, upon the ruins of the other. This prince was then, in Wales, ready to march to the aſſiſtance of his father; and his army was 23000 ſtrong, beſides what was left, at London, under the command of the earl of Warwick, for the defence of the metropolis; ſo that, finding himſelf in a condition to go, in queſt of the queen, he wiſhed for nothing more ardently, than an opportunity to revenge his father's death. 1460. 1461.

In the mean while, the queen advanced towards London, with an intent to ſecure that great city, which alone could influence the fortune of either party; but, having intelligence, upon the road, that the earl of Marche began to move, ſhe detached Jaſper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, to oppoſe this new enemy, whom ſhe did not imagine to be ſo ſtrong as herſelf. The earl of Marche, being informed that the queen advanced towards London, altering his courſe, inſtead of going to meet her, took alſo the road to London, in order to prevent her; but, having advice of the detachment ſent againſt him, he judged it improper to come between the two armies of his enemies, which muſt have happened, had he continued his rout; and, coming to a ſudden reſolution, he returned, to meet the earl of Pembroke. He met him, near Mortimer's croſs, in Herefordſhire; and, being much ſuperior, in number of troops, he eaſily defeated him, and ſlew 3800 of his men. The earl of Pembroke had the good fortune to eſcape; but Owen Tudor, his father, according to ſome, or, more probably, his younger brother, being taken priſoner, was beheaded, with ſeveral others, in revenge for the earl of Salisbury.

Pembroke is defeated.

The news of this defeat reaching the queen, on the road, did not prevent her from proceeding on her march towards London; who believed, that, appearing, at the gates of the city, with a victorious army, ſhe ſhould ſo aſtoniſh the citizens, that they would, of their own accord, expel the earl of Warwick. Indeed, the earl himſelf ſeems to have been of the ſame opinion, who choſe rather to go and fight the queen, than remain in London; which, doubtleſs, he would not have done, had he been ſecure of the city. The queen, being arrived, at St. Albans, received certain intelligence, that the earl of Warwick advanced towards her, with his army, reinforced with a body of Londoners, and bringing the king with him; and her army conſiſted of northern troops, who committed ſuch monſtrous ra-

The earl of Warwick goes out to fight the queen.

* It is reported, that he ſlew, that day, ſo many, with his own hand, that he was, thenceforward called the Butcher; and Grafton affirms, that, his father, Thomas, lord Clifford, having been killed, in the battle of St. Albans, by the duke of York, this lord Clifford ſwore, "He would not leave one branch of the line of York ſtanding." Leland.

vages,

1461. vages, that it was one of the principal reaſons, why the Londoners choſe to join the earl of Warwick; for, if theſe troops had entered the city, they would have had every thing to fear from ſuch formidable gueſts.

He is defeated, at Bernard's Heath. Feb. 17. Stow.

The two armies, meeting, near St. Albans, on Bernard's Heath, began a fight, which, at firſt, was very vigorous, on both ſides; but, Lovelace, who commanded one of the wings of Warwick's army, either through treachery, or for ſome other reaſon, not engaging, in time, the victory declared for the queen, and the vanquiſhed loſt 2800 men; and ſhe likewiſe had the ſatisfaction to free the king, whom the earl of Warwick durſt not venture to leave, at London. She uſed her victory, with the barbarity too common, in civil wars, beheading ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, particularly the lord Bonvile and Sir Thomas Kiriel, tho' the king had granted them their lives; and, as her troops had voluntarily liſted in her ſervice, and ſhe was unable to pay them, ſhe could not hinder them from plundering the town of St. Albans. Theſe northern ſoldiers declared, that they had taken up arms, purely upon the promiſe of having the plunder of the country, lying ſouth of the Trent; which declaration inſpired the inhabitants of London, and the neighbouring country, with a terror extremely prejudicial to the queen. Proviſions being grown very ſcarce, in her army, on account of the great licentiouſneſs of her troops, ſhe ſent to the mayor of London, for a ſupply; who, not daring to deny her, at ſuch a juncture, ordered ſeveral carts to be loaded; but, as they were going out of the gate, the mob ſtopped them, and told the mayor, that they would not ſuffer proviſions to be ſent to an army, which was come, on purpoſe, to plunder the country; and the mayor not having it in his power to prevent this diſorder, made an excuſe to the queen, and gave her hopes of being received into the city, as ſoon as the people were appeaſed.

The earl of Marche approaches London. Hall.

Whilſt the queen, at St. Albans, was treating with the mayor of London, the earl of Marche marched, with all poſſible expedition, to inſpire the Londoners with a reſolution to keep their gates ſhut againſt the queen, by reaſon of the approaching aſſiſtance; and, indeed, the news of his march greatly contributed to prolong the negotiation, between the queen and the mayor, which ruined her affairs. She no ſooner heard, that the earl of Marche was approaching, and had augmented his army, with the remains of the earl of Warwick's, than ſhe choſe to retire into the north; for ſhe was not only inferior to her enemy, but alſo juſtly apprehenſive of not being received, in London, if ſhe advanced, that way, and of being forced to join battle, at the gates of the city, too well inclined to favour her enemy.

The earl of Marche, overjoyed that the queen volutarily gave him up the metropolis, entered, as it were, in triumph, the beginning of March; and he was received with the acclamations of the inhabitants, who, ſeveral years before, had very near declared againſt the court; but the late duke of York's caution had been ſo much to his prejudice, that his ſon's friends judged it abſolutely neceſſary to place him, at once, on the throne. After ſeveral conſultations, inſtead of being expoſed to the delays of a parliament, they reſolved to proceed to an extraordinary election, firſt by the people, and then by the nobles; and they believed, that this method might be juſtified by the act of parliament, confirming the agreement between the king and the duke of York, and that it was unneceſſary to ſtay for a freſh confirmation. 1461.

An extraordinary election of the earl of Marche.

Accordingly, the earl of Warwick drew up his army, in St. John's fields, in the midſt of throngs of people; whom ordering to be caſt into a ring round him, he read aloud the agreement between the king and the duke of York, with the act of parliament, by which it was confirmed; and then he told the people, that Henry had notoriouſly violated this agreement, and ſo forfeited his right to the crown; but, after all, I do not ſee, how he could charge the king with the queen's proceedings, ſince he was, all the while, as a priſoner, at London; nor was he any more his own maſter, after he was with the queen. However, this be, the earl of Warwick, raiſing his voice, asked the people, who ſtood round him, Whether they would have Henry of Lancaſter, for their king? The whole multitude crying out, no, no, he farther asked, Whether, according to that ſettlement, they would have Edward, ſon to the late duke of York, to reign over them? To which, all the people anſwered with acclamations, expreſſing their conſent.

An aſſembly of the chief men who adjudged him the crown. Hall.

Upon this, the people's mind being, as was pretended, ſufficiently known, a great council was called of all the biſhops, lords, gentlemen, and the magiſtrates, in and about London; and Edward, in this aſſembly, ſet forth his title to the crown, as well by birth, as by the foreſaid agreement, and deſired, that it might be adjudged to him. It would have been great boldneſs, to diſpute his pretenſion, at ſuch a juncture; wherefore, the aſſembly unanimouſly declared, that, Henry of Lancaſter, having forfeited his right of enjoying the crown, during life, by the violation of the ſolemn agreement made with the duke of York, and ratified by the parliament, it was devolved to Edward, eldeſt ſon to the duke of York. Upon this declaration, the crown was offered to the duke, who accepted it, modeſtly confeſſing his inſufficiency; adding, that, tho' his youth and want of experience made him apprehenſive of undertaking ſuch a weighty charge, he would, however, with God's aſſiſtance, do all that was poſſible, to promote the happineſs of his people. On the morrow, he went in proceſſion to St. Paul's, from whence, he was conducted, in great ſtate, to Weſtminſter-hall, where he ſat in the king's ſeat, with the ſcepter of St. Edward in his hand; and the archbiſhop of Canterbury having asked the people, whether they would have Edward earl of Marche, for their king; the people anſwered, with loud acclamations. Then the king took the homage

of

1461. of the lords that were preſent; and the ceremony concluding with ſinging Te Deum, Edward was conducted, with great ſolemnity, to the biſhop's palace, where Henry uſually lodged, when he was within the walls of the city; and, next day, being the 5th of March, he was proclaimed, in London, and the neighbouring towns, by the name of Edward IV.

Thus, ended the reign of Henry VI, which had laſted, 38 years and a half, without his ever intermeddling with the adminiſtration of the publick affairs; nay, we do not find, that he was, on any occaſion, much moved with events, tho' they were, for the moſt part, ſuch as would affect a prince of a different character. He was fitter for a private life, than a crown; and his great and only defect was a natural imbecillity, which rendered him incapable of holding, of himſelf, the reins of the government. As he was ever ruled by thoſe, who governed, in his name, his capacity did not reach to ſee the conſequences of the counſels given him, which he apprehended to be always good; but, in this, he widely differed from the king, his father, whoſe genius was always ſuperior to that of his miniſters. As to the reſt, he was chaſte, temperate, extremely religious, and abhorred injuſtice and cruelty; and theſe virtues have ſerved for a foundation to the encomiums beſtowed on him by ſeveral hiſtorians, and wſtich have led ſome to conſider him, as a real ſaint. Indeed, theſe virtues would have rendered him an accompliſhed prince, had they been attended with the qualifications of a ſovereign; but, being alone, they only made him an honeſt man, and, at the ſame time, to ſay no worſe, a very indifferent king. His incapacity drew upon him the contempt of his ſubjects; but the innocence of his life never ſuffered it to turn into hatred.

Henry's character.

During the firſt years of his reign, his affairs were in a proſperous ſituation, being managed by the dukes of Bedford and Glouceſter, his uncles, princes of great abilities, and ſincerely attached to his intereſt; and, if, even in their life-time, his affairs began to decline, it was not ſo much owing to their fault, as to ſome unforeſeen accidents, which all the prudence in the world could not have prevented. After the deceaſe of the duke of Bedford, Henry was entirely ſwayed by the cardinal of Wincheſter and the duke of Suffolk; who, regarding only their own advantage, compleated his ruin. Afterwards, queen Margaret, by her uncommon capacity, might have reſtored his affairs; but, altogether regardleſs of the king's glory, or the good of the nation, her ſole view was to graſp all the power, and uſe the king's name, to authoriſe her paſſions; and the miniſters, ſhe employed, were all of the ſame character. It is not, therefore, ſurpriſing, that the king's affairs ſhould run ſo ſwiftly into confuſion. The death of the duke of Glouceſter will be an indelible ſtain, in Margaret's reputation; and unfortunately, this crime reflected but too much upon the king himſelf, ſince he had not the reſolution to oppoſe it, or puniſh the authors. Accordingly, it manifeſtly appeared, that Heaven took publick vengeance of this murder, by the civil wars which enſued, that occaſioned the ruin of the king, the queen, the prince, their ſon, and the whole houſe of Lancaſter.

1461. The cauſes of the decay of the Engliſh affairs, in Henry VI's reign.

Henry VI. was 39 years and about a quarter old, when he was deprived of the crown, which he had enjoyed, almoſt from his very birth; tho' he ſtill lived long enough to be the ſport of fortune, as will be ſeen, in the ſucceeding reign; and Edward, his ſon, prince of Wales, was in his 19th year, at the time of this fatal revolution.

A DISSERTATION on the MAID of ORLEANS.

THE actions of JOAN of ARC, commonly called the Maid of Orleans, made formerly a very great noiſe in the world; and they are diſperſed, in the hiſtories of France and England, with circumſtances that all ſavour of prodigy. Moſt of the writers, upon this ſubject, have ſcarce left their readers the liberty of reaſoning and judging; having expreſly decided, ſome, that Joan of Arc was inſpired by God, others, that ſhe was an inſtrument of the devil; yet they all agree to inſinuate, that what ſhe did could not be performed, without a ſupernatural aſſiſtance. However, impartial and unprejudiced readers find inſuperable difficulties, in both theſe opinions; for, as they do not apprehend, wherein religion can be concerned, in Joan's actions, they think it equally incredible, that God ſhould either ſupernaturally raiſe this Maid, in favour of Charles VII, or give the devil an extraordinary power, to make her his inſtrument, to ruin the affairs of the Engliſh, in France. Hence ſeveral have been led to embrace a third opinion; viz. that the pretended inſpiration of Joan of Arc was no more than a contrivance, to produce the effect that, indeed, attended it. This diverſity of opinions, together with the marvellous viſible, in the actions of a country girl, very naturally raiſes a curioſity, to have a juſt account of this affair; wherefore, I am perſuaded, that it will not be unacceptable fairly to examine this matter, with the ſole view of diſcovering, as far as poſſible, the truth. As I propoſe to be as brief, as the nature of the ſubject will allow, omitting the learning it is capable of, I ſhall only relate the facts and teſtimonies, which may illuſtrate this affair, and afterwards make ſome remarks, upon the whole; and they, who are impatient to purſue the Hiſtory of England, may diſpenſe with peruſing this Diſſertation, without endangering the loſs of any thing abſolutely neceſſary to be known.

It muſt, firſt, be obſerved, that we have only

only a ſingle contemporary author, who gives an account of the Maid of Orleans; for all the later writers have made additions to his relation, in order to embelliſh their Hiſtory. Monſtrelet is the author I mean; who was one of the retinue of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, and had himſelf ſeen this girl; but he is extremely reſerved, in what he relates. He never mentions his own opinion; and the reaſon is obvious; for Joan, making her appearance, when the duke of Bnrgundy was in alliance with England, Monſtrelet, with all of that party, did not believe her inſpired; but, as he did not write his Chronicle, till after the duke's reconciliation to king Charles, he judged it improper to combat, in his writings, the received opinion of the French, who were then his maſter's friends. On the contrary, as, probably, in changing his party, he had not altered his ſentiments of Joan, he took care to ſay nothing, to make it believed, that he was under the ſame prejudice with the reſt of the French; and, therefore, Monſtrelet ſeems to be a faithful guide, who, whatevever his own opinion was, has ſaid nothing, to render him ſuſpected. The truth is, he never ſays, either that Joan was, or was not inſpired.

The ſame author has inſerted, in his Chronicle, a letter written, in the name of Henry VI, to the duke of Burgundy, to inform him of what paſſed, at the trial and condemnation of the Maid of Orleans; which might be juſtly ſuſpected of partiality, if the facts it contains did not, for the moſt part, agree with the records of the trial mentioned, hereafter; ſo that this letter is a farther means, to enable us to diſcover the truth.

We have a third means, the ampleſt and moſt conſiderable, viz. Joan's examination and anſwers, of which the famous Stephen Paſquier has related the particulars; who affirms, that he had Joan's original trial, four whole years, in his hands, and what he has ſaid, concerning her, was faithfully extracted; but we muſt carefully diſtinguiſh what Paſquier aſſerts, as of himſelf, from the records of the trial; for he was ſo prejudiced, in favour of Joan, that he could not avoid being angry with thoſe of his countrymen, who did not believe her inſpired. He ſays, they were worſe than the Engliſh, and extremely injurious to the honour of France; ſo that, conſidering only his private opinion, he has juſtly rendered himſelf ſuſpected to one of the parties; but the trial itſelf is an original piece, beyond all ſuſpicion, ſince we find there, verbatim, Joan's own anſwers to the articles upon which ſhe was examined.

Monſtrelet's Chronicle, the king of England's letter to the duke of Burgundy, and the trial of the Maid are the three evidences, which muſt be examined, in order to paſs a juſt judgment, upon this affair; for, as to the facts diſperſed, in the Hiſtories of France and England, which are not drawn from theſe three fountains, in my opinion, they deſerve very little regard; ſince it is manifeſt, that the hiſtorians have copied, without any previous examination, thoſe that wrote before them; and that ſeveral have induſtriouſly embelliſhed their ſubject, by multiplying the wonders. If ſome are to be credited, Joan worked miracles, foretold future events, knew ſecrets, unknown to all but the king, her heart was found whole and entire, amongſt the aſhes of her funeral pile, and, out of the flames that conſumed her body, was ſeen to fly a white dove, the emblem of her chaſtity. They farther relate, that Joan commanded the convoy which entered Orleans, and led the beſieged to the aſſault of the Engliſh forts; that, by her ſole advice, the battle of Patay was fought, and to her bravery the French were indebted, for their victory. In a word, they pretend, that Joan did all, and leave king Charles's generals only the honour, of fighting under her banner; but, in all this, they, doubtleſs, exceed the truth. The moſt certain way is to keep to the three foreſaid authorities, which it will be neceſſary to examine; but I ſhall begin with Monſtrelet, and cite ſome paſſages of his Chronicle, eſſential to the point under conſideration; for it would be tedious to copy all he has ſaid, concerning the Maid.

" Now, in the year abovementioned, came " to the king, at Chinon, where he reſided, " a young damſel, about 20 years old *, called " Joan, clothed and dreſſed, like a man; who " was born in the parts, between Lorrain and " Burgundy, at Droimy †, a place not far " from Vaucouleur. This Joan was long a " ſervant, at an inn, and had the courage to " ride the horſes to water, and alſo to perform " other feats, not uſually done by young girls; " and, being turned away, ſhe was ſent to the " king by Sir Robert de Baudricourt, captain, under the king, of Vaucouleur, who " furniſhed her with horſes, and four or five " attendants. She ſtiled herſelf Pucelle, or " Maid, inſpired with divine grace, and ſaid " ſhe was ſent to the king, to put him in " poſſeſſion of his kingdom, of which he was " unjuſtly deprived. She was in a very mean " condition; and ſhe was, about two months, " in the king's palace, whom ſhe, ſeveral " times, admoniſhed to ſupply her with men " and aid, and ſhe would repulſe his enemies, " and exalt his dominion. In the interim, " the king and his council gave no credit to " whatever ſhe ſaid, but took her for a mad-" woman, and diſordered in her ſenſes; for, " to ſo great princes and other noblemen, ſuch, " or the like, words are very doubtful and " dangerous, as well becauſe of the wrath of " the Lord chiefly, as of the ſlander from the " talk of the world. All her words were, in " the name of God; and, therefore, many of " thoſe, that ſaw and heard her ſpeak, were " ſtrongly perſuaded, that ſhe was, as ſhe af-

* She was then 27 years old; for, in her examination, in 1431, ſhe declared, that ſhe was 29 years of age; and, conſequently, when ſhe came to the king, in 1429, ſhe was 27 years old. Rapin.

† It ſhould be read Dompre. Rapin.

" firmed, inſpired by God. She was, ſeveral " times, examined by notable clerks and other " learned men of great authority, that her in- " tention might be more fully diſcovered; " but ſhe always kept to her point, ſaying, if " the king would believe her, ſhe would re- " ſtore him to his dominions.—When ſhe " came before the king, there were preſent " the duke of Alenſon, the king's marſhal, " and ſeveral generals; for the king had held " a council, about the ſiege of Orleans, and " from thence went to Poictiers, and this " Maid with him. Soon after, the marſhal " was ordered to carry proviſions and other " neceſſaries to Orleans; Joan would attend " him, and requeſted, that ſhe might have a " ſuit of armour and men's cloaths, with which " ſhe was furniſhed; and, preſently after, ſhe " ſet up her ſtandard and went to Blois, the " place of rendezvous, and from thence to " Orleans, with the reſt. She was always " completely armed; in this expedition, many " came and liſted under her; and, when ſhe " arrived, at Orleans, ſhe was made very wel- " come, and many people were overjoyed, at " her coming."

This is all that Monſtrelet ſays of the Maid, to her entry into Orleans; and it may be remarked, that ſhe did not command the convoy, but only attended the marſhal, with ſome who had liſted under her. As to the ſtorming of the forts, it ſeems, at firſt, from his account of it, that Joan commanded, in all the ſallies; but, afterwards, he ſays: " And tho', in " theſe three aſſaults, Joan is reported by " common fame to have had the chief com- " mand; yet all, or moſt part, of the noble " knights and captains were in them, who, " during the ſiege, were in the city of Or- " leans, and behaved, each for his part, va- " liantly, as warriors ought to do, on ſuch " occaſions." However, he highly applauds her valour, in ſeveral places. For inſtance, ſpeaking of the march of the French army, after the raiſing of the ſiege of Orleans, he ſays: " Joan was always in the front, before " her ſtandard; and, in all the marches, her " her fame was ſpread, as if there had been " no other warrior but her herſelf."

After his deſcription of the battle of Patay, he adds, " and eſpecially Joan acquired, on " ſuch occaſions, ſo great praiſe and reputa- " tion, that it was univerſally imagined, that " the king's enemies would be no longer able " to reſiſt her; and that ſhortly, by her means, " the king would be reſtored to his whole " kingdom."

In fine, not to cite too many paſſages of this author, it is ſufficient to obſerve, in a word, that, when he mentions the inſpiration of the Maid, he never gives his own opinion, but only ſays, that ſhe called herſelf inſpired. He is ſo very cautious, that, in ſpeaking of what the duke of Burgundy ſaid to her, when he went to ſee her, after ſhe was taken, he pretends not to remember it, tho' he was himſelf an ear-witneſs. His words are, as follows: " The duke went to ſee her, at the place " where ſhe was lodged, and ſpoke to her " ſome words, which I have forgot, tho' I " was preſent." It is obvious, that the duke's words were reproaches, for ſeducing the people, and menaces, on that account; but Monſtrelet chuſes rather to be ſilent, than to ſay any thing, pro or con.

He likewiſe affirms, that, a few days before Joan threw herſelf into Compiegne, ſhe had fought a captain of the duke of Burgundy's, called Franquet d' Arras, and, having taken him priſoner, cut off his head; but he does not tell us, whether juſtly, or not, contenting himſelf with barely relating the fact.

When he comes, at laſt, to her condemnation, he does not diſcover his own ſentiments; for he only tranſcribes the king of England's letter to the duke of Burgundy, on that occaſion; but, as this letter is an original which may help to diſcover the truth, it will be proper to inſert it, at length.

Moſt dear and well-beloved Uncle,

" THE fervent affection, which we are ſen- " ſible you have, as a true catholick, for " our holy mother, the church, and for the " advancement of our faith, juſtly exhorts " and admoniſhes us to notify to you, in wri- " ting, what, to the honour of our ſaid holy " mother, the church, to the confirmation of " our faith, and to the extirpation of petti- " lent errors, has been lately in this our city " of Roan ſolemnly tranſacted.

" It is now notorious, almoſt every-where " by common fame, how the woman, who cal- " led herſelf Joan the Maid, had, for above " theſe two years, contrary to the divine law, " and the condition of her ſex, wandered a- " bout in men's clothes, a thing abominable " to God, and was in ſuch a dreſs brought " to our and your mortal enemy; and to " whom and to thoſe of his party, church- " men, nobles, and commons, ſhe often inti- " mated, that ſhe was ſent from God; pre- " ſumptuouſly boaſting to have, perſonally and " viſibly, converſed with St. Michael, and " great numbers of angels and ſaints of pa- " radiſe, as St. Catharine and St. Margaret; " by which falſe intimation, and the promiſe " of future victories, ſhe turned the hearts of " many men and women from the truth, to " fables and lyes. She alſo wore arms appoint- " ed for knights and eſquires, and ſet up a " ſtandard; moreover, ſhe demanded, with " great boldneſs, pride, and preſumption, to " bear the moſt excellent arms of France, " which ſhe partly obtained, and bore, in " ſeveral incurſions and aſſaults, as did like- " wiſe her brothers, according to report; " namely, Azure, two Flower-de-Luces, Or, " and a Sword, the point upwards, fermed " with a Crown. In this ſtate, ſhe took the " field, and led men at arms and archers, in " bands and great companies, to commit and " exerciſe inhuman cruelties, by ſhedding " human blood, by exciting ſeditions and " commotions among the people, leading " them into perjury, rebellion, ſuperſtition, " and erroneous opinions; by interrupting all " true peace, and renewing mortal wars; by " ſuffering herſelf to be honoured and reve-

" renced

" renced of many, as a ſaint; and by work-
" ing other damnable deeds, too tedious to
" be related, which, however, were notorious,
" in ſeveral places, at which almoſt all Chri-
" ſtendom was offended. But God, taking
" pity on his faithful people, and not ſuffer-
" ing them to remain long in danger, nor to
" continue in vain, deſtructive, and novel o-
" pinions, which they had raſhly embraced,
" has permitted, through his great goodneſs
" and mercy, that this woman ſhould be ta-
" ken in your army, at the ſiege you was
" carrying on, at Compiegne, and, by your
" good means, put into our power. And,
" becauſe we were, immediately, required by
" the biſhop of the dioceſe, where ſhe was
" apprehended, to deliver over to him, as
" her ordinary eccleſiaſtical judge, the ſaid
" Joan, charged with the crime of high-trea-
" ſon againſt the Divine Majeſty; we, as
" well out of reverence to our holy mother,
" the church, whoſe ordinances we juſtly pre-
" fer to our own will and pleaſure, as for the
" honour and exaltation of our holy faith, de-
" livered her to him to be brought to her trial,
" without ſuffering our ſecular judges to take
" vengeance upon her, as we might lawfully
" have done, conſidering the great damages
" and miſchiefs, the horrible murders, and
" execrable cruelties, with innumerable crimes,
" ſhe had committed againſt us and our duti-
" ful loyal people. The biſhop joined with
" him the vicar of the inquiſitor of errors and
" hereſies; and, calling in with them a great
" and notable number of ſolemn maſters, and
" doctors in divinity and canon-law, they
" commenced, with great ſolemnity and due
" gravity, the proceſs of this Joan. After
" he and the inquiſitor, judges in the cauſe,
" had, for ſeveral days, examined her, they
" ordered her confeſſions and aſſertions to be
" maturely weighed by the maſters and doc-
" tors, and, in general, by all the faculties of
" our moſt dearly beloved daughter, the uni-
" verſity of Paris, before whom the confeſſions
" and aſſertions were laid. Purſuant to their
" opinion and determination, the judges
" found Joan guilty of ſuperſtition, witchcraft,
" blaſphemy againſt God and his ſaints,
" ſchiſm, and of greatly erring in the faith of
" Jeſus Chriſt; and, in order to reſtore her
" to the union and communion of our holy
" mother, the church, to cleanſe her from her
" horrible and deſtructive crimes and wicked-
" neſs, and to preſerve her ſoul from eternal
" damnation, ſhe was, often and long, very
" charitably and calmly admoniſhed, to reject
" and renounce all her errors; and humbly
" return to the way and paths of truth, or
" otherwiſe ſhe would greatly endanger both
" ſoul and body.

" But the moſt pernicious and ſchiſmatical
" ſpirit of pride and outrageous preſumption,
" which is always endeavouring to deſtroy
" the union and ſafety of Chriſtians, ſo ſtrong-
" ly poſſeſſed the ſaid Joan, that, notwith-
" ſtanding all the holy doctrine or counſel, or
" other mild exhortations, adminiſtered to her,
" her hardened and obſtinate heart would not
" be humbled or mollified. She ſtill boaſted,
" that all ſhe had done was performed, by
" the command of God and the holy Virgin,
" who had viſibly appeared to her. And what
" is worſe, ſhe would acknowledge no judge
" on earth, except God alone, and the ſaints
" in paradiſe; rejecting the judgment of our
" holy father, the pope, and of a general
" council, and the univerſal church militant.
" Upon which, her eccleſiaſtical judges, ſee-
" ing her perſevere ſo long, and ſo obſtinately,
" in her reſolution and purpoſe, ordered her
" to be conducted to the church, before the
" clergy and people, there aſſembled in great
" multitudes; in the preſence of whom her
" wicked purpoſes were diſplayed, expoſed, and
" declared, ſolemnly and publickly, by a no-
" table doctor in divinity; to the exaltation
" of our faith, the extirpation of errors, and
" the edification and amendment of chriſtian
" people. After that, ſhe was charitably ad-
" moniſhed to return to the union of the holy
" church, and reform her faults and errors,
" wherein ſhe was hardened; and, therefore,
" the judges proceeded to denounce upon
" her the uſual and cuſtomary ſentence, in
" ſuch caſes: But, before the ſentence was
" fully declared, ſhe, in appearance, began to
" relent, crying out, ſhe would return to the
" holy church. This was readily and gladly
" heard by the judges and clergy, who kind-
" ly received her, hoping, by that means, her
" ſoul and body would be ſaved from perdi-
" tion and torment. Then ſhe ſubmitted to
" the ordinance of the holy church, abjured,
" with her own mouth, her errors and abo-
" minable crimes, and made a publick recan-
" tation, ſigning the inſtrument, with her
" own hand: And, thus, our compaſſionate
" mother, the holy church, rejoicing over this
" penitent ſinner, glad to find and reſtore
" this ſtrayed and loſt ſheep, to the reſt of the
" fold, condemned her to do penance, in pri-
" ſon. But ſhe was ſcarce there, before the
" fire of her pride, which ſeemed to be ex-
" tinguiſhed, rekindled into peſtiferous flames,
" by the ſuggeſtions of the enemy: And,
" preſently, the unfortunate Joan relapſed into
" her former errors and follies, lately abjured
" and recanted.

" Wherefore, according to the decrees and
" orders of the holy church, ſhe was again
" publickly preached, that ſhe might not,
" hereafter, infect the reſt of the members of
" Chriſt: And, as ſhe relapſed into her
" former deteſtable crimes and faults, ſhe was
" delivered over to the ſecular arm, and con-
" demned to be burnt. Perceiving her end
" to approach, ſhe plainly owned and confeſ-
" ſed, that the ſpirits which, ſhe ſaid, ap-
" peared to her, ſeveral times, were evil and
" lying ſpirits; and that their frequent pro-
" miſes, to free her, were falſe. Thus, ſhe
" acknowledged, that ſhe had been deceived
" and mocked by theſe ſpirits; and, purſuant
" to her ſentence, ſhe was carried bound
" to the old market-place, in Roan, and
" publickly burnt, in the ſight of all the
" people."

Before

Before we proceed to her trial, it will not be improper to ſee a letter, ſaid to be ſent by her, to the king of England and his generals, before the ſiege of Orleans was raiſed; which you have, as follows, in the words of John de Serres, a French hiſtorian.

King of ENGLAND,

"Do juſtice to the King of heaven, in his "royal blood. Reſtore to the Virgin the "keys of all the good cities you have forced. "She is come from God, to demand the "blood royal, and is ready to make peace, if "you are willing to do juſtice, and reſtore what "you have taken away. King of England, "if you will not do, thus, I am chief of the "war. In what place ſoever I find your men, "in France, I will make them depart, whe-"ther they will, or no. If they will ſubmit, "I will take them to mercy. The Virgin "comes from the King of heaven, to drive "you out of France. If you will not obey, "ſhe will make ſuch a havock, as has not "been known in France, this 1000 years. "And be aſſured, the King of heaven will "ſend to her, and her good men at arms, "greater ſtrength than you can have. Go, "in God's name, into your own country. "Perſiſt not obſtinately in your opinion; for "you ſhall not hold France of the King of "heaven, ſon of the holy Mary. But king "Charles, the right heir, ſhall poſſeſs it, to "whom God has given it, and he ſhall enter "Paris, with a noble train. You, William "Poullet, earl of Suffolk, John, lord Talbot, "Thomas, lord Scales, lieutenants of the "duke of Bethford, and you, duke of Beth-"ford, ſtiling yourſelf regent of France, ſpare "innocent blood. Leave Orleans at liberty. "If you do not juſtice to thoſe you have in-"jured, the French will perform the nobleſt "exploit that ever was done, in Chriſten-"dom. Hear this advice from God and the "Virgin."

This letter written, in a prophetick ſtile, by a girl who pretended to be ſent from God, and ſeems ſo certain of the future, ought to contain nothing, but what was afterwards exactly verified; and yet there are predictions in it, which were never accompliſhed. For inſtance, it is not true, that ſhe expelled a ſingle Engliſhman out of France. She farther affirms, that ſhe will make ſo great a havock, as had not been known, this 1000 years, in France; which words can only relate to the raiſing of the ſiege of Orleans, and the battle of Patay: But the firſt of theſe actions has nothing, in itſelf, extraordinary; for that a garriſon ſhould make a ſalley, and drive the beſiegers from their poſts, is a thing too common to be accounted a miracle. As to the battle of Patay, if Joan had commanded the French army, which ſhe did not, can it, with any juſtice or propriety, be ſaid, that action deſerved to be expreſſed, in her terms? The Engliſh had only 6000 men, and loſt 2500; but this defeat hardly bears any proportion to thoſe of the French, at Crecy, Poictiers, and Azincourt; the firſt of which was but a 100, and the laſt only 13 or 14 years, before Joan's time.

It is farther remarkable, that, in her letter, ſhe ſpeaks, as if ſhe was actually at the head of the armies of France, ſince ſhe ſummoned the king of England, to return her the keys of all the towns, in his poſſeſſion; and yet the letter muſt have been written, whilſt ſhe was only upon the march, with the convoy intended for Orleans; which, inſtead of commanding, ſhe obtained, ſays Monſtrelet, as a ſort of favour, leave to attend. I paſs over her ſpeaking to the king of England, as if then an adult perſon, tho' he was but nine years old, exhorting him not to perſiſt in his opinion; nor of her admoniſhing him to depart out of France, tho' he was then, in England. Theſe things may be overlooked, as being in a prophetick ſtile, and conſidered, as ſo many figures of ſpeech; but ſhe ſhould, at leaſt, have known the names of thoſe ſhe addreſſed, and not have called the earl of Suffolk, Poullet, when his name was de la Pole. To miſtake the names of foreigners may be eaſily excuſed, in common perſons; but I cannot conceive, how it is pardonable, in one that pretended to ſpeak, in the name, and by the authority of God. Theſe and ſeveral other reaſons, which it would be too tedious to recite, induce me to believe, that this letter was compoſed, after the event, by ſome perſon, that knew the Maid had really written to the king of England, or the duke of Bedford, as will appear from the ſequel.

Let us proceed now to the proceſs of Joan of Arc, as we find it, in Paſquier; I ſay to the proceſs, and not to the ſentiment of that author, who lived too long after her, for his teſtimony to be of any great weight; for it is ſufficient to ſay, with reſpect to him, that he every-where ſpeaks of her, with large encomiums, and believed ſhe was really inſpired, and ſent from God, to ſave France. Her examinations and anſwers, which I ſhall abridge, as much as poſſible, without obſcuring the ſenſe, are, as follows.

In the firſt place, being charged to ſpeak the truth, ſhe anſwered, ſhe would relate what concerned her father and mother, but not diſcloſe the revelations ſhe had told king Charles, tho', in eight days, ſhe ſhould know, whether ſhe might, or no.

To the ſecond queſtion, about her name and family, ſhe replied, ſhe was of the village of Dompre, and was called, in her own country, Joan Jeanette, but, in France, Joan of Arc; that her father's name was James of Arc, and her mother's Iſabella, &c.

That ſhe was then about 29 years of age.

That ſhe was, by trade, a ſeamſtreſs and ſpinſter, and not a ſhepherdeſs.

That ſhe went, every year, to confeſſion.

That ſhe often heard a voice from heaven, and, in the place where ſhe heard it, likewiſe ſaw a light, which ſhe took for an angel; that the voice had frequently warned her to go into France, and raiſe the ſiege of Orleans; and that ſhe ſhould go to Robert de Baudri-

court,

court, captain of Vaucouleurs, who would give her a guard, to conduct her, which ſhe did, accordingly.

She added, ſhe knew God loved the duke of Orleans; and ſhe had received more revelations, concerning him, than any perſon living, except the king.

She alſo confeſſed, that ſhe engaged in a skirmiſh, before Paris, on a holy-day; and being asked, whether that was right, ſhe anſwered, Proceed.

Being asked, when ſhe heard the voice laſt, ſhe replied, yeſterday, three times, in the morning, at the time of Veſpers, and when the Ave Maria bell rung, in the evening.

Being examined, whether ſhe had ever ſeen any fairies, ſhe anſwered, no; but that one of her god-mothers pretended to have ſeen ſome, at the fairy-tree, near the village of Dompre.

Being asked, who they were that ſpoke to her, ſhe replied, St. Catharine, and St. Margaret; and that ſhe had often ſeen and touched them, ſince her confinement, and kiſſed the ground, on which they trod; moreover, that ſhe conſulted them, about her anſwers.

She farther affirmed, that ſhe had put on men's clothes, by the expreſs command of God, and was wounded in the neck, before Orleans.

Item. That, within ſeven years, the Engliſh ſhould leave a greater pledge, than that, before Orleans, and loſe all their poſſeſſions, in France.

That they ſhould ſuſtain, in France, a much greater loſs, than they had, hitherto, done, by means of a ſignal victory, which the French ſhould gain over them.

Being asked, whether ſhe bore any coat of arms, ſhe anſwered, No, but only her ſtandard; but that, indeed, the king had given her brothers a coat of arms; viz. in a field Azure, two Flower-de-luces, Or, and a crown in the middle.

She added, that her father dreamt ſhe would go with the ſoldiers, and, on that account, kept her ſhort, and ſaid, he had rather ſee her drowned.

Then ſhe was charged with throwing herſelf headlong from the tower, in order to kill herſelf, whilſt ſhe was priſoner, at Beaurevoir. She confeſſed the fact, but ſaid, that her intent was not to kill herſelf, but to make her eſcape.

During her proceſs, ſhe deſired leave to hear maſs, and communicate, at Eaſter; which was granted her, provided ſhe would put on women's clothes; but ſhe choſe rather not to communicate, than do it, on that condition.

She was charged with ſuffering herſelf to be worſhipped; but ſhe replied, that, if ſome had kiſſed her hand, or clothes, it was without her conſent.

After theſe anſwers, come ſeveral others, which give occaſion to believe, that they were made to as many interrogations, ſuppreſſed by Paſquier; which are, as follow:

That ſhe had talked with St. Catharine and St. Margaret, at the fairy-tree, and not with the fairies, as ſhe had been accuſed; that ſhe began, at 13 years of age, to converſe with theſe ſaints.

That, being 20 years old, ſhe hired herſelf, at Neufchatel, in Lorrain, to a woman that kept an inn, called La Rouſſe; where ſhe led the beaſts to graſs, and watered the horſes, and ſo learned to ride.

That, whilſt ſhe was there, ſhe had a lawſuit, concerning a marriage, before the official of Thoul, and carried her cauſe.

That, having ſerved, five years, ſhe returned to her father, and, againſt his will, went to Baudricourt, who made no account of her, for the two firſt months; but, in the third, he gave her a guard of 20 knights, an eſquire, and four ſervants, to conduct her to the king, at Chinon.

The judges preſſingly requeſting her to put on women's apparel: She anſwered, ſhe deſired to have none of her ſex's clothes, but a ſhift, after her death.

Upon this, ſhe was told, ſhe ſhould be received to communion, only in women's clothes; but ſhe refuſed to comply with that condition. However, ſhe conſented, at laſt, to take a woman's habit, to hear maſs, provided ſhe ſhould be allowed to put on men's clothes again; but, that favour being refuſed her, ſhe declared, that ſhe would rather die than be dreſſed, like a woman, contrary to God's expreſs command.

She alſo ſaid, ſhe had promiſed the king, to raiſe the ſiege of Orleans, and cauſe him to be crowned.

She was accuſed of being always againſt a peace; which ſhe owned, affirming, that no peace could be concluded, unleſs the Engliſh would leave France.

The proctor charging her with cauſing a ſword to be concealed, in St. Catharine's church, at Fierbois, and ſending for the ſame, after ſhe had diſcourſed with the king, ſhe denied ſhe had ever uſed any frauds; but ſhe acknowledged, that ſhe had heard three maſſes, in that church.

Being charged with ſaying, ſhe was ſent from God, to wage war, which was directly contrary to the will of God; ſhe replied, that, in the letter ſent by her to the king of England and the princes of the blood, ſhe had firſt offered them peace. Paſquier tells us, that the letter is copied in the trial; but, as he has not tranſcribed it himſelf, we cannot be ſure it is the ſame inſerted by de Serres, in his Hiſtory.

To the charge of putting to death Franquet d'Arras, her priſoner, ſhe anſwered, that he was a notorious robber, and condemned to die by the bailiff of Senlis.

As to the accuſation of her having, ſeveral times, communicated, in men's clothes, and kneeled to the voice which ſpoke to her, ſhe confeſſed the whole.

The proctor likewiſe accuſed her of having ſeduced many people, to ſuch a degree, that they reverenced her, as a ſaint, cauſed prayers

to be ſaid, in the church, to her honour, maintained that, except the holy Virgin, ſhe was the greateſt of ſaints, and wore about them her image, in lead, or other metal. To this charge ſhe anſwered, that God ſhould be judge.

Being charged with uſurping dominion over men, by making herſelf chief of the war, ſhe replied, that ſhe had done it, to vanquiſh the Engliſh; adding, that her ſtandard was of linnen or fuſtian, bordered with velvet, with a field ſeeme of fleur-de-lis, and in the middle, the image of God holding the world, ſupported by two angels in white, and underneath, Jeſus Maria.

Upon this, her judges upbraided her, for aſcribing to God ſuch vanities, contrary to the reverence due to himſelf, and asked her, whether ſhe put her confidence in her ſtandard; to which ſhe anſwered, ſhe placed her confidence only in him whoſe image it bore.

She was afterwards asked, why ſhe alone held her ſtandard, at the coronation of king Charles. She replied, it was but juſt, that he, who had been in trouble, ſhould be alſo in glory.

She was farther told, that, being wounded before Paris, ſhe cauſed her armour to be hung up, in the church of St. Denis, out of oſtentation: She anſwered, ſhe did it, from a motive of piety, according to the cuſtom of thoſe that were wounded, in war.

Laſtly, ſhe was asked, if ſhe would ſubmit to the judgment of the church militant. She replied, ſhe would, provided the church did not enjoin her what was impracticable; that ſhe could not, in any wiſe, revoke what ſhe had ſaid, about her viſions and revelations; and that, if the church affirmed they were illuſions, ſhe would not refer it to the judgment of men, but to God alone.

The examination being ended, the judges drew up the following ſummary of her confeſſions.

I. That, being 13 years old, ſhe ſaw St. Michael, St. Catharine, St. Margaret, and a great company of angels.

II. That theſe ſaints adviſed her to go to king Charles, and to wear men's clothes.

III. That ſhe choſe rather not to hear maſs, and communicate, than to put on women's apparel.

IV. That ſhe refuſed to ſubmit to the judgment of the church militant.

V. That ſhe pretended to foretel future contingencies.

VI. That ſhe knew ſaints, by their voices, whom ſhe had never ſeen, or heard, before.

VII. That ſhe was expreſly commanded by God, to wear men's clothes.

VIII. That ſhe caſt herſelf headlong from a tower, chuſing rather to die, than remain in the power of her enemies.

IX. That ſhe not only ſaw and heard, but alſo touched bodily St. Catharine and St. Margaret, and kiſſed the ground on which they trod.

The proctor having taken his concluſions, upon theſe articles, the judges ſaid, that what Joan of Arc had done was all an impoſture, and the invention of the devil, to delude the poor people: That ſhe was guilty of diſobedience to her parents, and of idolatry, to the diſhonour of the church; particularly in chuſing rather to deprive herſelf of the body of our Lord, than lay aſide men's clothes. At this ſentence were preſent the biſhops of Coutance and Liſieux, the chapter of the cathedral of Roan, 16 doctors, ſix licentiates, or batchellors in divinity, and 11 advocates of Roan.

This ſentence, being ſent to the univerſity of Paris, was confirmed by the faculties of divinity and the decrees, and Joan pronounced a heretick and ſchiſmatick; and then the univerſity wrote to the king and the biſhop of Bayeux, to deſire that ſhe might be put to death. Paſquier does not inform us, to what puniſhment ſhe was condemned, by this firſt ſentence; all that can be ſaid is, ſhe was, at leaſt, excommunicated. However that be, Joan, being carried into the church, and placed on a ſcaffold, was publickly preached, as it was termed, in thoſe days; and, being greatly terrified by all theſe preparations, ſhe cried out aloud, ſhe would ſubmit to the judgment of God and the pope. But, finding what ſhe ſaid was inſufficient to revoke her ſentence, or prevent the publication, ſhe declared, ſhe would ſtand to the church's determination: That, ſince ſo many wiſe and learned men affirmed, that her viſions did not come from God, ſhe was willing to believe ſo too, which ſhe repeated, ſeveral times; and then ſhe made a publick abjuration, inſerted in the trial; but Paſquier judged it improper to relate the contents.

Upon this abjuration, another ſentence intervened, abſolving her from the bond of excommunication, and condemning her to perpetual impriſonment, by way of penance; after which, ſhe put on women's apparel; but, as ſhe had, all along, been very obſtinate, as to men's clothes, which ſhe wore, as ſhe pretended, by God's expreſs command, it was thought expedient to try, whether her abjuration was ſincere, by leaving a man's habit with her, in priſon. This expedient, to her misfortune, proved but too ſucceſsful; ſince ſhe was no ſooner alone, than ſhe reſumed that habit. On the morrow, being found in that dreſs. She was asked the reaſon ſhe replied, ſhe had put on her former habit, by the expreſs order of St. Catharine and St. Margaret, and choſe rather to obey God than man. Upon this, an information being entered againſt her, in the eccleſiaſtical court, ſhe was declared an heretick relapſe, and delivered over to the ſecular arm. Paſquier is altogether ſilent, as to her confeſſion, according to the king of England's letter, that ſhe was ſeduced by lying ſpirits, who had promiſed to releaſe her; and, indeed, this confeſſion is directly contrary to the inferenes Paſquier would draw from the records of the trial, viz. that Joan was inſpired by God. He only ſays, ſhe was ſentenced to be burnt, May the 31ſt, 1431; but, as all the reſt of the facts, contained in the king's letter, exactly agree with the

the records of the proceſs, I cannot ſee, why Paſquier's ſilence ſhould cauſe this to be ſuſpected.

One might make numberleſs reflections, upon the examination, anſwers, and behaviour of the Maid; but, not to tire the reader's patience, I ſhall content my ſelf with the following remarks.

1. It is evident, that Paſquier's view, in his account of this trial, was, to prove Joan's inſpiration; and, therefore, being prejudiced, he did not ſcruple to curtail, in ſeveral places, the queſtions and anſwers. This is manifeſt, in that ſeveral of the anſwers have no connexion with the queſtions, nor with one another; for example, what ſhe ſays, in her anſwer to the ſecond queſtion, about the duke of Orleans, neceſſarily ſuppoſes ſome other queſtion, which Paſquier was pleaſed to omit.

2. It appears, that he has paſſed over in ſilence ſome of the anſwers; for inſtance, it is ſaid, in the ſummary of Joan's confeſſion, that ſhe had boaſted of ſeeing St. Michael, and yet it is not mentioned in the examination.

3. Paſquier would not tranſcribe Joan's letter to the king of England, nor her abjuration; tho' they are papers of no leſs importance than all he has produced; and he was much more unwilling to mention her confeſſion, before her death, that ſhe was ſeduced or deceived. From theſe omiſſions it may be preſumed, that Paſquier ſought, in Joan's trial, not ſo much what might be ſerviceable to diſcover the truth, as what he judged conducive to prove his opinion; and, indeed, he multiplies words, to draw from Joan's anſwers conſequences favourable to his ſentiments, and to ſhew, that her predictions were accompliſhed, and all her aſſertions true; but he labours chiefly to prove, by very weak arguments, that the duke of Orleans was, as the Maid affirmed, greatly beloved of God. Among other reaſons he alledges, that God had bleſſed that prince with two illuſtrious ſons; the one legitimate, afterwards king of France, by the name of Lewis XII, and the other natural, viz. the renowned general, known firſt by the name of the baſtard of Orleans, and afterwards by that of earl of Dunois and Longueville; but it is notorious, that the latter was natural brother, and not ſon to the duke of Orleans, mentioned by Joan. It is ſurpriſing, that a man, ſo verſed, as Paſquier, in the Hiſtory of France, ſhould be guilty of ſo groſs a miſtake.

Having related ſuch facts, concerning the Maid, as are undeniable, ſince they are ſupported by inconteſtable teſtimonies, nothing more remains, but to examine the three opinions, upon this affair, in order to embrace the moſt probable.

Moſt of the French writers maintain, that Joan was really inſpired, and ſent by God; and they found their opinion upon theſe four principal reaſons. The firſt is the poſſibility of Gods working ſuch miracles; but, admitting this point, they cannot draw any inference from the poſſibility, for the truth of the fact.

The ſecond is Joan's own evidence, grounded upon her viſions of ſaints and angels; but this is the very thing in diſpute, and conſequently cannot be urged, as a proof.

The third reaſon is taken from her knowing king Charles, in diſguiſe, among his courtiers. This does not deſerve an anſwer; for, ſuppoſing, as a great many believe, that Joan was perſuaded to act this part, it is eaſy to conceive, that ſhe might be very well inſtructed to know the king, tho' ſhe had never ſeen him before.

The fourth is drawn from the accompliſhment of her predictions, of the raiſing of the ſiege of Orleans and the king's coronation, at a time when theſe events were extremely improbable. This reaſon, added to her ſurpriſing valour, on all occaſions, is, doubtleſs, the ſtrongeſt that can be alledged, for this opinion; yet the objections, to which this argument is liable, very much weaken, if not wholly deſtroy it.

Firſt, it may be objected, it is only ſhe herſelf, who ſaid, in her examination, and after the event, that ſhe had foretold to the king the raiſing of the ſiege of Orleans, and his coronation. We have obſerved, that Monſtrelet only makes her ſay to the king, in general terms, "That ſhe would exalt his "dominion, and drive his enemies out of "the kingdom;" which, however, ſhe did not perform, ſince the Engliſh were not expelled out of France, till above 20 years after her death.

Moreover, Joan ſays, in her examination, that theſe two things were revealed to her by St. Catharine and St. Margaret. I do not propoſe to conſider, here, all the objections that may be made to this circumſtance. I am willing to ſuppoſe, that God reveals ſometimes to the glorified ſaints, what is to happen, upon earth; that he commands them to aſſume a human ſhape, to inform certain perſons of future events; and that Catharine and Margaret were of the number of thoſe glorified ſaints, tho' it cannot be affirmed, with certainty: But it muſt be owned, at leaſt, that God very rarely makes uſe of ſuch means; and, when he does, it is always for his own glory, or the good of his church, or in behalf of ſome perſons, very eminent for their holineſs. Now, in the war, then waging, in France, neither the glory of God, nor the honour of religion, nor the good of the church were directly concerned; and Charles VII, in whoſe favour, it is ſuppoſed, God did ſo great things, was far from being famous, for holineſs of life. The diſpute, between the two kings, was purely about temporal concerns; for they both profeſſed the ſame religion, and could not charge each other, either with ſchiſm, or hereſy; ſo that it does not appear, how it could be for the glory of God, or the advantage of religion or the church, that the kingdom of France ſhould be governed by a prince of the houſe of Valois, rather than by a king of England, deſcended, by a daughter, from the blood royal of France. A man may affirm, as confidently, as he pleaſes, that

that the uſurpation of the Engliſh was ſo heinous and manifeſt, that God's honour was concerned, to make them an example of his juſtice; for this is ſuppoſing the thing in diſpute. We need only review what has been ſaid, upon this point, in the reign of Edward III, to be ſatisfied, that this ſuppoſition, inſtead of being ſo manifeſt, as is pretended, is liable to great difficulties; but, tho' it is undeniable, that the Engliſh were real uſurpers; can it be affirmed, that God's honour is concerned, to puniſh, in an exemplary and ſupernatural manner, the heinous injuſtices committed in the world? How many uſurpations of provinces and kingdoms occur, in hiſtory, without the intervention of a miracle, to puniſh the uſurpers? In fine, neither Charles VII, nor his ſucceſſors, appear to have done religion any ſervice, ro render it probable, that God had it in view, in what he did, by Joan's means; and the French, in thoſe days, were no better chriſtians, nor honeſter men, than the Engliſh. As for the perſon of king Charles VII, for whoſe ſake, it is pretended, God miraculouſly raiſed up the Maid, it was univerſally known, that he was very immoral; and, to ſay nothing of the duke of Burgundy's murder, committed by his order, and in his preſence, contrary to the faith of a treaty ratified with an oath, is it not certain, that, at the very time Joan came to him, at Chinon, he lived in open adultery with Agnes Sorrel, before the eyes of his whole court? Are theſe princes of this character, whom God uſually honours with particular favours? If to all theſe reaſons we add Joan's confeſſion, before her death, that ſhe was deceived, it will convincingly appear, that ſhe was not really inſpired; but I inſiſt not on this confeſſion, becauſe it is a diſputable point, being ſupported only by the teſtimony of her adverſaries.

I come now to the opinion of the Engliſh, who obſtinately maintain, that Joan of Arc was a witch, and acted purely by the inſtigations of the devil. I ſhall only briefly obſerve, that this opinion is liable to the very ſame objections, as the former; ſince it is no leſs difficult to conceive, why, on this occaſion, God ſhould have given ſuch power to the devil; ſo that whatever has been ſaid, concerning her inſpiration, may be applied to her witchcraft, and retorted upon the Engliſh.

But there is a third opinion, which is not liable to ſo many difficulties. If it is ſuppoſed, that, in king Charles's extremity, himſelf, his queen, Agnes Sorrel, or one of his miniſters, invented this contrivance; nothing is more eaſy than to reconcile the events with ſuch a ſuppoſition. The buſineſs was to revive the courage of the French, diſheartened by ſo many loſſes; and, perhaps, of the king himſelf, who had thoughts of retiring into Dauphine. Is it any wonder, that ſuch an artifice ſhould be uſed, with that view. This is, at leaſt, as poſſible, as the apparitions of of ſaints, or as witchcraft. A country girl of good ſenſe, as there are many ſuch, of an undaunted reſolution, and, who knew how to ride, may have been choſen; and taken from out of the kingdom, that ſhe might be the leſs known, and impertinent neighbours not obſtruct, by diſcovering her, the execution of the project. This being ſuppoſed, it will be eaſy to account for moſt of the things, which ſeem extraordinary, in the Maid; and all the king ſays of her, and the ſecrets ſhe diſcloſes, will be only a conſequence of the fraud; for thoſe, that are in the plot, will not fail to extol her, and the reſt will be carried away by their authority.

However, it muſt be confeſſed, that ſtrong objections, may be made to this third opinion, which it will be proper to anſwer.

The firſt is, that it is only a conjecture. I own it; but it is a very natural conjecture, in a thing where it is ſo difficult to diſcover the truth. The French affirm, that ſhe was inſpired by God; but this notion is demonſtrated to be full of difficulties, and highly improbable. The Engliſh maintain, that ſhe was a witch, and acted by the inſtigation of the devil; which opinion is no leſs incredible; and yet it is however certain, that ſhe performed ſurpriſing actions. What remains, then, in order to explain the cauſe of the revolution, in France, but to have recourſe to natural means, ſince the ſupernatural are ſo doubtful, to ſay no worſe? In my judgment, this is a caſe, wherein, if ever, conjecture is to be regarded.

The ſecond objection is drawn from Joan's uncommon valour, which is repreſented, as ſupernatural; to which it may be replied, that much more was certainly aſcribed to her than ſhe deſerved, as appears from the teſtimony of Monſtrelet, a contemporary writer; and a man muſt be very ignorant of the way of the world, not to know, how apt we are, on ſuch occaſions, to run into exceſſes, and how capable ſuch a ſubject is of embelliſhment. It cannot be juſtly inferred from what Monſtrelet ſays, that Joan ever commanded in chief; for, if he ſeems to ſay it, in one place, he unſays it, in another, as may be ſeen, in the paſſages I have cited. Indeed, the generals carried her with them, and placed her, at their head, to confirm the ſoldiers prepoſſeſſion; but ſhe had occaſion for no more reſolution, than to keep always near them, and ſuch a reſolution cannot be accounted miraculous; and, if the glory of all the happy ſucceſſes was aſcribed to her, where is the wonder, ſince it was for the advantage of the king and all his adherents.

The third objection is the ſtrongeſt, founded upon the accompliſhment of Joan's predictions. She told the king, that ſhe would cauſe the ſiege of Orleans to be raiſed, and himſelf to be crowned; which fell out, accordingly. On ſuppoſition, therefore, that the whole was a contrivance, it muſt be alſo ſuppoſed, that ſhe had the gift of prophecy.

To this objection, it may be anſwered, in the firſt place, that the confidence, with which the French hiſtorians have advanced, that theſe predictions were, before the event, is what gives it the moſt ſtrength; but it muſt be obſerved,

ſerved, that, of the two articles, viz. the raiſing of the ſiege of Orleans, and the king's coronation, at Rheims, the firſt only is atteſted by Joan herſelf, in her examination, without the leaſt mention of the coronation; beſides, this very atteſtation comes after the event; nor can it be well proved, that, when ſhe waited on the king, ſhe gave him any aſſurance of raiſing the ſiege of Orleans. Charles does not ſeem to have relied on her promiſes, when he undertook to ſend a convoy to Orleans; for Monſtrelet only ſays, that he reſolved to ſend a convoy to that city, and that Joan deſired to accompany it, which was granted her; and, doubtleſs, if that deſign had been formed, ſolely upon her promiſes, ſhe would have had no occaſion to deſire to be preſent, at the execution, ſince, in that caſe, ſhe would have been the principal actreſs.

But, ſecondly, tho' Joan had foretold what is aſcribed to her, I do not know, whether even that will be a convincing proof; for, upon ſuppoſition that ſhe was perſuaded to act this part, and had previous inſtructions about it, nothing was more natural than to make her tell the king, that ſhe was commiſſioned to raiſe the ſiege of Orleans. This ſiege was then the cauſe of uneaſineſs to the king and the whole court; for they were entirely at a loſs, how to ſave that important place; and, conſequently, to give hopes of raiſing the ſiege was requiſite, in order to create a belief of Joan's coming from God. In this, nothing was hazarded but the reputation of a country girl, which would not have been regarded, had the affair proved unſucceſsful; and, as to the king's coronation, the hopes of that was alſo neceſſary to be inſtilled, ſince the raiſing the ſiege was only a means to attain the principal end, namely, to eſtabliſh the king on the throne of his anceſtors.

In the third place, another very perplexing objection may be made to Joan's predictions. If ſhe was inſpired by God, to foretel future events, how came ſhe to be miſtaken? She ſaid, ſhe would drive the Engliſh out of the kingdom; and yet they were not expelled, till above 20 years after her death. She foretold, that they would be expelled by a great victory, gained over them by the French. Does not this raiſe the idea of a bloody battle, and an extraordinary victory? But where is ſuch a one to be found, after Joan's deceaſe? There is only that of Fourmigni, which fell out, 20 years after, and was, as I obſerved, very inconſiderable. She alſo foretold, in her examination, that, within ſeven years, the Engliſh ſhould leave a greater pledge than that before Orleans. I do not underſtand this expreſſion, unleſs it means the loſs of ſome battle; but there was no battle, within that term. Let us, however, give the words the moſt favourable ſenſe we can, and apply them, if you pleaſe, to the loſs of Paris; yet this event happened, five years after the prediction. Is it uſual for the Holy Ghoſt to mark, thus, the ſpace of ſeven years, inſtead of five? Was it more difficult for him to foreſee, that this event would happen in five, than in ſeven, years?

Thus, all things conſidered, let the difficulties of the third opinion be compared with thoſe ariſing from the apparitions of ſaints and witchcraft; and I imagine, they will be found to be leſs in this, than in the two other opinions.

Moreover, the inſpiration of the Maid was not ſo generally owned, even by the French, but that ſeveral called it in queſtion. The conſtable Richemont being on his march, to join the king, before Baugenci, the king, prepoſſeſſed that he was coming, with ſome evil deſign, at firſt, reſolved to go and fight him; but, altering his mind, he ſent Joan, to meet and receive him. She no ſooner ſaw him, than ſhe alighted, and embraced his knee; upon which the conſtable ſaid theſe words to her, that evidently ſhew his ſentiments, concerning her: "Joan, I am told, that you intend to "fight me. I neither know, who you are, "nor from whom you are ſent, whether from "God, or the devil. If you come from God, "I have no reaſon to fear you; for he knows "my intention, as well as yours. If you are "from the devil, I have leſs reaſon to fear; "and, therefore, do your beſt, or your worſt."

The lord of Langey, in his treatiſe of Military Inſtitution, affirms, that Joan's inſpiration was like Numa's pretended converſations with the nymph Egeria.

Others have aſſerted, that ſhe was perſuaded to act this part by the lords of the court; and Du Haillan was of this opinion, who even relates ſeveral circumſtances, and then adds, "Some have been offended at my ſaying this, "and putting the French out of conceipt with "ſo holy and miraculous a thing, by attempting now to turn it into fable; but I was willing to ſay it, becauſe time, which diſcovers "all things, has diſcovered this to be an impoſture; beſides, it is not an affair of ſuch "moment, as to be received for an article of "faith."

Pope Pius II, under the name of Gobelin, his ſecretary, having related the ſtory of Joan and her exploits, adds, "It is extremely difficult to affirm, whether this was the work "of God, or the invention of man. Some "think, that the great men, at court, contending for the command, one more wiſe "than the reſt invented this contrivance, and "perſuaded Joan to ſay, that ſhe was ſent "from God, that none might ſcruple to ſerve "under her."

In fine, ſome French writers have defamed Joan of Arc, and ſaid, that ſhe was corrupted by Baudricourt; or, according to others, by the baſtard of Orleans, or by Xaintrailles; and that theſe three lords, with the duke of Alenſon, contrived the whole plot. Polydore Virgil affirms, that Joan, finding ſhe was condemned, pretended to be with child; and that, on this account, her execution was delayed, for ſome months. In a word, among all the hiſtorians, both antient and modern, who have ſpoken of the Maid, there are no two to be found, that agree in the facts, concerning her.

But, ſuppoſing Joan's inſpiration to be a human invention, it is not eaſy to determine, whether the king was in the ſecret, or was impoſed upon himſelf; perhaps, Joan herſelf was deceived, by certain means but too often practiſed. For my part, I think this opinion very plauſible, conſidering the firmneſs with which ſhe anſwered her judges, when ſhe muſt have perceived her great danger; but, after all, this is only conjecture.

I conclude this inquiry, that Joan's pretended inſpiration may juſtly be thought a contrivance, to revive the courage of the terrified French. Indeed, the project ſucceeded, doubtleſs, beyond the expectation of the authors; but it is not very ſtrange, that the courage of the French troops ſhould be revived, when they believed they fought under the particular direction of Heaven. This is not the firſt time that ſuch inventions have produced the like effects; for we meet with inſtances, in the hiſtories of the Heathen nations. Queſtionleſs, the feigned apparitions of the Pagan gods and goddeſſes were not the immediate works of the power of God; and yet, upon ſome occaſions, they produced ſurpriſing effects.

Before I conclude this ſubject, I cannot help reflecting on the barbarity exerciſed upon Joan; for it is impoſſible to give any colour to this injuſtice. As Joan was not a native of France, Henry could not pretend, that ſhe was his ſubject, and conſequently could treat her only, as a priſoner of war; and, upon this ſuppoſition, he could much leſs puniſh her, for a ſchiſmatick, heretick, or witch, even tho' ſhe had been convicted; and, if the rule, which the Engliſh would then have eſtabliſhed, was once received, every priſoner of war would be in danger of being condemned by his enemies, for forged crimes, and ſacrificed to their malice. Charles VII. cauſed the ſentence to be reverſed by other judges, and Joan's honour to be retrieved, which by ſeveral is alledged, as a proof of her innocence; but this is a weak argument, becauſe, without ſtrong prejudice, the laſt ſentence can be no more depended upon than the firſt. This was paſſed by her enemies, whoſe intereſt it was to defame her; and the other by her friends, who found their glory and advantage, in proving her innocent.

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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK XIII.

The Reigns of the three Kings of the Houſe of York, EDWARD IV, EDWARD V, and RICHARD III: Containing the ſpace of 24 years and a half.

16. EDWARD IV.

1461. EDWARD was proclaimed, the 5th of March, and, on the 12th or 13th, he was obliged to appear at the head of his army. Before his departure from London, a tradeſman was executed, for ſaying that he would make his ſon heir of the crown; probably, he added ſome virulent reflections upon the new king, and expreſſed too much zeal for the houſe of Lancaſter. However that be, ſome have conſidered this man's execution, in the beginning of the preſent reign, as a preſage of the blood which was yet to be ſhed, in the quarrel of the two contending houſes.

Edward goes to fight the queen. Hall.

Queen Margaret had acted wiſely, in not venturing to fight, at the gates of London, and in retiring among the northern people, who had, hitherto, diſcovered a firm attachment to the houſe of Lancaſter; and they even gave her, upon this occaſion, a convincing proof of their affection, by reinforcing her army, with recruits, nay, whole bodies of freſh troops; which was done, with ſuch expedition, that, in a few days, the queen, being at the head of 60,000 men, was in a condition to expect her enemy, or even to march againſt him.

The queen's army is much increaſed.

Tho' Edward had been proclaimed, at London, he very well knew, that ceremony made no great addition to his right, conſidering how irregularly it was performed; for the lords of his party, and the people of London, were not inveſted with power to give the kingdom a ſovereign; and, therefore, he could not depend upon that extraordinary election, unleſs it was ſupported by compulſive methods. Henry VI. had reigned, 38 years, and was owned, for lawful king, by all the Engliſh; and yet this right, tho' it ſeemed ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, had not been able to maintain itſelf, againſt a ſuperior ſtrength; wherefore, it was eaſy to perceive, that Edward's right, not having greater advantages, would ſubſiſt no longer than crowned with ſucceſs. Matters ſtanding, thus, the two parties were, once more, to try the way of arms; and happy both, if a ſingle battle could have decided this bloody quarrel! Edward, being young and lively, truſted to his valour and fortune; and he was alſo excited to hazard all, by the great men of his party, who, having ſhewn ſo little regard for Henry, ſaw no ſafety but in victory. He departed, therefore, from London, a few days after his proclamation; and, heading his army, he marched towards the north, reſolving to go in queſt of queen Margaret.

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His men are beat from thence.

The duke of Somerſet, hearing that Edward had ſecured the paſſage of Ferri-bridge, to oblige him to fight, with diſadvantage, reſolved to diſlodge Fitz-Walter, in order to have the river between him and his enemies; and, accordingly, the lord Clifford was detached, to recover that poſt; but, whether Fitz-Walter was guilty of any neglect, or not timely ſupported, he could not withſtand Clifford's attack, who drove his troops over the river, with a great ſlaughter; and Fitz-Walter and the baſtard of Salisbury were ſlain, in the action.

The earl of Warwick is alarmed at it. Hall.

The earl of Warwick, whom I have frequently mentioned, towards the end of the late reign, was conſidered, as the ſoul of Edward's army; for the king was looked upon, as a valiant young prince, without experience, and the earl of Warwick, as the real general; and all eyes were fixed upon him, to ſee, by his countenance, whether there was reaſon to hope, or fear. The earl, being informed of Fitz-Walter's defeat, ſeemed to be under great conſternation, dreading that this firſt cheque would diſcourage the army; and he, immediately, poſted, to carry the news to the king, with an emotion, that evidently diſcovered, how apprehenſive he was of the conſequences; but, at the ſame time, to ſhew, that his fears were not perſonal, he ſtabbed his horſe, and, kiſſing the hilt of his ſword, made like a croſs, ſwore, that, tho' the whole army ſhould take to flight, he would alone defend Edward's cauſe.

The king's ſteadineſs. Hollingſh.

Edward, perceiving the earl's concern, judged it neceſſary to prevent the ill effects it might produce, among the troops; wherefore, inſtead of being alarmed at the news, he made proclamation, that all, who deſired it, might depart; that he would reward thoſe, that ſhould do their duty; but that no favour was to be expected for thoſe that ſhould fly, during the battle. He likewiſe detached William Nevil, lord Falconbridge, to paſs the Are, at Caſtleford, about three miles from Ferri-bridge, with orders to attack thoſe who guarded the poſt lately loſt; who executed his orders, with ſuch ſecrecy and expedition, that he paſſed the river, at Caſtleford, before the enemies had the leaſt intelligence; and, then marching along the river, he met Clifford, at the head of a body of horſe, ſuddenly attacked him, and put him to rout. Clifford was ſlain, with an arrow, in the beginning of the fight; too light a puniſhment for his inhumanity to the young earl of Rutland, brother to Edward, at the battle of Wakefield. With him was alſo killed the earl of Weſtmoreland's brother; and, the poſt of Ferri-bridge being ſo fortunately recovered, Edward, who was in readineſs, paſſed his army over the river, and directly marched in queſt of his enemies. 1461.

The battle of Towton. Hollingſh.

The two armies met, on Palm-Sunday, between Saxton and Towton. Henry's army was 60,000 ſtrong, and Edward's about 40,000; the air being darkened by the ſnow, which fell very thick, was blown by the wind, in the faces of the Lancaſtrians; who began the fight, with a volley of arrows, which, being diſcharged too far off, did no great execution. Falconbridge, who commanded the van of Edward's army, diſdaining to fight, at ſuch a diſtance, ordered his men to lay aſide their bows and take to their ſwords; upon which, the armies approaching each other, a furious fight commenced, wherein both ſides appeared equally brave and reſolute, to exert their utmoſt, to gain the victory. It would be extremely difficult to deſcribe this terrible battle, at large; for moſt of thoſe, that have related it, not underſtanding the art of war, have, inſtead of repreſenting the ſeveral circumſtances, given only a confuſed idea of it; moreover, the two armies are to be conſidered, as truſting more to their courage, than the experience of their generals. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that the battle laſted, from morning to night; from whence we may paſs a judgment, how obſtinately it was fought, on both ſides. Edward ſignaliſed himſelf, by an uncommon valour, which exceedingly contributed to ſupport his troops, in their reſolution of conquering, or dying, for his ſake; and, at length, towards the evening, the Lancaſtrians began to give way, not flying, but retreating, as they fought, and making a ſtand, now and then, ſo that their enemies could not be entirely ſure of the victory. However, this advantage animating Edward's ſoldiers, they ſo preſſed their enemies, that, at laſt, they compelled them to fly; and then it was, that a horrible ſlaughter enſued; for Edward had, before the battle, made proclamation, in his army, that no quarter ſhould be given, being ſenſible that the taking of priſoners would only weaken his army. The flying troops ſteered their courſe towards Tadcaſter-bridge; but, deſpairing to reach it, being ſo cloſely purſued by their enemies, they turned aſide, in order to paſs the Cock, which runs into the Wherf; which was done, with ſuch confuſion and hurry, that the river was, immediately, filled with thoſe that were drowned, and who, in their misfortune, ſerved for a bridge to their companions. The ſlaughter is reported to have been ſo great, in this place, that the waters of the Wherf were all dyed with blood; and, indeed, it is not to be thought ſurpriſing, ſince the hiſtorians affirm, that no leſs than 36776 were killed, in the battle. Among the dead, were found the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, the lords Dacres and Wells, Sir John Nevil, and Andrew Trollop; but the

1461. the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter had the good fortune to eſcape. Thomas Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, was taken; who was, at firſt, ſpared, notwithſtanding the king's orders; but it was only to put him to a more inglorious death, on the ſcaffold.

An Italian author, who wrote the Hiſtory of theſe civil wars, remarks, on the battle of Towton, that if France, or Scotland, had then invaded England, it would, doubtleſs, have been ſubdued, in its weak condition, after ſuch a violent bleeding. Indeed, this might have been the caſe; and France, which, in much the ſame circumſtances, was almoſt entirely conquered by Henry V, gives weight to this reflection; yet the battles, fought, before the deciſion of the quarrel, between the two houſes demonſtrate, that there remained ſtill much Engliſh blood to be ſhed, before it was poſſible to give England a mortal wound.

Edward takes down his father's head from the walls of York.

After this ſignal victory, Edward marched, directly, to York; perhaps, in expectation of finding Henry and Margaret; but diſpairing of ſafety, at York, after the battle, they retired to Berwick, and from thence fled for refuge to Edinburgh. Edward, upon his arrival at York, ordered the heads of the duke, his father, and the earl of Salisbury to be taken down, and thoſe of the earl of Devonſhire and ſome others, beheaded, at Pontefract, to be ſet up, in their room; and he ſtaid, ſome time, at York, to concert meaſures, for the defence of the borders, in caſe the Scots ſhould make an incurſion; but, perceiving, tho' they had ſuch a deſign, that they were not yet, ready to put it in execution, he believed there would be no great danger, in returning to London, where he arrived, the 8th of June.

All ſeeming quiet, in England, ſince the victory of Towton, Edward would no longer defer his coronation, which was fixed to the 20th of June; and, during the preparations for that ſolemnity, he conſidered, how to guard againſt Scotland, from whence he foreſaw the fugitive king and queen might have aſſiſtance. With this view, he ſought means to find the Scots employment, that ſhould hinder them from meddling with their neighbours affairs; to which he was alſo induced by the ſollicitations of the earl of Douglaſs, who had, ſeveral years ſince, taken refuge, in England; but, for the better underſtanding the caſe, between England and Scotland, it will be neceſſary briefly to relate the then ſituation of that kingdom.

He guards againſt Scotland

The affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

Scotland had been, for ſome time, rent with dangerous factions, which began with the reign of James II; and, as that prince was not above ſeven years old, when the king, his father, was murdered, Archibald Douglaſs pretended to the regency; but the ſtates, judging it improper to truſt ſo powerful a perſon with the adminiſtration of affairs, made Alexander Levingſton regent, and William Creighton chancellor. Theſe two barons, forthwith, formed two parties, which would have divided all Scotland, if the earl of Douglaſs had not had a third, which balanced the two former, but, the earl dying, about two years after, William, his ſon, ſucceeded him, who, ſtill more haughty and imperious than his father, raiſed great commotions, in the kingdom; and, being an avowed enemy to the regent and chancellor, he ſhewed, in all his proceedings, that he was labouring the deſtruction of both, in order to eſtabliſh himſelf upon their ruins. This obliged them, for their intereſt, to unite againſt their common enemy; and, ſome time after, they drew him to the aſſembly of the ſtates, upon the aſſurance of a ſafe-conduct; notwithſtanding which, they cauſed him to be beheaded. Beatrix, his daughter, inherited his eſtate, and James, his brother, his title; but James died, two years after, leaving William, his ſon, head of that powerful family. 1461.

William was no leſs proud and ambitious than his predeceſſors; and he ſo well gained the young king's confidence, who began to inſpect into his affairs, that he became his prime miniſter and favourite; but, when he found his credit ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, he attacked the two heads of the oppoſite factions, and forced Levingſton to retire from court. He met with ſtronger oppoſition from Creighton; but he ſo abuſed his power, and acted, in ſuch an arbitrary manner, that he put people to death, not only by his own authority, but even contrary to the king's will; and, in a word, James II, blinded by his affection for the earl, not only forgave all his exceſſes, but alſo made him his lieutenant-general of the whole kingdom. Probably this high promotion put the earl of Douglaſs upon the two following projects, to gratify his ambition; for, unknown to the king, he went into England, where it was no ſecret, that he privately conferred with the miniſters of Henry VI. This ſtep furniſhed his enemies with, what they had long ſought, an opportunity, to ruin his intereſt in the king. They infuſed into him ſo many fears and ſuſpitions, that, to prevent the earl, he removed him from all his poſts, not daring, perhaps, to puniſh him with greater rigour; and he likewiſe gave the adminiſtration of affairs to the earl of the Orcades, a mortal enemy, to Douglaſs, and reſtored the ſeals to William Creighton.

The earl, incenſed to ſee his enemies triumph, formed a confederacy againſt them, and brought the kingdom to the very brink of deſtruction; and, in ſhort, he committed ſo many outrages, that the king, juſtly provoked with him, reſolved to be freed from a ſubject, who created him ſo much uneaſineſs; but, being ſenſible that he could not openly execute this deſign, having recourſe to policy, by means of ſome of his friends, he put him in hopes of being reſtored to favour, upon the ſame footing as before. Then, ſending for him to court, upon a ſafe-conduct ſigned, with his own hand, he carried him alone

* Sir Francis Biondi, of the bed-chamber to king Charles I, wrote a Hiſtory of theſe civil wars (in two volumes Folio, London, 1641, 1646) which was tranſlated into Engliſh by the earl of Monmouth; but it is taken, almoſt verbatim, from Holingſhead and Stow; and it abounds with faults, eſpecially, in the names of perſons and places.

1461. into his cloſet, and ſtabbed him, with a dagger; which deed, tho' violent and irregular, was approved by the ſtates, who, at the ſame time, declared James, brother and heir to the deceaſed, with the reſt of his brothers, enemies to their country.

James, the new earl of Douglaſs, whoſe ſole ſtudy was to revenge his brother's death, and ſupport the credit of his family, raiſed a civil war, in the kingdom; during which, the king beſieging one of his places, Douglaſs was preparing to relieve it; but he was, on a ſudden, abandoned by all his friends, and forced to fly for refuge into England. Some time after, he entered the county of Anandale, with ſome troops; but, being defeated, he was, once more, compelled to fly his country; and George, earl of Ormond, one of his brothers, was taken and beheaded.

Theſe misfortunes being incapable of diſ-
Act. Pub. couraging the rebellious earl, he gained the earl of Roſs, lord of the iſles, Donald, his brother, and the reſt of that family, and perſuaded them to take up arms againſt the king; and, entering together the county of Merch, they ravaged it, from one end to the other; but, whilſt Douglaſs was preparing to purſue his progreſs, the earl of Roſs, repenting of his fault, deſerted him, and threw himſelf upon the mercy of the king, who gave him hopes of a pardon, provided he would merit it by his ſervices; yet Douglaſs, unwilling to follow this example, once more, retired into England.

Theſe diſturbances being appeaſed by the earl of Roſs's ſubmiſſion, and Douglaſs's retreat, James II, at the duke of York's ſollicitation, beſieged Roxborough; and the earl of Roſs, deſirous of meriting the king's pardon, came and offered him his ſervice, with a body of choſen troops; but James, as was already obſerved, being unfortunately killed, at this ſiege, was ſucceeded by James III, his ſon, about ſeven years old.

The death of James II, and the minority of the new king, revived the earl of Douglaſs's hopes; but, by reaſon of the civil war, which then raged, in England, he was obliged to wait, till affairs were in another ſituation. He believed, that the favourable juncture, he expected, was, at length, come, after Edward's victory, at Towton; wherefore, applying himſelf to that prince, who ſeemed firmly ſettled on the throne, he repreſented to him, that, by means of his friends, in Scotland, it would be very eaſy for the Engliſh to conquer that kingdom. Edward was not, in the leaſt, inclined, in his preſent circumſtances, to undertake ſuch a difficult task; yet, to find the Scots employment, and prevent them from aſſiſting Henry, he embraced the opportunity offered him by the earl of Douglaſs, in hopes of kindling a civil war, in Scotland; and, Douglaſs aſſuring him, that the earl of Roſs, Donald, his brother, and Donald's ſon were diſpoſed to riſe againſt the king of Scotland, he gave him a full power to treat with them.

Whilſt Douglaſs was employed, in this negotiation, Edward was crowned, at Weſt- 1461.
minſter, with the uſual ſolemnities.

Edward, notwithſtanding queen Margaret's abſence abroad, was juſtly apprehenſive, that the ſuccours of the Scots would enable her to make a freſh attempt upon his crown; and, therefore, he propoſed a truce to the regents of Scotland, in order to obſtruct her deſigns. That kingdom was then divided into two parties, on the account of the regency; Mary de Gelders, the king's mother, being at the head of the firſt, and the earl of Angus, of the ſecond. They both claimed the regency; but the ſtates, to diſoblige neither, nominated two regents of each party, and petitioned the queen, to remain ſatisfied with the care of her children's education. Thus, the two factions ſtill ſubſiſted, becauſe it was impoſſible to give ſatisfaction to both; and, Scotland being in this ſituation, when Edward propoſed the truce, the regents reſolved to accept his propoſal, and even ſent ambaſſadors to treat with him; but queen Margaret, then at Edinburgh, perceiving how prejudicial this truce would be to her, found means to diſconcert Edward's meaſures, by ſurrendering Berwick to the Scots, and concluding a marriage between prince Edward, her ſon, and Margaret, ſiſter to king James. Edward propoſes a truce with Scotland.

Whilſt Margaret was taken up, in gaining the Scots to her intereſt, Edward called a parliament, at Weſtminſter, to confirm the revolution, which had placed him on the throne; and it may naturally be ſuppoſed, that, at ſuch a juncture, the parliament did not want much ſollicitation, to confirm whatever had been done, in favour of Edward. How irregular ſoever his election might be, he was victorious; and that was ſufficient to hinder any perſon, from preſuming to diſpute his right. Several preceding inſtances demonſtrate, that the parliaments of England never attempted to ſwerve from that wholſome principle, of declaring for the ſtrongeſt; and what we ſhall ſee, in the ſequel of this very reign, will ſtill farther confirm it. Purſuant to this maxim, the parliament approved of Edward's coronation, ratified his title, and repeated all the acts made, in the late reign, againſt the houſe of York; and Henry VI, after a 38 years reign, was declared an uſurper, and all he had done, whilſt on the throne, annulled, as wanting a lawful authority, and as being of no force, till confirmed by the new parliament. Thus the people's credulity was abuſed; and they were made to believe, that what had been juſt, for 60 years, was rendered unjuſt, by a contingent event, viz. Edward's victory, at Towton. The parliament confirms Edward's election. Cotton.

During this ſeſſion of parliament, the king created George, his eldeſt brother, duke of Clarence, and Richard, his younger brother, duke of Glouceſter; the lord Falconbridge was made earl of Kent, Henry Bourchier, the king's uncle, by the mother's ſide, earl of Eſſex, and John Nevil, the earl of Warwick's brother, lord Montague. Edward creates ſeveral peers. Act. Pub.

Tho' the earl of Devonſhire, and ſome others, had been beheaded, at York, theſe victims

1461. victims did not ſeem ſufficient, to atone for the blood of the Yorkiſts, ſhed by the queen, on the ſcaffold; but to the king's policy, fear, or reſentment were alſo to be ſacrificed John de Vere, earl of Oxford, and Aubery, his eldeſt ſon, who were publickly beheaded.

The diſpoſition of foreign princes, with regard to England.

Edward, having, thus, ſettled his domeſtick, ſeriouſly thought of the foreign affairs; for England was actually in war with France, Scotland, Bretagne, and the Low-Countries; and there was equal danger, from all theſe quarters. If theſe ſtates had all united againſt him, it would have been extremely difficult for Edward to withſtand their forces, conſidering his preſent ſituation, and the little ſtreſs he could lay upon the aſſiſtance of his ſubjects; but, fortunately for him, France had a new king. Lewis XI. was wholly intent upon the project of rendering himſelf abſolute, in his own kingdom, and humbling the great men, among whom the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne were the chief. Indeed, his deſigns had not yet been diſcloſed; but what, at preſent, engroſſed all his thoughts was more than ſufficient to hinder, him from renewing the war with the Engliſh. The duke of Bretagne took care not to ſtir alone, in a war againſt Edward, which could not but be, in all repects, very prejudicial to him; and, as for the duke of Burgundy, the ſame reaſons, that made him deſirous of a truce with England, ſtill ſubſiſted; moreover, he plainly perceived, that it was againſt his intereſt to join with France and Bretagne, in order to weaken England, and much more to maintain alone a war, which muſt be very deſtructive to the trade of his ſubjects. It is true, his inclination led him to ſupport the houſe of Lancaſter, rather than that of York, by reaſon of his marriage with Iſabella of Portugal, a near relation to Henry VI; but motives, drawn from the inclinations of princes, do not always prevail, above thoſe of politicks. The duke of Burgundy was thoroughly acquainted with the character of Lewis XI, and conſequently ſaw, that he ought to guard againſt him, inſtead of attempting to render him more powerful, by the weakening of England; and, therefore, contenting himſelf with wiſhing well to the houſe of Lancaſter, he judged it adviſable to live in a good underſtanding with Edward IV, whom he found to be firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne. With this view, he ſent ambaſſadors to congratulate him, upon his acceſſion to the crown, and, at the ſame time, to demand ſatisfaction, for certain outrages committed by the Engliſh, contrary to the truce; and Edward, gladly anſwering the duke of Burgundy's advances, immediately, appointed commiſſioners, to examine the violations of the truce complained of by that prince; for his affairs would not allow him to be haughty to any of the princes, his neighbours, and ſtill leſs to the duke of Burgundy, who was very potent, and allied to the houſe of Lancaſter.

The diſpoſition of Scotland.

There was only Scotland left, which could create the king any uneaſineſs. He knew, that Margaret had ſurrendered Berwick to the Scots, and contracted the prince, her ſon, to king James's ſiſter; and he could not, therefore, doubt, that ſhe expected the aſſiſtance of that kingdom. In the interim, the queen, having ſettled her affairs, in Scotland, leaving there the king, her husband, with the prince, her ſon, went to France, in order to deſire aid of Lewis IX; but he was not of a character to engage in an enterprize, which he did not apprehend to be very beneficial. However, he gave the fugitive princeſs, as ſhe was his near relation, hopes of aſſiſtance; but, being unwilling to break entirely with Edward, he was ſatisfied with making proclamation, that all the friends of the houſe of Lancaſter ſhould be well received, in his dominions, and the adherents of the houſe of York not admitted. 1461.

1462. Edward's treaty with the earl of Roſs.

As Margaret had made a voyage to France, and eſpecially, as ſhe had lately entered into an alliance with the king of Scotland, Edward was fully convinced, that ſhe would contrive ſome new enterprize; but, believing that it would be in vain to try, to diſconcert her meaſures, by a truce with Scotland, to which the Scots daily raiſed freſh obſtacles, he reſolved to renew his negotiation with the earl of Roſs. In all probability, the earl of Douglaſs had already perſuaded that lord to take up arms; for the terms only were to be ſettled; and, to conclude this affair, Edward impowered the biſhop of Durham, the earl of Worceſter, and others, to make, in his name, a treaty with the earl of Roſs, the ſubſtance of which was,

That John, earl of Roſs, lord of the iſles, Donald Balagh, his brother, and John of the iſles, Donald's ſon, ſhould do homage to king Edward.

That they ſhould never own any other king of England, but Edward, or his ſucceſſors, deſcended from Lionel, duke of Clarence.

That they ſhould be always ready to ſerve him, in all his wars with Scotland, or with the Scots, in Ireland.

That, in time of peace, the earl of Roſs ſhould have an annual penſion of 100 marks ſterling, Donald one of 20 l. and John, his ſon, one of 10 l. and that theſe penſions ſhould be doubled, in time of war, during actual ſervice.

That, provided Scotland ſhould be conquered, by the arms of Edward, and with their aid, the king ſhould inveſt them with all the iſles, beyond the ſea of Scotland, to be equally divided among them.

That James, earl of Douglaſs, ſhould alſo be inveſted with all the lands formerly held by him, in Scotland, from the north ſea to England.

Laſtly, That Edward ſhould make neither a peace, nor truce, with the king of Scotland, without including them, if they deſired it.

As no Engliſh hiſtorian takes notice of this treaty, probably, it lay concealed among the records of England, till it was inſerted, in the Collection of the Publick Acts; and, indeed, it was of little importance, ſince it was never executed.

1462. executed. Edward was employed about too many affairs, to think of the conqueſt of Scotland; his ſole view was to make uſe of the earls of Douglaſs and Roſs, to raiſe commotions, in that kingdom; but it is likely, that the earl of Douglaſs's meaſures were not very juſt, becauſe the Hiſtory of Scotland mentions no inſurrection, at this time.

The reſt of the year 1462 was quiet enough, the gathering ſtorm not being yet ready to break.

Pius II. congratulates Edward. Act. Pub.

Pope Pius II, believing Edward ſufficiently eſtabliſhed on the throne, wrote him a congratulatory letter, upon his acceſſion to the crown, in anſwer to one ſent him by the king, to notify him of it; but it appeared from the pope's expreſſions, that he reſerved the liberty of retracting, if there was occaſion; ſince his approbation was founded only upon the proofs Edward himſelf had given him of his title, by which he made it conditional.

Exeter's lands are given to his ducheſs the king's ſiſter.

The duke of Exeter, who had eſpouſed Edward's ſiſter, having followed Henry into Scotland, the king gave the confiſcation of his eſtate to his ducheſs, who choſe rather to remain with the king, her brother, than follow the fortune of her husband.

The lord Falconbridge, a zealous friend to the houſe of York, who was created, in parliament, earl of Kent, was made high-admiral of England, about the end of this year.

The duke of Somerſet ſubmits. Hall.

The king enjoying tranquillity, and there being no appearance of any freſh attempt againſt Edward, the duke of Somerſet, and Ralph Piercy, the earl of Northumberland's brother, came and threw themſelves upon the king's mercy, who generouſly granted them a pardon.

Hiſtorians affirm, that, in this year, the Engliſh fleet made an expedition into Bretagne and the iſle of Ree, tho' it is related neither by the French, nor the Bretons; and, indeed, it is difficult to conceive, what could induce Edward wantonly to renew the war, at a juncture when he ſhould have thought it a very great happineſs, to be left unmoleſted; nay, we find, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, that he was not without fear of an inſurrection of the Lancaſtrians. At leaſt, in all likelihood, to this only can be aſcribed his care to gain the clergy to his intereſts, by a favour that none of his predeceſſors had ever

The king's conceſſion to the clergy. Act. Pub.

willingly granted; viz. that, henceforward, all eccleſiaſticks, indicted for any crime, ſhould be tried, in the eccleſiaſtical court, without the interpoſition of the king's judges, upon any pretence whatſoever; by which patent, he ſcreened the clergy from the penalties of the ſtatutes of Proviſors and Præmunire, paſſed, in the 16th year of Richard II. He pretended, that he made this conceſſion, from his ardent zeal for religion, his dread of the excommunications decreed by the holy canons, and his belief, that all the calamities, with which England had been, for ſome time, afflicted, were the juſt judgments of God, for diſregarding his miniſters; but, very probably, he was induced by a quite different motive, to break ſo many ſtatutes, which the parliaments had judged neceſſary, to cheque the growth of the power of the clergy. 1462.

About the end of this year, the truce of commerce, between England and the duke of Burgundy's dominions, was prolonged, for ſome time.

1463. Edward calls upon the earl of Roſs to perform his promiſe.

In the interim, Edward, hearing that preparations were ſecretly making, in Scotland, and, in appearance, againſt him, called upon the earl of Roſs to perform his promiſe; and, with that view, he appointed commiſſioners, who were ordered to receive his oath; but the earl, who had his ſpies, in England, not perceiving that Edward was really preparing to ſupport him, did not think fit to begin, for fear of being deſerted.

Queen Margaret arrives in the north of England.

It was not without reaſon, that Edward dreaded a ſtorm from the north; for, preſently after, queen Margaret, having obtained of the king of France an aid of 500 men, with the promiſe of a greater, embarqued, to invade England; and, as ſhe hoped, that the inhabitants of the northern counties would take arms, in her favour, ſhe landed, at the mouth of the Tine; but ſhe found there a body of Engliſh troops, who forced her to re-embarque, with precipitation. A few hours after, her ſhip being ſeparated from the reſt of the fleet, by a ſtorm, it was with extreme difficulty that, having entered the Tweed, ſhe, at laſt, landed, at Berwick; and the reſt of the ſhips were driven, towards Bamburgh, where the French would have landed; but the baſtard Ogle, having hindered their deſcent, they retired to the little iſle of Lindisfarn; for the weather would not permit them to put to ſea. Ogle followed them thither, and, attacking them, ſlew a part, and took 400 priſoners; and their leader was the only perſon, that found means to eſcape, in a fiſher-boat, to Berwick.

Edward, upon the receipt of this news, eaſily ſaw, that Margaret was ſecure of the aſſiſtance of the Scots, and would ſoon march into England; upon which, ſeriouſly attending to his affairs, he diſpatched the lord Montague, with the troops that were ready, whilſt himſelf haſtened a great armament, he was preparing, by ſea and land, to oppoſe his enemy.

Henry and Margaret re-enter England. Hall.

Montague, having begun his march, heard, upon the road, that the queen was in Northumberland, at the head of an army, which daily increaſed, on account of the great licenſe allowed to the ſoldiers; yet he advanced, as far as Durham, where he ſtaid, ſome days, expecting a reinforcement, ſent by the king. Theſe ſupplies being arrived, he proceeded on his march; and, meeting a detachment of the enemies, commanded by the lords Hungerford and Roſs, he attacked and put them to rout. Ralph Piercy, who ſerved Henry, tho' he had taken the oath to Edward, was ſlain, in this action; and the duke of Somerſet, making no more ſcruple, than Piercy, of violating his oath, alſo joined the queen.

Montague, animated with this ſucceſs, marched, immediately, to Hexham, where Henry

1463. Henry lay intrenched; and, attacking him in his lines, without giving him time to recover himſelf, he obtained a compleat victory. The duke of Somerſet and the lords Roſs and Hungerford were taken priſoners; but Henry, Margaret, and the prince, their ſon, fled into Scotland. Some days after, the duke of Somerſet was beheaded, at Hexham, Roſs and Hungerford, elſewhere, and 20 officers of diſtinction, at York; and many others, that were concealed, in ſeveral pleaces, being diſcovered, or delivered up to the conqueror, were likewiſe ſacrificed to his vengeance.

Henry eſcapes, and Somerſet is beheaded.

Edward returns to London, and leaves the earl of Warwick, in the north.

After this victory, Edward, being advanced to Durham, ſent the earl of Warwick farther northwards, to recover ſome places taken by the queen; and then he returned to London. The earl of Warwick, upon his brother's victory, divided his army into three bodies, and beſieged, at once, Bamburgh, Dunſtanburgh, and Alnwick; the two firſt of which places were eaſily taken, and the commanding officers puniſhed; but Alnwick, where a Frenchman commanded, with ſome forces of his nation, held out till, the earl of Angus came to his relief, with a body of Scotch troops. However, the earl could do no more than draw out the garriſon; probably, by a treaty with the beſiegers, though Buchanan affirms the contrary.

Montague is created marqueſs, and Herbert earl of Pembroke.

Edward, upon his arrival at London, ordered two patents to be drawn up, under the great ſeal, to reward the lord Montague and Sir William Herbert; the firſt of whom had been extremely ſerviceable to him, in his two late victories; and the other had, all along, diſtinguiſhed himſelf, by an extraordinary zeal for the houſe of York. He created the former earl of Northumberland, and the latter earl of Pembroke, Henry Piercy and Jaſper Tudor, who bore theſe titles, having forfeited them by adhering to king Henry; but, Piercy afterwards ſubmitting to Edward, and obtaining his pardon, Montague readily reſigned him the earldom of Northumberland, for the marquiſate of Montague. As for the title of earl of Pembroke, care muſt be taken not to confound the two lords that bore it; viz. Jaſper Tudor, half-brother to Henry VI, and William Herbert, who was in Edward's ſervice.

Edward, during the tranquillity procured by his late victory, received advice, that preparations were making, in France, to ſupport the intereſts of Henry and Margaret; upon which, he reſolved to ſend for the earl of Warwick, and leave the marqueſs of Montague in the north, as governor of the northern Marches, impowering him alſo to levy what troops he thought neceſſary; for he did not doubt, that his enemies had reſolved to make their greateſt efforts, from that quarter, on account of the neighbourhood of Scotland. Theſe precautions, with his late victory, probably, cooled the ardor of the French and the Scots; for, ſoon after, the Scots demanded a ſafe-conduct for ambaſſadors, they deſigned to ſend to his court; and, at the ſame time, Lewis XI, negotiated a truce with him, by the duke of Burgundy's mediation. This truce was actually concluded, at St. Omer, to the 1ſt of October, 1464, on the condition, that neither of the two monarchs ſhould aid the enemies of the other; and the duke of Burgundy alſo agreed to renew for one year, the truce of commerce between England and the Low-Countries. 1463.

A truce with the French,

Edward, having, thus, ſecured himſelf againſt France, concluded with Scotland a truce, for a year, negotiated by the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, at London, in the name of the regents; ſo that, being in no danger from his neighbours, at leaſt, for one year, he was at leiſure, to ſtrengthen himſelf on the throne, in caſe of another attack.

and Scotland. Act. Pub.

Henry and Margaret are in great perplexity.

In the interim, the unfortunate Henry, abandoned by the kings of France and Scotland, and the duke of Burgundy, who alone were able to aſſiſt him, remained ſtill, at Edinburgh, but not without uneaſineſs; for the late truce, beween the Engliſh and the Scots, did not only prevent the latter from giving him any aſſiſtance; but it was farther highly probable, that Edward, in concluding the truce with Scotland, had ſtipulated, that his enemy ſhould not be ſuffered to continue any longer, in that kingdom; and it even appears, in the Collection of Publick Acts, that, before the truce was ſigned, the two kings of England and Scotland agreed upon certain ſecret articles, which could only concern the fugitive king. However this be, Henry, entirely at a loſs where to retire, prepoſterouſly imagined, that he might be concealed, in England; perhaps, he flattered himſelf, that the inhabitants of the northern counties would riſe, in his favour; but unhappy princes ſeldom meet with faithful friends. At leaſt, it may be preſumed, that, dreading to be delivered up by the Scots, and having no conveniency to eſcape, by ſea, he hoped to find a ſafe retreat with ſome friends, in England, till an opportunity offered of paſſing into France; but whatever his intent was, he had no ſooner arrived, in England, than he was diſcovered, ſeized, ignominiouſly conducted to London, and confined, in the tower. Some affirm, that he was taken, the preceding year, at the battle of Hexham, or, at leaſt, a few days after; but ſome Publick Acts ſhew, that, in October, that year, he was not yet in Edward's power; wherefore, it is more likely, that he was taken, as I ſaid, in endeavouring, after ſome ſtay, in Scotland, to conceal himſelf, in England. An adventure, which happened to Margaret, and is related by Monſtrelet, renders it probable, that ſhe had alſo reſolved to hide herſelf, in England, in hopes of an opportunity to embarque, not daring to truſt the Scots any longer; and that, with this view, ſhe had parted from the king, her husband. Monſtrelet ſays, that, Margaret being, in England, with the prince, her ſon, attended with La Verenne, a French lord, fell into the hands of robbers, who would have killed her, if, by means of a quarrel amongſt them, ſhe had not eſcaped into a wood, with

1463. prince; and that afterwards ſhe ſet ſail for Sluice, in Flanders, where the duke of Burgundy gave her an honourable reception. If this adventure be true, it muſt have fallen out, at the time I am now ſpeaking of; but, however that be, after her departure from Scotland, ſhe retired to Rene of Anjou, her father, with the prince, her ſon. Edmund, the new duke of Somerſet, brother to him beheaded, at Hexham, with the duke of Exeter, fled for refuge into the Low-Countries; yet they durſt not make themſelves known, leſt they ſhould be delivered up to Edward; and they endured, in Flanders, all that a wretched exile, attended with the moſt preſſing want, was capable of bringing upon perſons, of their character. Philip de Commines tells us, that he ſaw the duke of Exeter, before he was known, following, barefoot, the duke of Burgundy's equipage, and ſerving, probably, as a footman, for his ſubſiſtence; but, theſe two lords being, at length, known, the duke allowed them an inconſiderable penſion, afraid of offending Edward, by enlarging his generoſity. Theſe are ſtrange viciſſitudes, for a king who had ſat, 38 years, on a throne; for a queen, who had, for many years, governed England, with an abſolute ſway; for a prince, deſtined by his birth to wear a crown; and for lords related, or allied, to the royal family, who had always enjoyed the higheſt offices. Such ſurpriſing turns of fortune ſeldom make much impreſſion, at the time they are ſeen, becauſe thoſe, who are concerned, generally aſcribe their misfortunes to the malice of their enemies; but is it poſſible for thoſe, that read them impartially, in hiſtory, to help obſerving, and owning, the direction of Providence?

1464. Edward gives his friends the eſtates of the rebels. Hall. Hollingſh.

Edward having king Henry in his power, and queen Margaret being retired to the duke, her father, no perſon was more capable of raiſing commotions, in the kingdom; and then it was, that, after offering, in vain, a pardon to all the Lancaſtrians, that would ſubmit and ſwear allegiance, within a limited time, he confiſcated their eſtates, and liberally beſtowed them upon thoſe that had ſerved him; and, to gain the hearts of his ſubjects, after giving them convincing proofs of his ſeverity, he made himſelf extremely popular, inſomuch that the Italian author, before-mentioned, charges him with running into exceſs, on that account.

He demands in marriage Bona of Savoy, Lewis's ſiſter. Hall. Hollingſh.

During this ſeemingly ſolid tranquility, the king's chief counſellors preſſed him to think of marriage, in order to leave the crown to his poſterity; and, Edward falling in with their advice, three matches were propoſed. The firſt was Margaret, ſiſter to the king of Scotland; but, beſides that this princeſs was already contracted to Henry's ſon, ſhe was ſo young, that the marriage could have been conſummated, for many years. The ſecond was Iſabella of Caſtile, afterwards married to Ferdinand of Arragon; who, according to the Engliſh writers, was rejected, by reaſon of her being too young; and yet it is certain, that ſhe was then 13 years old. Bona of Savoy, ſiſter to the queen of France, was the third; upon whom Edward reſolved, and, ſhortly after, ſet the earl of Warwick, to demand her in marriage; who was then at the court of France, with the queen, her ſiſter. It is time, now, to relate the affairs of France, on account of their connection with thoſe of England; otherwiſe the reader will have but an imperfect idea of what paſſed, in England, in the reign of Edward IV. 1464.

The ſtate of affairs, in France. Mezerai.

Lewis XI, a prince of a turbulent diſpoſition, no ſooner was in poſſeſſion of the crown of France, than he formed the deſign of making himſelf abſolute; which ſome flatterers have called rendering himſelf free; but, according to a famous hiſtorian, it ought rather to be termed running mad. To execute this grand project, the overgrown power of the peers was firſt to be humbled, among whom the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne were the principal; for they not only upheld one another, but were likewiſe a ſupport to the reſt.

Conteſts between the kings of France and the dukes of Bretagne, Argentre.

The firſt held Burgundy and Flanders, the only two antient lay-peerdoms, that ſtill remained to be united to the crown; but this prince, who was alſo ſovereign of almoſt all the Low-Countries, was ſo potent, that to attack him, firſt, would have been very imprudent. It was, therefore, with the duke of Bretagne, that Lewis reſolved to begin the execution of his deſigns, and an old quarrel, about homage, afforded him a pretence; for, ever ſince Peter, ſirnamed Mauclerc, had done homage to St Lewis, the nature of homage had been a continual ſubject of diſputes, between the kings of France and the dukes of Bretagne. The former maintained, that it was a liege homage; but the latter alledged the contrary; and this was a very important queſtion, by reaſon of the wide difference between bare and liege homage. Bare homage was paid by thoſe, who, tho' they were not naturally dependent on a prince, did him homage, for his protection, aſſiſtance, or even for a penſion; and the Collection of the Publick Acts contains ſundry homage, of this kind, paid to the kings of England by ſovereign princes of Germany and the Low-Countries, and by the earls of Savoy; but liege homage was paid by thoſe, that held lands diſmembered from the dominions of the prince, to whom it was paid; and ſuch were the dukedoms and peerdoms of France. As theſe two ſorts of homage were of a different nature, they were alſo performed, in a different manner; for the perſon, that did liege homage, was uncovered, on his knees, ungirded, and without a ſword, or ſpurs; moreover, he held his hands joined within thoſe of the ſoverign, and ſwore fealty to him; but ſimple homage was paid ſtanding, with the ſword and ſpurs on, and without an oath. Thus, liege homage was for lands diſmembered from a ſtate, and denoted their being liable to confiſcation, and re-union; but ſimple homage was perſonal, upon certain conditions beneficial to the vaſſal; ſo that the default of homage deprived him only of the benefit of theſe conditions. The obliging, therefore, the

1464. the duke of Bretagne to do liege homage, would have laid him under a neceſſity to own his dukedom liable to confiſcation, and to be re-annexed to the crown of France; but, to avoid this inconvenience, the dukes of Bretagne had contrived the expedient of doing their homage, like their predeceſſors, in general terms; and, whether the right of the kings of France, with reſpect to the nature of the homage, could not be evidently proved, or the circumſtances of affairs conſtrained them to manage the dukes of Bretagne, it is certain they long received their homage, in that manner. Indeed, after homage done, the chancellor, or high-chamberlain, ſaid aloud, that the homage was liege, to which the duke anſwered, in the negative; and, thus, the pretenſions of each remained entire. Charles V. plainly ſhewed, that he ſuppoſed the homage to be liege, ſince he cauſed the dukedom of Bretagne to be confiſcated and annexed to his crown, by a decree of the court of peers; and, a peace being concluded, between France and Bretagne, in the beginning of the reign of Charles VI, the duke of Bretagne was reſtored to his dukedom; and, as nothing was ſettled, about the nature of the homage, the pretenſions of both parties ſtill ſubſiſted. Arthur III, who had been conſtable of France, upon his becoming duke of Bretagne, ſolemnly declared, in doing his homage to Charles VII, that he did not intend to do liege homage, and was allowed to pay it, in general terms, like his predeceſſors. Francis II, his ſucceſſor, made the ſame declaration; and Charles VII. received his homage, tho' he did not approve his proteſtation.

Lewis XI. attacks the duke of Bretagne, who forms a league againſt him. P. Daniel.

This was the ſtate of the affairs, between France and Bretagne, when Lewis XI. came to the crown; and, probably, this prince would have been as eaſily ſatisfied, as Charles, his father, with reſpect to the duke of Bretagne's homage, had he not, as I obſerved, reſolved to begin with him his grand project of humbling all that could hinder his arriving at arbitrary power. He had projected this deſign, the moment he was placed on the throne, and, perhaps, before the death of the king, his father; but it was not till 1464, that he began to put it in execution. With this view, having firſt ordered ſome troops into Anjou, he ſent the chancellor de Morvilliers to the duke of Bretagne, to prohibit him, in his name, to aſſume any right of ſovereignty, in his dukedom; but Francis II, being unprepared for his defence, had recourſe to artifice, and demanded a three months delay, to conſult his ſtates; and, this term being granted him, he made uſe of it, to cabal, in France, among the great men, and to form againſt Lewis a powerful league, called the great League of the Publick Good, which will be, preſently, mentioned.

Negotiations between Edward and Lewis XI. Hall.

At the time Lewis thought of attacking the duke of Bretagne, Edward diſpatched the earl of Warwick, to demand Bona of Savoy, his ſiſter-in-law, in marriage; which propoſal could not but be very agreeable to him, ſince he was deſirous of nothing more, than to make an alliance with the king of England, in order to prevent his interpoſing, in his future quarrels, with the great men of his kingdom; but, to be ſure of reaping this benefit by it, he cauſed the affair of the marriage to be a little prolonged, whilſt he negotiated, at London, and with the earl of Warwick, at Paris, a treaty of perſonal amity between him and Edward. There are, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, ſeveral papers, concerning this negotiation; and we ſee there, that a full power was given by Edward to the earl of Warwick, to treat of a final peace, an alliance, or a truce with Lewis XI; and another to conclude a treaty of friendſhip between the two kings. Lewis's views were ſtill more extenſive; and, in order to deprive the duke of Bretagne of all protection, he would have drawn the duke of Burgundy into his projected alliance with England, and, for that purpoſe, agreed with Edward and Philip, upon a congreſs of ambaſſadors, at Heſdin, which was afterwards removed to St. Omer. He managed his affairs, at London, by the lord Launoy, governor of Amiens, ſent thither, towards the end of the preceding year; but the reſult of all theſe negotiations was only the concluſion of a ſea-truce, to laſt, as long as that before made for the land.

Edward makes a truce with Scotland. Act. Pub.

During theſe tranſactions, Edward concluded with Scotland a 15 years truce; and John Kennedy, a lord of great abilities, and ardently zealous for his king and country, thought he could not, whilſt regent, do a greater ſervice to both, than to maintain a good underſtanding with the Engliſh; otherwiſe it was next to impoſſible to preſerve tranquillity, in Scotland, becauſe, during the war, the malecontents always relied upon the protection of England.

He grants a pardon to Henry's friends. Act. Pub.

This affair being over, Edward offered to all, that had taken arms againſt him, an abſolute pardon, except Ralph Grey and Humphrey Nevil; the former of whom, having been taken, in Banborough, where he commanded for Henry, had been degraded; and, probably, he had done ſomething ſince, which occaſioned his excluſion from the pardon granted to the reſt. Shortly after, the king publiſhed a proclamation, commanding all his ſubjects, from 16 to 60 years of age, to take up arms; but the hiſtorians do not mention this armament, nor the occaſion of it.

He concludes a peace with Bretagne.

In Auguſt, this year, ambaſſadors came to Edward from the duke of Bretagne, to negotiate a truce; for the duke, finding himſelf preſſed by the king of France, and labouring to form the league of the publick good, was glad to ſecure himſelf againſt England; and he obtained from Edward a truce, for one year, to begin, the firſt of October.

About the ſame time, the ſee of York becoming vacant, George Nevil, brother to the earl of Warwick, was promoted to it, by the recommendation of the king.

1465. In the interim, the earl of Warwick, who was ſtill at the court of France, having preſſed Lewis, upon the chief occaſion of his ambaſſy, Edward's marriage, with Bona of Savoy, was,

at

1465. at length, concluded; and, preſently after, Lewis ſent the earl of Dammartin, as his ambaſſador to Edward, to ſettle with him what yet remained to be done, in the affair; but all theſe deſigns were defeated by love. What I am about to relate is not a romance, but a true ſtory; which ſhews, how far that paſſion is ſometimes concerned, in the moſt important revolutions; for this affair was attended with remarkable effects.

Edward falls in love with Eliſabeth Woodville.

Whilſt the earl of Warwick was forwarding, in France, with all his power, the concluſion of his negotiation, Edward, by a mere accident, rendered it abortive, in England. This prince, being in Northamptonſhire, near the manor of Grafton, made a viſit to Jacquelina of Luxemburgh, ducheſs of Bedford, who had married Sir Richard Woodville; by whom ſhe had, among other children, a daughter, named Eliſabeth, who had been wife to Sir John Grey of Groby, and, upon his death, retired to her father. She had the misfortune to ſee her husband's eſtate confiſcated, becauſe of his attachment to the houſe of Lancaſter, in whoſe ſervice he had loſt his life; and, the king's viſit ſeeming to be a fair opportunity, ſhe came and threw herſelf at his feet, imploring the reſtitution of her deceaſed husband's lands, and his compaſſion upon her children. Edward, being young and extremely amorous, no ſooner ſaw the charming widow at his feet, than he was deſperately enamoured with her; and he, forthwith, gave her hopes, as he raiſed her from the ground, that he would grant her requeſt, and even intimated, that it was not in his power, to deny any thing ſhe was pleaſed to demand; but, afterwards, in his private converſations with her, he would fain have perſuaded her, to purchaſe the favour, at the expence of her honour. All the hiſtorians agree, that he was the handſomeſt man, in England, and the moſt proper to make conqueſts on the female ſex; and, being ſenſible of this, he did not doubt to gain this lady's heart, with the ſame eaſe he had done many others; but ſhe expreſly told him, that, tho' ſhe judged herſelf unworthy to be a queen, ſhe was above being a concubine; which declaration made ſuch an impreſſion on the king, that, deſpairing to accompliſh his ends, any other way, he offered her marriage. It was ſcarce poſſible to refuſe a heart, like Edward's, with a crown. The young lady, agreeably ſurpriſed at ſuch a beneficial offer, immediately, accepted it; and in ſo reſpectful and obliging a manner, as compleated the conqueſt of the monarch's heart; yet, unwilling to diſoblige the ducheſs of York, his mother, before he proceeded any farther, he acquainted her with his intention. The ducheſs, aſtoniſhed at this ſudden reſolution, laboured, with all her might, to diſſuade him from it; repreſenting to him the injury he would do the earl of Warwick, to whom he was under ſo many obligations, and who, it was to be feared, would highly reſent it; that, by the affront he was going to put upon the king of France, he would render him his mortal enemy, and a peace impracticable; that the Engliſh nobility would behold, with envy, the Woodville family, exalted ſo high above them, and their diſcontent might prove very deſtructive; and, in a word, that he was about to marry a woman with nothing, his ſubject, and who had children by another husband. Edward briefly replied, that it was not certain, that the earl of Warwick would conſider his change, as an injury; but, as for him, he was ſure of his affection; that the king of France was like to be employed about affairs, that would, probably, divert him from all thoughts of revenge; that his marrying a ſubject, inſtead of offending the great men, would rather be agreeable to them, ſince, for the future, all the noble families might aſpire to the ſame honour; laſtly, that a dowry ought not to be regarded, in a king's marriage; and whatever elſe, he could expect, would be amply ſupplied by his love and her virtue, whom he choſe, for his wife. The ducheſs, finding her arguments ineffectual, added another, and, in her opinion, a much ſtronger reaſon; namely, that he was contracted to the lady Eliſabeth Lucy, and could not, in conſcience, marry another. Edward poſitively denied, that he was engaged to that lady; yet, for his mother's ſatisfaction, or leſt this pretended engagement might, one day, furniſh a pretence to diſpute the validity of his marriage, he conſented, that Eliſabeth Lucy ſhould be examined by ſome biſhops. Upon her examination, ſhe confeſſed, that the king had not given her a poſitive promiſe; nevertheleſs, ſhe ſaid, that ſhe ſhould never have yielded to his deſires, had ſhe not been perſuaded of his intention to marry her; but, this anſwer ſhewing, that there was no abſolute promiſe, on the king's part, the prelates affirmed, that the king might, with a ſafe conſcience, marry another. Accordingly, Edward eſpouſed Eliſabeth Woodville, in the preſence of a few perſons; ſo that his marriage was divulged only by his orders, to prepare for the new queen's coronation.

1465.

He marries her. Hall.

The nobles are jealous of the Woodvilles.

The nobles and people were extremely ſurpriſed, to ſee the king married to one of his ſubjects, whilſt he was negotiating his marriage, at the court of France, with the princeſs of Savoy; nay, when this marriage was already concluded. Sir Richard Woodville, the queen's father, was, immediately, created earl of Rivers, and his ſon, Anthony Woodville, married to the only daughter of the lord Scales, the greateſt heireſs of the kingdom. This raiſed great envy in the lords, particularly, in the duke of Clarence, who was highly incenſed, becauſe the king, his brother, did not procure him ſo rich a match; but this was nothing, in compariſon of the earl of Warwick's indignation, for being, thus, mocked, who expected that the king ſhould have treated him, in a more reſpectful and honourable manner. In this belief, he diſcovered his anger to the king of France, who did all that was poſſible, to inflame it; for Lewis himſelf could not but look upon Edward's proceedings, as a mortal affront; but, his affairs not permitting him to demand immediate ſatisfaction, he, for the preſent, concealed his reſentment

1465. ſentment. As for the earl of Warwick, he left the court of France, and returned into England, with a heart full of hatred and revenge againſt Edward, whoſe ingratitude he deteſted; yet he took care to diſſemble his ſentiments, till a proper ſeaſon offered for the diſcovery of them; but this very diſſimulation convinced the king, that he was extremely diſguſted; wherefore, Edward himſelf began to conſider him, as a ſecret enemy, tho' he ſtill gave him ſome ſlight marks of his confidence. Thus, amidſt the diſguiſes of the king and the earl, a mutual averſion was nouriſhed, which induced the king to mortify him, on ſeveral occaſions, as well to gratify his paſſion, as to leſſen that lord's credit with the people. As he could not believe, that he, who had, by his intereſt, fixed him on the throne, might have it in his power to dethrone him, he did not ſhew him the leaſt regard; but Warwick evidently perceived the king's view, tho' he prudently diſguiſed his ſentiments, leſt an unſeaſonable reſentment might oblige Edward, to diſable him to be revenged. All the hiſtorians unanimouſly agree, that, preſently after his return from France, he retired into the country, under the pretence of
Act. Pub. his health; but it appears from the Collection of the Publick Acts, that, during the years 1465 and 1466, he was, at court, and even employed, in negotiations of importance, with ambaſſadors of foreign princes; ſo that it was not, till two years after his return, that he withdrew, when he could no longer bear to be entirely removed from affairs, whilſt the new earl of Rivers had all the king's confidence.

The reſt of the year 1465 was ſpent, in ſundry negotiations, with the king of France, the duke of Burgundy, the earl of Charolois, and the duke of Bretagne; but, as they all concerned the affairs of France, and as upon theſe the knowledge of the Hiſtory of England, in a great meaſure, depends, it will be neceſſary briefly to relate their ſituation, at that time.

The affairs of France. P. Daniel. Lewis XI. was one of the ſubtleſt and leaſt ſcrupulous princes, then in Europe; whoſe deſign was, as I ſaid, to ruin the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne; the former by artifice, and the latter by force. With reſpect to the duke of Bretagne, he had, as I obſerved, begun to execute his project, by aſſembling an army, in Anjou, ready to fall upon Bretagne; and which only waited, till the expiration of the delay granted to the duke. As for the duke of Burgundy, Lewis had not judged it proper to proceed ſo haughtily with him; for he was too powerful a prince, to hope to ſucceed, by attacking him openly; but he made uſe of a ſecret expedient, which partly procured him what would have been, with extreme difficulty, obtained, by way of arms. He bribed the lords of Croy and Chimay, brothers, prime miniſters, and confidents of the duke, who prevailed on their maſter to reſign to the crown of France the towns on the Somme, for 400,000 crowns, purſuant to the treaty of Arras; but Charles, earl of Charolois, only ſon to the duke of Burgundy, conſidered this reſtitution, as a mortal wound to him and his houſe; who believed, that the duke, his father, ſhould, at any rate, have kept thoſe places, which rendered him more formidable to France than all the reſt of his dominions. He was ſo inraged againſt the miniſters, that he, one day, openly threatened to puniſh them, for their pernicious advice to his father; which affair created, between the father and ſon, a quarrel, that the favourites took care to foment; ſo that the earl, at laſt, in great diſcontent, retired into Holland. He pretended, that it was dangerous for him to remain any longer, at court; and that the favourites had counſelled his father to apprehend him, and even bribed people to poiſon him. 1465.

Whilſt the earl of Charolois was in Holland, Lewis XI. ſent thither ſecretly the baſtard of Rubempre, in a veſſel fitted out, at Dieppe, Commin. with ſome choſen ſoldiers, who, without knowing where they were going, had orders to obey Rubempre's commands; and the baſtard, landing with four of theſe ſoldiers, was known and diſcovered to the earl of Charolois, who, immediately, cauſed him to be ſeized; and ſome affirm, that there was found upon him an order, under the king's own hand, to apprehend the earl, and bring him away dead, or alive. In the interim, Lewis was upon the Somme, with a numerous army; and he had appointed the duke of Burgundy to meet him, on purpoſe, as it was afterwards reported to ſeize his perſon, as ſoon as he ſhould hear of the ſucceſs of Rubempre's plot; but, the earl of Charolois ſending ſpeedy intelligence to his father of what he had diſcovered, the duke, directly, rode away from Heſdin, where he was now arrived; and, thus, if it be true, that Lewis deſigned to ſeize, at once, the father and ſon, his project miſcarried. This attempt, whether it was real, or only ſuſpected, greatly increaſed the earl of Charolois's hatred to Lewis; who every-where proclaimed, that the king of France intended to aſſaſſinate, or carry him away, by force; and the report, immediately, flew all over Flanders.

Lewis eaſily perceived, that his honour could not but be concerned, in this affair, eſpecially if the baſtard of Rubempre, whoſe trial was preparing, in Holland, ſhould be convicted of the fact charged upon him; and, therefore, to prevent this trial, he diſpatched the chancellor de Morvilliers, with ſome other ambaſſadors, to the duke of Burgundy, to require him to deliver the priſoners into his hands. The earl of Charolois being preſent, at the audience, the chancellor ſpoke to the duke, in a very haughty manner, and even dropped ſome offenſive expreſſions againſt the earl, his ſon, who would have frequently replied; but the chancellor ſtill interrupted him, with ſaying that he was ſent to his father, and not to him. The duke of Burgundy's anſwer was, that, being ſovereign, in Holland, without the leaſt dependence on France, he would order the priſoner to be tried, and either puniſhed, or acquitted, according as he was found

1465. guilty, or innocent; and, when the French ambaſſadors took their leave of the duke, the earl of Charolois, taking one of them aſide, ſaid, "The king, your maſter, has been very ſevere upon me, by his chancellor; but "he ſhall repent it, before a year is com- "pleated:" And, indeed, he was as good as his word.

The war of the Publick Good againſt Lewis XI.

This paſſed, in the year 1464, whilſt the duke of Bretagne, for his own defence againſt Lewis, was labouring to form the league of the Publick Good above-mentioned; and the earl of Charolois was one of the firſt that entered into it, having obtained his father's permiſſion to raiſe troops and join the duke of Bretagne, with almoſt all the great men of France, who were to be near Paris, in June, 1465. When the duke of Bretagne found himſelf ſecure of a powerful aid, he ſent ambaſſadors to the king, under the pretence of deſiring a longer delay, but in reality to corrupt the duke of Berry, his brother; and they were ſo ſucceſsful, that they brought the duke with them into Bretagne. He was no ſooner out of the king's power, than the confederates declared him head of the league, and they all went and prepared to be, at the rendezvous; but the duke of Bourbon was the firſt, that ventured to take up arms, with an intent to draw the king into his country, at a diſtance from Paris. Lewis, who had, as yet, received no news of the league, forthwith, marched towards Bourbonnois; but, quickly after, he heard, that the earl of Charolois, at the head of a numerous army, was approaching Paris; and that the duke of Bretagne, with the reſt of the confederates, was preparing to join him. Upon this information, he ſpeedily left Bourbonnois, to ſave his metropolis; and, in the mean while, the earl of Charolois attempted to become maſter of it; but, as he had no proſpect of ſucceſs, he went and encamped, at Montlhery, expecting the dukes of Berry and Bretagne. In the mean time, the king, who advanced with great marches, approaching Montlhery, the two armies met and joined battle; the ſucceſs whereof was ſo doubtful, that both ſides claimed the advantage; but the king, decamping, in the night, to throw himſelf into Paris, gave occaſion to his enemies to ſay, that he owned his defeat. Some days after, the dukes of Berry and Bretagne joined the Burgundians; but the king had now ſo effectually provided, for the defence of his capital, that it was impoſſible for it to be taken by the confederates; and, at length, the war ended, in a treaty ſigned, at Conflans, the 30th of October. Lewis reſtored to the duke of Burgundy the towns upon the Somme, for which he had paid 400,000 crowns; and he gave Normandy, in appenage, to the duke of Berry, his brother. Upon the ſigning of the treaty, the earl of Charolois retired into the Low-Countries; and the duke of Berry, accompanied with the duke of Bretagne, went and took poſſeſſion of Normandy; but, a few days after, the duke of Bretagne, falling out with the duke of Berry, returned into his own dominions. Lewis, improving this diſſenſion, immediately, marched into Normandy, expelled his brother, and conſtrained him, once more, to take refuge, in Bretagne; where, notwithſtanding their former quarrel, the duke gave him a civil reception. Theſe are all the moſt remarkable tranſactions, in France, in 1465. 1465.

Monſtrelet. Commin.

Whilſt the French princes were making preparations, for the war of the Publick Good they had not neglected the king of England; for the Collection of the Publick Acts ſhews, that, from March to their taking the field, the duke of Bretagne and the earl of Charolois had their ambaſſadors, at London; and the earl offered to make with Edward a treaty of alliance. Lewis XI. himſelf, tho' ſo highly incenſed againſt him, did not fail to court him; but Edward, willing, doubtleſs, to be better informed of his affairs, avoided, under various pretences, to come to any agreement.

The negotiations of the duke of Bretagne and the earl of Charolois, with Edward. Act. Pub.

He acted otherwiſe, with reſpect to the king of Scotland, with whom, after a long negotiation, he concluded, at Newcaſtle, a treaty, by which the late truce was prolonged, for 40 years, till 1519.

The truce with Scotland is prolonged.

In the beginning of the year 1466, the queen was delivered of a princeſs, named Eliſabeth, who afterwards became the happy inſtrument to reſtore peace to England, after a long civil war. 1466. The birth of the princeſs Eliſabeth. Hall.

Edward, having highly affronted Lewis XI, conſidered him, as a ſecret enemy; who only wanted an opportunity to be revenged; yet he behaved, with extreme caution, during the war of the Publick Good, leſt he ſhould afford him a freſh cauſe to ſupport the houſe of Lancaſter, in caſe he ſubdued the confederate princes. For the ſame reaſon, he hearkened to the propoſals of the dukes of Berry and Bretagne; but he had taken care to conclude nothing, either with them, or the king of France. Afterwards, the treaty of Conflans might have cauſed Edward to pay Lewis leſs regard, had not the revolution, immediately after, in Normandy, induced him to proceed, with deliberation; and, in the mean while, he was equally preſſed, on both ſides. The king of France, pretending to forget the affront he had received, urged him to enter into a treaty with him, for a final peace between the two crowns, or, at leaſt, for a long truce; whilſt the duke of Burgundy, the earl of Charolois, and the duke of Bretagne repreſented to him, that, if he ſuffered the French princes to be oppreſſed, the king of France would become ſo potent, as could not but prove fatal to England; but he ſo managed, as to give equal hopes to both the parties. Indeed, it was, by no means, his intereſt to engage, in their quarrels, and create new enemies, when the Lancaſtrian party, tho' humbled, were ſtill very numerous, in England; and this is the real motive of his cautious conduct; and, to keep affairs, upon the ſame footing, till farther diſcoveries could be made, he concluded a ſhort truce with France, and another with the duke of Bretagne. Edward, in managing the king of France, alſo expected to haſten the concluſion of the match propoſed, between Margaret, Edward keeps fair with the king of France, and with his enemies.

1466. Margaret, his ſiſter, and the earl of Charolois; for he was ſenſible, that, the leſs inclined he ſeemed to break with Lewis XI, the duke of Burgundy and his ſon would be the more deſirous of forwarding the marriage; and, indeed, his policy fully anſwered his expectation. He no ſooner found them, thus, diſpoſed, than, he was ready to enter into engagements with them; for he had an averſion to Lewis, as knowing that he was not beloved by him; moreover, he conſidered, that the king of France's proceedings were inſincere, and that, at one time or other, he would ſhew his reſentment. Beſides, it was againſt the intereſt of England, to ſuffer the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne to be ruined, which manifeſtly appeared to be Lewis's grand deſign; wherefore, October the 23d, he ſigned a treaty of perſonal alliance, amity, and friendſhip with the earl of Charolois; and, a few days after, he ſent a ſafe-conduct to Lewis of Bruges, lord of Gruthuyſe, appointed by the duke of Burgundy, to treat with him about a perpetual peace, and ſettle the articles of the marriage of the earl of Charolois, with the princeſs Margaret.

The duke of Bretagne is hard preſſed. Commin.

All this, in appearance, tended to a league, between Edward and the duke of Burgundy, for the duke of Bretagne's defence, who was vigorouſly preſſed; for, ſince the duke of Berry's expulſion out of Normandy, the duke of Bretagne had undertaken to ſupport him, and cauſe the treaty of Conflans to be put in execution. This was projected by him and the earl of Charolois, who engaged to make a powerful diverſion, in Picardy; but, unfortunately for the duke of Bretagne, the duke of Burgundy was employed in a war with the Liegeois, which hindered the earl of Charolois from performing his promiſe. In the interim, Lewis XI. extremely preſſed the duke of Bretagne, who, being unable to withſtand him alone, encouraged him to hope, that he would comply with his will; but this was only to gain time, till he ſhould he ſhould be reinforced by the duke of Burgundy. At length, the war with Liege being ſuſpended by a truce, the earl of Charolois prepared to march into Picardy; but, when leaſt expected, Lewis, by his ſecret practices, cauſed the Liegeois to take up arms again. Thus, the duke of Bretagne was ſtill greatly diſtreſſed; yet he did all that was poſſible, to defend himſelf, in expectation of ſpeedy aſſiſtance.

Edward's alliance with Caſtile and Denmark. Act. Pub.

In the mean while, Edward concluded a treaty of perpetual alliance, with the king of Caſtile; but he had done the ſame, with the king of Denmark, the beginning of this year; which alliances, tho' they were inconſiderable, with reſpect to his principal affairs, procured him reputation, and rendered him more formidable to his enemies.

1467. The negotiations with Lewis and the duke of Burgundy.

The firſt part of 1467 was entirely ſpent, in negotiations with France and the duke of Burgundy; the latter of whom only waited the end of the war with Liege, to give all his forces to his ſon, to prevent the duke of Bretagne's ruin; who, having already loſt his towns, in Lower-Normandy, found himſelf upon the point of being attacked, in his own country. On the other hand, Lewis, ſparing no coſt, to have good ſpies, was informed of what paſſed, between Edward and the duke of Burgundy, and evidently perceived, that their union tended to the duke of Bretagne's defence; and, as he ſtill deſigned to ruin that prince, he exerted himſelf, to divert Edward from any engagements with his enemies. With this view, in February, 1467, he ſent the baſtard of Bourbon into England; and, in June, the archbiſhop of Narbonne. Edward, pretending to be entirely diſengaged, forthwith, appointed commiſſioners, to treat with theſe ambaſſadors; but, as it is eaſy to gain time, in ſuch negotiations, nothing was concluded; and, in the interim, Lewis was afraid to diſtreſs the duke of Bretagne, leſt he ſhould oblige Edward to delare for him. 1467.

The death of the duke of Burgundy.

This was the ſtate of affairs, between thoſe two princes, when the duke of Burgundy died, the 15th of June, in the 72d year of his age; and Charles, earl of Charolois, his only ſon, whom, henceforward, I ſhall call duke of Burgundy, ſucceeded him, in all his dominions; who would have, directly, poſted to aſſiſt the duke of Bretagne, had he not been detained by the war with Liege. In the mean while, Lewis ſent and offered the new duke of Burgundy, to abandon the Liegeois, whom he had, hitherto, aided, provided he would, in return, deſert the duke of Bretagne; and, if Charles had accepted this propoſal, the duke of Bretagne would have been irrecoverably loſt, ſince there was now a French army of 30,000 men, in the heart of his country; but he bravely rejected it, declaring that, at all hazards, he would aſſiſt the duke of Bretagne, to the utmoſt of his power. He reſolved, as ſoon as the war with Liege was over, to throw himſelf into Picardy; and he did not doubt, that Edward would declare againſt France, when he found himſelf ſecure of being ſo ſtrongly ſupported. The very day of his father's death, he ratified his alliance with Edward; and the new bond, by which they were going to be farther united, viz. his marriage, then upon the point of concluſion, ſeemed to promiſe him, that he ſhould never want the aſſiſtance of England; whilſt the duke of Bretagne, fearing to be oppreſſed, before the arrival of the ſuccours, put Lewis in hopes of all the ſatisfaction he deſired, and ſo obtained a truce that gave him ſome reſpite.

The queen's relations are in great credit, at court. Biondi. Habington.

During theſe tranſactions, in France, conſiderable alterations were made, in the court of England, which, at laſt, occaſioned great commotions; for the queen's relations daily increaſed, in favour with the king; and the earl of Warwick with his brothers, who had been ſo potent, were little regarded. The archbiſhop of York was ſtill chancellor; but he, at length, was removed, to make way for the biſhop of Bath and Wells, one of the queen's moſt zealous adherents. The earl of Warwick was no longer employed, as before, in affairs of importance; for, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, his name is not found, after the middle of this year; but, as for the marqueſs

1467. queſs of Montague, his brother, governor of the northern counties, ſince there was no danger from Scotland, he was continued in that poſt; moreover, Edward had leſs inclination to diſpleaſe him, becauſe, in the decline of his family's credit, he behaved with more circumſpection than his brothers. On the other hand, the earl of Rivers, the queen's father, was promoted to the office of lord treaſurer; and he was alſo made high-conſtable, upon the voluntary, or forced, reſignation of the earl of Worceſter, whom the king requited, by making him lieutenant, in Ireland, under the duke of Clarence. Thus, the earl of Rivers held, at once, two of the greateſt offices of the crown; beſides, his ſon, Anthony Woodville, had a grant of the reverſion of the high-conſtableſhip; and, probably, it was about this time that the earl of Warwick retired from court, and the archbiſhop of York went and reſided upon his dioceſe.

The earl of Warwick withdraws from court.

It was extremely difficult for a man of the earl of Warwick's character, to ſuffer ſuch a diſgrace, without reſentment; who was the proudeſt lord that had ever been, in England; and his natural pride was ſtill increaſed by the ſignal ſervices he had done the king. The king, by marrying, in England, without his knowledge, at the very time he employed him, at Paris, to negotiate another marriage, which too was concluded, had highly incenſed him; and the contempt that Edward ſhewed him, at his return from France, in not making him ſome civil excuſe, had exceedingly inflamed his diſguſt. To this was added an extreme indignation, to ſee his credit entirely ſunk; and, in fine, the favours, heaped upon the queen's relations, racked him with envy, and puſhed him upon the moſt violent reſolutions. If we may believe certain hiſtorians, he had yet a ſtronger reaſon, to deteſt Edward; viz. becauſe Edward attempted the chaſtity of one of his daughters; and this prince's character, who was not very ſcrupulous, in that reſpect, renders it probable; but, however this be, the earl mortally hated Edward, tho' he concealed his averſion, in order to ſhew it effectually. It is certain, that the king, who was no ſtranger to his temper, committed, a great error, in not giving him ſome ſatisfaction, or in not ruining him entirely; for policy requires, that one of theſe courſes ſhould be taken, with perſons of ſuch a diſpoſition. The continuator of Monſtrelet affirms, that, in June, 1467, the earl of Warwick met Lewis XI, at Roan, and ſtaid with him, 12 days; and, if ſo, it may be preſumed, that, being ſent into France, upon the king's affairs, he took that opportunity, to ſecure Lewis's protection, and concert meaſures with him, about the execution of his project, to dethrone the king.

He goes and makes Lewis his friend.

1468. In the interim, the negotiation of the marriage of Edward's ſiſter with the duke of Burgundy ſtill continued, whilſt Edward kept Lewis in hopes of concluding a perpetual peace with him; but it was only to amuſe him, and haſten, at the ſame time, the marriage of the princeſs, his ſiſter. However, leſt his ambaſſy to Paris might give ſome ſuſpicion to the duke of Burgundy, he iſſued out a proclamation, expreſly ordering the coaſts to be well-guarded, as ſoon as the truce with France, that was to end, in March, ſhould be expired; and, ſoon after, the marriage was, at laſt, concluded, and Margaret ſent to Bruges, with a ſplendid retinue, being attended by the ducheſſes of Exeter and Suffolk. There the nuptials were ſolemnized, in a very magnificent manner; and, the ſame day, the truce of commerce, between England and the duke of Burgundy's dominions, was prolonged, for 30 years.

1468. The duke of Burgundy's marriage is ſolemnized.

The reſt of the winter was ſpent, in negotiating an alliance, between Edward and the duke of Bretagne; which was ſtrongly ſollicited by the duke of Burgundy, becauſe he was ſo incumbered with the war of Liege, that it was impoſſible for him to aſſiſt his ally; but this affair was clogged with difficulties, ſince it was to paſs from a long war, between England and Bretagne, to a ſtrict alliance. All that could be done, at firſt, was to prolong the truce, till July; after which, Edward and the duke of Bretagne ſent each other letters patent, promiſing mutual aſſiſtance, to the utmoſt of their power; and the duke of Burgundy ſent the like to the king, to induce him, the ſooner, to declare againſt France. Indeed, it was of the greateſt conſequence to him to prevent the duke of Bretagne's ruin, and procure the duke of Berry a ſettlement, which might enable him to keep the king, his brother, in awe; for he was almoſt certain, that, after Lewis had diſabled theſe two princes from hurting him, he would not fail to attack him, with all his forces. On the other hand, Edward ſaw but too plainly, how prejudicial Lewis's growth of power might be to him; and, therefore, by his orders, his commiſſioners ſigned, the 2d of July, a treaty of commerce with Bretagne; and, the next day, a levy of troops was ordered, for the aſſiſtance of that duchy. In the beginning of Auguſt, he ſent ambaſſadors to France, under the pretence of treating with Lewis, of a perpetual peace; and yet, two days after, he ſigned a treaty, by which he engaged to ſend the duke of Bretagne an aid of 3000 archers. As the duke was preſſed by the king of France, it was neceſſary to forward that affair, as well on his own, as on the part of Edward, without ſtanding too much upon terms; and, the fleet and troops, intended for Bretagne, being ready, in the beginning of October, the king gave the command to Anthony Woodville, lord Scales, his brother-in-law.

Negotiations with the duke of Bretagne. Act. Pub.

Whilſt theſe affairs were negotiating, at London, the dukes of Berry and Bretagne were extremely embarraſſed; for, the truce granted them by Lewis being about to expire, the duke of Burgundy was too remote, and too buſy, elſewhere, for them to hope to be delivered, by his means; and, as for the ſuccours expected from England, they were neither ſpeedy, nor ſufficient, to free them from their danger. In the interim, the duke of Burgundy made all poſſible haſte, to end the war with the Liegeois; at laſt, he found means

1468. means to force his enemies to a battle, wherein he obtained a compleat victory, that obliged them to ſue for peace; and, no ſooner was the treaty ſigned, than he marched for Picardy. Being arrived upon the Somme, ready to enter upon action, he heard, that the dukes of Berry and Bretagne had made a peace with the king of France; and that after renouncing all foreign alliance, the duke of Berry was contented with an appenage of 6000 livres a year, in land, and an annual penſion of 60,000, in lieu of Normandy, granted him by the treaty of Conflans. This news, which Lewis ſent him, by an expreſs, was the moſt unwelcome; yet, without being diſcouraged with this unexpected accident, he reſolved to remain encamped, where he was; hoping that, as the duke of Bretagne had been forced to a peace, he would repent of what he had done, when he found himſelf ſupported, and eaſily find an excuſe to break it; and this he, in ſo many words, told thoſe who adviſed him, to ſue to the king of France, for peace.

Lewis, upon the duke of Burgundy's reſolution, was afraid, that the dukes of Berry and Bretagne would recede, when they ſaw aſſiſtance ſo near; in which caſe, he might expect to deal with the king of England, the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, and many of the moſt powerful lords of the kingdom, who were diſſatisfied with him. In this uneaſineſs, he departed from Paris, into Picardy, to treat with the duke of Burgundy; and he had all the ſucceſs he deſired; for the duke, uncertain what ſteps the duke of Bretagne might take, agreed to retire, for 400,000 crowns, which Lewis gave him, to defray his expences. Hitherto, Lewis had reaſon to be ſatisfied, having diſperſed the league made againſt him, and reduced the duke, his brother, to a moderate appenage; yet he ſtill reſolved to ruin the duke of Bretagne, that he might, afterwards, more ſafely attack the other peers, and even the duke of Burgundy; and his ardent deſire, to execute this firſt project, led him to be guilty of the groſſeſt fault, that could poſſibly be committed by ſuch a politick prince. After ſigning the treaty with the duke of Burgundy, he would go and have an interview with him; fancying that he ſhould be able to perſuade that prince, to relinquiſh the intereſts of the duke of Bretagne; at leaſt, he hoped to ſow jealouſies between them, from which he could not fail to reap great advantages. With this view, he demanded of the duke a ſafe-conduct to meet him, at Peronne; and, as ſoon as he received it, he repaired to that town, with a ſlender retinue, the more effectually to gain the duke, by that extraordinary confidence; but, before his departure, he had not recalled the ambaſſadors ſent to the Liegeois, to perſuade them to break the peace with the duke of Burgundy, upon his aſſurance of a powerful aid. This was ſufficient to excite the people to take up arms again; and the duke was informed of it, at Peronne, the ſame, or the next day, after the king's arrival. A proceeding, ſo contrary to good faith, convincing the duke, that Lewis's ſole ſtudy was to deceive him, he even impriſoned him, in the caſtle of Peronne, where he was lodged, and detained him ſeveral days, at a loſs what to reſolve; and Lewis, judging of his enemy by himſelf, was in mortal agonies. As he had no proſpect of eſcaping, he was obliged to ſubmit to the duke's terms; but that prince treated him, in a more generous manner, than he could have expected. After a very ſhort negotiation, it was agreed, that the king ſhould give Champagne and Brie to his brother, inſtead of Normandy, which was granted him by the treaty of Conflans, and ſhould accompany the duke, in the war with Liege; and, a few days after, they departed towards the territories of Liege; where Lewis had the mortification to be a witneſs of the deſtruction of the capital, which he had prepoſterouſly thrown into that misfortune; but, at laſt, he eſcaped out of the duke of Burgundy's hands, after having been under continual apprehenſions, either of loſing his life, or undergoing a grievous captivity, to the day of his death. In the interim, he had no inclination really to execute the treaty made, at Peronne; and he, afterwards, found means to evade it.

1468. Lewis being made priſoner, ſubmits to hard terms. Commin.

Lewis puts himſelf imprudently in the power of the duke of Burgundy.

It is time, now, to leave the foreign affairs, to reſume thoſe of England, where a more affecting ſcene will preſent itſelf to the reader's view; and the variety of the events renders this part of Edward's reign extremely remarkable. The 20th of October, Edward renewed the antient alliance, between England and Arragon; which treaty the Engliſh hiſtorians place, in 1466; tho', in the Collection of the Publick Acts, it is dated, October 20, 1468; but, probably, they have confounded the aliiance with Caſtile, in 1466, with that which was renewed, two years after, with Arragon. It is ſaid, that Edward, upon this occaſion, ſent the king of Arragon a preſent of ſome ewes and rams; which ſo multiplied, in Spain, that it proved very detrimental to the wool-trade of England.

Edward's alliance with Arragon. Act. Pub.

About the end of the year 1468, or the beginning of 1469, the earl of Warwick believed himſelf in a condition to execute his project againſt Edward; who, ſince he left the court, was forgotten, unleſs it was neceſſary to ſend him orders, concerning his government of Calais. If he went to France, the preceding year, as Monſtrelet's continuator affirms, it is, to the laſt degree, probable, that he communicated his deſigns to Lewis XI, and concerted meaſures with him accordingly; but, ſuppoſing he had ſtaid, in England, it was eaſy to treat with that prince, by ſecret emiſſaries. However this be, the earl, paſſionately deſiring to ſhew, that he was not to be offended, with impunity, judged it expedient to begin, with gaining his two brothers, the archbiſhop of York and the marqueſs of Montague; and he repreſented to them the ſervices they had all three done the king, and the king's ingratitude, ſince their rewards bore no proportion to their deſerts; that, not ſatisfied with being ungrateful to all their family, he had highly affronted him, in particular, in the affair of his marriage; and that he had likewiſe attempted to

1469. The earl of Warwick draws his brothers into the plot, to dethrone the king.

1469. disgrace their family, in a manner insupportable to men of honour. In fine, after many other considerations, to demonstrate the king's ingratitude, he told them, that he was resolved to do all that was possible, to convince him, that he, who had raised him to the throne was able to pull him down; and, for the execution of this design, he desired their advice and assistance. The archbishop of York was very easily induced to follow his brother's passion; but the marquess of Montague alledged arguments and objections against it, which the earl of Warwick answered, with great vehemence; and, tho', at last, he was prevailed with, the marquess intimated, that it was more out of complaisance to his brother than inclination.

He engages the duke of Clarence in the same design. Hall.

Upon this first step, the earl of Warwick addressed himself to the duke of Clarence, the eldest of the king's brothers; being sensible that the duke was dissatisfied, that the king, his brother, had done nothing for him, except the giving him an empty title which he did not want; and that, besides, he had seen, with extreme jealousy, the lord Scales, the queen's brother, married to the richest heiress in the kingdom, without the least thought of procuring him such a beneficial match. The earl of Warwick, concluding from these considerations, that the duke would gladly embrace an opportunity of being revenged, imparted to him his design; and the duke, impatiently desirous of being revenged, for the little affection shewn to him by the king, readily entered into the plot; but, the, better to confirm him in this resolution, the earl of Warwick promised him his eldest daughter in marriage, with a very considerable fortune. All the historians agree, that, presently after this conference, they went together to Calais, where the nuptials were solemnized; but they do not say, whether it was privately, or with the king's consent. What they add, that the duke and the earl continued, at Calais, till the insurrection, mentioned hereafter, must necessarily be false; because it appears from several papers, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, that they were, in England, most part of this year, before the insurrection, and even in the king's favour, who had no suspicion of their plot; nay, he seems to have repented of his great neglect of the earl of Warwick, since, on the 17th of August, he made him justiciary of South-Wales, and, some time after, seneschal of the whole country.

An insurrection is raised, in Yorkshire, by Warwick's friends. Hall. Hollingsh.

In spite of these favours, the earl of Warwick's projects began to be put in execution; for, in the beginning of October, there was a sedition, in Yorkshire, which all the historians unanimously ascribe to the secret practices of the marquess of Montague and his brother, the archbishop of York. There was, at York, an hospital, to the maintenance of which the whole county had always contributed; yet without being obliged. In time, these voluntary contributions were changed into a kind of right, entirely founded upon custom, and for which collectors were appointed; but they, who had been bribed, to excite the people, industriously spread a report, that the contributions were misapplied, and served only to inrich the directors of the hospital; and that, the hospital being sufficiently endowed, these collections were unnecessary; upon which, the country people took fire, as if it had been an affair of the utmost importance. They assembled, to the number of 15000; and, killing some of the collectors, they marched towards York, under the command of Robert Huldern. The marquess of Montague, who resided, at York, no sooner heard of it, than, assembling a body of the citizens, he sallied out upon the rebels, slew a great many, and, taking their leader, ordered him to be beheaded; which conduct would give occasion to presume, that the sedition was not raised by himself, had not his after proceedings been less ambigous. 1469.

Pembroke is ordered to raise an army, in Wales.

The first rumour of this commotion alarmed the king, tho' indeed, the cause was not very important; but, knowing how numerous the Lancastrian party still were, he was confident, that it was raised by some lord, attached to that house. However, he was very far from suspecting his brother and the earl of Warwick to be the principal authors; yet, whatever the event might be, he dispatched orders to the earl of Pembroke, governor of Wales, to draw together all the forces of those parts, and keep himself in a readiness to march. In the interim, the Yorkshire malecontents, rather animated than dispirited, at the ill success of their first attempt, took up arms again, and set at their head Henry, son to the lord Fitz-Hugh, and Henry Neville, son to the lord Latimer. These two young leaders had very little experience; but they were directed by Sir John Conyers, a person of great courage and conduct, and thoroughly versed in the art of war. Their first project was, to make themselves masters of York; but, suddenly altering their resolution and rout, they marched towards London, not, in the least, doubting, that their army would increase, by the way, as it really happened. Then it appeared, that the affair of York hospital was only made use of, as a handle to stir up the people; for the hospital afforded the seditious no manner of pretence to take the rout to London.

The earl of Pembroke goes out to meet them, and is joined by the lord Stafford. Hall. Habington

In the mean while, the earl of Pembroke, having drawn together about 10,000 men, began his march, in quest of the male-contents; and he was joined, on the road, by the lord Stafford, with 800 archers. The two armies approaching each other, the earl of Pembroke sent Sir Richard Herbert, his brother, with a detachment, to take as near a view of the enemy, as possible; who, being a very able officer, executed his orders, with great conduct, without exposing himself to be attacked, However, his men, who wanted his experience, preposterously fancying, that he would lose a fair opportunity, to defeat the enemies, against his will, fell upon their rear; but Conyers, having foreseen it, was so well prepared, that the detachment, with a great loss, was entirely routed.

Edward,

1469. Edward, hearing this news, wrote to the earl of Pembroke, not to be diſcouraged, for ſuch an inconſiderable loſs, aſſuring him, that he would come, in perſon, and join him, or ſend a ſtrong reinforcement; whilſt the ſeditious, perceiving they had near them an army, which might daily increaſe, and fearing to meet the king, in the way, determined to retire to Warwick, where, in all probability, the leaders knew, that they ſhould be received; but the earl of Pembroke, impatient to be revenged, marched, directly, towards them, and obliged them to halt, near Banbury, where the two armies incamped, at a ſmall diſtance one from another. In the interim, the earl of Pembroke and the lord Stafford quarrelling, about an inn, Stafford withdrew, in the night, with his 800 archers; and, on the morrow, at break of day, the male-contents marched, in good order, to attack the king's army. They had heard by deſerters of the lord Stafford's retreat, and were reſolved to improve it; but Henry Neville, one of their generals, advancing with an intent to engage, leſt the royaliſts ſhould retire, was fiercely repulſed, made priſoner, and ſlain, in cold blood. This barbarity inſpiring the northern men with a ſort of fury, they ruſhed upon their enemies; and, notwithſtanding the bravery of Sir Richard Herbert, who performed, that day, actions extolled by all the hiſtorians, the king's army was routed. The earl of Pembroke and his brothers fell into the power of the conquerors, who, carrying them to Banbury, ordered their heads to be ſtruck off, in revenge for the death of Sir Henry Neville, after which, the male-contents proceeded on their march to Warwick. Hitherto, the earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence had not declared themſelves; and, perhaps, they were gone, ſome time before, to Calais, to avoid the ſuſpicion of being concerned in the inſurrection, if it miſcarried, and to improve it, in caſe of ſucceſs.

The king's army defeated, and the earl of Pembroke beheaded.

Biondi.

A few days after the battle of Banbury, the people of Northamptonſhire, imitating the example of the Yorkſhire men, aſſembled, in great numbers, under Robert of Riddiſdale; and this multitude, which daily increaſed, tumultuouſly aſſaulting Grafton, a ſeat belonging to the earl of Rivers, the queen's father, ſeized the earl, and conducted him to Northampton, where he was beheaded, without any form of law.

The Northamptonſhire mutineers behead the earl of Rivers. Hollingſh.

On the contrary, the king, juſtly incenſed with the lord Stafford, for abandoning the earl of Pembroke, upon a frivolous quarrel, and thereby occaſioning the loſs of the battle of Banbury, commanded him to be publickly beheaded.

The lord Stafford is beheaded. Hall.

The death of the earl of Rivers ſhould, one would imagine, have convinced the king, that the earl of Warwick, tho' abſent, was the real author of theſe commotions; if the march of the male-contents, towards London, and the battle of Banbury had not been ſufficient to make him ſuſpect it. Warwick was an avowed enemy to the earl of Rivers, and was angry with the king; and the male-contents had been received into Warwick, without the leaſt oppoſition. In a word, theſe people had no reaſon to take up arms againſt Edward, on account of York-hoſpital, if they had not been ſecretly encouraged by ſome powerful enemy of the king, who could be no other than the earl of Warwick; for there was not, then, in England, any prince of the houſe of Lancaſter, or any lord of that party, to cauſe theſe inſurrections. As Edward, therefore, could not be ignorant of the diſcontent and great credit of the earl of Warwick and his brothers, he ought to have naturally concluded, that they were the ſecret authors; and yet, tho' the Collection of the Publick Acts ſhews, that the earl of Rivers was put to death, before the 16th of November, the king did not clearly diſcern, till the following March, that he had to deal with the earl of Warwick! Strange and inconceivable blindneſs!

The king's blindneſs with regard to the earl of Warwick.

1469. 1469.

Act. Pub.

The ſeverity of the ſeaſon interrupted, for ſome time, the civil war lately kindled; moreover, the king wanted leiſure to make preparations; and, on the other hand, the male-contents, having yet no declared head, continued quiet, in expectation of more particular directions.

1470. The war ceaſes, during the winter.

During the winter, Lewis XI. ſent ambaſſadors into England, under the pretence of renewing the truce; but, probably, his ſole view was to be perfectly informed of the ſtate of affairs, in that kingdom; and, at the ſame time, Edward, in order to ſtrengthen his alliance with the duke of Burgundy, ſent him the order of the Garter, which that prince received, at Bruges, the 4th of February, with great ſolemnity.

An ambaſſy from France. Act. Pub.

If the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick were, at Calais, during the late troubles, in all likelihood, they did not return to England, till about February, 1470; for they are not mentioned, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, ſince Auguſt, the preceding year. Edward was ſo far from ſuſpecting them, after their return, that, on the 7th of March, he ſent them, jointly, a commiſſion to levy troops againſt the rebels, in the north; and, ſeven days after, he promoted the earl of Worceſter to the office of high-conſtable, vacant by the death of the earl of Rivers.

But it was not long, before the king's eyes were fully opened, with reſpect to the duke, his brother, and the earl of Warwick; who levied troops, by vertue of his commiſſion, but not for his ſervice; and the rebels did not ſcruple to own them, for their heads. Thus, both ſides were preparing, more than ever, to renew the war. In the interim, Edward was ſo prepoſſeſſed, that his brother and the earl of Warwick durſt not appear before him, that he believed their deſign was to retire into Ireland, of which the duke of Clarence was lieutenant; and, in this belief, he publiſhed a proclamation, dated, March the 23d, prohibiting the Iriſh to obey the duke, his brother, and commanding them to apprehend him, as well as the earl of Warwick, if they came there; moreover, he promiſed any perſon,

Warwick and Clarence declare for the rebels Hall.

1470. ſon, that ſhould take them, either a penſion of 1000 l. ſterling, or 10,000 l. in money. By the ſame proclamation, he conferred the government of Ireland upon the earl of Worceſter; and, three days after, he iſſued out orders to levy troops, in all the counties under his obedience, which was very punctually performed.

The duke and earl levy troops, and join.

But the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick were ſo far from having any thoughts of retiring into Ireland, that they were very intent upon raiſing troops, each in different quarters; and, at laſt, hearing the king was preparing to march againſt them, they judged it proper to join, leſt, by remaining ſeparate, they ſhould give him too great an advantage; ſo that Edward, when he marched, to attack them, found them ready to expect him, and reſolved to decide the quarrel, by a battle. However, the uncertainty of the event keeping both ſides equally in ſuſpence, ſome of the moſt prudent lords interpoſed, to negotiate an agreement, before it came to a deciſion, by arms; and the king paſſionately deſired it, being ſenſible that he ſhould hazard his crown, by the loſs of a battle, whereas the victory could procure him no great advantage. On the other hand, he flattered himſelf, that the earl of Warwick, perceiving him to be in ſo good a poſture, would be glad to get clear of his preſent ill ſituation, by an honourable compoſition; and, therefore, imagining that the negotiation would infallibly prove ſucceſsful, he did not take the uſual precautions, for the defence of his camp, contrary to the moſt conſtant maxim of war, that a man ſhould never act, with more circumſpection, than whilſt he is in treaty.

The earl of Warwick attacks the king unawares,

and takes him priſoner. Hall.

In the interim, the earl of Warwick, being informed of the king's negligence, after uſing all poſſible care, to prevent his deſign from being diſcovered, marched, in the night, directly into the king's camp, and, ſuddenly attacking it, put it in the utmoſt confuſion; and Edward, ſurpriſed, like all the reſt of his army, found himſelf in the hands of his enemies, before he could take any meaſures, for his defence, or eſcape. The earl no ſooner had him in his power, than he cauſed him to be conducted to Warwick; and he, afterwards, ordered him to be removed to Middleham caſtle, under the cuſtody of his brother, the archbiſhop of York, who was no leſs concerned, than he, carefully to guard ſuch a priſoner.

This accident ſeemed to have compleated the war; and, indeed, Edward being a captive, in all appearance, nothing could oppoſe the two victorious lords; wherefore, entirely relying on their good fortune, they disbanded moſt of their troops, as having no occaſion for them, after this deciſion. It only remained to reſolve, how the government ſhould be ſettled: for we do not find, that they had any inclination to reſtore Henry to the throne; but an unexpected event, no leſs aſtoniſhing than what had juſt happened, diſconcerted all their meaſures. Edward being confined, in Middleham caſtle, under the cuſtody of the archbiſhop of York, by his obliging behaviour to that prelate, obtained leave, with a ſmall guard, to hunt, now and then, in the park; and, this point being gained, he prevailed with one of his guards, to deliver a letter to two gentlemen of the neighbourhood, in which he pointed out to them, how they might free him from his preſent captivity. The gentlemen, overjoyed at an opportunity to do the king ſo great ſervice, privately aſſembled their friends, and, lying in ambuſh near the park, eaſily carried him off; and, Edward, being at liberty, contrary to all expectation, immediately, repaired to York; but he ſoon left that city, whether he ſuſpected the inhabitants, or thought it more convenient to be nearer London. However this be, he made haſte into Lancaſhire, where he found the lord Haſtings, his chamberlain, who had aſſembled ſome troops; and then, taking a compaſs, to deceive the vigilance of the earl of Warwick, he went directly to London, where he was received, without any reſiſtance; for the earl of Warwick ſo little expected ſuch a ſudden turn, that he had neglected to ſecure the metropolis. 1470.

He makes his eſcape, and comes to London.

We may eaſily conceive the earl of Warwick's ſurprize, when he received this fatal news; ſuch was the imprudence of his brother, the archbiſhop, that he could not help ſuſpecting him of bribery; but, as it was not, then, proper to examine his conduct, he thought only of re-aſſembling his ſcattered troops, which could not be done, in a few days. Edward alſo was in no leſs confuſion, being without an army; ſo that, how deſirous ſoever both were to decide their quarrel, by a battle, they were obliged to wait, till their forces were aſſembled. In the mean while, ſome peaceable lords propoſed to renew the negotiation begun, before the king's impriſonment; and, the propoſal being accepted, the mediators judged, that an interview, between the king and the two chiefs of the oppoſite party, might be conducive to a peace. In this belief, they ſo managed, that the latter came to Weſtminſter, upon the king's ſafe conduct; but the conference proved ineffectual, being wholly ſpent in mutual reproaches.

A conference at Weſtminſter, of no effect. Hall.

Preſently after this interview, both parties prepared for war. The earl of Warwick commiſſioned Sir Robert Wells, ſon to the lord Wells, to levy troops, in Lincolnſhire, which he performed, without any difficulty, by reaſon of his family's intereſt in thoſe parts; but Edward, having intelligence of it, ſent an expreſs order to the lord Wells, to come immediately to court; deſigning to oblige him to uſe his authority, to perſuade his ſon to abandon the rebels. The lord Wells, upon his arrival at London, hearing how much the king was incenſed againſt his ſon, and dreading to feel himſelf the effects of his reſentment, took ſanctuary, in Weſtminſter-abbey; but, the king ſending him a ſafe-conduct, he, forthwith, came to court. He even wrote to his ſon, enjoining him to forſake the earl of Warwick's party, and diſmiſs his troops; but the ſon refuſed to obey. Edward, enraged at this diſappointment,

The lord Wells's ſon raiſes troops for Warwick. Hall.

1470. disappointment, ordered the lord Wells to be beheaded, with Sir Thomas Dymock, his brother-in-law, who had accompanied him; and, probably, he believed them guilty of connivance.

The king defeats young Wells, and beheads him.

This violent action was very injurious to Edward's reputation; and it inspired young Wells with a desire of revenge, which occasioned his own ruin, and was extremely prejudicial to the earl of Warwick's affairs. The king, finding that Wells's troops visibly increased, determined to fight him, before he was joined by the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, who were raising men, in other counties; and Wells was encamped, near Stamford, where he might easily have retired; but he was so impatient, to revenge his father's death, that he resolved to expect the king. He fought with an undaunted valour, as long as he was supported by his troops; and, at last, perceiving that victory declared for the king, he would have provoked his enemies to kill him; but they refused him that favour, and spared his life, only to make him lose it, a few days after, on the scaffold. In this battle, Edward gained a compleat victory over his enemies, of whom 10,000 were slain *.

Clarence and Warwick retire into France.

Sir Robert Wells's defeat broke all the measures of the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, who were not yet ready; tho' the king was now marching, to attack them. In this extremity, having no other remedy, they embarqued, in order to screen themselves from the impending danger. The earl of Warwick took his two daughters with him, the eldest of whom, wife to the duke of Clarence, was ready to lye-in; and he intended to retire to his government of Calais, where he had left, for his lieutenant, Vauclair, a Gascoign captain, in whose fidelity he entirely confided; but, how great was his astonishment, when, approaching Calais, he saw the canon fired at him! He attempted to move Vauclair by the consideration of the duchess of Clarence's case, who was just delivered, in the ship, of a prince, named Edward; but all he could obtain was a present of two bottles of wine, for the duchess. In the interim, Vauclair took care to send this small present, by a trusty messenger, who told the earl of Warwick from him, that he was still attached to him, tho' he was constrained to behave, in this manner, the better to serve him, because, if he entered the town, he would not be safe; but he might depend upon his fidelity. Edward, ignorant of the motive of Vauclair's proceedings, was so pleased with his conduct, that he gave him the government of Calais, to which the duke of Burgundy voluntarily added an annual pension of 1000 crowns.

Warwick, being, thus, repulsed, steered his course to Dieppe, where he safely landed, with the duke of Clarence and his two daughters; and, a few days after, they departed, to wait upon the king of France, then at Amboise, by whom they were very civilly received. Lewis, as I, before, observed, would not concern himself with the affairs of England, when Edward and Henry contended for the crown; but, seeing the strict alliance, between Edward and the duke of Burgundy, he found it equally his interest to labour the ruin of both; and to this reason of state was added the desire of revenging the affront, put upon him by Edward, on account of his marriage. In a word, the aid, which Edward would have given the duke of Bretagne, evidently shewed, that, whilst he was on the throne, the French princes would always find in him a protector. All these reasons together determined Lewis, not only to receive the fugitive English, but also to promise them a powerful aid; for nothing could be more agreeable to him, and, at the same time, more advantageous, than to see the civil war rekindled, in England. Nay, it is highly probable, that he had already taken private measures, with the earl of Warwick; and that the earl would never have ventured to declare against Edward, had he not been secure of this assistance; but, however this be, an opportunity naturally offering, to create Edward, in his own country, troubles, that would prevent his interposing, in the affairs of his neighbours, he sent for queen Margaret to court, who, some years since, was retired to the king of Sicily, her father. The earl of Warwick had been author of all that princess's misfortunes; and he, on his part, considered her, as his mortal enemy; and yet Lewis very easily reconciled them; for their common interest required them to stifle their animosity. At present, they could hardly proceed, without each other; for Warwick wanted a pretence, to dethrone the king, and could find none more plausible than Henry's restoration, which he could not effect, without being united with the queen; who, on the other hand, perceived this to be the only way, to restore the king, her husband, or rather herself, to the throne; and, beholding a ray of hope, from that quarter, she readily received her old enemy, for protector. Their reconciliation, therefore, was made, by the king of France's mediation, upon the following terms: That the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick should labour to restore Henry to the throne; that the queen should engage with an oath, to leave the government of the kingdom in their hands, during the king's life, and the prince his son's minority, if he should succeed to the crown, before he was of age; and, lastly, that, to strengthen their union, the prince of Wales should marry the earl of Warwick's youngest daughter. The last article was, immediately, executed; and, thus, the brother of king Edward became brother-in-law to the young prince of Lancaster, and the earl of Warwick was equally allied to both houses.

1470.

Queen Margaret is reconciled with them. Hall.

The duke of Burgundy, who had good

* This battle, from the Lincolnshire men throwing off their coats, in order to run away the lighter, was called, The Battle of Lose-Coat Field. Hall: Hollingsh.

1470. The duke of Burgundy warns Edward of it. Commin.

ſpies, at the court of France, hearing of theſe tranſactions, gave Edward warning; but this prince could never believe, that the earl of Warwick, who was forced to leave the kingdom, for want of ſupport, would be able, in his abſence, to cauſe the people to riſe, in his favour. As for the preparations, in France, he was altogether unconcerned at them, being ſenſible how difficult it is for a foreign nation to conquer England, if the people themſelves do not aſſiſt in the conqueſt. Thus, reaſoning upon very doubtful grounds, viz. the people's affection, and the earl of Warwick's little credit, he neglected his principal affair, to abandon himſelf to voluptuouſneſs and ſenſuality, to which he was extremely inclined.

Edward gains the duke of Clarence.

His greateſt uneaſineſs was to ſee the duke of Clarence, his brother, ſtrictly united with his enemies; which union had, already, been prejudicial, and might, in time, produce more fatal effects. In order, therefore, to gain his brother to his intereſt, he bribed one of the ducheſs of Clarence's women; and, inſtructing her, in the part ſhe was to act, granted her a paſſport, to go to her miſtreſs. This woman, departing for Paris, paſſed through Calais; where ſhe ſaw the governor, without telling him the ſecret. It was very fortunate for Edward, that Vauclair, who was devoted to the earl of Warwick, was not acquainted with the affair; for he would have fully diſcovered all. The woman, having acceſs to her miſtreſs, very artfully and ſucceſsfully diſcharged her commiſſion; who repreſented to the duke of Clarence, from the king, his brother, "That the courſe, he was taking, muſt "end in his own ruin; that, if the deſigns "he had formed, with the earl of Warwick, "ſhould ſucceed, to his wiſh, he could not "expect, that the houſe of Lancaſter would "place any confidence, in a prince of the "houſe of York, when there was no farther "occaſion for him; that his very life would "be in danger; that, inſtead of depending "on the queen's oath, he ought rather to "regard it, as a ſnare to ſurpriſe him; that "the earl of Warwick would be the firſt, to "oppreſs him, as well to free himſelf from a "collegue, in the government, as to be rid of "a prince, who might, one day, be in a "condition to revenge the injuries done to "his houſe: That, on the contrary, the "king, his brother, having only a young "daughter, whom death might eaſily ſnatch "out of the world, he was next heir to the "crown; but, upon the reſtoration of the "houſe of Lancaſter, he would loſe all hopes "of aſcending the throne, ſince Henry's ſon, "very poſſibly, would have a numerous iſſue." To theſe reaſons, which were very weighty, ſhe added motives drawn from the ties of blood, ſome excuſes from the king, and a poſitive promiſe, to conſider him, for the future, as his real brother, and the chief ſupport of their family. A man muſt have wanted common ſenſe, not to yield to ſuch convincing arguments; and the duke of Clarence perceiving, at laſt, his true intereſts, charged the woman to aſſure his brother, that he would declare for him, as ſoon as he could do it, with ſafety, and a probability of doing him conſiderable ſervice. Edward, being told how the duke of Clarence ſtood affected, grew perfectly eaſy, believing that the earl of Warwick's future attempts would prove abortive, when no longer ſeconded by the duke, his ſon-in-law. It muſt be confeſſed, that the earl of Warwick's policy was very extraordinary, in making the duke of Clarence an inſtrument, to ruin the king, his brother; for he muſt have ſuppoſed, that the duke would openly act againſt his own intereſt, which could not be expected from the moſt ſtupid of men; and, indeed, he found, when it was too late, that he had taken falſe meaſures.

1470.

The earl of Warwick comes into England.

Whilſt Edward lived in a deceitful ſecurity, the earl of Warwick prepared to return into England; being certain of finding a powerful party, joined by all the friends of the houſe of Lancaſter, whom he had taken care to acquaint with his deſign. Lewis XI. ſupplied him, tho' ſparingly, with money and troops; and, as far as can be judged, that monarch's ſole view was to foment diſcord among the Engliſh, to prevent their interpoſing in his affairs; for, ſtill perſiſting in his reſolution of ſubduing the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, he thought he could not ſucceed, ſo long as theſe two princes might expect the protection of England. In the interim, to facilitate the earl of Warwick's deſcent, he ordered the baſtard of Bourbon to convoy him, with ſome ſhips of war; but it was extremely difficult to paſs into England. The duke of Burgundy's fleet, much ſuperior to that of France, waited, in the mouth of the Seine, to engage the French, if they ſailed; and it was unlikely, that the baſtard of Bourbon would venture upon ſo unequal a fight. However, the earl of Warwick repaired to Havre de Grace, to be ready to embrace the firſt opportunity that ſhould offer; and this precaution was not in vain; for, ſome days after his arrival, a violent tempeſt ſo diſperſed the Flemiſh ſhips, that, not being able to keep the ſea, they were forced to retire to their ports. The ſtorm being over, the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick embarqued, and arrived, at Dartmouth; from whence they had paſſed into France, four or five months before.

Comming

The news of their arrival was ſo far from alarming Edward, that he rejoiced at it; for, being full of the notion, that it was impoſſible for the earl of Warwick to accompliſh his deſigns, he imagined that he could wiſh for nothing more beneficial, than to ſee his enemy come and ſurrender himſelf into his hands. He, therefore, deſired the duke of Burgundy to continue his fleet, at ſea, to hinder the earl of Warwick's eſcape; but the duke had quite different thoughts of this expedition. He could not believe, that a perſon of the earl of Warwick's penetration would have, thus, ventured, if he had not been ſure of a party, in England, capable of ſupporting him; and, indeed, Warwick had no ſooner landed his men,

1470. men, than he ſaw himſelf at the head of an army, which, in a few days, increaſed to 60,000. He, immediately, cauſed Henry VI. to be proclaimed; and he publiſhed an order, in his name, for all his ſubjects, from 16 to 60, to take up arms and expel the tyrant and uſurper.

Such an unexpected event opened Edward's eyes, and ſhewed him the folly of his expectations; and, in the mean while, he gave orders to levy troops, and appointed the rendezvous, about Nottingham. Some affirm, that his army was more numerous than the earl of Warwick's; but others ſay, that it was much inferior. Indeed, the latter is moſt probable; for, if Edward had been ſuperior, in number of troops, he would, doubtleſs, have marched to his enemies; whereas, upon their approach, he retired towards the ſea. The news he received, that the marqueſs of Montague, who commanded, in the north, had declared againſt him, gave him extreme uneaſineſs; for he was apprehenſive, that this defection would be followed by many others. He wanted to avoid a battle; but he knew not where to retire, being ignorant who were his real friends. At length, he encamped, near Lynn, a ſmall maritime town, in Lincolnſhire, and lodged, in the caſtle; which precaution, tho', perhaps, taken, without deſign, proved of remarkable ſervice. The earl of Warwick, coming, within three miles of his army, cauſed the cry of King Henry! King Henry! to be every-where reſounded; and the ſame cry, by ſome unknown practices, began alſo to be heard, in Edward's camp. Upon this, he commanded the caſtle-gates to be ſhut, and the bridge to be ſtrongly guarded, whilſt a council was held, to conſult about what was proper to be done; but the ſhoutings, which grew louder, in his army, not allowing him time to deliberate, he embarqued, with 4 or 500 of the moſt truſty men, on board three ſmall veſſels, that had ſerved, to bring proviſions for his army. The lord Haſtings placed himſelf in the rear, to withſtand the efforts of the ſoldiers, if they ſhould attempt to oppoſe the king's flight; and, when all were embarqued, he went himſelf on board one of the ſhips.

Edward embarques for Holland.

He is in danger of being taken by pyrates.

Edward, being reduced to this extremity, ordered his ſhips to ſteer for Holland, not knowing where to retire, except into the dominions of the duke of Burgundy, his brother-in-law; but, whilſt he was at ſea, his ſhips were deſcryed by eight corſairs of the Low-Countries or Germany, whom the Engliſh called Eaſterlings, becauſe their country lay eaſtward of England. Theſe corſairs, immediately, chaced the three ſhips; but as theſe were the lighteſt, they had time to get into Alcmar-road, at low-water, which prevented the corſairs from purſuing them any farther, not daring to come ſo near the ſhore; yet they anchored, in ſight, intending to attack them, at high-water. Edward had, now, no other refuge than to make ſignals, to implore the protection of the country; and, fortunately for him, the lord Gruthuyſe, whom I have mentioned, before, then governor of Holland, chanced to be, at Alcmar; and, being told, that theſe ſhips deſired aſſiſtance, he ſent a ſloop, to know what they were; but he no ſooner heard, that the king of England was there, than he ordered the corſairs, not to approach, on pain of incurring the duke his maſter's indignation. Theſe people, tho' ſo near their prey, durſt not diſobey; who too often wanted the governor's protection; and Gruthuyſe went himſelf, in a ſloop, to wait on the king, and paid him all the reſpect due to his quality. Edward, having no money, to reward the maſter of the veſſel that brought him over, made him a preſent of a rich robe lined with ſables; after which, he was conducted to the Hague, where Gruthuyſe bore his expences, till he had received the duke of Burgundy's orders. 1470.

In the interim, the queen, who was at London, hearing of the king's flight, took ſanctuary, in Weſtminſter-abbey, being followed by a great number of Yorkiſts; and there ſhe was delivered of a prince, named Edward, born heir to a noble kingdom, at the very time it was loſt by his father. Whilſt Edward's adherents were in the utmoſt conſternation, the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, victorious, without drawing their ſwords, were marching to London, where they entered, in triumph, the beginning of October; and, on the 6th of that month, the earl of Warwick, attended by ſeveral lords and a great crowd of people, went to the tower, and releaſed king Henry, after a ſix years impriſonment.

Clarence and Warwick come to London, and free king Henry.

In the mean while, the populace of Kent, flocking together, marched directly to London, deſigning to inrich themſelves with the plunder of the city; but the earl of Warwick meeting them, with a part of his troops, eaſily repulſed this multitude, and ordered the moſt mutinous to be executed; yet he could not hinder their plundering Southwark, parted from the city by the Thames.

Henry is reſtored to the throne.

This tumult being appeaſed, Henry was ſolemnly proclaimed, as re-aſcending the throne; and, the next day, there was a proceſſion, at which the new king aſſiſted, with his crown on his head, being followed by an innumerable crowd of people, who, by their acclamations, ſhewed their approbation of the late revolution. Thus, the earl of Warwick had the honour of reſtoring Henry to the throne, whom he had formerly depoſed, and of dethroning Edward, who had been entirely raiſed, by his means; wherefore, he was commonly called, The King-maker.

Hall.

The

The Reſtoration of HENRY VI.

1470. THE new king, or rather the earl of Warwick, who governed, in his name, firſt of all, took care to reſtore the marqueſs of Montague to the government of the northern counties, which Edward, having deprived him of it, had given to the duke of Glouceſter, his brother; and then a parliament was ſummoned, for the 26th of November, to confirm the late revolution. This was a neceſſary formality, to ſatisfy the people; tho' the parliament's confirmation was of no great weight, in an affair tranſacted, without it, and in which it could make no alteration. The ſame thing happened, when Edward was placed on the throne; and the contrary reſolutions of the parliaments, with reſpect to the quarrel, between the houſes of Lancaſter and York, evidently demonſtrate, that theſe aſſemblies were ſwayed by the events, which fell out, before their deliberations. It is in vain, therefore, to urge the authority of the parliaments, in ſupport of the rights of either of the houſes, ſince they had not the freedom to judge, according to their underſtandings; unleſs it is ſaid, that their underſtandings, on all occaſions, directed them to ſide with the ſtrongeſt.

A remark upon the parliaments.

Edward is declared a traytor and uſurper.

However this be, the parliament voted Edward a traytor and uſurper of the crown, confiſcated all his paternal eſtate, and annulled all the ſtatutes made, in his reign, as wanting a lawful authority.

An extraordinary act, to ſettle the ſucceſſion. Hall.

By another act, the crown was ſettled upon Henry VI, and his male heirs; but, in default of ſuch heirs, the crown was to deſcend to the houſe of York; namely, to the duke of Clarence and his heirs, Edward, eldeſt ſon to the late duke of York, being excluded, for his rebellion. This affords a large field, to expatiate upon the unlimited authority of the parliaments, if this ſtatute had been freely made, and after mature deliberation; but it is eaſy to perceive, how little freedom there was, in this parliament, if it be conſidered, that this act was only a bare confirmation of the earl of Warwick's engagements; and, beſides, purely out of condeſcenſion to the earl, or rather by his direction, and contrary to the laws and cuſtoms of England, it was not ſcrupled to deprive the daughters of the houſe of Lancaſter, of a right enjoyed by the princeſſes of the royal family, ever ſince the Norman conqueſt. Thus, by a raſh reſolution, was eſtabliſhed, in England, a ſort of Salick law, which the Engliſh had ſo greatly cenſured and derided, when Edward III. and Philip de Valois were competitors, for the crown of France; and the ſame parliament reſtored to all their honours and rights Jaſper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, half-brother to Henry, and John, earl of Oxford, who were attainted, under Edward.

Moreover, purſuant to queen Margaret's engagements, at Amboiſe, the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick were appointed governors of the kingdom; by which, the parliament manifeſtly ſuppoſed Henry's inability, who, indeed, was conſidered, only as the ſhadow of a king. A pardon was alſo granted to the marqueſs of Montague, for his crime in ſerving Edward, ſince, by deſerting him, at ſuch a critical juncture, he was the principal cauſe of his flight; and, to give the earl of Warwick a ſpecious pretence, to be revenged on his private enemies, all that had carried arms, in defence of Edward's pretended right, were declared traytors and rebels; by vertue of which act, John Tiptoft, earl of Worceſter, governor of Ireland, and high-conſtable of England, having been found hid, in a hollow tree, was brought to London and beheaded. By theſe acts of private revenge, the lords of the contrary party were, in a manner, forced to ſeek for ſafety, in arms; and, perhaps, this is one of the chief cauſes of ſeveral revolutions, which had, already, and that, afterwards, happened.

1470. The duke and earl are declared governors of the kingdom. Hollingſh.

Soon after the breaking up of the parliament, the earl of Pembroke went for Henry, earl of Richmond, his nephew, who had concealed himſelf, in Wales, and brought him to the king; and it is ſaid, that Henry, ſtedfaſtly fixing his eyes upon that young prince, foretold, that he ſhould, one day, aſcend the throne, and put an end to the quarrel of the two houſes; but, tho' this fact is poſitively affirmed by ſome hiſtorians, there ſeems to be reaſon to preſume, that it was invented, in the reign of Henry VII, whilſt the canonization of Henry VI. was ſolliciting, at Rome; which was oppoſed by the pope, principally becauſe, tho' he was willing to own Henry VI, for a good man, he could not ſee, in his life, any proof of an eminent ſanctity; whereas, if this pretended prophecy had been atteſted, it would have been very proper to remove the objection.

Henry's pretended prophecy. Hall.

The earl of Warwick, who forgave the archbiſhop of York, his brother, for ſuffering Edward to eſcape, procured him a grant of Woodſtock-park and many other manors, with the confiſcated eſtates of ſeveral perſons condemned, for rebellion; namely, for being in Edward's ſervice.

A grant to the archbiſhop of York. Act. Pub.

I left Edward, at the Hague, in a very melancholy condition, deprived of his kingdom, and living at the expence of the lord Gruthuyſe, till the duke of Burgundy heard of his caſe; to whom the news of the king his brother-in-law's arrival, in his dominions, was, by no means, agreeable; and Philip de Commines affirms, that he would have been leſs uneaſy to hear of his death. If Edward had been dead, he would have had but one courſe to take, viz. to approve of Henry's reſtoration; but, that

The duke of Burgundy's tronble about Edward.

1470. that prince, being alive and in Holland, neceſſarily threw him into great perplexity. He had entered into an alliance with him, not out affection, but ſolely for reaſons of ſtate; and he had ſacrificed to his intereſt his averſion for the houſe of York; an averſion in which he had been educated by his mother, daughter to a princeſs of the houſe of Lancaſter. In the interim, he was reduced to the ſad neceſſity either of abandoning his brother-in-law, who was come for refuge into his dominions; or of expoſing himſelf, in protecting him, to the danger of drawing upon him the united forces of France and England. On the other hand, the dukes of Exeter and Somerſet, who made a different figure, at his court, from what they did, before this revolution, ſtrenuouſly preſſed him to deſert Edward, and threatened him, if he refuſed, with the indignation of England; moreover, the earl of Warwick had now ſent to Calais a body of troops, that only waited for orders to join the French, and invade ſome province of the Low-Countries; and Vauclair had not only received theſe troops into the town, but, by many other ſteps, ſhewn, that he was inviolably faithful to the earl of Warwick. Philip de Commines relates, that, the duke, his maſter, having ſent him to Calais, for a confirmation of the truce of commerce, between that place and the Low-Countries, he found the governor, garriſon, and inhabitants entirely for Henry; adding, that he ſaw no other way, to ſucceed in his negotiation, than to tell the townſmen of Calais, that, the truce being made with England, and not with Edward's perſon, the change of king was not a ſufficient motive to break it; by which, he intimated, that his maſter did not diſlike the revolution.

The poſture of the duke of Burgundy's affairs.

Doubtleſs, it highly concerned that prince to keep fair with the Engliſh; but, for the better underſtanding his embarraſſment, cauſed by Edward's retreat into his dominions, it will be neceſſary to know the ſituation of his affairs. Lewis XI, by the treaty he ſigned, at Peronne, promiſed to give, in appenage, to the duke of Berry, his brother, Champagne and Brie, in lieu of Normandy, which he had taken from him; and he was extremely embarraſſed by this engagement. He evidently perceived, that the duke of Burgundy's deſign was to have prince Charles for his neighbour, to be able, by his means, to excite commotions, in France, whenever he pleaſed; but, for this very reaſon, Lewis was deſirous of keeping his brother, at a diſtance from the duke. With this view, he tried to perſuade the duke of Berry, to accept of Guienne and Rochelle, inſtead of Champagne; and, to ſucceed in this project, he bribed all that had any influence over him. The duke of Burgundy, hearing of this project, oppoſed it, to the utmoſt of his power, by repreſenting to the duke of Berry, how much that exchange would be to his prejudice; but, theſe reaſons proving ineffectual, he inſinuated to him, by ſecret emiſſaries, that, if he demanded his only daughter in marriage, he would infallibly obtain her, and might, to prevent his brother's oppoſition, retire into England, till the marriage was concluded. This negotiation was carried ſo far, that Edward, at the duke of Burgundy's inſtance, had ordered a ſafe-conduct to be diſpatched for that prince; but theſe meaſures were diſconcerted; for the duke of Berry, perſuaded by his treacherous counſellors, determined, at laſt, to accept of the exchange offered by the king, his brother. 1470.

Upon this, the duke of Burgundy diſregarded the propoſal of the marriage, which could no longer be ſubſervient to his deſigns; and, in the mean while, the duke of Bretagne and the conſtable de St. Pol, being deeply concerned in the negotiation, were exceedingly deſirous of its ſucceſs. As they did not love the king, they conſidered, that this marriage would be an infallible means, to keep up, between the two brothers, a diſſenſion, from which they expected to reap great advantages. There was nothing wanting, except the duke of Burgundy's conſent; and they undertook to obtain it, by an extraordinary method. They pretended to be diſcontented with the duke, and adviſed the king of France to make war upon him, promiſing to do all that was poſſible to aſſiſt him; intending to offer the duke, when he ſhould come to be preſſed, to eſpouſe his quarrel, provided he would give his daughter to the duke of Guienne. Lewis XI. deſired nothing more, than to ſee the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne at variance; moreover, he moſt paſſionately wiſhed to recover from the duke of Burgundy the towns upon the Somme, delivered to him, by the treaty of Conflans. However, he had not, hitherto, attempted to make war upon him, leſt he ſhould create diſturbances, in the kingdom, whilſt he was, elſewhere, employed; but, finding himſelf ſafe from that quarter, he, immediately, reſolved upon the war, as having no advice of their plot. Before he declared himſelf, he diſpatched private emiſſaries to the foreſaid towns, to gain the principal burghers to his intereſt; and it muſt be obſerved, that the duke of Burgundy kept but ſlender garriſons, in his towns, having, upon the peace, disbanded his troops, to eaſe his ſubjects.

Lewis XI. declares war againſt Burgundy. Mezerai.

Lewis, having formed all his plots, aſſembled the eſtates, at Tours, in March, 1470; where, upon frivolous complaints, brought by the earl of Eu, againſt the duke of Burgundy, he was cited before the court of peers; and the citation was ſent by a ſummoner of the parliament. The duke not appearing, war was proclaimed againſt him, and St. Quentin taken, where the conſtable de St. Pol entered without the leaſt oppoſition; Amiens alſo opened her gates to the king; and the duke was upon the point of loſing Abbeville.

The duke is afraid of incenſing the earl of Warwick.

Such was the ſtate of the duke of Burgundy's affairs, when Edward arrived, in his country. He was, unexpectedly, attacked by the king of France; and, preſently after, the earl of Warwick ſent 4000 men to Calais, to join the French, or make a diverſion; ſo that the duke could do nothing more prejudicial to his intereſt, than exaſperate the earl of

1470. Warwick, by protecting Edward. It is not, therefore, ſurpriſing, if Edward endured ſome mortifications, during his retreat, ſince it was neceſſary for the duke of Burgundy, that it ſhould be believed, in England, that he was ſorry to ſee him, and had no inclination to protect him; but, in private, he promiſed to give him aſſiſtance, as ſoon as he could do it with ſafety.

Edward's diſcourſe with the duke of Burgundy.

This policy did not anſwer Edward's purpoſe; who could have wiſhed, that the duke of Burgundy would openly declare for him, fancying that ſuch a declaration would have greatly conduced to the ſupport of his party, in England; and, at laſt, perceiving that the duke perſiſted in his reſolution, and his ducheſs's ſollicitations made no impreſſion upon him, he demanded a private audience. As the duke could not refuſe it, he repreſented to him, "That a longer delay was, to the laſt degree, "prejudicial to him; that he loſt his friends "and adherents, in England, whilſt the earl "of Warwick daily ſtrengthened himſelf, in "his uſurped power; and that, therefore, "there was no medium, between aſſiſting him "ſpeedily and abandoning him to his miſ-"fortunes. Then he imparted to him his "brother the duke of Clarence's promiſes; "adding, that expedition was abſolutely ne-"ceſſary, leſt that prince, who was naturally "fickle, ſhould alter his mind, or the earl "of Warwick, diſcovering his deſign, pre-"vent the execution of it, by removing him "from the government. To theſe reaſons, "which concerned him, in particular, he "joined the conſideration of their mutual "oath, to give each other proofs of a ſin-"cere friendſhip, in caſes of neceſſity; more-"over, he intreated him to reflect, that, "in acting for him, he would promote the "intereſt of his own family, which might, one "day, ſtand in need of aſſiſtance; not to rec-"kon the honour which would redound to "him, by reſtoring a king, his brother-in-"law, to the throne. Finally, he expreſly "promiſed to enter into a ſtrict alliance with "him, againſt France, the moment he was "reſtored; and he added, that ſuch a league "was the only way, to reſiſt their common "enemy. He concluded with repreſenting, "that diſſimulation would never produce the "the effect he deſigned; ſince it would not "hinder Lewis and the earl of Warwick from "jointly endeavouring his ruin.

The duke of Burgundy reſolves to aſſiſt Edward. Commin.

The duke of Burgundy, affected with this diſcourſe, perceived, that, in effect, there was no medium in the alternative propoſed to him by Edward; above all, he ſeriouſly conſidered what that prince had ſaid, in the laſt place, that he could not expect to repulſe the attacks of Lewis, without the aſſiſtance of England, which could be obtained only by Edward's reſtoration; and that, by deſerting him, he ſhould run the riſque of being expoſed to the forces of France and England, united againſt him. On the other hand, he conſidered, that, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, he could give Edward but an inconſiderable aid; and that, if his attempt ſhould miſcarry, he would furniſh the earl of Warwick with a plauſible pretence to attack him. In this perplexity, he contrived an expedient, by which he imagined, that he could, at once, ſalve the appearances with Warwick, and afford ſome little aſſiſtance to the fugitive king. He equipped four large ſhips, at Vere, a free port, in Zealand, in other perſons names, who were ſupplied with money; and he likewiſe privately hired 14 ſhips of the Eaſterlings, to convoy the king into England, and to keep upon the coaſt, a fortnight after his landing, to conduct him back, in caſe of neceſſity. Then giving Edward a conſiderable ſum of money, he left him, in Holland, and went himſelf into Flanders; and all theſe ſhips being ready, Edward diſappearing, notice was ſent to the duke, who, immediately, ordered proclamation to be made, that none of his ſubjects ſhould aſſiſt him, directly or indirectly, upon pain of death; but it is probable, that, if Edward's attempt had miſcarried, the earl of Warwick would not have been deceived, by this contrivance. 1470.

Warwick has ſome intimations of Edward's deſign. Act. Pub.

Whatever care was taken by Edward and the duke of Burgundy, to conceal their deſigns, the earl of Warwick had received ſome intimations of them; for it too much concerned him to have good ſpies, in Holland, to neglect ſuch a neceſſary precaution. It appears from the Collection of the Publick Acts, that, on the 21ſt of December, the marqueſs of Montague had orders to levy troops, in the north, under the pretence of a rebellion, not mentioned by the hiſtorians; and, probably, it was only a farther precaution taken by the earl of Warwick, upon ſome general advices of a plot forming, in Holland.

1471. He is made high-admiral.

The 2d of January, 1471, the earl of Warwick was made high-admiral; doubtleſs, he durſt not entruſt others with the care of equipping a fleet, which he foreſaw would be neceſſary, if the duke of Burgundy attempted to aſſiſt Edward, with open force; and, the advices from Holland being ſomewhat more certain, than hitherto, the duke of Clarence, who was not, in the leaſt, ſuſpected of holding intelligence with his brother, was commiſſioned to raiſe an army, to oppoſe his deſigns, if he ſhould return into the kingdom.

A truce between England and France. Act. Pub.

Theſe meaſures being concerted, the earl of Warwick made haſte to conclude with Lewis XI. an alliance, projected, ſome time before; but as it was difficult to make an alliance with a prince actually in war with England; and as a peace could not be concluded, on account of Henry's pretenſions to the crown of France, a long truce was reſolved upon, almoſt equivalent to a peace. In the treaty, on this occaſion, it was agreed, that the truce ſhould continue, till one of the parties deſired to break it, in which caſe, he was to give the other five years notice; and the truce was not to be revocable, for 10 years. It was farther agreed, that a place ſhould be appointed to treat of a final peace; and Lewis XI. was pleaſed, tho' I am ignorant of the reaſon, that the duke of Guienne, his brother, ſhould be particularly included in the truce.

The

1471. The very day the treaty was ſigned, the grand prior of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem embarqued for France, to bring home queen Margaret and the prince of Wales.

Grants to the duke of Clarence, &c. Act Pub.

Soon after, the earl of Warwick, out of affection to the duke of Clarence, his ſon-in-law, or to attach that prince the more firmly to the king, reſtored him the government of Ireland, with ſeveral manors, in England forfeted by Edward's adherents; and the marqueſs of Montague and Jaſper Tudor, earl of Pembroke had alſo a ſhare in Henry's favours.

Edward ſets ſail, lands at Ravenſpur, and is coldly received.

In the interim, Edward, having finiſhed all his preparations, ſailed from the port of Vere, about the middle of March; and he brought with him 2000 men. He diſembarqued, at Ravenſpur, where Henry IV. had formerly landed, when he came to wreſt the crown from Richard II; and he expected to be received with acclamations; whereas he found the inhabitants of thoſe parts extremely diſpleaſed with his coming. Some were well affected to the houſe of Lancaſter; others ſeeing Edward ſo meanly attended, were afraid to venture openly to eſpouſe his cauſe; but, as there were no regular troops, he met with no reſiſtance. However, this was not all he deſired; for he would have been glad to be met by the people, and to ſee his army increaſe; but, this diſappointment obliging him to march, with circumſpection, he cauſed it to be rumoured, that he came only, as duke of York, to claim the private inheritance of his family. Henry IV. had formerly uſed the ſame artifice; yet with more juſtice, ſince he was baniſhed, without a legal cauſe; but, if Edward had no right to the crown, as he ſeemed to acknowledge, he muſt have been an uſurper, and conſequently could not juſtly complain, that his eſtate was confiſcated. The reaſon, why he did not, carry his pretenſions any farther, upon his arrival in England, appears to be this; becauſe he was ſtrongly perſuaded, that the people, in general, were much more inclined to him than to his rival, but that the magiſtrates were againſt him; and, indeed, the earl of Warwick no ſooner had the government in his hands, after Henry's reſtoration, than he took care to fill all the offices with his creatures. It was, therefore, expedient, that Edward ſhould furniſh the people with a pretence to favour him, how ſlight ſoever, in order to oppoſe the authority of the magiſtrates, who would have had too great an advantage, if they could have ſaid, that he came, in arms, to dethrone the reigning king; whilſt, by demanding only his private patrimony, he moved the people's compaſſion, and encouraged them to hope, that the quarrel between the two houſes, might, at length, be ended, by reſtoring his inheritance; but, however this be, Edward, tho' the people's coldneſs was very diſagreeable to him, marched towards York, giving Henry, every-where, the title of king, and ſtiling himſelf only duke of York.

The news of Edward's landing having reached the court, the duke of Clarence and earl of Warwick departed from London, to levy troops; and the magiſtrates of the town were ordered to ſhut their gates upon the enemy, and the marqueſs of Montague, who remained, at Pontefract, with a body of troops, had orders to fight Edward, before his arrival at York; but, for ſome unknown reaſon, he kept his poſt, without making any motion to hinder his march. Some aſcribe this conduct to his ignorance of Edward's forces; but is it to be ſuppoſed, that he could want good intelligence, upon ſo important an occaſion? Others charge him with cowardice; but he was one of the moſt valiant lords of the kingdom. Some believe, that he ſecretly carried on a fair underſtanding with Edward; but the ſequel ſhewed the contrary. Thoſe, that reaſon, with moſt probability, affirm, that Montague, believing Edward would not return into England, without a well-grounded proſpect of being reſtored, intended to reſerve himſelf, this way, in order to make his peace with him; and, tho' his attempt ſhould miſcarry, Montague did not deſpair of appeaſing the earl, his brother. 1471.

Edward, upon his approach to York, is deſired to take another rout; and he anſwers with great moderation. Hall. Hollingſh.

In the interim, Edward approaching York, two of the aldermen intreated him, in the name of the magiſtrates, to march, another way; repreſenting that they could not receive into their city a prince, that came to take the crown from their lawful king; but, Edward, purſuant to the plan he had formed, replied, "That it was not his intent to deprive the "king of the crown; that, ſince the people "had declared for Henry, he owned him, "for his ſovereign, and had no deſign to do "him any prejudice; that his ſole view was "to requeſt the king, for the reſtitution of "his eſtate, not with an army to uſe force, "but only with a few followers, to ſecure him "from the malice of his enemies; that the "parliament ſhould be the judge of his cauſe, "and he only deſired to have means, to paſs "his days quietly, in the allegiance becoming a loyal ſubject: That, however, the "inhabitants of York ſhould, of all others, "be the laſt, to refuſe him admittance, ſince "his lands, in the county, as well as his "title of duke of York, rendered him their "countryman; and, in fine, he prayed them "to remember the favours, which, on ſeveral "occaſions, the city had received from his "family."

The people oblige the magiſtrates to admit him. Hall. Hollingſh.

The aldermen returned with this anſwer, which was inſufficient to ſatisfy the magiſtrates, who were entirely devoted to the earl of Warwick; but, Edward's friends, in the city, perſuading the people, that it would be extremely cruel not to open the gates to a prince, who, ſubmitting himſelf to the king and parliament, came only to demand his inheritance, there was ſuch a commotion, that the magiſtrates were unable to appeaſe it; and all they could obtain of the people was, that deputies ſhould be ſent to Edward, to make terms with him, in order to preſerve, as much as poſſible, the rights of the king, and ſave the city from plunder. The deputies found Edward ready to promiſe whatever they demanded; and he proteſted, that he was ſincere, and would do no damage to the city, but always remain

1471. remain the king's faithful ſubject; upon which, the gates were opened to him; and, entering the city, he went to the cathedral, and confirmed his engagements with a ſolemn oath. Every thing, being, thus, tranſacted, on his part, with great lenity and moderation, he borrowed ſome money of the citizens; and, leaving a garriſon, he departed for London. During his ſhort ſtay, at York, his army was greatly augmented; and he would never have ventured to march towards London, had he not expected, that it would continue to increaſe, in his rout, and the duke of Clarence perform his promiſe.

Clarence and Warwick command each an army. Act. Pub.

In the mean while, the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick were parted, in order to aſſemble their forces; deſigning, afterwards, to join their troops into one body, and ſet at their head the prince of Wales, ſon to Henry, who was expected from France; and the earl of Warwick thought he had time enough to prepare, and join the duke of Clarence, becauſe he did not doubt, that his brother, Montague, would be in a condition to ſtop Edward; but, unexpectedly, he heard, that Montague had ſuffered him to paſs, without oppoſition; and that his army continually increaſed, upon his rout, with great numbers of officers and ſoldiers, that repaired to him, from all parts of the kingdom. He was extremely ſurpriſed at this news, and at a loſs what to think of Montague, who behaved ſo negligently, in an affair of ſuch importance; yet he concealed his ſentiments, and, after ſending him expreſs orders, to come and join him, and deſiring the duke of Clarence to advance, with all poſſible expedition, reſolved to encamp, near Coventry, and there expect Edward; deſigning to follow him, if he had the boldneſs to come between him and the duke of Clarence, or amuſe him, in thoſe parts, till his two other bodies were arrived. Indeed, Montague began his march, to join his brother; and the duke of Clarence alſo, advancing, kept within diſtance, as if he had the ſame thing in view.

The duke of Clarence join Edward. Hall.

In the interim, Edward, who was now about Coventry, approached the earl of Warwick's intrenchments, with a ſhow of attacking them; and the earl, being weak, ſent frequent expreſſes to the duke of Clarence, to deſire him to advance, with all poſſible ſpeed; but the duke ſtill found ſome excuſe, to defer the junction. Whilſt the two armies were, thus, in ſight, and ready, in all appearance, to engage, the duke of Glouceſter, with a ſmall train, rode forth from the camp of Edward, his brother, and, without requiring a ſafe-conduct, went directly to the duke of Clarence; and, at their firſt meeting, the two brothers tenderly embraced each other. After a ſhort interview, the duke of Clarence, having gained the principal officers, cauſed Edward to be proclaimed, in his army; and, the ſame day, Edward headed his own troops, and joined the duke of Clarence, with all the marks of mutual friendſhip.

This unexpected blow was extremely mortifying to the earl of Warwick; yet, in ſpite of this misfortune, which would have diſcouraged any other perſon, he could not reſolve to hearken to any overtures of agreement, tho' the duke of Clarence offered him his mediation; but a mediator, who had ſo publickly betrayed him, could not but be ſuſpected by the earl. As his army would be ſoon reinforced by Montague's troops, and he was ſtrongly intrenched, he did not judge it adviſable, too haſtily to treat of an accommodation, which muſt have been very diſadvantageous to him; moreover, he hoped, that London, where he had left the duke of Somerſet and archbiſhop of York, would deny entrance to Edward, if he appeared before the city. In this caſe, he determined to follow him, immediately after Montague's arrival, and compel him either to retire, elſewhere; or join battle, at the gates of the capital, with a manifeſt diſadvantage; but theſe meaſures proved abortive.

1471. The duke offers his mediation to the earl, who rejects it. Hall.

Preſently after the junction of the two brothers, it was debated, whether they ſhould attack the earl of Warwick, in his intrenchments, or march directly to London; and the laſt was eſteemed moſt convenient: Firſt, becauſe, Edward having many adherents, in the city, it was probable, that, ſeeing him approach with a numerous army, they would exert themſelves, to procure him admittance, and the earl of Warwick's diſtance would greatly facilitate their attempt. Secondly, nothing could be more for Edward's advantage, than to have London on his ſide. He wanted money, and could not eaſily be ſupplied, elſewhere; and, beſides, he could not abſolutely rely upon his reſtoration, until he was maſter of the metropolis. Laſtly, it was of the laſt importance to have Henry in his power. He began, therefore, his march to London, leaving the earl of Warwick behind him, not without danger of being reduced to great extremity, if the Londoners refuſed to receive him.

Edward marches towards London. Hall.

The news reaching London, that the two brothers were joined, and approaching the city, the earl of Warwick was given over for loſt; and this belief inſpired the people with a terror, which Edward's friends induſtriouſly cheriſhed, by aggravating the city's danger, of being expoſed to Edward's indignation, unleſs it was averted by a ſpeedy ſubmiſſion; and, at this juncture, they, that, after Edward's flight, had taken ſanctuary, in Weſtminſter-abbey, came out and ſupported that prince's intereſt. On the other hand, his enemies durſt hardly open their mouths, leſt their endeavours ſhould prove deſtructive to them; ſo that, without waiting the reſolution of the magiſtrates, the people were ready to open the gates to Edward, and run out to meet him. In vain, did the duke of Somerſet and the archbiſhop of York oppoſe this reſolution; for they were not regarded. They, to no purpoſe, promiſed the people, that the earl of Warwick would come to their relief, in three days; for Edward's army, now at the gates of the city, wrought a contrary effect. In fine, Edward's party prevailing, the

The Londoners are determined to receive Edward. Hall.

1471. the people went out, in crowds, to receive him with acclamations, which, whether real or pretended, did him remarkable ſervice; and, whilſt Edward met with this reception, Henry's friends withdrew from the city, no one thinking to help that unhappy prince to make his eſcape.

Edward enters the city. Hall.

Edward entered London, the 11th of April, and, immediately, thanked the inhabitants, for their affection, promiſing to have it in everlaſting remembrance; and he ſeconded this promiſe, with ſeveral acts of clemency, that entirely attached the citizens to his intereſt. In the interim, Henry, who had not found means to eſcape, nor, perhaps, ſo much as projected it, was again impriſoned, in the tower; from whence he had been taken, ſeven months before, to be replaced on the throne. 1471.

The Continuation of the Reign of EDWARD IV.

EDWARD, hearing that the earl of Warwick was advanced to St. Albans, two days after his arrival, at London, departed, to put himſelf at the head of his army; and, doubtleſs, the earl was extremely embarraſſed, in the preſent poſture of his affairs. He had decamped from Coventry, and marched, with all expedition, expecting that the Londoners would keep Edward, at leaſt, a few days, before the walls of their city, and that the news of his approach would prevent them from receiving him; but he ſaw the metropolis loſt, king Henry in priſon, and the whole kingdom, in a manner, ready to declare for his enemy. In this extremity, his only refuge was to fight and vanquiſh Edward; for it was impoſſible, without a victory, to reſtore his affairs; but, on the contrary, tho' he had a numerous army, it was far from being equal to Edward's, which too daily increaſed, ſince his being maſter of London; and, beſides, he was greatly perplexed, about the myſterious conduct of the marqueſs of Montague, his brother. He remembered, that he entered, with reluctance, into the project of dethroning Edward, and had lately twice neglected to fight him, upon the moſt preſſing occaſions; and, tho' he was come to join him, this only ſerved to heighten his ſuſpicions; for the duke of Clarence his ſon-in-law's example made him apprehenſive, that his own brother was corrupted. In this ſtate of fear and uncertainty, he would willingly have diſmiſſed him, if he had not been afraid of diſcouraging his army; and, in a word, after many reflections upon the poſture of his affairs, flight being difficult and diſhonourable, and the ſucceſs of the battle yet uncertain, he concluded, that his only way was to hazard a battle, and die honourably, if victory declared for his enemy; but, at the ſame time, he reſolved ſo to manage, that the marqueſs, his brother, ſhould run the ſame riſque with him, ſince it was the event only that could aſſure him of his fidelity. In this reſolution, he marched from St. Albans; and, at Barnet, which is but 10 miles from London, he met Edward, who was alſo advancing to engage. There, on the 14th of April, being Eaſter-day, a terrible battle was fought, which decided the fate of the two competitors; and Edward had brought Henry with him, not daring to commit him to any one's cuſtody. Thus, that wretched prince ſeemed born only to be the ſport of fortune; tho' he was happy, in being, by his natural weakneſs of mind, leſs ſenſible, than any other would have been, of his misfortunes.

He marches towards London. Hall.

The battle of Barnet, Warwick and Montague are defeated and ſlain.

The battle began, early in the morning, and continued, till noon; and never, perhaps, had two armies been ſeen to fight, with more bravery and reſolution; for, every one conſidering himſelf, as a rebel, if the enemy proved victorious, no favour was expected. The barbarity, uſually practiſed, in civil wars, was well known; and more eſpecially in this, where ſeveral revolutions, in behalf of both parties, had, to the laſt degree, inflamed their mutual animoſity; which, probably, was the true cauſe of the continuance of the battle. The earl of Warwick's troops, tho' inferior, in number, fought deſperately, being reſolved, after the example of their general, either to conquer, or die; and they had even reaſon to hope, for ſome time, that victory would declare in their favour. Some ſquadrons, detached by the earl of Warwick, from the third line, ſo far gained ground upon their enemies, that ſeveral poſted to London, with the news of their defeat; but Edward, not loſing the preſence of mind ſo neceſſary to a general, on ſuch critical occaſions, ordered a body of reſerve to advance, who, attacking the victorious enemies, in the flank, put them in extreme diſorder. The ſmall number of the earl of Warwick's troops did not ſuffer him to make a detachment, to oppoſe that body; and the earl of Oxford, who had beat back Edward's troops, having left the line, where he was poſted, too much expoſed, wheeled about, to return to his poſt; but this precaution, tho' prudent, occaſioned the earl of Warwick's defeat. The earl of Oxford's badge, upon his arms and colours, was a ſtar with ſtreams, and Edward's device was a ſun; and, a ſmall miſt, that aroſe, during the battle, hindering the earl of Warwick's troops from diſcerning the difference, they furiouſly charged theſe ſquadrons, as they were returning to their poſt, and routed them, before the earl of Oxford had time to remove their miſtake. This cauſed an extreme confuſion, in the army; for ſome, fancying that they were betrayed, becauſe attacked by their own men,

The cauſe of Edward's victory. Stow.

1471. deſerted to the enemies; and others, ſeeing them fly, that way, believed they were attacked, in the rear, and were at a loſs, what courſe to take. In the interim, Edward, improving this miſtake, cut in pieces the troops that were flying towards him; and the earl of Warwick, perceiving the diſorder, did his utmoſt to repair it, but to no purpoſe. At laſt, in order to animate his troops, by his example, he ruſhed, tho' on foot, among the thickeſt of his enemies, where he ſoon fell, covered with wounds; and the marqueſs of Montague, his brother, deſirous to reſcue him, a few moments after, periſhed, in the attempt. Thus, ended the battle, about noon, by the entire defeat of Warwick's army, 10,000 whereof were ſlain, on the ſpot; and it is ſaid, that Edward, who, in all the former battles, uſually publiſhed, before the fight, that the common ſoldiers ſhould be ſpared, and the officers put to the ſword, had now, ordered, that no quarter ſhould be given. The earl of Oxford and the duke of Somerſet fled into Wales, to the earl of Pembroke, who was levying troops, for the earl of Warwick; and the duke of Exeter was left, for dead, among the ſlain; but, reviving again, he crawled to the next houſe, from whence he was carried to London, where he took ſanctuary, in Weſtminſter-abbey.

Hall.

Commin.

Such was the ſucceſs of this bloody day, and ſuch the fate of the famous earl of Warwick, who, ſince the beginning of the rupture, between the houſes of Lancaſter and York, had made, in England, the greateſt figure any ſubject had ever done, before him; for, in a word, he had made and unmade kings, at his pleaſure. Nothing more glorious could be ſaid of any private man, if true glory conſiſted in exceſs of power.

Edward, having gained ſo compleat a victory, which ſeemed to ſecure him the crown, returned to London, where he was triumphantly received; for the citizens could not ſufficiently expreſs their joy, to find themſelves freed from the danger, to which they would have been expoſed, had the earl of Warwick proved victorious. The king's firſt care was to return God thanks, for the victory, at St. Paul's church; after which, he ordered the unfortunate Henry to be again impriſoned, in the tower. A few days after, he granted a pardon to the archbiſhop of York; probably, leſt he ſhould incenſe the clergy, by the puniſhment of one of their principal members; moreover, he remembered the great ſervice that prelate had done him, tho', perhaps, more out of negligence than affection, in ſuffering him to eſcape from his confinement, at Middleham.

The archbiſhop of York is pardoned. Act. Pub.

Queen Margaret arrives with the prince. Hall.

In the mean while, queen Margaret juſt arrived from France, in Dorſetſhire, was in a truly deplorable condition; for ſhe had ſcarce time to refreſh herſelf, two days, when ſhe received the fatal news of the defeat and death of the earl of Warwick. Tho' ſhe had, hitherto, bravely withſtood all the attacks of fortune, this freſh diſgrace threw her into a ſwoon, out of which ſhe recovered, with extreme difficulty; for, evidently foreſeeing all the conſequences, and perceiving no refuge, ſhe indulged her grief, and loſt, on this occaſion, that amazing firmneſs, by which ſhe had ever been ſo glorioufly diſtinguiſhed. Thus, yielding to her unhappy lot, and thinking only of ſaving the prince, her ſon, ſhe took ſanctuary, in the abbey of Beaulieu, in Hampſhire; but, being ſtill in theſe mortal agonies, ſhe ſaw arrive the duke of Somerſet, John Beaufort, his brother, the earls of Pembroke and Devonſhire, and the lord Wenlock. The two laſt had been for Edward, and, unfortunately for themſelves, had deſerted him; and the queen had alſo with her the grand prior of St. John's, ſent into France, to conduct her to England. All theſe lords, with ſeveral other officers of diſtinction, in order to comfort her and revive her hopes, repreſented to her, "That ſhe had no reaſon yet to de- "ſpair; that, tho' Edward was victorious, "he might be vanquiſhed again; that, as the "kingdom ſtill abounded with friends to king "Henry, it was more eaſy, than ſhe imagin- "ed, to raiſe a new army capable of ſtopping "the uſurper's progreſs; that, as the gaining "of one battle had reſtored him to the "throne, the loſs of another might dethrone "him; that the various revolutions, for and "againſt the two houſes, ſince the quarrel "began, ought to teach her, that there was "ſtill room for hope, if ſhe would not, by an "unſeaſonable fear, relinquiſh her own in- "tereſts with thoſe of the king, her husband, "and the prince, her ſon; that her armies "had often conquered, under her conduct, "and it was, by no means, impoſſible, "that victory ſhould, once more, declare in "her favour; and, laſtly, that all the world "conſidered the prince of Wales, as the "undoubted heir to the crown, and, by "placing him at the head of the army, ſhe "might ſtill expect a happy revolution."

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If Margaret was afraid of expoſing herſelf, once more, to the viciſſitude of fortune, it was not upon her own account; for the prince, her ſon, was the cauſe of all her uneaſineſs. She was very ſenſible, that, in attempting to recover the crown of his anceſtors, he would hazard his own life; and ſuch was her tenderneſs for him, that this conſideration prevented her from coming to any reſolution. In this perplexity, ſhe propoſed ſending the prince into France, that, if the enterprize ſucceeded, he might reap the advantage; and, even if it miſcarried, he might, at leaſt, be in ſafety: But the duke of Somerſet replied, that it was principally upon the preſence of the prince that her hopes could be founded, which alone would draw multitudes into his ſervice, and encourage the troops to fight valiantly for him; and, at length, the queen, after enduring a violent conflict in her ſoul, between the fear of loſing her ſon and the deſire of procuring him a crown, which ſhe believed to be his lawful right, conſented to follow the advice of her friends.

Upon this reſolution, it was agreed, that the queen and prince ſhould retire to Bath; and

1471. and that the reſt ſhould aſſemble their friends, with the remains of the earl of Warwick's army. The earl of Pembroke undertook to levy an army, in Wales, where he had great intereſt, and, immediately, departed; only deſiring the duke of Somerſet, who was to command in chief, under the prince of Wales, to run no hazard, till he was joined by the Welch. The ſuddenneſs, with which all th eſe lords raiſed their troops, would be extremely ſurpriſing, were it not, in the firſt place, for the aſtoniſhing effects uſually produced by hatred and revenge, eſpecially in civil wars; ſecondly, the remains of the earl of Warwick's army, who diſperſed themſelves, after the battle of Barnet, wanted only a leader to head them; and, laſtly, as it was only a few days, ſince the battle, it was not yet known, how the conqueror would treat the vanquiſhed; wherefore, moſt having greater reaſon to expect ſeverity than mercy, choſe rather to hazard again their lives, in a battle, than run the riſque of dying, on the gibbet and ſcaffold. However this be, it appears from the Collection of the Publick Acts, that, the 27th of April, 13 days after the battle of Barnet, the Lancaſtrian lords had re-aſſembled an army.

The ſpeed wherewith the Lancaſtrians levy a freſh army.

A proclamation againſt the queen. Act. Pub.

Upon the ſame day, as the date ſhews, Edward iſſued out a proclamation, repreſenting that his title to the crown was unqueſtionable; and firſt, by reaſon; ſecondly, by authority of parliament; thirdly, by his victories, and particularly the laſt, wherein the marqueſs of Montague and the earl of Warwick were ſlain; that, notwithſtanding theſe three moſt ſolid foundations, ſeveral perſons had taken arms againſt him: But, to avoid the effuſion of more blood, he had judged it expedient, to give his people a liſt of the names of thoſe perſons, who were pronounced traytors and rebels, that their encouragers might not complain, if any miſchief befel them. The perſons proſcribed were Margaret, ſtiling herſelf queen of England, Edward, her ſon, the duke of Exeter, the duke of Somerſet, John, earl of Oxford, John Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, William, viſcount de Beaumont, John Beaufort, brother to the duke of Somerſet, Hugh Courtney, and 11 others.

Edward marches againſt her,

In the interim, Edward's troops being ready to march, he immediately, put himſelf at their head, to give his enemies battle, before the earl of Pembroke joined them with the Welch; and, how diligent ſoever the lords, in league with the queen, had been, they were far from being in ſo good poſture, as the king, on account of their want of arms and ammunition; wherefore, knowing that Edward was marching in queſt of them, they reſolved to retire into Wales, where, by reaſon of the ſituation of the country, they might avoid fighting, as long as they pleaſed. Beſides, they expected to be, very ſpeedily, joined by the earl of Pembroke, and to be then in a condition to give battle; but the point was to paſs the Severn, before the king overtook them; and, with this view, they marched to Glouceſter. However, that city refuſing her gates, and having no proſpect of taking it, at the firſt aſſault, much leſs of beſieging it, in form, they determined to paſs the Severn, at Tewkſbury; but Edward ſo cloſely purſued them, that, upon their arrival at Tewksbury, they conſulted, whether they ſhould venture to paſs the river, at the peril of ſeeing their rear routed, or intrench themſelves in a park adjoining to the town, till the earl of Pembroke arrived. The queen, ſolely intent upon ſaving the prince, was for paſſing; and ſome others, more out of complaiſance to her than for any ſubſtantial reaſon, ſeconded her opinion: But the duke of Somerſet, ſtrenuouſly oppoſing it, anſwered, that the enemy was ſo near, that, before all the army had paſſed, he would certainly have it in his power to attack them, and cut in pieces thoſe who ſhould have the misfortune to be left behind; that ſuch an accident, which ſeemed unavoidable, muſt, of courſe, prove very fatal, and diſcourage ſuch as ſtill adhered to the houſe of Lancaſter; and, in fine, that, tho' their army was inferior, in number, to that of the enemy, this diſadvantage might be repaired, by intrenching in the park, and drawing lines which would balance the ſuperiority of Edward's troops. After mature deliberation, this opinion was thought moſt adviſable, in the preſent circumſtances of time and place; tho' hiſtorians, of whom few underſtand the art of war, have charged the duke of Somerſet, with raſhneſs, purely becauſe they conſidered not the difficulty of paſſing a river, like the Severn, with the enemy in the rear. If this general had been guilty of no other fault, perhaps, the queen's affairs would have taken a quite different turn; at leaſt, ſhe might have waited the earl of Pembroke's arrival, and, by fighting upon equal terms, have cauſed her enemy to ſhare in the peril, as will appear from the ſequel.

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and overtakes her, at Tewkſbury.

The duke of Somerſet intrenches himſelf by Tewkſbury, and Edward reſolves to attack him.

The confederate lords reſolving to wait for Edward, the whole night was ſpent, in making intrenchments, round the park, which were finiſhed, before day; and Edward, taking a view of them, believed it abſolutely neceſſary to attack them, before they were made more impenetrable, and the earl of Pembroke arrived, who was hourly expected. He, therefore, directly, drew up his army, in two lines; and, giving the command of the firſt to the duke of Glouceſter, his younger brother, he headed the ſecond himſelf, with the duke of Clarence. The duke of Somerſet ranged his army, behind the intrenchments, in three bodies, and commanded the firſt himſelf, in order to ſuſtain the firſt ſhock; Wenlock conducted the ſecond, under prince Edward, who was conſidered, as the commander in chief; and the earl of Devonſhire was placed at the head of the third. Edward, upon a cloſer view of the intrenchments, perceived that an opening was left, to go out, upon occaſion; which induced him to conclude, that the duke of Somerſet intended to repel the firſt charge, and, if he obſerved any diſorder, among the aſſailants, had reſolved to ſally out, and improve the advantage. The

more

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The battle of Tewkſbury. Hall.

Accordingly, the duke of Glouceſter, who began the attack, with great vigour, finding that the enemies bravely withſtood him, and ſeemed every-where ready to ſuſtain his aſſaults, retreated towards the ſecond line, and ſo haſtily, that the duke of Somerſet imagined, that the whole body was entirely diſpirited; who, being unable to curb the impetuoſity of his courage, ſallied out of his intrenchments, to preſs the enemy's army, and, at the ſame time, he ſent Wenlock word to come, immediately, to his aſſiſtance. In the interim, the duke of Glouceſter, who was again drawn up, at a conſiderable diſtance from the intrenchments, ſeeing the duke of Somerſet advancing towards him, in good order, ſaved him ſome part of the way; and, as he was ſure of being ſupported by the king, his brother, who was at hand, he furiouſly fell upon the troops that marched againſt him, and, by this fierce and unexpected attack, ſo aſtoniſhed them, that they fled in diſorder to their camp. The duke of Somerſet was, to the laſt degree, enraged, to find himſelf unſupported who had depended upon Wenlock's oppoſing the duke of Glouceſter, with the ſecond line; but he ſaw him motionleſs, in the very place where he firſt drew up his men; and, not being able, at this ſight, to bridle his rage, he furiouſly rode up to him, and, with a battle-axe, clove his skull.

The duke of Glouceſter enters the enemy's camp. Hall. Hollingſh.

In the mean while, the duke of Glouceſter entering the enemy's camp, together with the run-a-ways, made a terrible ſlaughter. Wenlock being dead, the young prince was at a loſs, how to act; and the duke of Somerſet, tranſported with paſſion, could neither give orders, nor make himſelf obeyed; ſo that, confuſion, inſtantly, ſpreading in the army, and the king, who cloſely followed the duke, his brother, alſo entering the camp, the queen's troops thought only of ſaving themſelves, by flight, without making any farther reſiſtance. It is ſaid, that the queen was found in a chariot, half-dead with grief, at the ſight of her forlorn affairs, ignorant what was become of the prince, her ſon, and was brought, in that condition, to king Edward; tho' an hiſtorian affirms, that it was not, till a day or two after the battle, that ſhe was taken out of a nunnery, where ſhe had fled for refuge, and conducted to the king at Worceſter. In this battle, which entirely ſecured the crown to Edward, there fell, on the queen's ſide, only 3000, becauſe the two laſt lines ran away, without fighting; and the earl of Devonſhire and Sir John Beaufort, brother to the duke of Somerſet, were found, among the ſlain. The prince of Wales, the duke of Somerſet, and the grand prior of St. John's were made priſoners; but it would have been more fortunate for them to have died, in the battle, ſince their lives were ſpared, only to loſe them, in a more ignominious manner. The young prince, being brought into the king's preſence, having an undaunted countenance, did not debaſe himſelf, by ſubmiſſions unbecoming his birth; at which Edward was aſtoniſhed, and ſtill more, when, asking him, how he came to be ſo raſh, thus, to enter his kingdom, in arms, the prince replied, "That he came to "recover his own inheritance, which had "been unjuſtly uſurped." Edward, to the laſt degree, enraged at this boldneſs, ſtruck him, on the mouth, with his gantlet, and turned from him; which was, as it were, the ſignal to take away the life of that unhappy prince; and it is ſaid, that, immediately upon the king's withdrawing, the dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter, his brothers, the earl of Dorſet, and the lord Haſtings fell, like wild beaſts, upon the young prince, and ſtabbed him, with their daggers. It is certain, he was murdered, that inſtant; and, probably, the king had previouſly given orders, for that barbarous execution; but I do not know, whether the hiſtorians are to be believed, who affirm, that theſe four lords killed him, with their own hands. This might proceed from the prejudice of thoſe that wrote the hiſtory, after the reſtoration of the houſe of Lancaſter, ſince it is manifeſt, that they have forgot nothing, to render the houſe of York odious; yet it is not improbable, that the murder was committed, in the preſence of the foreſaid lords. Some relate, that, the prince eſcaping out of the battle, the king offered a penſion of 500l. ſterling, to any one that ſhould bring him, dead, or alive, promiſing, if he was alive, not to put him to death; and that, upon this, Sir Richard Crofts, in whoſe hands he was fallen, brought him to the king, who did not perform his engagement. This prince loſt his life, at 18 years of age; and, the next day, the duke of Somerſet and the grand prior of St. John's were beheaded. Queen Margaret was confined, in the tower, where ſhe continued a priſoner, till 1475, when Lewis XI. ranſomed her, for 50,000 crowns. Such was the fatal cataſtrophe of this princeſs, who, for attempting to rule England, with a deſpotick ſway, cauſed a great effuſion of Engliſh blood, and occaſioned her own, as well as the ruin of the king, her ſpouſe, the prince, her ſon, and the whole houſe of Lancaſter, of which there remained only a ſingle branch, in the perſon of the earl of Richmond. There was, it ſeems, a ſort of fatality, with reſpect to the kings of England, who married the daughters of France; for Edward II, Richard II, Henry VI, and Charles I. were all the kings that eſpouſed French princeſſes; and they all underwent the ſame fate, and three of them by the fault of their queens.

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A remark upon it.

Hall. Hollingſh.

The battle of Tewkſbury fought, on the 4th of May, 18 days after that of Barnet, was the 12th ſince the riſe of the quarrel, between the two roſes; but it was not the laſt,

Hollingſh. Stow.

1471. laſt, tho' followed by no other, in the reſt of this reign.

The baſtard of Falconbridge riſes againſt the king. Hall. Hollingſh.

Whilſt Edward was employed in purſuit of the queen, a freſh enemy aroſe againſt him. Thomas Nevil, called the baſtard of Falconbridge, becauſe he was natural ſon to the lord of that name, had been made vice-admiral of the channel, during the earl of Warwick's adminiſtration, to whom he adhered; but, upon the earl's death, and king Edward's reſtoration, the baſtard was removed from his place; and, being a man of ill morals, and without means, he turned pyrate, for his ſubſiſtence. Whilſt the king was in the weſt, in purſuit of the queen, he aſſembled ſome ſhips, and many of deſperate fortunes, with whom he came upon the coaſt of Kent, not imagining that the war, newly kindled, would ſo ſoon be ended; and his intent was to ſurpriſe London, and enrich himſelf with the plunder of that city. Accordingly he began his march towards London, giving out, that he only deſigned to free king Henry from captivity; and, under this pretence, drawing in many adherents of the houſe of Lancaſter, he formed an army of 17000 men. He quickly became maſter of Southwark; and, at the ſame time, he ordered part of his troops to paſs the Thames, and aſſault two of the city-gates, whilſt himſelf made an attempt to force the bridge; but the citizens, having heard of his march, were upon their guard, and, on all ſides, repulſed him. In the interim, the baſtard being informed of the ſucceſs of the battle of Tewksbury, and knowing that the king was diligently marching to London, retired, in good order, to Sandwich, where he fortified himſelf; but Edward, upon his arrival at London, paſſed through the city, without ſtaying, and marched to Canterbury; where the baſtard ſent him word, that he was ready to ſubmit, upon certain terms that were, immediately, granted. The king even knighted him, and made him vice-admiral of the channel, as before? However, ſhortly after, he was beheaded, either for new, or his former, crimes.

Edward arriving, at London, the 21ſt of May, after two victories, in leſs than three weeks, granted an abſolute pardon to William Wainfleet, biſhop of Wincheſter, a zeaous Lancaſtrian; but he was not ſo generous to king Henry, head of that houſe; tho' the innocent life of that unfortunate prince ſeemed to ſcreen him from the cruelty of his victorious enemy. It was, doubtleſs, for this very reaſon, that Edward had, twice before, ſpared his life; nay, it is highly probable, that he would have ſuffered him to die a natural death, had he thought it conſiſtent with his ſafety; but he was apprehenſive, that he ſhould never enjoy a ſettled repoſe, whilſt that prince was alive, and, therefore, reſolved to diſpatch him. It was properly queen Margaret, that haſtened her husband's death, by her laſt attempt to reſtore him; and, if ſhe had won the battle of Tewksbury, and taken Edward priſoner, it is hardly to be queſtioned that ſhe would have put him to death, on the ſcaffold; ſo that ſhe ought not to wonder, that the ill ſucceſs of her enterprize fell upon the heads of her husband and ſon. In all probability, ſhe was herſelf indebted to her ſex, for her own life; but, however this be, Edward, reſolving to ſacrifice Henry to his ſafety, ordered the duke of Glouceſter, whom all the hiſtorians unanimouſly repreſent, as a brutiſh and inhuman prince, to put him to death in priſon. It is pretended, that this prince would be the father's, as he had been the ſon's executioner, and that, entering his room, he ſtabbed him to the heart; but, as I obſerved, we ſhould read, with ſome caution, what the hiſtorians ſay of the princes of the houſe of York. 1471.

The death of Henry VI.

Thus, died Henry VI, in the 50th year of his age, after a reign of 38 years, before he was dethroned, and of ſeven months only after his reſtoration; and no prince ever had occaſioned, tho' innocently, more bloody tragedies, or cauſed a greater effuſion of blood, in his quarrel. Tho' his natural weakneſs rendered him incapable of governing his kingdom, and he, therefore, always gave himſelf up to the direction of others, he had ſome good qualities; which, after his death, were extolled, for virtues of the firſt claſs, in order to ſet, in a more deteſtable light, the perſon that deprived him of his crown and life; but all, that can be juſtly affirmed of this prince, is, that, conſidering him, in his private capacity, his life was innocent, or, at leaſt, not chargeable with the crimes but too common in the world; yet, if he is conſidered, as a ſovereign, he will appear to have acted neither good nor bad, through the whole courſe of his life. He founded Eaton-college near Windſor, and King's College, in Cambridge, for the benefit of Eaton-Scholars; which fundations are ſtill in being; and, after his death, his body was brought to St. Paul's, where it was, ſome time, expoſed to publick view, and afterwards interred, without any pomp, in a village near London. His character.

His foundations. Act. Pub.

The 12 battles, fought, ſince 1455, and the conſequent barbarous executions, had reduced the houſe of Lancaſter to two perſons only, viz. Margaret, daughter to John, duke of Somerſet, wife to Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond, half-brother to Henry VI, and Henry, earl of Richmond, her ſon. Margaret had two other husbands, Henry, earl of Stafford, and Thomas Stanley, but had iſſue by neither; for I ſhall take no notice of Charles Somerſet, from whom the earls of Worceſter were derived, becauſe, being only natural ſon of the Beaufort-Somerſet family, he could have no pretenſions to the crown. The remains of the houſe of Lancaſter.

Jaſper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, uncle to the young earl of Richmond, not having been expeditious enough to be preſent at the battle of Tewksbury, was extremely embarraſſed; and finding himſelf unable to ſupport alone the intereſts of the houſe of Lancaſter, he diſmiſſed his troops, and continued with the earl of Richmond, his nephew, in Wales, where he had many friends and great credit. Theſe being the only lords, that could give Edward any diſturbance, he paſſionately deſired to have them in his power; but, to execute this

The earls of Pembroke and Richmond retire into Wales. Hall.

1471. design, it was, by no means, proper to march his troops againſt them; for as this would warn them to leave the kingdom, ſo it was difficult even to ſeize their perſons, in a country where they had as many adherents, as there were inhabitants; wherefore, preferring policy to force, he ſent into thoſe parts Roger Vaughan, with orders to try all poſſible means to ſeize, or to diſpatch them. Vaughan not having been ſo ſecret, as was neceſſary, the earl of Pembroke, who had intelligence of his intent, pretending to fall into the villain's ſnare, ſlew him, and retired to Pembroke-caſtle, from whence he departed with Henry, his nephew, and embarqued in a veſſel for France; but, the winds driving them upon the coaſt of Bretagne, they were obliged to put into a port of that country. They intended to go to Paris; but, as they could not be excuſed from waiting on the duke of Bretagne, when they would have taken their leave, they were told they were not at liberty to purſue their voyage. The duke, believing that theſe two lords might be of ſome advantage to him, aſſigned them the town of Vannes, for their habitation, with an honourable allowance; yet, tho' they outwardly received all the reſpect due to their birth and quality, they were, in the interim, very narrowly watched.

Edward gets the lords to take the oath to his ſon. Act. Pub.

Edward, being perfectly reſtored, without any appearance of being again diſturbed, in the poſſeſſion of a crown, acquired with ſo much pains, aſſembled the lords ſpiritual and temporal, at Weſtminſter; and in a ſtudied ſpeech, in which he attempted to diſplay the title of the houſe of York to the crown, and did not forget his victories, he deſired that they would ſwear allegiance to prince Edward, his ſon, as to his apparent ſucceſſor, to which they were all inclined. The two archbiſhops, eight biſhops, five dukes, with all the earls and lords there preſent, took this oath, on the 3d of July; tho' many former examples had demonſtrated the little uſe of ſuch a precaution; and, without proceeding any farther, Edward might have remembered his father's oath to Henry VI, as well as his own, at York. However, he was perſuaded that people would be more ſcrupulous to him; but, after his deceaſe, his childeren unhappily experienced, that no ſtreſs is to be laid on ſuch aſſurances.

A pardon is granted to ſeven biſhops. Act. Pub.

Soon after, Edward granted a pardon to ſeven biſhops, who had declared againſt him, in the late revolution; and, from the beginning of his reign to the end, he continually endeavoured to carry it fair with the clergy. The reſt of the year was ſpent, in ſundry negotiations, which I ſhall briefly mention.

Negotiations with the king of Scotland. Act. Pub.

The firſt was with the king of Scotland; for, during the commotions, in England, the truce, between the Engliſh and Scots, had been often violated, contrary to the intention of the two monarchs. After Edward's reſtoration, the king of Scotland ſending ambaſſadors to him, it was agreed, to hold a congreſs, at Alnwick, the 24th of September, for a mutual reparation of the outrages committed by the two nations upon one another. The two kings were equally deſirous to preſerve the truce, and even to conclude a final peace; but this negotiation was not finiſhed, till 1473. It appears from the Collection of the Publick Acts, that Edward impowered his ambaſſadors to propoſe a marriage, between the king of Scotland and an Engliſh princeſs; and I ſhall ſpeak, elſewhere, of the ſequel of this negotiation. 1471.

The truce with Bretagne is ratified. Act. Pub.

On the 20th of September, the 30 years truce with Bretagne was confirmed; which confirmation was neceſſary, as the truce had been frequently violated, during the earl of Warwick's adminiſtration.

A truce of eight months with France.

Lewis XI. was very ſenſible, that Edward had no reaſon to be pleaſed with him; yet he offered him a truce, that with Henry VI. being inſignificant, ſince Edward was reſtored. In the preſent poſture of the Engliſh affairs, it was, by no means, proper for Edward to renew the war with France; for his kingdom was too much exhauſted, to think ſo early of ſuch an undertaking; ſo that, without much intreaty, he agreed to prolong the truce, from the 1ſt of September, this year, to the 1ſt of May following; and this was only, whilſt he prepared to be revenged on Lewis, for aſſiſting queen Margaret.

1472.

The year 1472 did not abound with remarkable events, as the preceding; for it was almoſt entirely ſpent in ſeveral negotiations, tending to ſecure the tranquillity of the king and his ſubjects, by truces or alliances with foreign princes.

The negotiation with Scotland was ſtill carried on, tho' ſlowly, on account of the obſtacles that occurred, in the reparations demanded by each of the kings.

The differences between the Engliſh and Flemings.

It is evident from ſeveral papers of the Collection of the Publick Acts, that a diſpute aroſe, about the truce of commerce, for 30 years, between England and the duke of Burgundy's dominions; for, probably, during the earl of Warwick's miniſtry, the Engliſh had injured the duke's trading ſubjects; and the latter demanded reparation, for ſundry damages, affirming, that the truce was to be conſidered, as made with England, and not with the perſon of the reigning king. As for Edward, he did not think himſelf obliged to repair the damages done to the Flemings, during the earl of Warwick's adminiſtration; for, as theſe differences properly concerned only the merchants of both nations, it was the intereſt of the two princes, to live in a good underſtanding; wherefore, in treating of the outrages committed againſt the truce, they did not fail to negotiate a final peace.

Negotiations with the Hanſe-towns.

Another affair, of much the ſame nature with the Hanſe-towns *, created the king ſome

* Certain towns in Germany, confederate for the benefit of trade; ſo called from the word Hanſe, that ſignifies Alliance; and Bremen, in Lower-Saxony, is reported to have been the founder of this confederacy, about 1164. How many towns were aſſociated, at firſt, is not known; but ſuch was the viſible ſucceſs of this deſign, that moſt of

1472. ſome uneaſineſs; for theſe towns, of which Lubeck, Hamburgh, and Dantzick were the three principal, had obtained of the kings of England ſeveral privileges, for their merchants, becauſe their commerce was very beneficial to the Engliſh; but, under the frequent revolutions, during the civil wars, the Engliſh had injured the merchants of theſe towns, and in ſeveral reſpects violated their privileges. Upon this, the latter had procured from their magiſtrates letters of mart, which had turned theſe differences into an open war, deſtructive to both parties; and, at length, the troubles, in England, being over, the Hanſe-towns ſent ambaſſadors to the king, to demand a reparation of their loſſes, and to propoſe a renewal of alliance, to ſecure their privileges, and the trade and navigation of the Engliſh, in the northern ſeas. Edward gave the ambaſſadors a very civil reception, and appointed commiſſioners, who, after ſeveral conferences, agreed, that a congreſs ſhould be held, at Utrecht, to ſettle all things, to the ſatisfaction of both ſides; but this affair ſo abounded with difficulties, that it could not be ended, till 1474.

Some time after, Edward, by his letters patent, confirmed the antient alliance, between Richard II. and John, king of Portugal, for them and their ſucceſſors; and Alphonſo, king of that country, ſent him the like letters, dated, the 30th of Auguſt.

The earl of Oxford is taken and impriſoned, at Hammes,

During theſe tranſactions, the return of the earl of Oxford into England was a freſh cauſe of vexation to Edward; for the earl, a zealous adherent of the houſe of Lancaſter, had retired into France, after the battle of Tewksbury; but, as he was not very favourably received by Lewis XI, he returned into England, with 75 men, and took, by ſurprize, St. Michael's Mount, in Cornwall. Edward, continually apprehenſive that the leaſt ſpark might rekindle the flames ſo happily extinguiſhed, immediately, ſent ſome troops into the weſt, with orders to inveſt the earl of Oxford, in the mount; but, the earl having had no time to provide againſt a ſiege, ſurrendered, before he was reduced to extremity. All he could obtain was only his life; for he loſt his liberty, and his eſtate was all confiſcated, without any allowance to his counteſs, ſiſter to the earl of Warwick, for her ſubſiſtence; and from St. Michael's Mount, he was conducted to the caſtle of Hammes, near Calais, where he remained a priſoner, 12 years.

and the archbiſhop of York, at Guiſnes.

The archbiſhop of York had much the ſame fate, tho' the king had pardoned him, and received his oath, at London, the day before the battle of Barnet; for he was the earl of Warwick's brother, and that was ſufficient, to render him ſuſpected; ſo that, notwithſtanding the pardon, he was confined, in the caſtle of Guiſnes, where he died, ſoon after.

The king had no conſiderable enemy left in the kingdom, except Henry Holland, duke of Exeter, who had taken ſanctuary, at Weſtminſter, after the battle of Barnet; who, growing weary of his confinement, employed his wife, Edward's ſiſter, to procure his pardon. They had lived ſeparate, ever ſince the beginning of the civil wars, becauſe the duke, whoſe grandmother was ſiſter to Henry IV, adhered to the Lancaſtrians, and his ducheſs had remained with the king, her brother; but this princeſs, inſtead of ſuing for her husband's pardon, deſired, on the contrary, to be legally divorced, and, tho' ſhe had no lawful cauſe, obtained her deſire; and, probably, by the king's ſollicitations. Thus, the duke of Exeter was conſtrained to continue in his ſanctuary, without any proſpect of a pardon, or any thing for his ſubſiſtence, but what was privately ſent him by his friends; but, at laſt, tired of living ſo immured, he quitted the place, tho' it does not appear, how, or when; for it is only known, that, in 1474, he was found dead upon the ſea-ſhore, in the county of Kent.

1472. The death of the duke of Exeter. Stow.

Edward, having nothing more to fear, after the death, impriſonment, or exile of all the principal adherents of the houſe of Lancaſter, gave too great a looſe to his revenge, upon perſons of an inferior condition; ſome of whom were put to death, and others fined immoderately, as a puniſhment for taking up arms againſt him; but what, moſt of all, troubled him was the eſcape of the earls of Pembroke and Richmond; for he ſeemed to foreſee the evil that was to befal his family, from that quarter. The earl of Richmond was, as I obſerved, the only ſurviving branch of the houſe of Lancaſter, or rather the only perſon that could pretend to diſpute the crown with Edward, ſince he was ſon to a princeſs of that houſe; and he was accompanied by the earl of Pembroke, his uncle, a lord of great merit, who was very capable of directing him. Tho' they were both abſent, and as priſoners, in Bretagne, they gave extreme uneaſineſs to the king, who wiſhed to ſee the quarrel between the two houſes entirely ended, by the death of the young earl, to whom all the rights of the houſe of Lancaſter were fallen; and, with this view, he ſent ambaſſadors to the duke of Bretagne, intreating him to deliver the two Engliſh lords he had in his power; but the duke very civilly deſired to be excuſed. He promiſed, however, to watch them ſo narrowly, that they ſhould never be able to hurt him; and, upon this account, Edward paid him, yearly, a large penſion, under the pretence of a maintenance for the two priſoners.

Edward perſecutes the Lancaſtrians.

In the mean while, the negotiation with Scotland was carried on; and, as great difficulties occurred, it was agreed, between the plenipotentiaries of the two kings, that the truce ſhould ſubſiſt, till July, 1473.

A truce with Scotland. Act. Pub.

the chief trading-places, in Europe, to the number of 72, entered into the confederacy. In the flouriſhing times of their alliance, theſe Hanſe-towns had four general ſtaples, viz. London, Bruges, in Flanders, Bergen in Norway, and Novogrod, in Ruſſia; but, at preſent, the Hanſe-towns are, in a manner, reduced to theſe ſix, Lubeck, Hamburgh, Bremen, Roſtock, Dantzick, and Cologne.

Edward

1472. Edward, having ſettled his affairs, to his ſatisfaction, remembered the honourable and hearty reception he had met with, in Holland, from Lewis de Bruges, lord of Gruthuyſe; and, in return, after he had ſo managed, that the parliament petitioned him to create that foreign lord a peer of England, he made him earl of Wincheſter, and afterwards, by letters patent, allowed him to beat the arms of England, in his ſcutcheon.

Gruthuyſe is made earl of Wincheſter.

Before I conclude the events of this year, I ſhall briefly mention the ſtate of affairs, between Lewis XI. and the duke of Burgundy; for the knowledge of their diſputes is very requiſite, for the underſtanding of the Hiſtory of England. Lewis, as I ſaid, at the inſtance of the duke of Bretagne and the conſtable de St. Pol, who ſtudied only to deceive him, had begun the war with the duke of Burgundy, and taken from him Amiens and St. Quentin; but, by the means of good ſpies, he diſcovered, at length, that he was engaged in that war, purely for the accompliſhment of the projected marriage, between the duke of Guienne, his brother, and the duke of Burgundy's daughter; and, therefore, to free himſelf, at once, from the troubles intended to be raiſed by his brother, he ordered a poiſon to be given him, that was to operate ſlowly, that his death might be aſcribed to a common diſtemper. In the interim, leſt the duke of Burgundy, being too much preſſed, ſhould take new meaſures with the duke of Bretagne and the conſtable, he ſent to offer him a truce; and the duke could wiſh for nothing more advantageous, in his preſent circumſtances; but, as he had reaſon to fear, that the propoſal was deſigned only to amuſe him, Lewis fully impowered the duke of Bretagne to conclude the truce, in his name. As the latter could not refuſe to undertake this affair, without diſcovering himſelf, he ſent the biſhop of Leon, as a mediator, to Cambray, where the treaty was to be negotiated; and both parties were ſo willing to agree, that it was impoſſible for the biſhop to prevent the ſigning of a truce, for 13 months, from the firſt of April, 1472, to the firſt of May, 1473; but, about ſix weeks after the concluſion of the truce, the duke of Guienne died, and Lewis took poſſeſſion of that dutchy, without oppoſition.

The ſtate of affairs between Lewis and the duke of Burgundy. Commin.

The duke of Burgundy, now, perceived, that Lewis had granted him a truce, only to have leiſure to ſecure Guienne, and that, on all occaſions, he ſhould be that prince's dupe, as ſoon as their affairs ſhould be determined, by way of negotiation; ſo that, being highly provoked to ſee himſelf, thus, amuſed, and finding that, with ſuch enemies, the moſt effectual method was to act, with open force, and make them, at leaſt, run an equal ſhare of the danger, he entered France, and deſtroyed whatever he met in his way, with fire and ſword. The duke of Bretagne, ſeeing his projects vaniſhing, by the death of the duke of Guienne, ſeriouſly reſolved to join with the duke of Burgundy, being perſuaded that the preſervation of both depended upon their being ſtrictly united; and, in the interim, Lewis, foreſeeing that the duke of Bretagne would certainly take that courſe, had already ſent troops into Anjou, to keep him in awe. 1472.

Whilſt Lewis was ſtill employed, in Guienne, the duke of Burgundy, making ſome progreſs, in Picardy, took Neſle and Roye; but he ſpent two whole months, before Beauvais, to no purpoſe. This accident was the cauſe, that Lewis, not perceiving himſelf much preſſed, left his troops, in Anjou; ſo that, the duke of Bretagne, not daring to ſtir from his country, was hindered from joining his ally, according to agreement; but, at length, the duke of Burgundy, raiſing the ſiege of Beauvais, came into Normandy, in expectation of the duke of Bretagne. In the interim, Lewis was ſomewhat embarraſſed; for, by leaving his troops, in Anjou, he expoſed Picardy and Normandy to the duke of Burgundy's attacks; and, if he marched to the aſſiſtance of theſe two provinces, he left the duke of Bretagne at liberty to make a powerful diverſion, in his neighbourhood; but he ſoon freed himſelf from this perplexity. By the help of the duke of Bretagne's miniſters, whom he brought over to his intereſt, he found means to make a truce with that prince, and perſuade him to renounce the duke of Burgundy's alliance; which unexpected defection obliged the duke of Burgundy to accept of a truce offered him by Lewis, and that was often prolonged. Commin.

Before we enter upon the events of 1473, it muſt be obſerved, that all the Engliſh hiſtorians are miſtaken, in a whole year, placing, in this, what happened in the following year. Biondi owns, that the French place, in 1475, what the Engliſh fix to 1474; and he adds, that he chuſes to follow the Engliſh, by which he is guilty of their miſtake. This appears ſo manifeſtly from the Collection of the Publick Acts, that there is no room to queſtion it; and, indeed, the year 1473 was ſo barren of events, that it is not very ſurpriſing, if it was confounded or joined with the next; but the affairs, which ought to be aſſigned to 1473, tho' they are of no importance, in themſelves, ſerve to diſtinguiſh theſe two years, and rectify the chronology. 1473. The miſtakes of the Engliſh hiſtorians.

The king of Portugal demanding the reſtitution of ſome Portugueſe veſſels taken by the Engliſh, inquiry was made, which diſcovered that theſe ſhips were plundered by the baſtard of Falconbridge, during his revolt againſt Edward; wherefore, the king of Portugal deſiſted from his demand. An agreement with Portugal. Act. Pub.

Edward was taken up, a conſiderable part of this year, with the affairs of Scotland; and, at laſt, by a treaty concluded, at Alnwick, the 28th of September, it was agreed, that the truce of Newcaſtle ſhould be inviolably obſerved by both nations. The confirmation of the truce with Scotland.

Edward's differences with the Hanſe-towns were likewiſe decided, at the congreſs of Utrecht, the 19th of September.

There were alſo ſome negotiations, about the 30 years truce of commerce, between England and the duke of Burgundy's dominions; but we do not find, that any thing was Negotiations with the duke of Burgundy.

1473. was concluded, in the affair; which, probably, was only a pretence for more ſecret and important negotiations, as will be ſeen, hereafter.

An alliance with Denmark. Act. Pub.

The alliance, between England and Denmark, being frequently violated, during the civil wars, in England, the two monarchs were equally deſirous to renew it; and, with this view, they agreed, that, without inquiring into the mutual damages, the Engliſh and Danes had done one another, the alliance ſhould remain upon the ſame footing, as before the violation.

This is all worth notice, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, for 1473; let us now proceed to the following year, which will afford us more plenty of matter.

1474. The deſigns of the duke of Burgundy. Commin.

The duke of Burgundy, as I obſerved, obtained a truce, which was afterwards prolonged, twice or thrice, till 1475; and, during this truce, he was employed, in conquering the duchy of Gueldres. Arnold, duke of that name, diſpleaſed with Adolphus, his ſon, who had, for ſome time, kept him in priſon, made a grant of his duchy to the duke of Burgundy; upon which pretence, entering Gueldres, he defeated Adolphus, and, taking him priſoner, ſeized upon the duchy.

Mezerai. Commin.

This acquiſition exciting him to new conqueſts, he conſidered, how to enlarge his dominions, on the ſide of Germany, and formed projects too vaſt, and too difficult to be put in execution. Mezerai affirms, that he promiſed his daughter in marriage to Maximilian, ſon to the emperor Frederick, upon condition that his dominions ſhould be erected into a kingdom; and he adds, that this affair miſcarried, becauſe the duke would have the condition performed, before the marriage, in order to ſign the contract, as king; but the emperor would, firſt, have the marriage conſummated. However this be, the duke, deſigning to extend his dominions, in Germany, embraced the firſt opportunity, to carry his arms into that country; and a diſpute, about the archbiſhop of Cologn, ariſing between Robert of Bavaria and the brother of the Landgrave of Heſſe, furniſhed him with the deſired pretence. He, immediately, took the prince of Bavaria's part, and beſieged Nuz, a ſtrong town in the archbiſhoprick of Cologn; believing that the taking of that place would promote the execution of his other deſigns.

The truce with the king of France being to laſt, till June, 1475, the duke of Burgundy expected to be maſter of Nuz, before it was expired; but Lewis threw ſuch obſtacles in his way, that he could not accompliſh his deſigns, ſo ſoon as he imagined. Lewis ſo managed, that the emperor Frederick drew together a numerous army, to oblige the duke to raiſe the ſiege; and the dukes of Lorrain and Auſtria, and the Switzers, entered into a league againſt him; ſo that, finding himſelf extremely embarraſſed, to reſiſt ſo many enemies, he continued, 10 months before Nuz, without being able to take the place. Whilſt he was employed in the ſiege, he perceived no other way, to free himſelf from the perſecutions of his enemy, than to engage the king of England, to make a powerful diverſion, in France; and, therefore, he ſent ambaſſadors to Edward, to perſuade him to make war upon their common enemy. The more effectually to gain his end, he promiſed to join Edward, with all his forces, the moment he landed, in Picardy; and he alſo induced him to hope, that the conſtable de St. Pol would deliver him St. Quentin, the duke of Bretagne league with them, and, by the means of that prince's adherents, in France, he would put the kingdom in ſuch confuſion, that the conqueſt of it would be rendered much eaſier, than in the reign of Charles VI.

1474. He engages Edward to league with him againſt France.

This was preciſely the opportunity, that Edward impatiently expected, to be revenged on Lewis XI. Every thing ſeemed to conſpire to the ruin of that turbulent prince, ſince he was about to be attacked by three formidable powers, beſides his danger from his own ſubjects; and, indeed, if all his enemies had acted, with the ſame ardor, as Edward, he would, doubtleſs, have run the hazard of ſeeing his affairs, in great diſorder; but, in all probability, the duke of Burgundy had no other view, than to engage Edward to make a diverſion, in France, in order to prevent Lewis from diſturbing him, in Germany. However this be, acting as if he really intended to undertake the conqueſt of France, jointly with the king of England, he gave very ample powers to his ambaſſadors, to treat with him, upon that point; and the plenipotentiaries of the two princes, having ſettled all the articles, ſigned, about the end of July, ſeveral treaties relating to this important undertaking.

Several treaties between Edward and the duke of Burgundy.

The firſt was a treaty of amity, alliance, and confederacy, between the king of England and duke of Burgundy, who mutually promiſed to aſſiſt each other, to the utmoſt of their power.

The ſecond contained certain private conventions, about the war they were to carry into France, compriſed in the eight following articles:

I. That Edward ſhould paſs into France, at the head of 10,000 men, at leaſt, all well armed and well appointed, before the firſt of July, 1475, to recover the duchies of Guienne and Normandy, and the whole kingdom of France.

II. That the duke of Burgundy ſhould aſſiſt him, in perſon, with all his forces.

III. That the king ſhould not accept any propoſal of peace, or truce, without the duke's conſent.

IV. The duke of Burgundy alſo engaged in the ſame manner.

V. That the two princes ſhould cauſe the war to be proclaimed, each in his dominions, againſt Lewis, as their common enemy.

VI. That, directly after the war was begun, or proclaimed, the two allies ſhould attack the common enemy, in the moſt proper places; yet ſo as to be within diſtance to aſſiſt one another.

1474. VII. That, if one of the two princes ſhould beſiege a town, or be forced to give battle, the other ſhould join him, with all his forces, and at his own charges, that both might run the ſame hazard; and that their lieutenants ſhould be obliged to do the ſame.

VIII. That, upon the commencement of the war, neither ſhould deſiſt, whilſt the other ſhould deſire to continue it; and that, if one was abſent, his lieutenant ſhould obey the other, in whatever concerned the common good of both allies.

The third treaty contained an explication of one of the articles of the firſt; namely, that each of the two allies ſhould aſſiſt the other, with all his forces; and, as this expreſſion was too general, they agreed upon the number and pay of the troops, they were to ſupply.

The fourth was a grant, from Edward to the duke of Burgundy, of ſeveral provinces of France, in conſideration of the future ſervices of that prince, in aſſiſting him to recover that kingdom; which grant included the duchy of Bar, the earldoms of Champagne, Nevers, Retel, Eu, Guiſe, the barony of Douſy, and all the towns, on both ſides of the Somme; and, laſtly, all the lands poſſeſſed by the earl of St. Pol and held of Guienne, Normandy, or the crown of France. He likewiſe renounced the homage of all theſe provinces, as well as of Burgundy, the earldoms of Charolois and Macon, of Flanders, Artois, and, in general, of all the territories the duke actually enjoyed, or acquired by this grant; and, in fine, he added, his intent was, that this conveyance ſhould be as firm, as if ratified by the eſtates, promiſing to procure their confirmation of the whole, as ſoon as he ſhould be in poſſeſſion of the crown of France.

The fifth was an agreement, by which the duke of Burgundy engaged to furniſh, for the war, an army of between 10 and 20,000 men. Edward promiſed, on his part, to aſſign him, yearly, the pay of theſe troops, upon the provinces included in the foreſaid grant, provided they were conquered; and, if not, upon other demeſnes of the crown, in proportion to what ſhould be wanted; but, if the aſſignment of the pay was not made, before the end of every year, he agreed, that the duke ſhould not be obliged to find any troops, the following year.

The ſixth and laſt article was, in the form of letters patent, by which the duke of Burgundy agreed, that Edward and his ſucceſſors, kings of France, ſhould have free liberty to enter Rheims, in order to be crowned, and depart, without any impediment; and this act was neceſſary, Champagne being included in the grant.

The king's and duke's motives, in this treaty.

This was, in reality, ſelling the bear's skin, before he was killed; yet it is not very difficult to diſcover the motives of the conduct of both theſe princes, ſince it is certain that they deſigned to deceive each other. They were both too wiſe, to expect to conquer France, with the ſtipulated forces; but the duke of Burgundy's intent was to engage Edward to make a powerful diverſion, in that kingdom, by perſuading him, that he might eaſily become maſter of it; whilſt Edward feigned, on his part, to be allured with this proſpect, the better to engage the duke of Burgundy to lend him a ſufficient ſupply, to recover Guienne and Normandy; and this is neither the firſt nor the laſt time, that princes have diſſembled, in their treaties. 1474.

Edward, having ſigned all theſe treaties, ſet about preparations for the intended war; and, firſt of all, he aſſembled a parliament, which readily allowed him a ſubſidy; for, ſince the reign of Edward III, the parliaments ſeldom wanted much ſollicitation to grant money, for a war with France. Edward no ſooner found himſelf ſupported by his parliament, than he iſſued out commiſſions, to levy a much greater number of troops, than he had promiſed, in his treaty with Burgundy; and, indeed, as the war was upon his account, it was requiſite to exert himſelf, in proportion to the greatneſs of the undertaking. In the mean while, he ſent ambaſſadors to divers courts, as well to make alliances with ſeveral princes, as to prevent their union with his enemy; for it appears from the Collection of the Publick Acts, that he ſent to the emperor Frederick, Ferdinand, king of Sicily, the king of Hungary, and ſome others, to perſuade them to enter into the league. Edward prepares for the war.

He concludes the marriage of Cecily, his daughter, with the prince of Scotland.

At the ſame time, he ſecured himſelf againſt any diverſions from the Scots, by a match between Cecily, his ſecond daughter, and the king of Scotland's eldeſt ſon; and this marriage, the firſt overture of which was made, in the beginning of the year, was, at length, concluded, the 30th of July, and, October the 18th, the young prince and princeſs were contracted, by proxies. Some days after, the truce of Newcaſtle, which was to laſt, till 1519, was again ratified, at Edinburgh; but, the affianced couple being yet too young, it was agreed, that they ſhould be married, as ſoon as they were both of fit age; and that, in the interim, Edward ſhould pay, at ſeveral times, his daughter's dowry, conſiſting of 20,000 marks ſterling.

1475. He raiſes money, by way of benevolence. Hall. Habington.

Edward, having, thus, guarded againſt the Scots, carried on his preparations, with great hopes that his deſigns would prove ſucceſsful; and, the parliamentary ſubſidy ſeeming inſufficient, or part of it, perhaps, being applied to other uſes, he borrowed money of all his wealthy ſubjects. Some contributed chearfully; others were gained by the king's flatteries; and ſome dreaded his diſpleaſure, and, perhaps, ſome violence, in caſe of a refuſal. In general, few dared to diſobey; and this ſort of aid was called by the new name of benevolence, to intimate that private perſons had granted it, freely and of their own accord. In the mean time, theſe loans, raiſed without the authority of parliament, had a very dangerous tendency; yet no murmurs were heard, ſince it was to make war with France. It is reported, that Edward himſelf asking a rich widow, what ſhe would lend him, ſhe replied, "She could not refuſe 20l. ſterling to a

"prince

1475. "prince who borrowed, with ſo good a "grace;" and the king, as much pleaſed with the lady's politeneſs as her preſent, very courteouſly gave her a kiſs, which ſhe looked upon, as ſuch an honour, that ſhe doubled the ſum ſhe had promiſed.

He deſigns 3000 men for Bretagne. Act. Pub.

Amongſt the new-raiſed troops, 3000 men were deſigned for the duke of Bretagne, purſuant to a ſecret treaty between him and Edward; yet that prince had lately changed the truce with Lewis into a perpetual peace. However, being informed of the league, between Edward and the duke of Burgundy, he deſired to be included, but ſecretly, leſt he ſhould be oppreſſed, before his allies were ready; and the lords Audley and Duras were to command the ſuccours intended for Bretagne.

He paſſes over to Calais:

The army being in a readineſs to depart, Edward embarqued, at Sandwich, the 20th of June, having appointed the prince of Wales, his ſon, only five years old, guardian of the realm, in his abſence; and, according to a certain hiſtorian, he found, at Dover, 500 tranſports ſent by the duke of Burgundy, which is improbable; and Mezerai, on the contrary, tells us, that the Engliſh troops ſpent three weeks, in paſſing to Calais; which ſhews, that there were but few veſſels, or elſe a very great number of troops. Philip de Commines aſſures us, that no king of England ever led into France ſuch a powerful army; but this is an hyperbolical ſpeech, or not exactly true; ſince it is evident that this army was far from being ſo numerous, as that led by Edward III. into France, a little before the treaty of Bretigny. However, it is not eaſy to know the preciſe number of the troops, ſince the hiſtorians only relate that of the horſe, without any mention of the foot; but, if we judge by the uſual proportion, in thoſe days, when the cavalry was much more relied on than the infantry, this army was not ſo great, as it is pretended, ſince there were only 1500 men at arms, and 15000 archers, on horſeback; moreover, by Edward's treaty with the duke of Burgundy, he was to find no more than 10,000 men. In fine, it will appear from the ſequel, that he made peace with Lewis, without opening the campaign, when he perceived that he could not depend upon the duke of Burgundy's aid; which, doubtleſs, he would not have done, before he had rendered himſelf formidable by ſome exploit, had he been ſo ſuperior, as he is repreſented.

He proclaims war by a herald. Lewis's anſwer,

Edward, arriving at Calais, ſent a herald to Lewis, to ſummon him to reſtore the whole kingdom of France, and, in caſe of refuſal, to proclaim war againſt him; but Lewis, hearing the herald, in private, told him he had received certain advice, that Edward was not come, of his own accord, to make war, but by the inſtigation of the duke of Burgundy and the conſtable de St Pol, who, he might aſſure his maſter, would both deceive him; and then, after asking him ſome queſtions, which led the herald to ſay, that, when he made any offers of peace, he ſhould apply to the lords Howard and Stanley, he preſented him with

and preſent to the herald.

300 crowns, and 30 yards of velvet, to make him a robe. He did not, doubtleſs, expect to reap great advantages from the herald, by this liberality, ſince the man was a ſtranger to his maſter's inward reſolution; but his intent was to ſhew Edward's courtiers, what they might expect from him, for more important ſervices; and the herald took care to magnify his preſent, and relate to the lord Howard, who was the king's chief favourite, what paſſed between Lewis and him. 1475.

Edward hears no news of the duke of Burgundy, Hall,

In the mean time, Edward, advancing into Picardy, in hopes of meeting the duke of Burgundy, found not ſo much as a ſingle man from him; and, ſurpriſed at ſo ſeemingly ſtrange a proceeding, he ſent to the duke, who was ſtill before Nuz, to know the reaſon; but it will be neceſſary briefly to mention, here, the ſtate of the duke of Burgundy's affairs.

The ſtate of the duke of Burgundy's affairs; Mezerai. Commin.

The duke was intent upon the ſiege of Nuz, hoping to take it, and Cologne too, before Edward's arrival in France; but, the emperor approaching with an army four times as ſtrong as the duke's, tho' without offering him battle, the beſiegers were ſo harraſſed, that the ſiege was retarded; and yet the duke obſtinately continued it to ſhew, that the emperor, with all his forces, was unable to raiſe it. Nothing could be more advantageous to the king of France, or more detrimental to the duke's affairs, than this vain-glorious obſtinacy; for, firſt of all, it prevented his joining the king of England. In the interim, Sigiſmund, duke of Auſtria, diſpoſſeſs'd him of the earldom of Ferette; and the duke of Lorraine ravaged Luxemburgh. Upon the expiration of his truce with France, Lewis made himſelf maſter of Roye, Corbie, and Montdidier; and, in fine, when it was too late, and he was within eight days of taking of the place, preſſed by Edward's inſtances, he agreed, that it ſhould be delivered to a legate, to be diſpoſed of, at the pope's pleaſure. After the raiſing of the ſiege, the duke's army was ſo unfit for a march, that, inſtead of ſpeedily joining the Engliſh, it was put into ſummer quarters; and then he went himſelf, with a very ſmall train, to excuſe himſelf to Edward; but it was not eaſy for the king to digeſt his negligence, in ſuch an important affair. He began, from that time, to perceive, that he was engaged in the war, for the intereſt of others, whereas he had, hitherto, imagined the contrary; and the duke of Burgundy's precaution, to admit but a few Engliſh, at once, into Peronne, confirmed the king's ſuſpicions. At laſt, he was entirely undeceived by the behaviour of the conſtable de St. Pol, commander in St. Quentin; who, being one of the chief promoters of the war, becauſe he ſolely founded his greatneſs upon the diſſenſion, between the king of France and the duke of Burgundy, had poſitively promiſed, to deliver St. Quentin to the king of England. Upon this aſſurance, the duke of Burgundy would have conducted Edward into the place, to induce him to be patient, upon the receipt of ſo good a pledge; but, upon their approach, they were fired upon from the town; and, at the ſame time, a body of horſe, ſallying out, killed ſome Engliſh ſoldiers, who were moſt eager to enter,

expecting

1475. an eaſy admittance. In all probability, the duke of Burgundy himſelf was deceived, upon this occaſion, by the conſtable; for it is unlikely, that he ſhould, on purpoſe, cauſe ſuch an affront to be put upon a prince, whom he ſtill wanted, and who had him in his power. However, he did all that was poſſible, to excuſe the conſtable, and feed the king's hopes; but, finding that Edward, inſtead of giving credit to his words, bitterly reproached him, he left him, next day, under the pretence of haſtening his troops; and, perhaps, he was apprehenſive, that Edward might purſue his reſentment.

Edward, being, thus, deſerted by the duke of Burgundy and the conſtable, and not hearing that the duke of Bretagne made any motion, or that there was the appearance of any inſurrections, in France, in his favour, was extremely embarraſſed; and, in the interim, a French priſoner, the only one taken, ſince the arrival of the Engliſh army, being releaſed, by the king's order, the lords Howard and Stanley charged him, to preſent their reſpects to the king, his maſter. The priſoner diſcharging his commiſſion, Lewis was inclined to believe, that this compliment was made him, deſignedly, calling to mind what the Engliſh herald told him about theſe lords; for he perceived, that the court of England deſired to enter into a treaty, but would not make the firſt advances; and, for his part, not being ſo ſcrupulous, he reſolved to improve this ſort of overture. Philip de Commines affirms, that he cauſed a perſon of no note, but of good ſenſe, to be dreſſed, like a herald, and, having fully inſtructed him, ſent him to the Engliſh army, to demand a ſafe-conduct for ambaſſadors, and addreſs himſelf, with that view, to the lords Howard and Stanley; which pretended herald, being admitted into the king's preſence, repreſented to him, "That "he was ordered by the king, his maſter, to "tell him, that the war, between their two "kingdoms, muſt neceſſarily prove deſtruc-"tive to both; and that the mutual trade of "the two nations was, on the contrary, a "manifeſt advantage, which ought to be che-"riſhed. Then he excuſed the king his "maſter's countenancing the earl of Warwick, "aſſuring him, that it did not proceed from "ill-will to Edward, but to the duke of Bur-"gundy, his implacable enemy. He added, "that the duke of Burgundy's and the con-"ſtable's inſincerity was ſo glaring, that it "was needleſs to mention it, ſince he was "no ſtranger to the effects; that he was "come in arms into a country, where he had "neither caſtles, nor friends, and he referred "it to his judgment, whether the conqueſt "of France was ſo eaſy, as he had been made "to believe; that, however, the king, his maſ-"ter, being ſenſible, that ſo great an arma-"ment could not be made, without a vaſt ex-"pence, was very willing ſo to give him ſatiſ-"faction, as that he ſhould have reaſon to "be contented; and that, therefore, he de-"manded a ſafe-conduct for ambaſſadors, with "a train of 100 horſe, that they might treat "in a proper place, with thoſe of England, 1475. "about a firm and laſting peace, between the "two kings and their ſubjects.

Lewis offers a peace. Commin.

This propoſal being very agreeable to Edward, in his preſent circumſtances, the herald was diſmiſſed, with a preſent and the deſired ſafe-conduct; and, the ſame day, or the next, Edward called a council, at which were preſent all the lords of the army, to the number of 18; wherein it was reſolved, almoſt unanimouſly, that the lord Howard and three others ſhould confer with the king of France's ambaſſadors; and they were fully impowered to conclude a peace, upon theſe terms, That Lewis ſhould pay the king, within a fortnight, 75000 crowns, and, thenceforward, 50,000, yearly, at two payments, during the lives of the two kings. 2. That the king of France ſhould marry the dauphin, his ſon, to the king's eldeſt, or ſecond, daughter, and allow his daughter-in-law 60,000 livres a year. Upon theſe conditions, the ambaſſadors were to promiſe, in the king's name, that he would return into England, with his troops, directly after the receipt of the 75000 crowns; to conclude a treaty of amity and alliance, between the two kings, with a promiſe of mutual aſſiſtance againſt their rebellious ſubjects; and, laſtly, to ſign a truce, for ſeven years.

The conditons offered to the king of France.

The plenipotentiaries of the two monarchs meeting, near Amiens, at almoſt an equal diſtance from the two armies, the treaty was concluded, the 28th, or 29th, of Auguſt, as Edward deſired, without any material alteration; and, every thing being, thus, ſettled, ſeparate writings were drawn up, on each particular article of the treaty.

The treaty of Amiens or Pequigny. Act. Pub.

By the firſt, the two kings engaged to decide all their differences by arbitrators, viz. the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the duke of Clarence, for the king of England, and, for the king of France, the archbiſhop of Lyons and the earl of Dunois; moreover, Edward promiſed to quit the French territories, upon the receipt of the 75000 crowns, without doing any damage, and to leave hoſtages, for the performance of his word.

The ſecond related to the ſeven years truce, in which were included all the allies of both the kings, and expreſly the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, if they deſired the ſame.

The third contained a mutual engagement of brotherly friendſhip, between the two kings, and expreſs articles, about the dauphin's marriage with Eliſabeth, daughter to Edward.

The fourth was, in the form of letters patent, by which Lewis promiſed to pay, annually, to Edward, during their lives, 50,000 crowns; which the Engliſh authors call a tribute, tho' the letters patent do not ſpecify, under what title this yearly penſion was to be paid. Some affirm, that it was limited to nine years; but we do not find any other limitation, than the lives of the two kings.

Laſtly, Edward engaged to releaſe queen Margaret, for 50,000 crowns, which the king of France was to pay, within five years; and it appears from the Collection of the Publick Acts, that Margaret was enlarged, the beginning

1475. ginning of November, this year, Lewis XI. having punctually paid her ranſom.

The duke of Burgundy falls out with Edward.

The duke of Burgundy, hearing that the two kings had begun to treat, immediately, left his army, to which he was returned, and made all poſſible haſte, in hopes of preventing the blow; but, finding the truce was already ſigned, he fell upon Edward, with bitter reproaches; to which Edward gave a ſuitable anſwer, at the ſame time, telling him, that he had taken care to include him in the truce. However, the duke fiercely replied, that he had no occaſion for his mediation, and valued it ſo little, that, if he treated for himſelf, it ſhould not be, till three months after his arrival in England. Thus, parting extremely incenſed againſt each other, the duke retired into his country; and the conſtable de St Pol did all that was poſſible, to perſuade Edward to violate the truce, offering to deliver up St. Quentin, and lend him 50,000 crowns; but Edward was far from renewing the war, for his ſake, and confiding in his promiſes, after having been ſo manifeſtly deceived.

Commin.

Commin. Before Edward's departure for England, it was judged proper, that the two kings ſhould have an interview, upon Pequigny-bridge, with a bar, or grate, between them; and Lewis came firſt to the place, attended with the cardinal of Bourbon, and five other lords. Edward alſo arrived, afterwards, with a few attendants; and having both ſwore to obſerve the late treaty, Lewis, inviting Edward to Paris, told him, that he would procure him agreeable diverſions with the fair ladies of that city; and if he treſpaſſed upon his chaſtity, the cardinal of Bourbon ſhould be his confeſſor, who would eaſily abſolve him. After ſome other railleries; Lewis made a ſign to the lords that were with him, to retire; and the Engliſh alſo did the ſame. The two kings, being alone, talked, a conſiderable while, together; and it was afterwards known, that the conſtable and the duke of Burgundy were the ſubjects of their diſcourſe. As for the conſtable, Edward would not be concerned for him; and, as to Burgundy, Lewis asking him, how he ſhould act, if that prince refuſed to be included in the truce, Edward replied, that he might do, as he pleaſed, if the duke ſhould reject another offer; but, as for the duke of Bretagne, he aſſured him, that he would aſſiſt him, if attacked, to the utmoſt of his power. Lewis thought it expedient to drop that ſubject; and, in fine, they parted very good friends.

The conference of the two kings, at Pequigny.

Lewis civilly refuſes Edward's viſit. Commin.

This interview being over, Lewis went to Amiens, where the lord Howard followed him, as an hoſtage; and, whilſt Lewis was waſhing his hands, before ſupper, Howard whiſpered him in his ear, that he would undertake to perſuade the king, his maſter, to take a journey to Paris; to which Lewis returned no anſwer. Howard often gave hints, to the ſame purpoſe, at table, without the king's ſeeming to take any notice; yet he cauſed him to be afterwards told, that the war, he was about to wage with the duke of Burgundy, not permitting him to go to Paris, he was extremely ſorry, that he could not enjoy the honour deſigned him by the king. Philip de Commines remarks, on this occaſion, that Lewis dreaded nothing more, than to ſee Edward reliſh France, nor deſired any thing, more paſſionately, than his return into England. He was ſo apprehenſive, that Edward would repent of the truce, that he privately beſtowed penſions upon his principal counſellors, to induce them to keep him in the reſolution to obſerve it; and Commines could relate theſe things, with certainty, ſince he was, then, in Lewis's ſervice and confidence. He likewiſe adds, that the duke of Glouceſter, who was againſt the truce, waiting upon the king of France, was received with extraordinary reſpect; and that the king omitted nothing, to gain ſuch of Edward's courtiers, as were in any credit, to his intereſt. The Engliſh army approaching Amiens, Lewis ordered the gates to be kept open, and that the publick inns ſhould entertain, at free coſt, all the Engliſh that came there; moreover, he ſent to the king of England a preſent of 300 waggon-loads of wine, for the uſe of his army; ſo deſirous was he to gain the hearts of the Engliſh, leſt ſome one of them ſhould make Edward ſenſible of his error. This preſent occaſioned it to be ſaid, that he ſent home the Engliſh, with cart-loads of wine; and, at length, all Lewis's fears vaniſhed, with the departure of the Engliſh, who went away, as an Engliſh hiſtorian obſerves, extremely well pleaſed with the French gold and wine; adding, that the penſions, aſſigned to Edward's principal courtiers, amounted, yearly, to 16000 crowns.

Lewis gives penſions to the Engliſh. Commin.

The duke of Burgundy, unwilling to deſire to be included in the truce, made by Edward, without his privity, ſtood out, for ſome time, and, at laſt, accepted of a ſeparate truce, offered him by Lewis; but, as for the conſtable, who had deceived the three princes, and been the chief author of their diviſion, he was, at length, abandoned by all, and obliged to retire into the duke of Burgundy's dominions, upon the faith of a ſafe-conduct; however, in ſpite of that ſecurity, he was delivered by the duke to the king of France, who commanded him to be beheaded; a neceſſary leſſon for thoſe that labour to ſow diſcord among princes!

The conſtable is beheaded. Commin.

Lewis would have been glad, that the duke of Bretagne had been, thus, ſacrificed to him; but that prince had in his hands a pledge, that enſured Edward's protection, or elſe that monarch would have regarded him no more than the duke of Burgundy; namely, the earl of Richmond, who, tho' abſent, gave the king of England the greateſt uneaſineſs. If the duke of Bretagne had permitted that prince and the earl of Pembroke, his uncle, to eſcape, they might, in time, have revived the Lancaſtrian party, and, perhaps, have forced Edward to hazard a 13th battle, to ſupport himſelf on the throne; and, it was, indeed, on this account, that he told Lewis, who ſtrenuouſly preſſed him, ſeveral times, to deſert

The reaſon of Edward's ſtanding by the duke of Bretagne.

1475. the duke of Bretagne, that, on the contrary, he would defend him, to the utmoſt of his power.

1476. Edward demands the earl of Richmond of the duke of Bretagne.

This open demonſtration of friendſhip, for the duke of Bretagne, leading Edward to conclude, that the duke would rejoice at an opportunity, to ſhew his acknowledgment, he ſent ambaſſadors to him, under the pretence of renewing their truce; and very few difficulties occurred in this negotiation. The duke very readily agreed to confirm the truce, tho' often violated by the Engliſh; and he even deſiſted from his demand of 50,000 crowns, for the damages ſuſtained by his ſubjects. The king, on his part, dropped his demands upon him, for the armament made in his favour; and, every thing being, thus, upon the terms of a perfect good underſtanding, between the two princes, the ambaſſadors, acquainting the duke with the main buſineſs of their ambaſſy, repreſented to him, that the king, their maſter, was ardently deſirous, entirely to extinguiſh the flames of the two factions, which had been ſo long kindled, in England; that, as the earl of Richmond, now in Bretagne, was the only ſurviving perſon of the houſe of Lancaſter, he deſigned to marry him to one of his daughters, in order to unite the two houſes; and that, therefore, he requeſted him to ſend him the earl, that he might give him marks of his favour, and ſo manifeſt to all his ſubjects his earneſt deſire of procuring them a ſolid tranquillity.

The duke gives up the earl, and repents of it.

The duke of Bretagne, being a good prince, judging of others by himſelf, did not imagine, that Edward concealed evil deſigns, under theſe appearances of moderation; wherefore, he ordered the earl of Richmond to be put into the hands of the ambaſſadors, to be conducted to England; tho' ſome affirm, that a large ſum of money, preſented to the duke by theſe ambaſſadors, rendered their inſtances more effectual. However this be, they departed, with their prey, to embarque at St. Malo's; but, whilſt they were on the road, one of the duke's counſellors intimated to him, that, by this proceeding, he would become eternally infamous; that, beſides, he could not, in conſcience, deliver up a prince, who believed himſelf ſafe, under his protection, to his moſt avowed enemy, whoſe ſole, intent, in demanding him, was to deſtroy him, under the pretence of an honourable ſettlement; that he would be accountable to God, for this action, whatever gloſs he might put upon it, in the eyes of men; and he conjured him to conſider, what honour, juſtice, and religion required of him, on the preſent occaſion. Whether this remonſtrance convinced the duke of what he had not, hitherto, fully known, or ſtung him with remorſe, for what he had done, he, forthwith, diſpatched Peter Landais, his favourite, to St. Malo's, to recover the earl of Richmond from the ambaſſadors, if they were not, as yet, embarqued; who, arriving, juſt as they were going on board the veſſel that was to carry them to England, immediately, gave private orders, to aſſiſt the two priſoners to make their eſcape, whilſt himſelf conferred with the ambaſſadors; and, the conference being over, the two earls were found to have taken ſanctuary, in a church, from whence Landais pretended, that they could not be removed. The ambaſſadors complained of this fraud; but, after ſome frivolous excuſes, he expreſly told them, that the duke, his maſter, upon ſecond thoughts, apprehended that he could not deliver up the earl to the king, without fixing an indelible ſtain on his honour; yet that he would promiſe to guard him ſo carefully, that Edward ſhould never receive any damage. The ambaſſadors, being the weakeſt, were forced to be ſatisfied with this promiſe; which, in ſome degree, alleviated their vexation, at this diſappointment; and thus, by a ſort of miracle, the earl of Richmond eſcaped the danger to which he was expoſed, Providence having preſerved him, in order to place him, hereafter, on the throne of England. 1476.

Edward's alliance with Denmark. Act. Pub.

The reſt of the year 1476 affords us nothing remarkable, with reſpect to the affairs of England, except a negotiation to renew the alliance with Denmark, the death of the archbiſhop of York, at Guiſnes, where he was confined, and ſome other inconſiderable events; but it will be neceſſary to relate thoſe of the duke of Burgundy, which became of great conſequence, both to England and France.

The affairs of the duke of Burgundy. Commin.

The duke had accepted of the truce offered by Lewis, not ſo much becauſe he was afraid of his arms, as from a deſire to carry war into Germany; for he wanted to be revenged on the duke of Lorrain, the Swiſs, and the duke of Auſtria; but this would have been impracticable, if the war with France had continued. In October, 1475, preſently after ſigning the truce with Lewis XI, he attacked the duke of Lorrain, and conquered his whole duchy, without much reſiſtance, except at Nanci, which held out a ſiege of two months; and, upon the conqueſt of Lorrain, he projected to humble the Swiſs, who had declared againſt him, whilſt he was employed in the ſiege of Nuz. He uſed, for a pretence, the injury they had done to James of Savoy, earl of Romont, in ſeizing his territories; but the Swiſs, who, as yet, had made no great figure, in Europe, perceiving the impending ſtorm, humbly ſued for a peace. However, the duke, being inexorable, leaving Lorrain, in March, 1476, paſſed through Burgundy, and threw himſelf into the country of Vaux, where he took three or four towns; and then he beſieged Granſon, in which were 7 or 800 Swiſs, reſolved upon making a gallant defence; but, the town, at length, capitulating, the duke broke the articles, and put the garriſon to the ſword. In the interim, a body of Swiſs advanced, to relieve the beſieged, but came too late; yet the duke, contrary to the opinion of his council, determined to meet this body, which was ſtill in the narrow paſſages of the mountains; and, with this view, he detached 100 archers, to ſeize a certain paſs, and, preſently after, marched himſelf, to ſupport them. Theſe archers, meeting the Swiſs coming out of the mountains,

1476. mountains, ſpeedily retreated towards the body, which was marching after them; upon which, the duke's army, concluding that the horſemen were repulſed by the enemy, being ſeized with a panick, took to flight, nor could they be rallied by the duke, who loſt only ſeven men at arms; but all his baggage became a prey to the enemy.

His defeat, at Morat. Commin.

This ill ſucceſs not diſheartening the duke, he aſſembled his ſcattered troops, and ſoon rendered them fit for action; for, about 15 days after, he took the field, and laid ſiege to Morat, a ſmall town not far from Bern; but the Swiſs, receiving ſupplies from ſome neighbouring princes, marched, to the number of 30,000 men, to fight him; and the battle was fought, three weeks after the rout of Granſon, wherein the duke was entirely defeated, with the loſs of 8000 men.

His concern at it.

The duke was ſo extremely concerned at this terrible misfortune, that he ſickened, with grief; and, according to Philip de Commines, he was even ſomewhat diſordered in mind. He continued, ſix weeks, at la Riviere, in which town he kept himſelf, as it were, concealed; and none durſt venture to ſpeak to him, to mitigate his ſorrow. In the mean while, ſeveral of the princes, who before were his friends, declared againſt him; and the duke of Lorrain, appearing before Nanci, took the place, upon terms, without the duke of Burgundy's ſtirring to its relief. At length, when it was too late, and the town ſurrendered, the duke of Burgundy approached; and, his enemy being retired, he undertook the ſiege, where he met with difficulties which made him loſe a great deal of time, and paved the way for his ruin.

1477. His defeat and death, at Nanci. Commin.

In the interim, the duke of Lorrain drew together forces, from all quarters, Lewis XI. finding him money, for their ſubſiſtence; and he no ſooner thought himſelf ſufficiently ſtrong, than he approached Nanci, and encamped, at St. Nicholas, expecting the effect of his correſpondence, in the enemy's army, with Campobache, a Neapolitan captain, in whom the duke of Burgundy entirely confided. This city being now reduced to extremity, the duke of Lorrain advanced, to join battle; when Campobache, on a ſudden, deſerted his maſter, with about 200 lances, and went over to his enemy; and he left in the army 14 men, whom he had bribed, to alarm the troops, during the engagement, and kill the duke of Burgundy, if they had an opportunity. The battle being fought, on the 5th of January, 1477, the duke of Burgundy's army was routed, and himſelf ſlain, in the 46th year of his age; after he had reigned, nine years and a half, amidſt continual troubles, employed, one while, in defending himſelf againſt the open or ſecret attacks of Lewis XI, and, at another, in executing impracticable projects, which argued more ambition and raſhneſs, than prudence and counſel.

The duke of Burgundy's death cauſed a great alteration, not only in the affairs of the Low-Countries, but alſo in thoſe of the neighbouring princes; nay, it may be ſaid to be the firſt and principal ſource of moſt of the wars, that have, ever ſince, infeſted Europe. The duke of Burgundy left only one daughter, named Maria, who was heireſs to his large dominions, and whom he had, in ſome meaſure, promiſed to Maximilian of Auſtria, ſon to the emperor Frederick. This princeſs, about 19 years of age, found herſelf not only abandoned by all the late duke her father's friends, but alſo expoſed a prey to Lewis XI. who, directly, deprived her of Burgundy, with the towns on the Somme, and even projected to diſpoſſeſs her of all the reſt of her dominions. In this preſſing extremity, her only refuge was the aſſiſtance of the king of England, whoſe intereſt it was to oppoſe the growth of Lewis's power; but, Edward's whole council being bribed and corrupted by the king of France, Maria could procure, from that quarter, only empty wiſhes, for her proſperity, and inſignificant compliments; and, to compleat her misfortune, the young princeſs was likewiſe expoſed to the tyranny of the Gantois, who, ſeizing her perſon, removed all her counſellors, beheaded two, and gave her a new council entirely compoſed of their creatures.

1477. Alterations cauſed by the death of the duke of Burgundy.

Several matches are propoſed for Maria. Commin.

In the interim, ſeveral matches were propoſed for this princeſs; and all, except herſelf, were conſulted, about the choice of a husband. Some were for her eſpouſing the dauphin of France; but Lewis, being already under engagements to Edward, durſt not diſoblige him, at this juncture. Others would have had her married to the duke of Gueldres; and ſome to a German prince. In the mean time, Lewis enlarged his conqueſts; and, in May, 1477, the emperor Frederick, ſending an ambaſſy to Gant, to renew the treaty about the marriage of his ſon, Maximilian, with Maria, ducheſs dowager of Burgundy, mother-in-law of the princeſs, ſhe deſired her brother, Edward, to ſend ambaſſadors into Flanders, to aſſiſt her in that affair; and Edward conſented; but he would not engage to aid Maria againſt the king of France, tho' he was ſtrongly preſſed by the Flemings and the duke of Bretagne. On the contrary, he conſented to prolong the ſeven years truce concluded, at Amiens, till a year after the death of one of the two kings; and, thus, Edward acted, in direct contradiction to the intereſt of England, in ſuffering the advancement of France, and the ruin of the houſe of Burgundy. He ſtudiouſly avoided a rupture with France, chiefly becauſe, firſt, being grown corpulent and heavy, he was no longer able to bear the hardſhips of war; ſecondly, his principal counſellors were penſioners to France; and, thirdly, having promiſed his daughter, Eliſabeth, to the dauphin, he was unwilling, to obſtruct the marriage. Lewis, on the other hand, was extremely careful to keep him in this diſpoſition, by punctually paying him the penſion of 50,000 crowns, and 10,000, yearly, for queen Margaret's ranſom.

Thus,

1477. Thus, Maria of Burgundy, being forſaken by all, whoſe intereſt it was to ſupport her, had no other refuge than to marry prince Maximilian, tho' ſhe could expect no great aſſiſtance from him; and, the marriage being ſolemnized, in July, Lewis XI, out of regard to the emperor, granted the new duke of Burgundy a truce, for a year, and reſtored him ſome towns, in Haynault, which he had ſeized. Soon after, he received ambaſſadors from England, who came to ſettle the arbitration agreed on, concerning the differences between the two crowns; but he was, then, ſo intent upon other affairs, that he was obliged to defer this to a more proper opportunity.

Maria eſpouſes Maximilian of Auſtria. Mezerai.

1478. The beginning of the year 1478 was very quiet, with reſpect to the general affairs I have mentioned; but, at the ſame time, there fell out, at the court of England, an event which entirely engroſſed the attention of the publick; namely, the tragical death of the duke of Clarence. This prince was proud and ambitious, of ungovernable paſſions, of a fickle temper, taking no care to conceal his ſentiments; and, in a word, of a very mean genius. Whilſt the king, his brother, remained unmarried, he entertained hopes of ſitting, hereafter, on the throne, tho' it was very improbable, that Edward would always continue in a ſtate of celibacy; but, the king's marriage deſtroying this proſpect, he was diſpleaſed with the king himſelf, and eſpecially with the queen and her family. The duke, by imprudently diſcovering his diſcontent, drew on himſelf the averſion of the queen, and her creatures, who did not fail to do him ill offices; ſo that Edward began, by degrees, to neglect him, and took no care to procure him advantages, which may eaſily be done by a king for his brothers. The duke ſo reſented this contempt, that he did not ſcruple to join with the earl of Warwick, to dethrone his own brother; tho' he repented of it, afterwards, and this repentance, as hath been obſerved, proved Edward's preſervation. He expected, that a reward would quickly follow ſuch a ſignal ſervice, reflecting only upon what he had acted, in the behalf of the king, without conſidering the danger to which he had expoſed him; but Edward, prejudiced againſt him, on the contrary, believed, that the bare pardon of the injury was a ſufficient recompence for his ſervice. Theſe ſentiments were inſtilled into him by his queen, who, having loſt the earl of Rivers, her father, during the rebellion, could not help conſidering the authors of it, as the objects of her vengeance; and the duke of Glouceſter did all that was poſſible, ſecretly, to ſow diſſenſion between his brothers; who was a prince of greater ambition than the duke of Clarence, but he purſued his ends by deep and artful contrivances, which rendered his ways imperceptible; for he always thought, before he ſpoke, whereas the duke of Clarence ruined himſelf, by too freely ſpeaking his mind. It was difficult for two brothers, of ſuch oppoſite tempers, to love one another; but, in their diſcord, the duke of Clarence uſed no ceremony, whilſt Glouceſter took care never to give him publickly any advantage; yet he gave him ſecret ſtabs, the more unavoidable, as they were given by an unſuſpected hand. All the hiſtorians agree, that, from this time, the duke of Glouceſter projected to ſecure the crown, after the king's deceaſe; yet this undertaking ſeemed to be extremely difficult, ſince his two elder brothers had children; but his ambition led him to think it not impracticable, if he proceeded, by degrees. The firſt ſtep was to diſpatch the duke of Clarence; and, with this view, he endeavoured to render him odious to the king, by repreſenting him, as a ſecret enemy, who privately laboured to ſupplant his children. The duke of Clarence's raſh expreſſions were greatly ſubſervient to his deſign; and, on the other hand, the queen, who had a great influence over the king, did not fail to confirm his ſuſpicions. 1478.

The death of the duke of Clarence.

Matters ſtanding, thus, the king, as he was hunting in a park belonging to Thomas Burdet, a confident of the duke of Clarence, chanced to kill a white buck, in which that gentleman exceedingly delighted; and ſuch was his concern, for the death of his favourite buck, that, in the firſt tranſports of his paſſion, he ſwore, that he wiſhed the horns in the belly of him that killed it; upon which, he was accuſed of high-treaſon, condemned, and executed, within the ſpace of two days. Some affirm, that his imprecation related only to the perſon that adviſed the king to hunt in his park; but, however this be, doubtleſs, the deſign of thoſe, who ſo hotly proſecuted that unfortunate gentleman, was, to induce the duke of Clarence to expoſe himſelf, by ſome raſh proceeding; of which his inconſiderate, violent, and haughty temper afforded great aſſurance. Accordingly, the duke, then in Ireland, upon his return to court, talked very boldly to the king, of his friend's death, and bitterly complained of his diſregard for a brother, who reſtored him to the throne; and, in fine, he was ſo far tranſported with rage, that he threatened to be revenged; moreover, after leaving the king, he dropped ſome other no leſs imprudent expreſſions, intimating that his brother was a baſtard, and conſequently had no right to the crown. As nothing could be more agreeable to his enemies, than to ſee him, thus, run into their ſnare, they ſo exaſperated the king againſt him, that he reſolved upon his deſtruction; and, with this view, he held a council, entirely conſiſting of the duke of Clarence's enemies, wherein it was agreed to apprehend him, accuſe him of high-treaſon, and bring the accuſation before the parliament, then aſſembled. All this was, immediately, executed, that the duke might not have time to repent, and beg the king's pardon; for, otherwiſe, he would have come to himſelf, and implored the king's mercy; and his unguarded expreſſions muſt have been conſidered, only as the effect of a ſudden paſſion, which did not deſerve ſuch a rigorous puniſhment. His affair being brought before the parliament, he was accuſed of ſeveral crimes, under the eight following articles. I. By his ſeditious diſcourſes, he had attempted to draw upon the king the hatred

Stow. Habington.

1478. hatred of his ſubjects, by charging him with unjuſtly putting Burdet to death. II. He had bribed ſome of his domeſticks, and others, to ſpread this report. III. He had alledged, that the king practiſed necromancy, to know future events. IV. He had taxed the king with poiſoning innocent perſons, whom he could not legally deſtroy. V. He had ſaid, that the king was not ſon to the duke of York, but of an adulterer, whom the ducheſs, their mother, admitted to her bed. VI. By inferring from hence, that the crown was fallen to him, he had diſcovered his deſign to ſeize it, by requiring many perſons to ſwear fealty to him and his heirs, without any exception of their allegiance to the king. VII. He had accuſed the king of uſing magick, to take away his life, by cauſing him to conſume away, like a taper. VIII. He had openly ſhewn his intent to dethrone the king, in procuring an authentick copy of an act of parliament paſſed, during the earl of Warwick's uſurpation, by which the crown was adjudged to him, upon the deceaſe of Henry VI, and his iſſue male.

All the hiſtorians own, that it would have been extremely difficult to prove all theſe articles of impeachment, had not the king declared himſelf a party, and the queen and the duke of Glouceſter made uſe of ſecret practices, to have him found guilty; but, however this be, he was condemned to die; and it is extremely remarkable, that, as one of the principal reaſons of his condemnation was his affirming, that the king was not the duke of York's ſon, that very circumſtance, afterwards, ſerved for a foundation to the duke of Glouceſter's aſcending the throne, to the prejudice of Edward's children. In this, we muſt admire the blindneſs of men, and the juſtice of God; for Edward makes uſe of a falſe accuſation to put his brother to death, and thereby occaſions ſuſpicions, which, hereafter, prove the ruin of his own children. The duke of Clarence being condemned, all the favour he could obtain, of the king his brother, was, to chuſe the manner of his death; who, to avoid appearing, on a ſcaffold, deſired to be drowned, in a butt of malmſey *. He left one ſon, called Edward, who inherited, from his grandfather by the mother's ſide, the title of earl of Warwick, and a daughter, named Margaret, who was counteſs of Salisbury. As the death of the duke of Clarence raiſed, among the people, a general indignation, and murmurs againſt the king, his body was expoſed, in St. Paul's church; and it was given out, that he died of immoderate grief; but this artifice was incapable of amuſing the people, who too manifeſtly ſaw, in the condemnation of that prince, the terrible effects of his enemy's malice.

Edward creates his eldeſt ſon prince of Wales, and the youngeſt duke of York. Sandf.

About three months before, the king had created Edward, his eldeſt ſon, prince of Wales, and his ſecond ſon, Richard, duke of York; but the rejoicings at court, on this occaſion, did not ſo much expreſs the joy of the favourites, for the promotion of the two princes, as their ſatisfaction to ſee the project of the duke of Clarence's ruin ſo near accompliſhed. Edward did not foreſee, that his unjuſt plot againſt his brother was the firſt ſtep towards the ruin of his own ſons; for, had the duke of Clarence been alive, the duke of Glouceſter would never have thought of ſacrificing them, as he, afterwards, did, to his ambition. 1478.

Shortly after the death of the duke of Clarence, the term agreed to by Lewis XI. and Edward, to decide their differences, by arbitration, was farther prolonged; and Edward appointed the duke of Glouceſter one of the arbitrators, in the room of the duke of Clarence. Act. Pub.

An ambaſſy from Lewis XI. to Edward. Act. Pub.

During theſe tranſactions, in England, the truce between Lewis and Maximilian being expired, Maximilian entered Burgundy, and very eaſily took ſeveral places, becauſe of the people's affection to the houſe of Burgundy; and, probably, he would, then, have taken poſſeſſion of the two Burgundies, if he had received from the emperor, his father, a ſupply ſuitable to his occaſions. This Lewis exceedingly feared; and, as he knew it to be Edward's intereſt to join Maximilian, he did all that was poſſible, to divert him. In July, this year, he ſent a full power to prolong the truce, till 100 years after the death of the two kings, and oblige him to the payment of the annual penſion of 50,000 crowns, whilſt the truce continued; and alſo to prolong, for three years, the term agreed upon, to decide the differences, by arbitrators, and to promiſe, for Lewis and his ſucceſſors, to prolong it, every third year, till all things were ſettled. Upon the ambaſſador's arrival, at London, Edward appointed commiſſioners to treat with him; and, at length, the treaty was concluded, as propoſed by Lewis, tho' not till the 15th of February, 1479.

This negotiation was, in ſome meaſure, retarded, by Edward's deſire to ſecure, firſt, his daughter Eliſabeth's marriage with the dauphin; and, with this view, he diſpatched two ambaſſadors into France, to perform the ceremony of betrothing; but Lewis, in all probability, found ſome excuſe to defer it; who, in the interim, made the ſecond payment of 10,000 crowns, for queen Margaret's ranſom.

Lewis's offer to Edward. Hall.

Thus, Edward, contrary to his own, and the nation's intereſts, ſuffered himſelf to be managed by the king of France, or rather by his own miniſters, bribed by that prince; but Lewis, not ſatisfied with diverting him from aſſiſting the ducheſs of Burgundy, ſent him alſo a propoſal to divide between them that princeſs's dominions, offering him, for his part, Flanders and Brabant. Edward accepted the propoſal, but upon this condition, that, in exchange for the towns conquered, in Flanders, Lewis ſhould give him others, in Picardy, and particularly Boulogne; but Lewis was too jealous of the neighbourhood of the Engliſh, to conſent to that condition; for, if he propoſed to him the conqueſt of Flanders, it was only

* It is ſaid, that, afterwards, when any perſon ſued for a pardon of a condemned malefactor, he would break out into theſe words: "Oh, unfortunate brother, for whoſe life not one creature would make interceſſion!". Hall.

1478. only to engage him in a war with Maximilian and Maria, leſt he ſhould, one time or other, repent his deſerting them.

1479. Edward gives himſelf up to pleaſures.

However, Edward, inſtead of projecting war, entirely abandoned himſelf to his pleaſures, deſigning to paſs the reſidue of his days, in effeminate ſloth, tho' the pleaſures, which he ſo eagerly purſued, were more expenſive to him than the moſt burdenſome war; and, therefore, his coffers being empty, he uſed ſeveral illegal means, to extort money from his ſubjects. The moſt dreadful method was that of cauſing the rich to be accuſed of high-treaſon, in order to confiſcate their eſtates, or exact large ſums, for their pardon; and, in the mean while, he carried on, with ſeveral princes, negotiations, tending to ſecure him the continuance of that repoſe he ſo ardently deſired.

A negotiation with Denmark. Act. Pub.

The firſt of theſe negotiations was with the king of Denmark, their alliance not having been well obſerved, on either ſide; but, at laſt, that prince ſending ambaſſadors to London, it was was confirmed and renewed, and a congreſs appointed, at Hamburgh, to decide all their differences; and one of the conditions of the treaty was, that the Engliſh ſhould not be admitted into Iſeland, without a paſsport from the king of Denmark.

A treaty between Lewis and Edward. Act. Pub.

Two days after the concluſion of this treaty, the French ambaſſador and the king's commiſſioners ſigned that before-mentioned, by which Lewis XI. engaged, for himſelf and ſucceſſors, to pay to the king of England 50,000 crowns, yearly, as well during the lives of the two kings, as 100 years after, to commence, at the death of the ſurvivor; and, next day, was likewiſe ſigned another treaty, prolonging the truce, amity, and good underſtanding between the two kings, during their lives, and between their ſucceſſors, for 100 years, with a promiſe of mutual aſſiſtance againſt their rebellious ſubjects. The other articles were, that if one of the two princes was expelled his kingdom, the other ſhould receive him, and aſſiſt him, with all his forces; that they ſhould enter into no alliance, without a mutual conſent; that the king of France ſhould ratify this treaty, and cauſe it to be confirmed by the ſtates; and that Edward ſhould alſo procure the approbation of the parliament; laſtly, that the dauphin's marriage, with the princeſs Eliſabeth, ſhould be accompliſhed, purſuant to the agreement at Amiens, and this new treaty not be derogatory to the former. We do not find, that Lewis XI. ever ratified this treaty, which, probably, was made only to amuſe Edward; for Lewis knew, that he was obliged to nothing, without a formal ratification; which, doubtleſs, he was reſolved to refuſe, tho' the treaty contained only ſuch articles as were propoſed by himſelf. This was one of Lewis's artifices; and, as it is extremely difficult to guard againſt ſuch, it is moſt adviſable never to enter into any negotiations, with princes of his character.

As Lewis amuſed Edward, with the marriage of Eliſabeth to the dauphin, Maximilian acted, in the ſame manner, to gain him to his intereſts; for, tho' Philip, his ſon, was only a year old, he made an offer to Edward, to marry him to Ann, his third daughter, which he accepted; and, whilſt the marriage-articles were ſettling, the two princes ſent each other letters patent, promiſing not to marry their children, without mutual conſent, during the ſpace of three years.

1479. A project of a marriage between the Philip of Auſtria and Ann, Edward's daughter, and of his daughter Catharine, with the infante of Spain. Act. Pub.

About the ſame time, Edward had thoughts of eſpouſing Catharine, his fourth daughter, to John, infante of Caſtile and Arragon, ſon to king Ferdinand, and Iſabella of Caſtile; nay, the Collection of the Publick Acts ſhews, that ambaſſadors were ſent into Spain, to haſten the treaty, tho' to no purpoſe.

Lewis duly pays the penſion.

In the interim, Lewis duly paid the penſion of 50,000 crowns, as appears from ſeveral acquittances, in the Collection of the Publick Acts; and we alſo find, that, in March, 1480, he compleated the payment of Margaret's ranſom.

He amuſes Edward,

Lewis readily performed all the articles of the treaty of Amiens, except the dauphin's marriage; for which he ſtill found ſome freſh excuſe, tho' he perſiſted in his promiſe to make good that engagement; but Edward, ſurpriſed at all theſe delays, called an extraordinary council, wherein it was reſolved to ſend ambaſſadors to Lewis, peremptorily to demand the performance of his promiſe, and the ratification of the late treaty at London. The lord Howard and Thomas Langton, treaſurer of the church of Exeter, were appointed for this ambaſſy; but the former of theſe, one of Edward's confidents, was, very probably, the chief of thoſe that were corrupted by the king of France's favours.

who ſends him ambaſſadors. Act. Pub.

Lewis continues to amuſe him. Hall.

In the mean while, Lewis was greatly embarraſſed; for he had paſſed his word for the marriage, and even obliged himſelf by a treaty, tho' he did not, in the leaſt, intend to accompliſh it; and, on the other hand, his ambaſſadors, at London, had ſigned another treaty, upon the footing propoſed by himſelf, tho' he was reſolved not to ratify the ſame. His ſole view had been to amuſe Edward, leſt he ſhould join with the archduke; and, to free himſelf from theſe difficulties, he determined to diſſemble, and continue to promiſe the compleating of the marriage, whilſt, by ambaſſadors ſent into Scotland, he tried to perſuade James III. to violate the truce with England. This negotiation fully anſwered his expectation; for king James ſuffered himſelf to be governed by three favourites, raiſed from the duſt, without adviſing with any lord of his kingdom. It was very eaſy, for the king of France, to bribe thoſe mercenary wretches, who engaged to induce their maſter to break the truce with the Engliſh; and, indeed, preſently after, James made preparations, which evidently diſcovered his deſign. Edward, aſtoniſhed at the impending rupture, between the king of Scotland and himſelf, eaſily gueſſed at the author; yet, concealing his reſentment, he only ordered an army to be raiſed, the command of which he reſolved to give to his brother, the duke of Glouceſter. He, now, began, to open his eyes, and perceive

1479. ceive Lewis's insincerity, who, ever since Burgundy's death, had amused him with delusive promises; and, tho' he had lost all the favourable opportunities, he applied his thoughts, when too late, to revenge; which is evident from several pieces in the Collection of the 1480. Publick Acts, all dated, in 1480, before the Scots had actually violated the truce.

An ambassy to Castile. Act. Pub.

First, he sent ambassadors to Castile, to repair certain outrages committed by the English, during the earl of Warwick's ministry, contrary to the alliance between Castile and England; but when a prince, of his own accord, offers to make reparation for the damages, his subjects have done to another nation, it may be fairly presumed, that it is with a view to some other design; and Edward's aim was to engage the king of Castile to make war upon France, or, at least, to prevent his assisting Lewis.

A treaty with Denmark.

Secondly, he confirmed the treaty concluded at Hamburgh, with the king of Denmark.

Edward promises to aid Maximilian. Act. Pub.

Thirdly, he ratified his treaty of alliance with the late duke of Burgundy, and engaged to send Maximilian and Maria an aid of 6000 men, pursuant to the treaty; and the archduke promised, on his part, to pay him 50,000 crowns, yearly, if the king of France discontinued his pension, and a war ensued, on that account.

He concludes the marriage of his daughter with Philip. Act. Pub.

Lastly, the marriage of Philip, earl of Charolois, son to Maximilian and Maria, with Ann, daughter to Edward, was concluded, with a promise, on both sides, to cause it to be consummated, as soon as the parties were of age; and, by this treaty, Edward gave with his daughter 100,000 crowns; but, by a subsequent treaty, the dowry was set against the annual pension of 50,000 crowns, to be paid by the archduke, instead of the king of France, and they mutually forgave one another.

He promises to declare against Lewis, if he is not made umpire. Act. Pub.

By another treaty, Edward promised to endeavour to procure Maximilian a truce with Lewis; to offer to be arbitrator himself between them; to try to be received, as such; and, if Lewis refused, he engaged to declare against him. This proceeding was not very fair; but, probably, he thought he might act insincerely, as well as the king of France.

An ambassy to France. Act. Pub.

Edward, having, thus, settled his affairs with Maximilian and Maria, sent again ambassadors to France, to press the marriage of his daughter, Elisabeth, with the dauphin; and, if Lewis had complied, in all probability, he would not have scrupled to desert the archduke; but, Lewis, according to custom, advancing some ill excuse, he equipped a fleet, and gave the command to John Middleton, to go to the assistance of his new allies.

1481. The king of Scotland prepares for war. Hall. Holingsh. The affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

In the interim, the king of Scotland continued his preparations, with an intent to break with England; but, before I relate the success of this war so little expected by Edward, it will be expedient briefly to mention the then state of the affairs of that kingdom.

James III, who succeeded to the crown, at seven years of age, being out of his minority, was so corrupted by flatterers, that he made his will the sole rule of his actions; but, without entering into a needless detail of the outrages he committed upon his subjects, it will be sufficient to say, in a word, that he was reputed a real tyrant. He had three ministers, or favourites, men of mean extraction, that governed him entirely; and whose only study was to render him independent of the laws, that they themselves might rule, in his name, with an arbitrary sway. The king had two brothers, viz. Alexander, duke of Albany, and John; the last of whom, speaking too boldly of the king his brother's conduct, was thrown into prison, and there put to death, by having his veins opened; and the favourites, being apprehensive that Alexander would revenge his death, prevailed on the king to confine him, in a castle. 1481.

At this juncture, James, detested by his people, and especially by the nobility, undertook, without the least pretence, to violate the truce with the English; and Edward was mortified to see the approaches of a rupture, that would divert him from the war with France; yet, not to omit any necessary precautions, he gave orders for the defence of the borders, and, at the same time, commissioned certain persons of Ireland, to make an alliance, in his name, with the earl of Ross, lord of the Isles, to give his enemy a diversion, from that quarter.

James enters England, and carries off some booty.

In June, 1481, the Scots made an irruption into the borders, before Edward's army was prepared; and they carried off some booty, which was the whole result of their mighty preparations. Edward was not very expeditious, in sending an army against Scotland; for he still hoped amicably to put an end to this affair; and, besides, he was sensible that king James could not do him much prejudice, in his present condition. His grand design was to be revenged on Lewis XI; for, tho' that prince, with his usual dissimulation, still amused him, that he would perform his promise, with respect to the marriage, and punctually paid 25000 crowns, every six months, Edward evidently perceived, that he designed to recall his word, with regard to the first article, and that a rupture was unavoidable.

A project of marriage between the prince of Wales and Ann of Bretagne.

On this account, he renewed his alliance with the duke of Bretagne, and concluded the marriage of the prince of Wales, his son, with Ann, eldest daughter to that duke; or, if she died, before consummation, with Isabella, her youngest sister, on the following conditions: That, if there should be several sons, the second, or next heir to the crown of England, should be duke of Bretagne, and reside in that country; that, if the duke should, hereafter, have a legitimate son, he should espouse one of Edward's daughters, that was most suitable to his age; that, if Edward had no daughter to give him, the duke should not marry his son, without his consent; lastly, it was agreed between them, that, if the king of France made war upon the duke of Bretagne, Edward should send the duke 3000 men, at his own charge; and the duke engaged the like, in case of a war between England and France.

1482. In the beginning of 1482, Edward renewed his alliance with Portugal; and, soon after, he dispatched

1482. diſpatched ambaſſadors to Caſtile, to conclude the marriage of his daughter, Catharine, with the infante; tho' that affair did not prove ſucceſsful; but all theſe treaties, renewals of alliances, and projects of marriages ſhew, that Edward intended to carry war into France.

The duke of Albany eſcapes into England. Buchanan.

Whilſt Edward did all that was poſſible, to promote his undertaking, Alexander, duke of Albany, brother to the king of Scotland, eſcaped out of priſon, and came, by ſea, into England, to implore the king's protection; and, beſides the reaſons, which the Scots, in general, had to complain of their ſovereign, the death of the duke, his brother, and his own impriſonment, ſtrongly inclined him to revenge, and, doubtleſs, ambition did not a little contribute to inflame his reſentment. The Engliſh and Scotch hiſtorians limit his deſire of revenge; to ſome general views of reclaiming the king, his brother, and procuring the reſtitution of his own eſtate; but the Collection of the Publick Acts ſhews, by authentick proofs, that Alexander's view was to be poſſeſſed of the throne. We find there his treaty with Edward, in which he aſſumes the title of king of Scotland, and engages to do homage, for that kingdom, to the crown of England; and he promiſes to diſſolve the antient alliance of France with Scotland, and make one with Edward againſt Lewis XI; to ſurrender Berwick to England, and marry Cecily, Edward's daughter, affianced to prince James, his nephew, provided, by the judgment of the church, he could be divorced from his wife; and, if this could not be done, to eſpouſe his ſon only to a princeſs of England. Edward, on the other hand, obliges himſelf; to aſſiſt him, with all his power, to take poſſeſſion of the throne of Scotland; and, upon the ſigning of this treaty, which was, in all appearance, a ſecret known to a few perſons, Edward ſent an army againſt Scotland, under the duke of Glouceſter, his brother, whom the duke of Albany would accompany, but without taking the title of king. Edward alſo gave the command of a fleet to Robert Ratcliffe, to act againſt Scotland; and the duke of Glouceſter, advancing to the borders of the two kingdoms, took the town of Berwick; but, unwilling to loſe time, in beſieging the caſtle, leaving it inveſted, he marched directly to Edinburgh.

The duke of Glouceſter marches into Scotland. Act. Pub.

The troubles in Scotland.

Whilſt the duke of Glouceſter was advancing, at the head of his army, king James, who had neglected to concert meaſures, to proſecute, with vigour, the war he had undertaken, was extremely embarraſſed; and the only means he had, to reſiſt the Engliſh, was to aſſemble the nobility; but he durſt not attempt it, knowing how much they were diſguſted with him and his miniſters. He was conſtrained, however, to reſolve upon it, or throw himſelf upon the mercy of the Engliſh; and, the lords, being ſummoned, came, with their troops, to Lauther, where they were expected by the king; but, to whatever extremity that prince was reduced, he did not alter his conduct. His three favourites were his ſole council; and ſcarce any durſt approach him, but themſelves, or their creatures. The nobles, to the laſt degree, incenſed, on this occaſion, determined to embrace ſo fair an opportunity to be rid of thoſe, who were, thus, maſters of the king's perſon; and, having previouſly conſulted together, ſome of them, well attended, came to the king's apartment, and, ſeizing the three favourites, who had there ſheltered themſelves, brought them to the army, where they cauſed them to be, immediately, hanged. James, exceedingly terrified, dreading alſo an attempt upon his life, promiſed to reform his conduct, for the future; but, a few days after, he retired to the caſtle of Edinburgh; upon which, the army, being without a leader, diſbanded themſelves, and the lords returned to their reſpective habitations. 1482.

The duke of Glouceſter, apprized of this diſorder, haſtened his march to Edinburgh, and entered the city, without oppoſition; and he would have conferred with the king, but it was not even poſſible to acquaint him with his deſire; which obſtinacy, to hearken to nothing, obliged the duke of Glouceſter to publiſh, by ſound of trumpet, in all the quarters of Edinburgh, that, if, before September, the king of Scotland did not obſerve his treaties with the king of England, he would deſtroy the whole kingdom, with fire and ſword. King James had engaged chiefly to keep the truce, and return the money received, for the dowry of the princeſs, Cecily, affianced to the prince, his ſon; to which the duke of Glouceſter added, that he ſhould recall the duke of Albany, and reſtore him to his eſtate and honours. James, who was unable either to reſiſt his enemies, or to perform his engagements, made no anſwer; but the nobles, being aſſembled, at Hadington, ſent deputies to the duke of Glouceſter, to inform him, that they ardently deſired the conſummation of the intended marriage; and that neither they, nor the ſtates, were to be blamed, for the violation of the truce. The duke of Glouceſter replied, that, the marriage was purely projected, to maintain a good underſtanding between the two nations; and, king James, having wantonly broke it, without the leaſt provocation, he did not know, whether the king, his brother, would have the marriage conſummated; however, that he had orders to receive the ſums paid, in part of the princeſs's dowry; and that, as to the truce, it would be punctually obſerved by England, provided the caſtle of Berwick was delivered to the king, his brother, or, at leaſt, the Scots would promiſe not to aſſiſt the beſieged.

The duke of Glouceſter becomes maſter of Edinburgh.

Matters being in this ſituation, the duke of Albany demanded of the Scotch lords a ſafe-conduct; and, obtaining it, he went and conferred with them. In this conference it was agreed, that the duke of Albany ſhould be made regent of Scotland; that the citizens of Edinburgh ſhould pay the king of England the money received by James, if the projected marriage did not ſucceed; and, laſtly, that the caſtle of Berwick ſhould be ſurrendered to the duke of Glouceſter. For the duke of Albany's private ſecurity, the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, the biſhop of Dunkeld, the high-chancellor,

The duke of Albany procures a peace. Act. Pub.

1482. chancellor, and the earl of Argyle engaged to procure him a general pardon, for all crimes whatſoever, even for attempting to dethrone the king; and to cauſe him to be reſtored to his whole eſtate. On the other hand, the duke promiſed to own the king, his brother, for his lawful ſovereign, and to ſwear allegiance to him; which renders it probable, that his treaty with Edward was known, in Scotland, or that the duke judged it proper to diſcover it, that this clauſe might be included in the pardon. Upon this agreement, the duke of Albany, either out of pure generoſity, or becauſe he foreſaw that he ſhould meet with inſuperable obſtacles, dropped his project of placing himſelf on the throne; and the duke of Glouceſter ſpent ſome time, at Newcaſtle, till the king, his brother, ſhould acquaint him withhis pleaſure, with reſpect to his daughter's marriage.

The duke of Albany, being, thus, maſter of the kingdom, reſtored the king, his brother, to his former dignity; reſerving to himſelf only his own eſtate, and the glory of his generoſity. James pleaſed, as it may be preſumed, that his fear was his only puniſhment, ſeemed, at firſt, to alter his conduct; and, preſently after, he reſolved to go to Amiens, to viſit the reliques of St. John, or, perhaps, to concert new meaſures with Lewis XI; but it does not appear, whether he executed this deſign, tho' we find, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, a ſafe-conduct for him and 1000 attendants. However this be, he ſoon reſumed his former courſe of life, as well as his enmity to his brother, being reſolutely bent to diſpatch him. This deſign was kept ſo ſecret, that, when the duke heard of it, he had but juſt time to throw himſelf into a fiſhing-boat, and eſcape to the caſtle of Dunbar, with a few of his friends; from whence he ſent into England the
1483. earl of Angus and ſome others, to renew with Edward the treaty made, the preceding year, that was ſet aſide by the intervening agreement. This treaty was ratified, February 11, 1483, with additional articles; but Edward's death, falling out, preſently after, prevented the execution. In the mean while, the duke of Albany, having, now, purſuant to the treaty, delivered the fortreſs of Dunbar to the Engliſh, ſeeing no proſpect of being relieved, withdrew into France; where he was unfortunately, killed, with the ſplinter of a lance, at a tournament, by the duke of Orleans, who was afterwards king of France, by the name of Lewis XII.

The duke of Albany is killed in France. Biondi. Hall.

Edward's affairs are in an ill poſture, upon the death of the duchеſs of Burgundy. Mezerai. P. Daniel.

The war with Scotland being over, Edward applied all his thoughts to the war he intended to carry into France; but he was far from being in ſo good a condition to be revenged on Lewis XI, as before the rupture with Scotland. Maria, ducheſs of Burgundy, loſing her life, by a fall from her horſe, in March, 1481, the archduke, her ſpouſe, had ſo little authority among the Flemings, that he was conſtrained to ſuffer his children, by that princeſs, to remain in the hands of the Gantois; and then Lewis XI, to inſpire the Flemings with a dread of the houſe of Auſtria's power, ſo dex- 1483.
trouſly managed with the Gantois, that he obtained their conſent to give the dauphin, his ſon, Margaret, daughter to their deceaſed ducheſs, with the earldoms of Artois, Burgundy, Maconnois, Auxerre, and Charolois. This treaty was made, unknown to Edward; ſo that Lewis ſtill amuſed the Engliſh ambaſſadors, even after it was ended to his ſatisfaction. The firſt news they had of it was the arrival of the young dauphineſs, two years old, who was brought to Paris, in April, 1482; and the nuptials were ſolemnized, in July. This was an extreme mortification, and moſt outrageous affront to Edward, who cauſed the princeſs, his daughter, to be ſtiled Madam the Dauphineſs, but he had, perhaps, forgot, how he himſelf affronted Lewis, with reſpect to his own marriage, or imagined that love would excuſe it; yet Lewis believed himſelf no leſs excuſable by politicks, and what kings call reaſons of ſtate. However this be, Edward, full of indignation and rage, was reſolutely bent to revenge; but it was too late, the opportunities he had neglected being irrecoverably loſt; for he could no longer rely upon the aſſiſtance of the Flemings, who had ſo openly diſcovered their attachment to the intereſts of France. The duke of Bretagne was ſeized with a melancholy, that rendered him incapable of any important undertaking; the king of Scotland had no reaſon to be pleaſed; and all, that Edward could expect from his alliance with the kings of Spain and Portugal, was, that they would not aſſiſt Lewis; ſo that, to be revenged, Edward muſt, like Henry V, attack France, with the forces of England alone; tho' that kingdom was very far from being in the ſame circumſtances, as when Henry V. began the war. Nevertheleſs, Edward was reſolved upon it; and, with this view, he aſſembled all the lords that were at court, or near London, and, in a very pathetick ſpeech, repreſented to them, how great cauſe the Engliſh nation, and himſelf in particular, had, to reſent the intolerable affronts put upon them by the king of France. He took care to diſplay the title of the kings of England to the crown of France; the principal topick, to affect the hearts of the Engliſh; and, in a word, he exerted himſelf to perſuade them, not only of the neceſſity of a war with France, but alſo of the great probability of a happy ſucceſs. There was no occaſion for much eloquence, to induce the Engliſh to wage war with France; all the lords unanimouſly declared, that the war was juſt and neceſſary, and aſſured the king, that they were ready to ſerve him, with their lives and fortunes; and, the report of this reſolution being ſpread in the kingdom, an extraordinary joy appeared in the faces of the people, as if they had received the news of ſome ſignal victory.

The death of Edward IV.

But, whilſt preparations were making for this important war, Edward was ſeized with a mortal diſtemper, that convinced him of the vanity of all his projects; and, when he found himſelf paſt all hopes of recovery, he beheld, with another eye than before, whatever had

1483. ingroſſed him, during the courſe of his life; and it is pretended, that he ſhewed marks of a ſincere repentance; but, in the laſt moments, the great Searcher of Hearts alone can perfectly judge of the ſentiments expreſſed by the tongue. Edward died, the 9th of April, in the 42d year of his age, after a reign of 22 years and one month; and the cauſe of his death is variouſly reported. Some affirm, that he was poiſoned by the duke of Glouceſter; but this accuſation is groundleſs. Philip de Commines pretends, that Edward died with grief, to find himſelf baffled and deceived by Lewis XI; but what he ſays is to be regarded, as no more than a bare conjecture; and the rather, as Edward, two years before, perceived Lewis's inſincerity. The moſt probable opinion is, that he died of a ſurfeit; for he uſually diverted his cares, with exceſſive eating and drinking.

The character of Edward IV. Moore. Habington.

I have, hitherto, ſpoken only of Edward the IV's moſt ſhining actions, on account of their connexion with the publick affairs; but it will be neceſſary, now, to deſcribe his perſon, and the good and bad qualities of his body and mind. However, before I proceed, I cannot forbear, once more, to remark, that a man muſt be upon his guard, with reſpect to the hiſtorians that ſpeak of this prince, as well as of his brother, Richard III; for the moſt of them wrote, when the throne was filled with the princes of the houſe of Lancaſter, who were extremely jealous of their rights, and would not willingly have ſuffered them to be blemiſhed, or the kings of the houſe of York to be praiſed. The ſucceeding writers, when the civil wars were forgotten, tranſcribed what they found in theſe firſt hiſtorians, and often aſſerted, for fact, what was only the effect of their prejudice, or policy; but, for my part, who have no intereſt to blacken this prince's reputation, I have endeavoured to avoid that exceſs, yet without concealing his vices, or even his failings.

When Edward aſcended the throne, he was one of the handſomeſt men, in England, and, perhaps, in Europe; which is univerſally acknowledged; and his majeſtick mien, free and eaſy air, and affable carriage prepoſſeſſed all that ſaw him, in his favour. Theſe qualities, joined to an undaunted valour, gained him, among the people, an eſteem and affection, extremely ſerviceable to him, in many circumſtances of his life; and, according to Philip de Commines, he owed his reſtoration, to his intereſt in the inclinations of the principal London-ladies; but that would have been inconſiderable, had he not alſo procured the hearts of their husbands, and, in general, of the greateſt part of the Engliſh; and, if he had not depended upon the love of the people, he would never have attempted to recover the throne, with the help of 2000 men, who were moſtly foreigners. For ſome time, he was extremely liberal; but, at laſt, he became covetous, not ſo much from his natural temper, as from a neceſſity to ſupply the extravagant expences, into which he was thrown by his pleaſures; and, tho' he was a prince of a bright genius, and great penetration, he committed ſeveral egregious errors. The firſt was, in ſuffering himſelf to be ſurpriſed by the earl of Warwick; but that miſtake, was, in a great meaſure, repaired, by the dexterity and readineſs with which he freed himſelf from the archbiſhop of York. The ſecond was, to confide in perſons that betrayed him, and were ſold to France; and the third, in being ſo long deceived by Lewis XI, whoſe diſſimulation and ill faith were ſo notorious. Moſt hiſtorians have exceedingly aggravated the laſt error; being ignorant that, from the year 1480, he began to take meaſures, to make war upon Lewis, as appears in what has been quoted from the Collection of the Publick Acts. Two other errors are alſo charged upon him; but theſe may be more eaſily excuſed. The firſt is, his breaking off the war with France, for an inconſiderable ſum, at a time when he might have flattered himſelf with the hopes of ſucceſs; but, if the circumſtances of this affair be thoroughly examined, it will be manifeſt, that, being abandoned by the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, his allies, it would have been very imprudent to purſue, with his own forces alone, the execution of ſuch an important undertaking, which, in all probability, would have proved unſucceſsful. Another error aſcribed to Edward is, his not joining with the heireſs of Burgundy, to ſtop Lewis's progreſs. I own, that this was a real fault; yet it may be conſiderably leſſened, by the examples of ſeveral princes eminent for their abilities, who obſerved the ſame conduct, on the like occaſions. Princes, tho' uncertain of the events, frequently imagine, that they ſhall be great gainers, by ſetting their neighbours at variance; but the ſucceſs does not always anſwer their expectations. Doubtleſs, if Maria of Burgundy, and afterwards the archduke, her husband, had more vigorouſly reſiſted the attacks of Lewis XI, nothing could have a greater tendency to render Edward the umpire of Europe, than the mutual weakening of theſe two powers; and, by means of this conduct, he was courted by the king of France, and the duke of Burgundy, becauſe he was ever in a condition to make the balance incline to one ſide. Perhaps, he expected, that the caſe would be continually the ſame; but he had to deal with a more politick prince than himſelf.

1483.

Faults aſcribed to Edward.

Inſtances of his cruelty.

Theſe are properly political faults; which are often conſidered, as ſuch, purely becauſe of the events that are not in the power of man; but the crimes, of which Edward is more juſtly accuſed, are his cruelty, perjury, and incontinence. The firſt is evident from the great number of princes and lords, whom, after taking them priſoners, he put to death, on the ſcaffold; for, if ever there was room for mercy, in caſe of rebellion, it was at that fatal juncture, when it was almoſt impoſſible to ſtand neuter, and ſo difficult to chuſe the juſteſt ſide, between the two houſes that contended for the crown; and yet we do not find, that Edward had ever any regard to that conſideration. The death of the prince of Wales, ſon to Henry

1483. Henry VI, murdered, almoſt in his preſence, and that of Henry himſelf, in ſpite of his innocence, may, perhaps, be juſtified, in ſome meaſure, by thoſe who judge nothing unlawful, when a throne is in diſpute; but they can never be excuſed by thoſe who have the leaſt tincture of religion; and, as for the death of the duke of Clarence, I do not know, whether it is poſſible to find the leaſt ſoftening, if it be true, as it is highly probable, that he was innocent. 1483.

His breach of faith. Edward's breach of faith was viſible, in the unjuſt puniſhment of the lord Wells and his brother-in-law, after he had drawn them out of a ſanctuary, by a ſafe-conduct; in that of the baſtard of Falconbridge, whoſe crime he had pardoned; and, laſtly, in his oath, at York, which he took, even with an intent to break it. All theſe actions are only to be excuſed by reaſons of ſtate; a ſorry excuſe, in matters where honour and religion are concerned!

His incontinence. As for Edward's incontinency, his whole life may be affirmed to be a continued ſcene of luſt. He had many concubines, but three in particular, of whom he ſaid, "One "was the merrieſt *; the other the wittieſt; "and the third the holieſt in the world, for "ſhe was always in a church, except when "he ſent for her." He had, however, only two natural children, both by Eliſabeth Lucy, to whom he is reported to have been contracted, before his marriage; viz. Arthur ſirnamed Plantagenet, created viſcount L'Iſle by Henry VIII †, and Eliſabeth, wife to Sir Thomas Lumley: But I ſhall be altogether ſilent, as to Edward's religion, ſince hiſtorians never mention it, unleſs in relating his death-bed diſcourſes.

His good fortune. What is moſt ſurpriſing, in the life of this prince, is his good fortune, which ſeems to be almoſt miraculous; for he was raiſed to the throne, after the loſs of two battles; the firſt by the duke, his father, and the other by the earl of Warwick, then attached to the houſe of York; and the head of the father was ſtill upon the walls of York, when the ſon was proclaimed, at London. Edward eſcaped, as it were, by a miracle, from his confinement, at Middleham; he was reſtored to the throne, or, at leaſt, received into London, at his return from Holland, whilſt his fortune yet depended upon the deciſion of a battle, which the earl of Warwick was ready to give him; and, in a word, he was never preſent at any battle, in which he did not prove victorious.

He had, by Eliſabeth, his queen, a numerous iſſue; namely, three princes and eight princeſſes, of whom a ſon and two daughters died, in their infancy; and we ſhall ſee, preſently, the fate of his eldeſt ſon, Edward, his ſucceſſor, and of his brother, Richard, duke of York.

His iſſue. Eliſabeth, the eldeſt of his daughters, was promiſed in marriage to the dauphin, ſon to Lewis XI, afterwards king of France, by the name of Charles VIII. but, in proceſs of time, ſhe was married to Henry VII, king of England.

Cecily, who was contracted to the prince of Scotland, eſpouſed the lord viſcount Wells, and, after his deceaſe, another whoſe name I am ignorant of; and ſhe died, without iſſue.

Ann was affianced to Philip, ſon to Maximilian of Auſtria and Maria of Burgundy; but, that marriage not ſucceeding, ſhe married Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, by whom ſhe had two ſons, who died, without iſſue.

Bridget was a nun, at Dartford.

Mary, who was promiſed to the king of Denmark, died, at Greenwich, before the celebration of her nuptials.

Catharine, whom the king, her father, would have given to the infante of Spain, was eſpouſed to William Courtney, earl of Devonſhire; by whom ſhe had a ſon, created marqueſs of Exeter, in the reign of Henry VIII.

It muſt be obſerved, that, in the Engliſh hiſtories, there is a continual anachroniſm of a year, and ſometimes of two, from 1474, to the end of this reign ‡.

17. EDWARD V.

Edward V. is proclaimed, April 9. AFTER the death of Edward IV, the prince, his eldeſt ſon, between 12 and 13 years of age, was proclaimed king, by the name of Edward V; but his reign was ſhort and unfortunate, if the two months and 12 days that he bore the regal title, and which were entirely ſpent in depriving him of the crown, even before he had ſolemnly received it, are not rather to be accounted an interregnum; yet, as during that interval, he was generally owned, for ſovereign of England, hiſtorians have not ſcrupled to place him among the kings. The ſubject of this reign entirely conſiſts of the duke of Glouceſter's means, to diſpoſſeſs the young king, his nephew, and advance himſelf to the throne; but, before I enter upon the relation of theſe abominable practices, it will be neceſſary to

* Jane Shore.

† From Frances Plantagenet, his ſecond daughter, eſpouſed to Thomas Monk, Eſq; was lineally deſcended the late George Monk, duke of Albemarle. Sandf.

‡ In this reign, flouriſhed ſeveral eminent perſons, particularly Thomas Littleton, judge of the Common Pleas, and John Forteſcue, judge and chancellor of England. In 1485, was born the noted Thomas Parr, a Shropſhireman, who lived to the year 1635, being then brought up to London by the earl of Arundel, as a ſingular rarity, where he died, after having lived, in the reigns of 10 kings and queens, aged 152 years.

ſhew

1483. The ſtate of the court before Edward's death.

ſhew the ſtate of the court of England, before the deceaſe of Edward IV.

Eliſabeth Woodville, who, from a ſubject, became a queen, by being married to Edward, held the precedency, at court, as well by the privileges common to all queens, as her great credit; for, from the time of her marriage, ſhe had acquired an influence over the king, which ſhe preſerved, to the day of his death. Her birth, by her father's ſide, was not very conſiderable; but her mother, who had been wife to the renowned duke of Bedford, was of the houſe of Luxemburgh, illuſtrious for the princes, kings, and even emperors it had given to Europe; ſo that it is not at all ſurpriſing, that ſhe ſhould have a great ſoul, and think herſelf as worthy to command, as the nobleſt lords of England. In the interim, tho', by being queen, ſhe acquired no right, to interpoſe in the publick affairs, ſhe artfully aſſumed it, by her aſcendant over the king; who, notwithſtanding Edward's falſeneſs to her, never diſcovered any ſigns of uneaſineſs; and the king, charmed to find himſelf at liberty to gratify his inclinations, repaid this moderation, with all ſorts of condeſcenſion, which the queen knew how to improve. The advancement of Sir Richard Woodville, her father, to be earl of Rivers, and the marriage of her brother with the richeſt heireſs of the kingdom, were the firſt proofs ſhe gave of her power; but, afterwards, Edward loaded this family with riches and honours, and even deſired to marry his brother-in-law, Anthony, to the king of Scotland's ſiſter, as appears from the Collection of the Publick Acts. When the prince of Wales was of age to have a governor, this ſame lord, then earl of Rivers, was entruſted with that exalted office; and the queen did not forget her own children, by her former husband, Sir John Grey of Groby; for Thomas Grey, her eldeſt ſon, was made marqueſs of Dorſet, governor of the tower, and keeper of the king's treaſures; and Richard Grey, his brother, was created a baron, and had a conſiderable poſt, about the prince of Wales.

Two parties at court, the old and the new nobility.

If the queen had limited her favours to her ſons, her father, and her brother, it could not be thought very ſtrange; but it muſt be confeſſed, that ſhe abuſed her power, by cauſing many perſons to be created peers, who would have had no pretenſion to that honour, if they had not been ſupported by her favour. This occaſioned the diſtinction, in thoſe days, between the antient and the new nobility; but, if this diſtinction did not redound to the honour of the latter, that diſadvantage was amply repaired, by the honourable and profitable places procured them by the queen; who, by degrees, had, in a manner, baniſhed the antient nobility from the court, where ſcarce any appeared, except lords of the new creation, all attached to her intereſt. The caſe was much the ſame, in all the reſt of the kingdom, where the moſt important poſts were filled by the queen's creatures; for her view was to preſerve her power, during the king's life, and, if ſhe ſurvived him, to ſecure the government of the kingdom, in her ſon's name, when he ſhould ſucceed to the crown; but, by a fatality incident to the beſt contrived projects, this very thing paved the way, for her own and her family's ruin. 1483.

The king protects the new nobility.

As the queen ſo openly declared againſt the antient families, it is natural to conceive, that ſhe was not beloved; and, accordingly, ſhe took all poſſible care to prevent the lords, whom ſhe diſliked, from having acceſs to the king. However, it was not in her power, to expel the court three lords of the antient nobility, becauſe they had done the king ſignal ſervices; viz. Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, William Haſtings, and Thomas Stanley.

The firſt, of a very antient family, had likewiſe the advantage of deſcending from a daughter of Thomas of Woodſtock, duke of Glouceſter, ſeventh ſon to Edward III, and enjoyed the office of high conſtable.

The lord Haſtings was high-chamberlain; and the king had a ſingular affection for him, by reaſon of his inviolable loyalty, of which he had given proofs, in his adverſity; particularly, when he was obliged to fly into Holland. This lord was extremely devoted to the king's perſon, but deteſted the queen; and, if he paid her any reſpect, it was with reluctance, and purely out of complaiſance to the king, his maſter.

The lord Stanley, of an antient family, was alſo firmly attached to the king, without making much court to the queen.

Jane Shore, king Edward's miſtreſs.

The king's concubines likewiſe made a conſiderable figure, at court, on account of their influence over him; and there were three, eſpecially, of whom Jane Shore alone was concerned in the events of this new reign; who was wife to a citizen of London, whom Edward had debauched, and taken from her husband. She was extremely beautiful, and, at the ſame time, of a generoſity very uncommon, in perſons of her character. The king was no leſs charmed with her temper than her beauty; for he never heard her ſpeak ill of any perſon, nor ever perceived her to try to prejudice him againſt any man whatever. If ſhe importuned him, ſometimes, it was in behalf of the unfortunate; and, when ſhe had done a good office, ſhe ſcorned to take a reward, leſt ſhe ſhould give occaſion to think, that ſhe acted from a motive of intereſt; wherefore, ſhe had amaſſed but few riches, in compariſon of other concubines, whoſe avarice is inſatiable.

The diſſimulation of the duke of Glouceſter.

The duke of Glouceſter was embarraſſed, between the two parties formed, at court, and in the kingdom; and the only way, to pleaſe the king, his brother, was to make court to the queen; but the duke, perceiving that the queen's deſign was to ingroſs the government, in caſe of the king's death, could not be attached to her, without forfeiting the affection of the antient nobility, whoſe aſſiſtance he might ſtand in need of, hereafter. As he was naturally a great diſſembler, he determined, publickly, to make his court to the queen; but, in private, he joined with the duke

1483. duke of Buckingham and the lords Haſtings and Stanley.

Edward IV. ſends his eldeſt ſon into Wales. Moore.

It is unneceſſary to ſay much of the two young princes, the king's ſons, the eldeſt of whom was only 12, and the duke of York, his brother, no more than nine years old, when the king, their father, died; for it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that, before Edward IV. was ſeized with the diſtemper, that laid him in his grave, he had ſent the prince his eldeſt ſon, with the earl of Rivers, his governor, into Wales, to appeaſe ſome commotion; and the duke of York remained, at court, with the queen, his mother.

The reconciliation of the two parties, before Edward's death. Moore.

Edward was concerned to ſee the two parties that were formed in his court; but, his affection for the queen not permitting him to hold the balance even, he neglected to prevent the dangerous effects. Whilſt he enjoyed his health, he imagined, that, during his life, he ſhould be maſter of both, and, by ſtrengthening the new nobility, render the old incapable of prejudicing the queen and her children, after his deceaſe; but, on his death-bed, he beheld this diviſion, in another light. He conſidered, that he left, for the ſupport of his houſe only new families, which had not had time to eſtabliſh themſelves, and entirely owed all their authority and influence to his favour, of which they would be ſhortly deprived; wherefore, he was ſollicitous to repair this error; but he could find no better way, than to perſuade the two parties to be reconciled, for his ſake; a weak expedient, to produce the deſired effect! The regard for a dying king, never beloved by the antient nobility, was far from being ſufficient to extinguiſh their hatred and envy of the queen's relations, which, unfortunately, had been but too much fomented; yet, before he expired, Edward had, at leaſt, the ſatisfaction to ſee an external reconciliation, which he thought ſincere, becauſe of the ſeeming readineſs and alacrity, with which both parties conſented to his requeſt. The earl of Rivers being abſent, the queen, his ſiſter, paſſed her word for him; and the marqueſs of Dorſet, her eldeſt ſon, repreſenting the family of Grey, embraced the duke of Buckingham and the lord Haſtings, the heads of the oppoſite party. The duke of Glouceſter, being then at York, upon the king's affairs, could not obſtruct this reconciliation; tho' to him indeed, it would have been extremely prejudicial had it been real and unfeigned.

The meaſures of both parties, to ſeize the government.

Edward's eyes were no ſooner cloſed than the two parties, forgetting their late mutual proteſtations of friendſhip, made it their ſole ſtudy, how to gain the advantage one of another; tho', in the interim, they unanimouſly agreed to proclaim the deceaſed king's eldeſt ſon, by the name of Eward V. but, after this, each of them took ſuch meaſures, as were judged moſt proper to attain their different ends. The principal point was to become maſter of the king's perſon, in order to govern, in his name; and the queen hoped to preſerve and even to increaſe her authority, during the king her ſon's minority; but the contrary party foreſaw, that they ſhould be irrecoverably loſt, if the young prince was once in the hands of his mother. However, hitherto, the advantage was entirely on the queen's ſide; who, immediately after the death of the king, her huſband, diſpatched a courier to the earl of Rivers, her brother, with the news; and ſhe likewiſe informed him, in the letter, that ſhe believed it abſolutely neceſſary for him to raiſe forces, in Wales, and the neighbouring counties, to enable him to conduct the new king ſafely to London, in order to his coronation. 1483.

Bucking-ham and Haſtings ſtir up Glouceſter to ſeize the king's perſon.

On the other hand, the duke of Buckingham and the lord Haſtings ſent an expreſs to the duke of Glouceſter, acquainting him with the king's death, and the queen's meaſures; and they alſo repreſented to him, that, as he was the king's uncle, by the father's ſide, the government of the kingdom belonged to him, during the minority; but, if he did not now prevent the queen, it would be in vain to expect another opportunity; and in fine, they, at all hazards offered him 1000 men well armed, and ready to march, at the word of command.

It is not eaſy to determine, whether, before the deceaſe of Edward IV, the duke of Glouceſter had projected to aſcend the throne, to the prejudice of his nephews; but it is ſcarce to be queſtioned, that he formed this deſign, the very moment he heard of his brother's death; for all his after proceedings too manifeſtly appear to be conſequences of a ſcheme laid, to compaſs that end. As for the lord Haſtings, it is certain, that his ſole view was, to take the government out of the hands of the queen and her relations; for his inflexible attachment to Edward IV. would never have ſuffered him to be concerned in a plot, to dethrone his ſon. As for the duke of Buckingham, his conduct is more ambiguous; for he not only deteſted the queen and her family, but had always a particular reſpect for the duke of Glouceſter; which gives occaſion to ſuſpect, that he joined with him, at firſt, in the deſign to place him on the throne. Nevertheleſs, the hiſtorians only aſcribe to him at leaſt, in the beginning of thi reign, the ſame intention with the lord Haſtings; namely to remove the queen from the government of the king's perſon, and of the kingdom; but, however this be, the duke of Glouceſter, upon the news of the king's death, ſent back the expreſs, with orders to deſire the duke of Buckingham and the lord Haſtings, to come and confer with him, at Northampton.

A conference at Northampton.

The duke of Glouceſter's ſpeech to his friends.

Theſe lords, with ſome others, repairing to the place appointed, the duke of Glouceſter, in a long ſpeech, ſhewed them the great and impending danger, if the queen ſhould be poſſeſſed of the government. He told them, "They would be expoſed to the "mercy of an imperious woman, and of the "two families of Rivers and Grey, lately "raiſed by the king, his brother, who, for "their own ſecurity, would infallibly deſtroy "thoſe whom they conſidered, as their ri-

1483. " vals and enemies; that the late king had " reſtrained them, by his authority, within " ſome bounds; but, when they ſhould at- " tain the ſupreme power, in the name of " the young king, nothing would be able to " curb their inſolence. He added, that no per- " ſon had a better right, or was more concern- " ed than himſelf, to take care of the affairs " of the kingdom, during the minority of the " king, his nephew; that his conſtant attach- " ment to the king, his brother, was univerſa- " ly known; and, therefore, his tender af- " fection for his children would not ſuffer " him to leave them to the mercy of thoſe, " who, on all occaſions, ſolely conſulted their " own advancement: That, for theſe reaſons, " he was reſolved to do all that was poſſible, " to promote the good of the nation, and the " honour of his nephew, principally by giv- " ing him an education, that ſhould render " him capable of treading in the ſteps of his " illuſtrious anceſtors; but that he could not " expect to execute ſuch an undertaking, " without the aſſiſtance of all honeſt men, " and eſpecially of thoſe to whom he was ſpeak- " ing, who, doubtleſs, had, like him, no " other view, than the nation's welfare and " glory; and that he had aſſembled them, " to concert with them proper meaſures, in " the preſent emergency, being fully deter- " mined not to proceed, without their advice."

The reſult of the conference. Moore.

This ſpeech meeting with applauſe, all the lords entered upon a ſerious debate, about the means to be uſed, to become maſter of the king's perſon. To ſucceed, by force, was extremely difficult; for the earl of Rivers had not only drawn together a numerous body of troops, but might eaſily conduct the king to London, before they were in a condition to prevent it. Beſides, they would have given him too great an advantage, if, without any apparent neceſſity, they ſhould ſo ſoon take up arms; for ſuch a ſtep would infallibly cauſe the people to join with their enemies, ſince it would be looked upon, as tending to obſtruct the king's coronation. Theſe conſiderations induced the lords to reſolve to uſe policy; and they agreed, that they ſhould continue to ſhew a great zeal for the king, to deprive the queen of any pretence to raiſe forces, or keep thoſe on foot that were aſſembled by the earl of Rivers; that the duke of Glouceſter ſhould endeavour to perſuade her to diſmiſs theſe troops, as uſeleſs; and that, if he ſucceeded, it ſhould be attempted to become maſter of the king, before his arrival at London; but if, on the contrary, the queen was bent to keep theſe forces, ſhe was to be amuſed with negotiation, till they could openly oppoſe her deſigns.

The duke of Glouceſter's letter to the queen. Moore.

The conference being over, the lord Haſtings poſted to London, where his preſence was neceſſary, on account of his great intereſt in the city; and, preſently after, the duke of Glouceſter ſent the queen a letter of condolence, upon the king's death, expreſſing the greateſt affection for the young prince, his ſucceſſor, and an extraordinary reſpect for her. After this, he told her, " He be- " held, with extreme joy, all hearts united " in the ſame ſentiments; which inſpired " him with hopes, that the king, his ne- " phew, would paſs his minority, in a per- " fect tranquillity: That, for his part, he " would labour, with all his might, to keep " the people in the obedience due to their " ſovereign, by giving them himſelf an ex- " ample of unlimited ſubmiſſion; that he did " not doubt, that ſhe would alſo contribute " to cauſe all the king's ſubjects, to enjoy the " peace and quiet they had reaſon to expect; " that, therefore, he took the freedom to ad- " viſe her, to exert herſelf to diſpel the old " jealouſies among the nobility, and confirm, " by her prudence, the reconciliation lately " made, before the king her husband's de- " ceaſe; that his advice was, that, without " prejudice or partiality, merit ſhould be " rewarded, wherever it was found, that no " one might juſtly complain of being neglect- " ed, for mere party concerns; that this was " chiefly to be done, leſt, by acting otherwiſe, " diviſions, which ought to be buried in eter- " nal oblivion, were renewed; that, therefore, " he could not forbear telling her, that he was " ſurpriſed to hear the earl of Rivers was rai- " ſing forces, to conduct the king to London, " ſince they ſeemed to be entirely needleſs; " that he was fully convinced of the goodneſs " of her intention, but it was to be feared, " that this proceeding would be conſidered, in " a quite different light; that troops, aſſem- " bled upon the frivolous pretence of provi- " ding for the king's ſafety, when none ap- " peared to give him any diſturbance, muſt " neceſſarily create ſuſpicions in the oppoſite " party ſo lately reconciled; that the precau- " tions ſeveral lords would, undoubtedly, take, " to ſcreen themſelves from the impending " miſchiefs, were the natural and infallible " fruits of theſe ſuſpicions; that, therefore, " this unneceſſary proceeding, to avoid a " groundleſs peril, would endanger the peace " of the whole kingdom; that, if once theſe " ſuſpicions ſhould prevail, and two armies be " on foot in the kingdom, God alone knew " the iſſue; and that, for theſe reaſons, of " which, doubtleſs, ſhe perceived the ſtrength, " he adviſed her to diſmiſs her troops, that all " the nobility of the realm might come, with- " out fear or jealouſy, to pay their reſpects to " their young ſovereign, and contribute, each " according to his ability, to the preſervation " of peace and union in the ſtate."

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The queen falls into the ſnare. Moore.

The queen very imprudently fell in with this advice, not diſcerning the venom; and ſhe more readily complied with it, as it came from a brother-in-law, who had always been firmly attached to the intereſts of the late king, and ſtill ſhewed himſelf extremely zealous, for her and her children. During Edward IV's life, the duke of Glouceſter had been very reſpectful to the queen; moreover, there was not in his letter a ſingle word, to induce her to believe, that he deſigned to diſpute the government with her; and, in fine, ſhe conſidered, that the duke could not aſpire to the crown, without ſupplanting two nephews,

1483. phews, and five nieces, who were not in his power. This alone might have removed her ſuſpicions, if ſhe could have entertained any; wherefore, ſhe wrote to the earl of Rivers, her brother, that ſhe judged it proper, that he ſhould diſmiſs his troops, to prevent groundleſs jealouſies; and the earl, immediately, obeying her orders, and retaining only the king's domeſticks, began his journey, to conduct him to London.

The duke of Gloucester and his friends go and meet the king. Moore.

The young king approaching Northampton, the dukes of Glouceſter and Buckingham, who had brought into the town 900 armed men, went to meet him, and ſaluted him with great reſpect; and, in diſcourſing with the earl of Rivers, they told him, that Northampton was ſo full of ſtrangers, and ill provided with proviſions and other accommodations, that it would be inconvenient for the king's, and their retinue, to lodge in that place. Then, they adviſed him to carry the king to Stony-Stratford, which is only 12 miles farther, in the road to London; and they added, that they would return to Northampton, and wait upon the king, in the morning. Upon parting, one of of them propoſed to the earl, in a free and eaſy manner, as if it had been a ſudden thought, to go and paſs the night with them, at Northampton, whilſt the king reſted, at Stony-Stratford; and the earl, not ſuſpecting their deſign, accepted this kind invitation; nay, he was even glad of an occaſion, to cement their mutual reconciliation, by this mark of confidence.

The three lords, arriving at Northampton, ſpent the evening together, in perfect harmony, with mutual proteſtations of friendſhip and offers of ſervice; and, at bed-time, the earl of Rivers withdrew to his lodgings. The other two paſſed the reſt of the night, in conſulting about proper meaſures, ſince the earl of Rivers had indiſcreetly put himſelf into their hands; and, their conſultation being ended, they ſecured the keys of the inn where they lodged, under the pretence that they would be the firſt that ſhould attend the king, in the morning. For the greater precaution, they ſent a conſiderable number of men, to line the way, and ſuffer no perſon whatever to enter Stony-Stratford; and, at break of day, they were ready to mount, whilſt the earl of Rivers was ſtill in bed; but, in the interim, one of his people waking him, and telling him, that the dukes of Glouceſter and Buckingham were ready to depart, and that no perſon was ſuffered to go out of the inn, he, directly, put on his clothes, to know the reaſon of this proceeding. However, he found them in a very different diſpoſition from that wherein he had left them, ſome hours before; for, upon his approach, they began to quarrel with him, charging him with alienating the king's affection from his moſt faithful ſubjects; adding, that they ſhould take care to prevent the like practices, for the future. The earl would have returned a calm anſwer to this accuſation; but, refuſing to hear him, they committed him to the cuſtody of ſome of their ſervants, and, mounting their horſes, rode away to the king.

They found the young prince ready to depart; and, paying him their reſpects, they remounted, in order to attend him. Before they were out of the town, they quarrelled with the lord Grey, the king's half-brother, and accuſed him, of having, jointly with the marqueſs of Dorſet, his brother, and the earl of Rivers, his uncle, formed a project to become maſter of the king's perſon; and they likewiſe taxed the marqueſs of Dorſet, with taking out of the tower the treaſure, committed to his cuſtody by the late king. Upon this, the king told them, that, as to what concerned the marqueſs of Dorſet, he could ſay nothing, but would anſwer for the conduct of the earl of Rivers and the lord Grey, who had been continually with him; to which the duke of Buckingham replied, that they had induſtriouſly concealed their plots from his highneſs; and, at the ſame time, he ordered his people to arreſt the lord Grey, with Sir Thomas Vaughan and Sir Richard Hawſe, and, inſtead of proceeding to London, conducted the king back to Northampton. The ſame, or next day, the priſoners were carried to Pontefract-caſtle, the governor whereof was the duke of Glouceſter's creature; and the king ſeemed to be extremely troubled, for the diſgrace of his brother and uncle, as well as for the violence to his own perſon; but he had no way, to free himſelf from his new governors, except his tears, which were little regarded; yet, in the mean while, they paid him all the reverence uſually paid to a ſovereign, to blind the eyes of the people by theſe outward marks of reſpect and ſubmiſſion.

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They ſeize upon the king.

The news reaching the queen, ſhe perceived her error, in relying on the duke of Glouceſter, and, immediately, ſuſpected, that he had formed deſigns ſtill more deſtructive to the royal family; but, being deprived of the aſſiſtance of her brother and ſons, as well as of their counſels, ſhe had no other refuge, than with the duke of York, her ſon, and the reſt of her family, to take ſanctuary in Weſtminſter.

The queen takes ſanctuary in Weſtminſter. Moore.

The lord Haſtings, then at London, as I obſerved, deteſted the queen, but loved the king and all the family of Edward IV; and, tho' he engaged in Glouceſter's and Buckingham's plot, it was becauſe he believed, that it only tended to prevent the queen from aſſuming the government, which he thought juſt and reaſonable. Having intelligence, in the night, of what had paſſed at Northampton, he, forthwith, ſent the news to Dr. Rotherham, archbiſhop of York and lord chancellor, aſſuring him, at the ſame time, that he had no reaſon to be alarmed; that the king's perſon was in no danger, and what had happened would, very ſoon, turn to the welfare of the kingdom. The archbiſhop, riſing that moment, repaired to the queen, carrying the great ſeal along with him; and he found her in a diſconſolate condition, ſitting upon the ground, lamenting her own and her children's fate, whilſt her domeſticks were buſy, in removing ſuch goods as were neceſſary into the ſanctuary. He endeavoured to comfort

The archbiſhop of York gives her marks of his fidelity.

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A tumult at London is appeaſed by Haſtings. Moore.

In the interim, there was a great commotion in the city of London; for ſeveral of the Londoners, alarmed at the news they had juſt received, which, probably, was exceedingly aggravated, had taken up arms. But the lord Haſtings, being ſenſible that an inſurrection, at London, might diſconſert the meaſures of his friends, at Northampton, inſtantly, coming to the city, where his credit was great, aſſured the citizens, that the king was in no danger; that, indeed, the earl of Rivers, the lord Grey and ſome others were arreſted, for conſpiring againſt the dukes of Glouceſter and Buckingham, but would be brought to a legal trial; yet this was no juſt reaſon for them to take up arms, and they might be called to an account, for the tumult, if they did not, at once, lay down their arms. The citizens, ſuppoſing the lord Haſtings, who was of the duke of Buckingham's party, to have a thorough knowledge of this affair, immediately, retired to their own habitations.

The king is brought to London. Moore.

Shortly after, the dukes of Glouceſter and Buckingham conducted the king to London, paying him all the reſpect due to his dignity; and, whilſt they were on the road, they cauſed a report to be ſpread, that the earl of Rivers and the reſt of the priſoners, at Pontefract, had formed a deſign to kill them; and their ſervants ſhewed the people barrels of arms, which, they ſaid, were found among the baggage of the conſpirators. The news of the extraordinary reſpect paid to the king flying to London, before his arrival, greatly contributed to reſtore quiet, to the city, becauſe, in all appearance, there had been no attempt upon the king's perſon, or dignity; and, at his approach, the people went out, in crowds, to receive him. The young king entered the city, attended by a great number of lords, and particularly by the duke of Glouceſter, who followed him, bare-headed; and he was lodged in the biſhop's palace, to ſhew what confidence they placed in the citizens, and that they only conſulted his ſafety; which management entirely diſpelled the ſuſpitions of the duke of Glouceſter, raiſed by the Northampton affair.

The duke of Glouceſter calls a grand council Moore.

The rejoicings for the king's ſafe arrival being over, it was neceſſary to ſettle the government, during his minority, which was to laſt, ſeven years; and the moſt natural way would have been to call a parliament, as was practiſed, upon the deceaſe of Henry V; but as, during a parliament, all other authority would have ceaſed, till the government was regulated, the duke of Glouceſter was unwilling to part with the power he had acquired, by ſeizing the king's perſon. Indeed, he might have expected, that the parliament would have made him protector of the realm, ſince he was the only prince of the blood capable of holding the reins of the government; but the care of the young king's perſon and education would, doubtleſs, have been committed to others; for it is a conſtant and very reaſonable rule, not to truſt a minor king to thoſe that may be gainers by his ruin. This was what gave the duke of Glouceſter the greateſt anxiety and uneaſineſs; for he reſolved to continue maſter of the king's perſon, without which it would have been extremely difficult to accompliſh his deſigns; and, therefore, he judged it to be more agreeable to his intereſts to call a great council, and not ſummon a parliament, till he had ſecured the crown. This council chiefly conſiſting of the antient nobility and the duke of Glouceſter's friends, declared him protector of the king and kingdom, uſurping a privilege peculiarly belonging to the parliament; but, as I have often obſerved, it is eaſier to induce the parliament to confirm what is done, than cauſe it to do what is deſired.

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He is declared protector.

The doubtful behaviour of the protector.

The ſeizing of the king's perſon, and the procuring himſelf to be declared protector, were the two firſt ſteps by which the duke of Glouceſter intended to aſcend the throne; and each of theſe had its fair and foul ſide. In the firſt place, after the death of Edward IV, as the queen and her relations had no right to ſeize the government of the realm, it could not be thought ſurpriſing, that the duke of Glouceſter ſhould aſſume, near the king, the dignity to which he was intitled by his birth; but his fraud and violence to the queen's relations gave occaſion to ſuſpect, that he had formed deeper deſigns. In the next place, nothing was more natural than to ſee the king's uncle protector of the kingdom; but, at the ſame time, his affecting to obtain that dignity, without vouchſafing to call a parliament, and his cauſing to be annexed to the office of protector of the realm that of protector of the king, were extraordinary proceedings, that might have raiſed juſt ſuſpicions; and yet the conſequence was not perceived, till it was too late to prevent it; however, leſt theſe irregularities ſhould open the eyes of the people, the duke induſtriouſly concealed himſelf, under the vail of an extraordinary zeal for the king his nephew's intereſts, and an extreme reſpect for his perſon.

Alterations at court. Moore.

The duke was no ſooner declared protector, than he took the great ſeal from archbiſhop Rotherham, who had given him a very plauſible pretence, and delivered it to the biſhop of Lincoln; but the duk of Buckingham and the lord Haſtings were confirmed in their places; tho' great alterations were made, in all the reſt of the poſts, the new protector

1483. protector putting in his own creatures, in the room of the queen's, who filled them before. The lord Haſtings was not, as yet, truſted, with the ſecret of his principal deſign; but he did not deſpair of gaining him, when his affairs were more advanced. As Haſtings was an avowed enemy to the queen and her family, and had a great intereſt in London, this was, at preſent, ſufficient for the protector's purpoſe; for, without knowing it, he could be ſerviceable to him, in the execution of his projects, which it was not yet proper to diſcover.

The protector moves in council to take the duke of York from the queen. Moore.

To proceed, with any probability of ſucceſs in his deſign, it was neceſſary for the duke of Glouceſter to have the young duke of York in his power, as well as the king, his brother; for to dethrone, or murder, the king, would have been altogether inſignificant, whilſt the duke of York was out of his reach. He, therefore, moved, in the council, whether it would not be requiſite to get the duke of York out of the queen's hands, and place him with the king, his brother; and he made, on this occaſion, a very long ſpeech, wherein, after profeſſing an extraordinary zeal for the royal family, and confirming what he ſaid, with a ſolemn oath, he diſplayed the reaſons, that required the young prince's removal from the queen. The firſt was, "That the queen's retiring to a "ſanctuary, without any apparent danger "to herſelf, or family, muſt neceſſarily be "conſidered, as an affront to the govern-"ment; and, ſecondly, her ſole view muſt "have been to raiſe diſturbances, by mak-"ing the people believe, that the king was "in danger, ſince no other conſequence "could be inferred from her conduct; that, "therefore, it was neceſſary to undeceive "the people, by procuring the duke of York, "and cauſing him to be educated, according "to his quality; and that, the more viſibly "the queen's malice appeared, the more vi-"gorouſly it ſhould be endeavoured to pre-"vent its effects: That it was manifeſt, "that ſhe was labouring to form, in the "kingdom, a party capable of placing her "at the head of affairs, as in the late reign; "and that it was with difficulty, and by an "amazing chance, that they were freed from "the imperious rule of that princeſs and her "family; but, if the king ſhould happen to "die, the realm would be again plunged in-"to the ſame calamities, ſince ſhe had the "lawful heir in her power. On the other "hand, it was neceſſary to conſider what re-"flections foreigners would make, when they "heard, that, whilſt one of Edward's ſons "was crowned, the other was forced to keep in "a ſanctuary; that it would be diſhonourable "to the government, to ſuffer themſelves to "be, thus, braved by a woman, who had "attempted to cauſe the king's council to be "looked upon, as enemies to the royal fa-"mily; moreover, that the king, being young "and wanting ſome diverſion, could not have "a more agreeable companion than his own "brother, and there was no reaſon to keep "them aſunder. In fine, it would be inde-"cent to proceed to the coronation, in the "abſence of the duke of York, the ſecond "perſon in the ſtate, who, having an un-"queſtionable right to be preſent, could "not be debarred of it, without injuſtice. "Upon all theſe accounts, he concluded, that "deputies ſhould be ſent to the queen, to "deſire her to deliver the duke of York to "the king, his brother; and he added, that "he thought the cardinal archbiſhop of Can-"terbury to be the fitteſt perſon for this de-"putation; and that, if, in ſpite of all the "archbiſhop's arguments, ſhe ſhould obſti-"nately keep the young prince with her, "and perſiſt in her groundleſs ſuſpicions, it "was his opinion, that the council ſhould "take him away, by force. Theſe were his "ſentiments; and he deſired every member "of the council freely to ſpeak his own.

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The archbiſhop of Canterbury is ſent to the queen; and he is againſt the violating the ſanctuary. Moore.

The cardinal readily undertook to go and acquaint the queen with the council's pleaſure; but, he, by no means, approved the motion of violating the privileges of a ſanctuary. He obſerved, that the church of Weſtminſter was conſecrated, 500 years ſince, by St. Peter himſelf, who deſcended from heaven, attended by multitudes of angels; that no king of England had ever preſumed to violate that ſanctuary; and that ſuch an attempt would infallibly draw down the juſt vengeance of God upon the whole kingdom.

Buckingham's reaſons for it.

The duke of Buckingham replied, with great warmth, to this part of the cardinal's ſpeech; and he ſhewed, that ſanctuaries were deſigned only to protect ſuch, as had reaſon to fear oppreſſion and violence, and not to countenance frivolous and malicious ſuſpicions, detrimental to the king and kingdom. After many ſharp invectives againſt the queen, he enlarged upon the abuſes of ſanctuaries; particularly, as they afforded thoſe, who fled thither, means to eſcape. He added, that tho' the duke of York was neither guilty, nor oppreſſed, there was cauſe to fear, that the the queen, his mother, would carry him out of the kingdom, which might, hereafter, give the queen an opportunity to invade England, by the help of ſome foreign prince, upon frivolous pretences, which would never be wanting; and, in fine, after alledging ſeveral other reaſons, he agreed with the protector to take the duke of York, by force, out of the ſanctuary, if the queen refuſed to deliver him; and, this matter being debated, the opinion of the protector and the duke of Buckingham prevailed, tho' it was oppoſed by moſt of the eccleſiaſticks there preſent.

A conference between the queen and the archbiſhop. Moore.

The cardinal, coming to the queen, advanced all poſſible arguments, to prevail with her to comply; aſſuring her, that neither the king, herſelf, nor the duke of York were in danger. He ſpoke, with greater confidence, as he believed what he ſaid, not, in the leaſt, ſuſpecting the duke of Glouceſter of having formed evil deſigns; for, as to the violence uſed to the queen's relations, being ignorant, whether they were innocent, he did not think it any

1483. great injuſtice to detain them, ſome time, in priſon, to prevent their diſturbing the kingdom, by their immoderate ambition; but all his eloquence was incapable of convincing the queen, who evidently perceived, in the duke of Glouceſter's conduct, too much reaſon to ſtrengthen her fears. At laſt, the cardinal, finding that his arguments were ineffectual, repreſented to her, that the council, apprehenſive of her carrying the prince, her ſon, out of the kingdom, had reſolved to take him, by force, out of his ſanctuary, if ſhe would not voluntarily deliver him; and the queen, hearing theſe menaces, inſiſted on the privileges of ſanctuaries, which was entirely needleſs, ſince ſhe ſpoke to a prelate, who had, ſo lately, been a zealous advocate for the ſame; but, at length, ſeeing herſelf preſſed to obey the council's order, ſhe freely declared to the cardinal the real grounds of her fears. She told him, that ſhe could not help ſuſpecting the duke of Glouceſter, of having deſigns deſtructive to the royal family, which he could not accompliſh, without having both the brothers in his power; and that the only means, to preſerve the king, was to keep the duke of York out of their uncle's reach. The cardinal, upon this diſcourſe, warmly replied, that, ſince ſhe obſtinately terrified herſelf with vain and imaginary ſuſpicions, he would ſay no more, on that head; that, being only the council's deputy, and the affair not concerning him, in particular, he would urge her no farther, leſt he ſhould give her occaſion to think him in the plot ſhe apprehended: That, however, he obſerved, with grief, her ill opinion of the members of the council; that ſhe muſt believe them to be either void of underſtanding, not to perceive what ſhe fancied ſhe ſaw ſo plainly, or elſe ſo wicked as to lend their aſſiſtance to the duke of Glouceſter; that, for his part, he could confidently affirm, that the duke had never entertained ſuch a thought; and that the council would be exceedingly ſorry to find themſelves charged with treachery, or extreme imprudence. The good cardinal, to diſpel the queen's fears, affirmed nothing but what he really believed, becauſe he was not in the protector's confidence; and, accordingly, the queen felt herſelf not a little ſhaken by the aſſurances of a perſon of his character. It was apparent, that, if the council deſigned to deceive her, they would not have made him their inſtrument; and yet ſhe could not lay aſide her jealous apprehenſions. In the interim, ſhe ſaw the cardinal ready to return, and herſelf on the point of being expoſed to the violence of her enemies, and obliged to do, by force, what was civilly deſired; and, therefore, coming to a ſudden reſolution to give up the young prince, ſhe caught him in her arms, tenderly took her leave of him, and, with a ſhower of tears, delivered him to the cardinal, who brought him to the protector. He no ſooner ſaw his young nephew, than he ran to him, with open arms, to embrace him and give him marks of a feigned affection, aſſuring him, that he would always be to him, inſtead of a father; and then he carried him to the king, who, without knowing how he came there, was overjoyed at his company. A few days after, the protector found ſome pretence to conveigh them both to the tower; tho', before, they lodged, at the biſhop's palace, in the heart of the city. 1483.

The duke of Glouceſter imparts his deſigns to the duke of Buckingham. Moore.

It is generally ſuppoſed, that the duke of Glouceſter did not communicate his moſt ſecret thoughts to the duke of Buckingham, till he had the two princes in his power; for tho' Buckingham mortally deteſted the queen and her family, becauſe, through their means, the late king refuſed to put him in poſſeſſion of certain lands, in Herefordſhire, which he claimed, and his hatred had even extended to the king's perſon, tho' he had not dared to diſcover it; and he had joined with the duke of Glouceſter, to deprive the queen and her relations of the government of the kingdom, during the king's minority; yet it is not believed, that, at firſt, his views had any farther extent; for, as he wanted only to ſecure, or increaſe his credit, a minority ſeems to have been more proper for his purpoſe, than the government of an adult prince, ſuch as the duke of Glouceſter. Nevertheleſs, as he was a man of vicious principles, it was eaſy for the protector to engage him in his plot, by the hopes of a reward; and it is ſaid, he not only promiſed to procure him the lands he deſired, but alſo to give him a part of the late king's wardrobe, to furniſh his houſe in a magnificent manner, and enſure to his heirs the office of high-conſtable, of which he was poſſeſſed; but, however this be, it is certain, that, from this time, he appeared no leſs eager, than the protector himſelf, to place him on the throne; and the only queſtion, that now remained, was, how to put this project in execution.

The reſult of their projects.

After this, the conferences, between the duke of Glouceſter and his truſty friends, became more frequent, than before; and they debated the principal difficulties, that might occur in the purſuit of the deſign, and the means to ſurmount, or prevent them. In a word, they came to the following reſolutions, which were conſidered, as the plan of their future proceedings. Firſt, as the greateſt oppoſition was, probably, to be expected from the queen, it was reſolved to diſpatch the priſoners, at Pontefract, in order to deprive the royal family of their main ſupport; to which the lord Haſtings readily conſented, tho' he was ignorant of the protector's real motive, in putting theſe lords to death. 2. It was agreed to engage in the plot the fitteſt perſons to accompliſh it; that is, in other words, villains capable of any undertaking, without the leaſt regard to honour, juſtice, or conſcience. 3. It was judged neceſſary to find ſome foundation to ſupport the duke of Glouceſter's pretenſions, in order to amuſe the people. 4. As ſecrecy was no leſs requiſite, till matters were ripe for execution, it was determined ſtill to ſhew publickly a ſettled deſign to cauſe the king to be crowned. 5. Laſtly, It was agreed, that the lord Haſtings ſhould either be gained, or diſpatched out of the

1483. the way; one of which ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary, by reaſon of his great intereſt in the city of London.

Orders to behead the priſoners at Pontefract.

This plan being laid, the protector wrote to Sir Richard Ratcliffe, governor of Pontefract and his creature, to behead, on a day appointed, the four lords that were under his cuſtody.

The protector gains Shaw and Catesby. Moore.

He afterwards applied himſelf particularly to gain Sir Edmund Shaw, then mayor of London, and proved ſucceſsful; and the mayor engaged in the plot his brother, John Shaw, a celebrated preacher, and one Pinker, monk and provincial of the Auguſtine friars, who were greatly eſteemed by the people; to whom the protector joined Catesby, an intimate friend and confident of the lord Haſtings.

A report is ſpread againſt the legitimacy of Edward IV. and V. Moore.

Theſe were the inſtruments the protector's ſecret council reſolved to employ, to ſpread among the people the reaſons that might ſtrengthen his pretenſions; and this appeared to be extremely difficult, ſince there were three princeſſes and ſix princes before him, viz. the king, the duke of York, his brother, Edward IV's five daughters, the earl of Warwick, ſon to the late duke of Clarence, and Margaret, his ſiſter. A ſingle expedient ſeemed ſufficient to deſtroy the rights of theſe princes and princeſſes; namely, to intimate that Edward IV's children were all baſtards, and Edward himſelf and the duke of Clarence, his brother, not ſons to the late duke of York. To exclude Edward's children, it was determined to alledge the validity of his pretended marriage-contract with Eliſabeth Lucy, before he married Eliſabeth Woodville, from whence it followed, that the children, by the latter marriage, were illegitimate; and this pretenſion was to be proved by the ducheſs of York's teſtimony, who had advanced that argument, to hinder the king, her ſon, from eſpouſing Sir Richard Woodville's daughter. If we may believe Philip de Commines, the biſhop of Bath and Wells then affirmed, that he married Edward IV. to a lady, named Eleanor Talbot, before he eſpouſed the queen; that it was done, without a witneſs, and the king had ſtrictly enjoined him, never to diſcover it to any perſon whatever: But we do not find, in the Engliſh hiſtorians, that the duke of Glouceſter, at the time we are ſpeaking of, made uſe of this reaſon, tho' it would have been more plauſible than that drawn from Edward's marriage with Eliſabeth Lucy; for Edward had taken precautions, with reſpect to the laſt, as was obſerved, in the hiſtory of his reign, whereas the firſt would have been unanſwerable, being ſupported by the evidence of the very prelate that pretended to perform the ceremony. It is, therefore, improbable, that the duke of Glouceſter ſhould overlook ſo great an advantage; but it is very poſſible, that Philip de Commines might be miſinformed, or, at leaſt, miſtaken in the name of Edward's miſtreſs.

In the interim, as it was not eaſy to prove Edward's pretended marriage with Eliſabeth Lucy; and as, on the contrary, the biſhops had declared, that there was no mutual contract, the protector's council judged, that the other point ſhould be principally urged, viz. that Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence were not ſons to the late duke of York; by which were, at once, excluded the poſterity of theſe two princes, and then the duke of Glouceſter was next heir to the crown. To ſupport this aſſertion, it was reſolved to plead the duke of Clarence's own teſtimony, who, as was pretended, maintained, that Edward IV. was illegitimate; and ſome of the late duke of York's ſervants were already ſuborned, who induſtriouſly ſpread various reports, to confirm what was intended to be intimated to the people. They gave out, that the ducheſs of York had admitted to her bed certain perſons perfectly reſembling Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence; and that the duke of Glouceſter alone was ſon to the duke of York.

1483. The protector's emiſſaries ſpread reports againſt Edward IV. Moore.

A pretence to exclude the duke of Clarence's heirs. Moore.

To exclude the earl of Warwick and his ſiſter, it was reſolved to inſiſt on the attainder of the duke of Clarence, their father; which, it was alledged, rendered them incapable of any inheritance. Thus, the duke of Glouceſter did not ſcruple to accuſe his own mother of adultery; but this was one of the leaſt of the crimes, which paved his way to the throne, ſo extremely was he blinded by his ambition.

Two councils are erected. Moore.

Having, thus, prepared all matters, the protector pretended to haſten the king's coronation; and, with this view, he appointed a particular council, which met, every day, to regulate the preparations. This council was compoſed of ſuch lords as were moſt attached to Edward IV's family, among whom the two archbiſhops, the biſhop of Ely, the lord Haſtings, and the lord Stanley were the chief; and he had likewiſe another council conſiſting of his creatures, which alſo met regularly; but the deſign of their conſultations was only, how to defer the coronation, and place the protector on the throne.

Moore.

The lords, appointed to haſten the preparations for the coronation, ſoon perceived, that all their orders were retarded by obſtacles from another quarter; and, on the other hand, they were ſomewhat ſurpriſed, that the protector ſeldom ſuffered the king to be ſeen; that the young prince had but very few attendants, whilſt the protector's houſe was filled with unneceſſary people, and a crowd of courtiers, who were always kindly received and careſſed; which things, joined to the affected delays of the coronation, began to create ſuſpicion in thoſe who were ſincerely devoted to the perſon of the king. The lord Stanley, a man of great penetration, was the firſt that diſcovered his fears of the protector's evil deſigns; and he freely ſpoke his mind to his fellow-counſellors, declaring, that he did not approve of the duke of Glouceſter's proceedings; that the other council which ſo often met, and whoſe reſolves were ſo carefully concealed, was to him very ſuſpicious; and that, therefore, they ought to think, betimes, of means to prevent the impending

1483. pending danger. This advice was prudent; but the lord Haſtings, ſtill prepoſſeſſed that the protector deſigned only to humble the queen's party, removed all theſe ſuſpicions. He affirmed, that he would pawn his life, that, if any thing was tranſacted, in the other council, detrimental to the king and the ſtate, he ſhould be, immediately, informed of it by one of the members; he meant Catesby, his friend and confident *; but he was a ſtranger to Catesby's treachery, who was, therefore, truſted by the duke of Glouceſter. Thus, Stanley and the other lords of his party, preferring the lord Haſtings's aſſurances to their own judgment, took no meaſures, to ſtop the protector's progreſs; which they might eaſily have done, had they attempted it, in time.

The protector ſounds Haſtings, and ſends him to the king. Moore.

In the mean while, the duke of Glouceſter, being ſenſible that the lord Haſtings was firmly attached to the king, reſolved to engage him in the plot, or deſtroy him; and, therefore, he ordered Catesby to ſound him, but with all imaginable caution, leſt he ſhould diſcover the deſign. Catesby, leading the lord Haſtings to diſcourſe, about ſtate-affairs, repreſented to him, that people talked very much of the duke of Glouceſter's right to the crown, in preference to Edward IV's children, and many were perſuaded, that his title was juſt; that it was publickly ſaid, it could be wiſhed, that the reaſons alledged, in his favour, were valid, becauſe it would be more beneficial to the nation to be governed by a man, than by a child; but that, for his part, he had not yet examined the matter, and ſhould be glad firſt to know his opinion. Haſtings, not ſuſpecting his friend, fully communicated his ſentiments, and imparted to him the lord Stanley's ſuſpicions of the duke of Glouceſter; adding, that he would rather ſee the deſtruction of the protector and the duke of Buckingham, than the late king's children deprived of their right; and that, if he perceived any plot, in behalf of the duke of Glouceſter, he would employ his credit, his eſtate, and even his life, to defeat it; which reply was, directly, carried to the protector, by the perfidious Catesby, with many aggravations, to haſten the lord Haſtings's ruin, leſt he ſhould, hereafter, diſcover his treachery.

Haſtings's death is reſolved. Moore.

The duke, having, thus, ſounded the lord Haſtings, was extremely embarraſſed; for he ardently deſired to gain that lord, knowing how much it was in his power to ſerve him; and, for that very reaſon, he could not help fearing him, if he perſiſted in his attachment to the king. To free himſelf from this uneaſineſs, he ordered Catesby to ſound him, once more; who, ſpeaking a little too plainly, in his ſecond converſation with Haſtings, and not doubting that his treachery was known, aſſured the protector, that he had not only nothing to hope from that quarter, but might alſo expect to find, in Haſtings, an avowed enemy; upon which, the protector determined to diſpatch him, conſidering him, now, as his real adverſary. 1483.

The means to bring it about. Moore.

This reſolution being taken, he called a council, at the tower, under the pretence of finiſhing the affairs of the king's coronation; and he came himſelf, at nine o' clock in the morning, with a chearful countenance, courteouſly ſaluting all the lords; after which, he went out, and deſired the lords of the council to continue their deliberations.

About an hour after, he returned with an angry aſpect, knitting his brows, biting his lips, and diſcovering all poſſible ſigns of the perturbation of his mind; and, remaining, ſome time, without ſpeaking, he broke ſilence with the following words: "My lords, "what puniſhment do they deſerve, who "have conſpired againſt my life?" The lords, not, immediately, replying, the lord Haſtings anſwered, "Whoſoever committed ſuch a "crime ought to be puniſhed, as a traytor." The duke made anſwer, "It was that ſorce-"reſs, my ſiſter-in-law, with her accomplices." Theſe words aſtoniſhed many of the council, who were in the intereſt of the queen, being afraid, that this accuſation concerned them; but the lord Haſtings was far from any ſuch apprehenſions; for it was univerſally known, that he was a mortal enemy to the queen; moreover, he had lately approved of the order ſent to Pontefract, to behead the impriſoned lords, who were to be executed, that very day. After a ſhort pauſe, the protector, unbuttoning his left ſleeve, ſhewed the council his arm, dried and withered, and ſaid, with extreme emotion, "See, what that ſor-"cereſs and Shore's wife have done, by their "witchcrafts; they have reduced my arm to "this condition, as they would alſo ſoon have "done my whole body, if, by God's mercy, "their accurſed plot had not been diſcovered." Theſe words cauſed a greater ſurprize than the former, becauſe the whole council knew, that the duke's arm had long been in that condition; and, beſides, if the queen had formed ſuch a project, Jane Shore would have been the laſt perſon to whom ſhe would have imparted it, ſince, of all women, ſhe moſt deteſted her. The lord Haſtings, who, ſince Edward's deceaſe, had kept Jane Shore, finding that ſhe was involved in the accuſation, could not forbear ſhewing, how much he doubted her being guilty, by ſaying, "If they had "committed ſuch a crime, they deſerved to "bepuniſhed." Upon this, the protector, raiſing his voice, ſaid, "What, doſt thou anſwer me, "with ifs and ands, as if I forged this accu-"ſation? I tell thee they have plotted my "death; and thou thyſelf art acceſſary to the "crime." He no ſooner ſpoke theſe words, than he ſtruck the table twice, with his fiſt; and, immediately, the room was filled with armed men. The protector, inſtantly, turning to the lord Haſtings, ſaid, "I arreſt thee "for high-treaſon. Who, me, my lord, re-"plied Haſtings? Yes, thee, traytor, an-

* Richard Catesby was a lawyer, who, thro' the lord Haſtings's means, had been put into a place of conſiderable truſt, in the counties of Leiceſter and Northamptonſhire. Moore.

ſwere I

1483. ſwered the protector; and, at the ſame time, he delivered him to the cuſtody of the ſoldiers. During the buſtle, one of the ſoldiers would have cloven the lord Stanley's ſkull, with a battle-ax; but he avoided part of the blow, by ſinking under the table; yet he was dangerouſly wounded. Probably, the ſoldier had orders to kill him, as it were by chance, under the pretence that he would have defended the lord Haſtings; and it is eaſy to gueſs, why the protector deſired to diſpatch him. However this be, having miſſed his aim, Stanley was arreſted, with the archbiſhop of York and the biſhop of Ely, whom he knew to be zealouſly affected to the young king, and, as to the lord Haſtings, he would ſcarce allow him time to make a ſhort confeſſion to the firſt prieſt that came, ſwearing, "He would not dine, "till he was beheaded." Accordingly, his "head was ſtruck off, upon a log that was found on the green, before the tower-chapel, the time limited by the protector being too ſhort to erect a ſcaffold. Hiſtorians enlarge upon ſeveral preſages he had of his death, but, tho' ſuch remarks may have their uſe, when the facts are unqueſtionable, I ſhall paſs them over in ſilence *, and only obſerve, that the lord Haſtings died, the ſame day and hour that the Pontefract-priſoners were executed, to whoſe death he greatly contributed.

Stanley is wounded, and arreſted, with the archbiſhop of York and the biſhop of Ely. Moore.

The lord Haſtings being dead, the protector judged it neceſſary to palliate ſuch a raſh and illegal execution, leſt the Londoners ſhould take fire, upon hearing it, and, with this view, he ſent for the lord mayor and aldermen. In the interim, he and the duke of Buckingham put on two old ruſty coats of armour; and, the mayor coming to the tower, the protector told him, that the lord Haſtings and ſome others had conſpired againſt his life, and he had no intelligence of the plot, till 10 o' clock that morning; that, the fact being fully proved, the king and council judged it neceſſary to execute him, immediately, becauſe they were informed, that a great number of people were in readineſs to riſe, in his favour; that this conſpiracy had put his perſon in extreme danger, and obliged him to harneſs himſelf, in old ruſty armour, for his defence; and that he had ſent for him, to give him a true account of this ſudden execution, that he might, when he acquainted the Londoners with it, take care to appeaſe, or prevent the commotions, which diſaffected people might raiſe in the city. The mayor and aldermen plainly perceived, that the protector did not inform them of the whole truth; but, not daring to expreſs their doubts, they withdrew, aſſuring him, that his orders ſhould be obeyed.

The protector tries to juſtify what was done to the mayor of London. Moore.

The ſole intent of what the protector had ſaid to the mayor and aldermen was, to prepare the people to receive a proclamation, publiſhed in the city, two hours after the death of the lord Haſtings; and the king, in whoſe name it was iſſued out, was made to ſay in it, "That the lord Haſtings had con- "ſpired to ſeize his perſon, in order to go- "vern the kingdom, at his pleaſure, and "to kill the protector and the duke of Buck- "ingham; that, to prevent this deſign, he "was conſtrained, by the advice of his coun- "cil, to cauſe the criminal to be, forthwith, "puniſhed, and that no man ever more de- "ſerved to die; that it was he, who perſuad- "ed the late king to do ſo many things, con- "trary to the rights and privileges of the peo- "ple; that he had attempted to debauch "him, by his perſuaſions and example, and "had lain, the night before, with Shore's "wife, the accomplice of all his crimes, and "eſpecially of that for which he was behead- "ed." There were ſeveral other particulars in the proclamation, tending to leſſen the people's affection and compaſſion for the lord Haſtings, and to ſhew, that his death was a judgment upon him; yet it was obſerved, that the proclamation was compoſed in an elegant ſtile, and fairly written on parchment, tho' publiſhed, ſo very ſoon after that lord's deceaſe. This occaſioned a ſuſpicion, that it was previouſly prepared, in order to be publiſhed, immediately after the execution; and, accordingly, it produced but little effect.

A proclamation upon that ſubject.

As Jane Shore was accuſed of being an accomplice of the lord Haſtings, the protector was obliged to proceed againſt her, wherefore, giving orders to arreſt her, he commanded her to be conducted to the tower, where ſhe was examined before the council. The Duke of Glouceſter charged her himſelf, with deſigning, by her ſorceries, to waſte his fleſh, by degrees, and conſpiring with the lord Haſtings to aſſaſſinate him; but he could alledge nothing, to ſupport theſe accuſations; and, beſides, ſhe made ſo good a defence, that the council could ſee no reaſon to condemn her. However, as the protector was unwilling, that ſhe ſhould eſcape, with impunity, ſhe was ſued for incontinency, as being guilty of leaving her husband, and living with other men; and theſe were undeniable facts, ſince it was notorious, that ſhe had been kept by the late king, and afterwards by the lord Haſtings; upon which, ſhe was delivered over to the biſhop of London, and condemned by the eccleſiaſtiaſtical court to do open penance, in St. Paul's church, in a white ſheet, with a wax-taper in her hand, before all the people †.

Moore.

The late executions, at London and Pontefract, without a legal proceſs, with the impriſonment of the archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of Ely, and the lord Stanley, ſufficiently diſcovered the duke of Glouceſter's deſign; for, hitherto, he had varniſhed his conduct; but,

The protector haſtens the execution of his deſign.

* Theſe preſages were, a remarkable dream of the lord Stanley's, who dreamt, that a wild boar, with his tuſhes, had wounded his and the lord Haſtings's head, who, therefore, adviſed him to fly from danger; the ſollicitations of his concubine, Jane Shore, that very morning, not to go to the council, nor to truſt the wild boar; the frequent ſtumbling of his horſe, as he was riding to the tower, &c. Moore.

† Which ſhe accordingly did, the next Sunday morning; but ſhe behaved, on this occaſion, in ſuch a modeſt and decent manner, that thoſe, who regarded her beauty, more than her fault, never were in greater admiration of her, than at preſent. Moore.

1483. after these violent proceedings, it was impossible to conceal his intentions. Every one said to himself, that these unjust doings must necessarily end in the king's destruction; yet they durst not express their thoughts to one another, such a terror was spread, in all parts of the kingdom. They, who could have opposed the protector, were dead, or in prison; and, if any survived capable of giving him uneasiness, the example of those, who had been treated with so great barbarity, was sufficient to cause them to act, with precaution; for they plainly saw the imminent danger, if they did but seem to perceive what was projected.

The great men being, thus, seized with terror and consternation, the protector and the duke of Buckingham judged, that it was time to discover their designs; and there remained but one difficulty, viz. to persuade the Londoners to approve of the intended change. This was not an easy task; for, tho' private persons may be corrupted, and, if any are too obstinate, which was the case of the lord Hastings dispatched, it is much harder to prevail on a whole nation, to approve of manifest acts of injustice, wherein they themselves are not concerned; and there are only two ways to succeed. The first is to compel them, through fear, to pretend to believe what is contrary to their own judgment; and the other, to gain those in whom they put any confidence, that they may, by degrees, be brought to what is desired. After several consultations, the protector and the duke of Buckingham resolved to make use of both these means, the first of which had already proved so successful; and, as for the second, they agreed, that it should be continued, more than ever, to be spread, by emissaries, among the people, that Edward IV's children were illegitimate, and their father himself and the duke of Clarence, his brother, were not sons to the duke of York; and that these rumours should be supported by a sermon of Dr. Shaw, whose eloquence was applauded by the whole city.

He employs Dr. Shaw, a famous preacher. Moore.

Shaw's sermon.

These measures being concerted, the doctor mounted the pulpit, one Sunday morning, at Paul's cross; and he preached upon these these words, "Bastard slips shall take no "deep root." He began with shewing the blessings God commonly bestowed on the fruits of the marriage-bed, and the calamities which, on the contrary, befel illegitimate children; and he did not want examples of both, as well in sacred as prophane history. He afterwards enlarged on the noble qualities of the duke of York, slain in the battle of Wakefield, and represented, how great happiness the English might expect from a sovereign, descended from that renowned prince. From hence he took occasion to observe, that it was to be feared, the reign of Edward V. would be fatal to England, since he was born out of wedlock; and, besides, that neither Edward IV. nor the late duke of Clarence were sons to the great duke of York, as was evidently proved by officers of his household, witnesses of the adulterous life of the duchess, their mother: That she had admitted to her bed, in the view of all her servants, men whom the two brothers perfectly resembled; but that the duke of Gloucester alone could justly be called the duke of York's son. Moreover, that Edward IV. was not lawfully married to his queen, since he had before plighted his faith to the lady Elisabeth Lucy, as could be made appear from substantial evidences; and that, of course, his issue must be spurious: That, therefore, the duke of York's real posterity was not to be sought for, in the children either of Edward, or of the duke of Clarence; but that their race would infallibly perish, because "Bastard "plants shall take no deep root." But, raising his voice, he added, my lord protector, that noble prince, the pattern of all virtue, discovers, in his features, air, carriage, and soul, the perfect image of his illustrious father; at which words, it was designed, that the duke of Gloucester should shew himself, in hopes that the people, captivated by the preacher's eloquence, would salute him, as king; but, the duke staying, a little too long, the doctor had proceeded to another subject, when he saw him enter; yet, leaving it, he repeated the foresaid words, whilst the duke was pressing through the crowd, to come to his place. However, instead of hearing the cry of, "Long "live king Richard!" as he expected, he found that the whole audience kept a sullen silence, detesting the baseness of the preacher, instead of applauding his eloquent language; and, the sermon being ended, the doctor went and absconded, for shame, nor durst he ever shew his face again in the world; for it is said, that he died, presently after, with grief at his ill success, and for losing the esteem of his audience.

Wisdom of Solomon, chap. iv.

1483.

The issue of his sermon.

Shaw's sermon not answering the end proposed, other means were necessary; for the protector had proceeded too far to recede; wherefore, the duke of Buckingham, being a fine speaker, undertook to harangue the people, fancying that a polite speech would be more successful than Shaw's methodical sermon. Accordingly, the lord mayor had orders to assemble the aldermen, common-council, and principal citizens, in Guild-Hall; and the duke of Buckingham, coming to the assembly, and taking his place, near the mayor, told the people, that he came from the council, to acquaint them with a matter of the last importance to the whole kingdom, but especially to the citizens of London. He, at first, insisted on the calamities endured by the English, in the late reign; and he highly aggravated the cruelty, avarice, and incontinency of Edward IV, labouring, with all his might, to render him odious. Then, he reminded his audience, that, the Sunday before, that excellent man, Dr. Shaw, had fully proved to them, that Edward was not lawfully married to his queen, and consequently their children were spurious: That neither Edward himself nor the duke of Clarence, his brother, were sons to the duke of York; and to the proofs, alledged by the doctor, he himself could add many more, did not his respect for the protector restrain him from dwelling upon the duchess

The duke of Buckingham harangues the people, at Guild-Hall.

1483. ducheſs his mother's ſcandalous life: That, for theſe reaſons, the lords of the council, and the commons of the realm, particularly of the northern counties, had declared, that a baſtard ſhould not ſucceed to the crown of England, and petitioned, that it ſhould be adjudged to the duke of Glouceſter, only ſon to the late duke of York; that, indeed, there was cauſe to fear, that the magnanimous duke would refuſe the offer; but yet it was to be hoped, that, all the people, and eſpecially the Londoners, uniting with one accord, he would be prevailed on to take upon him the burden of the government, too weighty for a child; and that, upon all theſe accounts, he required them in his own, and the name of the lords of the council, to declare their intention. Here he ſtopped, expecting to hear the people cry, "Long live king Richard;" but every one ſtood ſpeechleſs, ſo great was their aſtoniſhment, to hear ſo unjuſt a propoſal; and the duke, ſurpriſed, in his turn, at this unexpected ſilence, inquired of the mayor the reaſon of it, who anſwered, that, perhaps, they did not well underſtand him. If that be the caſe, replied the duke, I will make myſelf better underſtood; and then, raiſing his voice, he repeated the ſubſtance of what he had ſaid, in other words, with a gracefulneſs and eloquence worthy a nobler ſubject; but the people ſtill kept a profound ſilence. The duke, confounded to find his rhetoric ineffectual, talked, ſome time, in a low voice with the mayor, to conſult with him, on the preſent occaſion; and, at length, the mayor told him, that, perhaps, the people were ſilent, becauſe they were uſually harangued only by the recorder, who was the mouth of the city. Upon this, he commanded the recorder to ſpeak to the people, which he did, with great reluctance; yet he ſo artfully managed his ſpeech, that, without any additions of his own, he repeated to the people the ſenſe of the duke's harangue. He concluded, with requiring the people to give a poſitive anſwer, whether they would have the duke of Glouceſter, for king, or not? At theſe words, there was a confuſed murmur in the aſſembly; but, as it was, hitherto, uncertain, whether the people anſwered Yes, or No, ſome of the duke of Buckingham's ſervants, who had ſlipped in amongſt the crowd, fell to crying, "Long live "king Richard!" Some of the citizens, being bribed, tho' they would not venture to begin, ſeconded the cry; and the apprentices, with the rabble that ſtood near the door, followed their example, who, throwing up their hats, in token of joy, cried out, "King Ri- "chard! King Richard!" The duke of Buckingham evidently perceived, that the cry came from the rabble without, and not from the principal citizens in the hall; however, improving this advantage, he commanded ſilence, and, reſuming his ſpeech, declared, that he was tranſported with joy, to ſee this propoſal meet with ſuch a general and unanimous approbation, adding, "I, therefore, "my good friends, deſire you to meet me "here to-morrow, about this time, that we "may all, in a body, preſent our humble pe- 1483.
"tition to his highneſs, and intreat him to
"condeſcend to our requeſt." Then, the mayor diſmiſſing the people, the citizens returned to their habitations, with tears in their eyes, and ſorrow in their hearts; yet they durſt not diſcover it, leſt they ſhould offend thoſe whoſe intereſt it was to have it concealed.

He repeats his ſpeech. Moore.

He orders the recorder to ſpeak to the people.

On the morrow, the duke of Buckingham, with the mayor, aldermen, and many other perſons of the cabal, coming to the protector's palace, ſent a meſſage to him, that the magiſtrates of London deſired an audience of him; and the protector ſcrupled to appear, pretending to fear, that ſuch numbers were not aſſembled, with a good deſign; upon which, the duke of Buckingham obſerved to the mayor, and thoſe about him, that his highneſs was not conſcious of their intent, intimating, that he was not concerned in the tranſactions of the preceding day. At length, upon the repeated deſire, that his highneſs would vouchſafe to grant an audience, he came forth, with ſigns of great diffidence, and as not daring to approach ſuch multitudes, for fear of ſome miſchief; and then the duke of Buckingham, not giving the mayor time to ſpeak, briefly repreſented the grievances of the nation, in the late reign. After this, he told the protector, that the people had found no better way, to free themſelves from their evils, than to beſeech his highneſs to aſſume the regal authority, to which he had an unexceptionable title; adding, that the mayor and aldermen of London, there preſent, were come to petition him, in the name of all the people, who were united in the ſame intention.

He waits upon the protector with the mayor, and offers him the crown. Moore.

The protector refuſes it, at firſt. Moore.

The duke of Buckingham threatens to give the crown to another.

The protector accepts of it.

The duke of Glouceſter, ſeeming ſurpriſed at this propoſal, replied, "He was convinced, that "all he had heard was true; but ſuch was his "veneration for the memory of the late king, "his brother, and his affection for his chil- "dren, as outweighed all the crowns in the "world; and, therefore, he could not con- "ſent to their requeſt. However, he readily "pardoned their petition, and thanked them, "for their affection; but he adviſed them to "be loyal to the ſovereign, under whoſe do- "minion they lived; aſſuring them, that, for "his part, he would continue, to the utmoſt "of his power, to give the king, his nephew, "ſuch advice, as he ſhould judge moſt condu- "cive to render his kingdom flouriſhing, and "his people happy, as he believed he had, hither- "to, done, to the ſatisfaction of all the world."

The duke of Buckingham, appearing to be diſſatisfied with this anſwer, murmured ſome words to himſelf, expreſſing his diſcontent, and, at length, deſired leave to ſpeak, once more; and, having obtained it, he expreſly told the protector, "That all people were unanimouſ- "ly reſolved not to own, for king, any of "Edward IV's children: That they had pro- "ceeded too far to recede; and, therefore, "if he would not receive the crown, the peo- "ple would be obliged to offer it to one who "would not refuſe it." At theſe words, the protector began to be a little more compliant, and, at laſt, ſpoke to the people, as follows:

"Since

1483. His speech to the people. Moore.

" Since I perceive the whole kingdom is re-
" ſolved to exclude Edward's children from
" the crown, for which I am extremely con-
" cerned, I am fully convinced, that it can,
" of right, belong only to me, who am the
" undoubted ſon of the late duke of York, my
" father; and to this title is, now, joined the
" free election of the lords and commons of
" the realm, which, of all others, I ſhall con-
" ſider, as the principal and moſt effectual.
" From theſe conſiderations, I graciouſly re-
" ceive your petition, and, directly, enter upon
" the government of the two kingdoms of Eng-
" land and France; to rule and defend the
" former, and to ſubdue the latter by God's
" help, and my people's aſſiſtance." At the concluſion of this ſpeech, was heard a great ſhout of, " Long live king Richard III. " And, the comedy being over, the people retired to their habitations, making, upon this occaſion, ſuch reflections as were ſuggeſted by their reſpective underſtandings, intereſts, or paſſions. 1483.

18. RICHARD III. ſirnamed Crook-back.

Richard III. is proclaimed. Moore. Hall.

THE duke of Glouceſter, having, by ſuch extraordinary means, ſurmounted all the obſtacles that oppoſed his ambition, was proclaimed, the 22d of June, by the name of Richard III. and he might have been crowned, the next day, the preparations for Edward V's coronation being finiſhed; but he deferred the ceremony, till the 6th of July, expecting 5000 men, which he ſent for out of the north, becauſe he did not entirely confide in the citizens of London.

The biſhop of Lincoln is made chancellor, Act. Pub. and John Howard, duke of Norfolk.

During this interval, he gave the great ſeal to the biſhop of Lincoln, one of his favourites; and, on the 28th of June, he made the lord John Howard earl-marſhal, and, the next day, duke of Norfolk. The day following, he commiſſioned him to exerciſe the office of high-ſteward, during the coronation; and, a few days after, he created Thomas Howard, his ſon, earl of Surrey, William Berkeley earl of Nottingham, and the lord Lovel viſcount of the ſame name, who was one of his confidents.

The archbiſhop of York and Stanley are releaſed. Moore.

Thomas Rotherham, archbiſhop of York, and the lord Thomas Stanley, who were confined, the day the lord Haſtings was beheaded, were releaſed; and, at the ſame time, Richard made the lord Stanley, lord ſteward of the houſhold; not from a motive of friendſhip, or affection, but leſt the lord Strange, his ſon, who was beginning to levy forces, in Lincolnſhire, ſhould raiſe commotions in the kingdom.

The biſhop of Ely is committed to the cuſtody of Buckingham. Moore.

As for Dr. Morton, biſhop of Ely, who was arreſted, the ſame day, the king did not intend to ſet him at liberty; but, the univerſity of Oxford, of which that prelate was a member, having preſented a petition, in his behalf, he thought it imprudent wholly to reject it, at a juncture when he wanted to gain the hearts of his new ſubjects. However, as he mortally deteſted that biſhop, he could not reſolve to releaſe him entirely; and, therefore, tho' he took him out of his confinement, in the tower, he committed him to the cuſtody of the duke of Buckingham, who ſent him to the caſtle of Brecknock, in Wales. He was a perſon of mean extraction; but, having ſtudied, at Oxford, where he had taken his doctor's degree, he became ſo eminent, for his learning and parts, that he was removed from thence, and made a privy-counſellor by Henry VI. The revolution, in favour of Edward IV. occaſioned no change, in his fortune; for that monarch, probably, pleaſed with his complaiſance, continued him in the ſame poſt, and promoted him to the ſee of Ely. Thenceforward, he was entirely attached to that prince, which drew on him Richard's averſion; who impriſoned him, the ſame day the lord Haſtings was executed, leſt his attachment to the late king's family ſhould induce him to oppoſe his deſigns.

The king and queen are crowned. Moore. Hall.

The coronation of the king and queen was performed, the 6th of July, with great ſolemnity; at which the peers of the realm were preſent, for fear of being ſuſpected by the new king, whoſe jealous temper was notorious; and Margaret, counteſs of Richmond, wife to the lord Stanley, and mother to the earl of Richmond, detained in Bretagne, held up the queen's train.

Richard enjoyed, only two years and two months, the crown he had ſo paſſionately deſired; and he ſpent his whole reign, in projecting means to ſupport himſelf, on the throne, which having aſcended, by bloodſhed and other crimes, he endeavoured to keep poſſeſſion by the ſame methods; but Divine Providence was pleaſed to blaſt all his meaſures, entirely founded upon injuſtice, violence, and the ſubverſion of the laws. However, at preſent, his affairs ſeemed to be in a very good ſituation; for the Lancaſtrian family was quite extinct, in England, and Henry, earl of Richmond, the only branch of that houſe, was in the power of the duke of Bretagne, who had promiſed Edward IV. to prevent him from leaving his dominions. Margaret, his mother, diſcovered no inclination to proſecute her rights; who was ſubject to a husband, whom Richard had brought over to his intereſt, by one of the moſt conſiderable poſts, at court. As to the princes and princeſſes of Portugal and Caſtile, deſcendants from Philippa and Catharine of Lancaſter, daughters to John of Gaunt, they were too remote to give Richard any diſturbance; and, in fine, there was not a lord, in the kingdom, that appeared to have ſufficient credit, to excite inſurrections, the civil

Circumſtances favourable to Richard.

1483. vil war having ſwept away great numbers, and wholly deſtroyed many antient families. As to thoſe that were ſtill left, Richard hoped to gain them by favours, as he had already done the dukes of Buckingham and Norfolk, the lord Stanley, and ſome others; and, as for the Yorkiſts attached to the family of Edward IV. viz. the Woodvilles, Greys, and others of the new nobility, he had diſpatched ſome, in the laſt reign, and the reſt were fled. The queen dowager was ſtill with her five daughters in the ſanctuary, from whence ſhe durſt not ſtir, and was in no condition to hurt him; the marqueſs of Dorſet, her ſon, had alſo taken ſanctuary, and Sir Richard Woodville had abſconded; and, in a word, Edward V. and the duke of York, his brother, were in the tower, where, ſince the 27th of June, Richard had taken care to place, as governor, Sir Robert Brackenbury, his creature; ſo that, in all appearance, nothing could ſhake the new monarch's throne.

Richard's meaſures for his ſafety.

In the interim, he deſigned to ſecure Caſtile and Portugal, the archduke Maximilian, who governed the Low-Countries, in the name of Philip, his ſon, France, and Bretagne, from whence, he was apprehenſive, that his enemies might procure ſome aſſiſtance; and, in fine, to diſconcert all the meaſures that the friends of Edward IV's family might take againſt him, he reſolved to murder his nephews, king Edward V. and the duke of York, his brother. Theſe were Richard's firſt projects, to preſerve his crown; which created him no leſs trouble, after poſſeſſion, than whilſt he was labouring to obtain it.

Ambaſſies to Caſtile, Bretagne, and France. Act. Pub.

To accompliſh all theſe reſolutions, the 12th of July, he appointed, for his ambaſſadors to Caſtile, Bernard de la Force, with orders to renew the antient alliance with queen Iſabella and Ferdinand, king of Arragon, her husband; and, the next day, he commiſſioned Thomas Hutton, to treat of the prolongation of the truce with Francis II, duke of Bretagne; who, in all probability, had ſecret inſtructions, to endeavour to procure the earl of Richmond, or, at leaſt, to renew the treaty, upon that ſubject, between Edward IV. and the duke; and, three days after, he appointed commiſſioners to treat with France, about ſome violations of the truce, in order to have occaſion to confirm it.

He reſolves to put his nephews to death. Moore. Hall.

Theſe meaſures being taken, nothing remained but to execute the chief article, the murder of his two nephews; and, with this view, he reſolved to remove from London, that, their death falling out, in his abſence, he might be the leſs ſuſpected. He departed from London, to viſit ſeveral counties, under the pretence of reforming certain abuſes, introduced to the great prejudice of the people; and his progreſs into the north was particularly neceſſary, to reſtrain the inſolence of the northern troops, who, after their return, had committed great outrages; but, before he proceeded to York, he made ſome ſtay, at Glouceſter, that he might not to be too far from London, before the execution of his orders concerning his nephews.

The duke of Buckingham, his intimate friend and confident, attended him to Glouceſter; whom he had loaded with eſtates and honours, both whilſt he was protector, and after he was king. However, the duke ſtill expected another favour, of which he had received a poſitive promiſe; namely, the moiety of the lands of the houſe of Herefordſhire, to which he thought he had a very juſt pretenſion. The foundation of his claim will manifeſtly appear from the following genealogy.

1483.

The duke of Buckingham's claim to the lands of Herefordſhire.

HUMPHREY BOHUN,
Earl of Hereford and Northampton.

MARY BOHUN, Wife to Henry IV.	ANN, THOMAS of Woodſtock, Earl of Glouceſter, Son of Edward III.
HENRY V.	ANN, Edmund, Earl of Stafford.
HENRY VI.	HUMPHREY, Duke of Buckingham,
EDWARD, Prince of Wales.	HENRY, Duke of Buckingham.

This genealogy evidently ſhews, that the duke of Buckingham had a right to one half of the earl of Hereford's lands, becauſe he was deſcended from one of his daughters; but there are other reaſons, which rendered his title diſputable. When Richard II. put to death his uncle, the duke of Glouceſter, at Calais, having cauſed his eſtate to be confiſcated by the parliament, he gave what that prince held, in right of Ann, his wife, to the earl of Derby, who had married the eldeſt of the ſiſters, and likewiſe created him duke of Hereford; upon which, the earl of Derby took poſſeſſion of the whole inheritance of the earl of Hereford, his father-in-law; and, afterwards, aſcending the throne, by the name of Henry IV, all his lands were annexed to the crown, which continued in poſſeſſion of the whole eſtate of the Hereford-family, till Richard III's acceſſion to the throne. However, when Richard was protector, to engage the duke of Buckingham to ſerve him, in his project to uſurp the crown, he promiſed to reſtore him the moiety of the inheritance confiſcated upon the duke of Glouceſter, his great grandfather; but, upon his being king, he altered his mind, whether he believed, that he had amply rewarded him, in other reſpects, or was afraid of making him too powerful, and ſo giving him occaſion to aſpire to the throne, as deſcending from Edward III. However this be, the duke, during this journey, reminding him of his promiſe, received ſuch an anſwer, as led him to deſpair of that juſtice, or favour; but the duke, being very high-ſpirited, was ſo offended at the king's refuſal, that he deſired leave to go and take care of his own private affairs; and Richard, not ſuſpecting that this denial had made ſo deep an impreſſion upon the duke, or, perhaps, not fearing the effects of his reſentment, granted him the leave

1483. he desired; and, parting from him, at Gloucester, he pursued his journey to York.

Whilst the king was at Gloucester, he sent an express order to Brackenbury, governor of the tower of London, to murder Edward V. and the duke of York, his brother; but Brackenbury, more conscientious than his master, returning a very submissive answer, told him, that he should never be able to execute his commands. Richard, mortified to be deceived in his opinion of that officer, sent him by James Tyrrel a written order, to deliver to him the keys and government of the tower, for a single night. Brackenbury obeyed; and Tyrrel brought in his agents, to put in execution the king's orders. That very night, while all were asleep, he went into the two princes apartment; and, smothering them, in their bed, caused them to be buried, under a little stair-case; which Tyrrel himself afterwards confessed, who was executed, in the reign of Henry VII. In 1674, whilst some alterations were making, in that part of the tower, bones were found, supposed to be those of Edward V. and the duke of York; wherefore, Charles II, who then reigned, ordered them to be put into a marble urn, and removed to Westminster, among the tombs of the kings. As the two princes were never heard of, after the day that Tyrrel went into the tower; and, as their servants, were dismissed, the publick did not doubt, that they were sacrificed to their uncle's safety.

The king is crowned again, at York. Hall. Hist. Croyl.

Richard, receiving the news of the death of his two nephews, continued his journey into the north, and arrived, at York, about the end of August; but, as the pretence of his journey was to cause justice to be impartially administer'd to the people, he could not help executing some of the northern soldiers, who, in their march from London, had committed great outrages; and then he caused himself to be crowned, a second time, at the cathedral of York, the beginning of September, and, the same day, created Edward, his son, 10 years of age, prince of Wales, with the usual formalities.

The alliance with Castile is renewed. Act. Pub.

A few days after his coronation, he had the agreeable intelligence, that Ferdinand and Isabella had prevented him, by desiring the confirmation of the league, between England and Castile, by an ambassador sent, on purpose, and who was then come to York; and the renewing of that alliance, which he ratified himself, the 31st of August, pleased him extremely. He found, that Ferdinand and Isabella, owning him, for king, entertained no thoughts of restoring to the throne the house of Lancaster, from which queen Isabella was descended, being grand-daughter to Catharine of Lancaster, daughter to John of Gaunt; and he conferred the honour of knighthood * upon Geoffrey de Sasiola, ambassador of Castile, who brought him the pleasing news, and sent letters full of esteem, affection, and acknowledgment, to the king and queen of Spain, to the cardinal de Mendosa, and to the earl of Leryn, their ministers.

1483.

The death of Lewis XI. P. Daniel.

Lewis XI, king of France, died, August the 29th, in the present year; and Charles VIII, his only son, being a minor, succeeded him, under the guardianship of his sister, Ann, wife to Philip de Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu, pursuant to the late king's will; but Lewis, duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, disputed the regency with her; and this contest raised, in the court of France, disturbances, that prevented the ministers from attending to the renewal or confirmation of the truce with England, which Richard strenuously sollicited.

The duke of Buckingham conspires against the king. Moore.

Whilst the king flattered himself, that he had taken all necessary measures, to support himself on the throne, a conspiracy was forming against him, that ended in his destruction, after proving the ruin of its author. I left the duke of Buckingham dissatisfied, and parting from the king, in order to retire; who was a person of a lively and penetrating genius, extremely proud, ambitious, revengeful, and dissolute, in his morals. During Edward IV's life, he could never bring himself to submit to the queen, tho' she had a great ascendant over the king, her husband; and he was even considered, as head of the party of the antient nobility against the new, which entirely consisted of the queen's relations and creatures. It was principally from his aversion to the queen, that, after Edward IV's decease, he was so devoted to the duke of Gloucester, for whom, as has been said, he procured the protectorship, and, at last, the crown itself; and, in return, for so signal a service, Richard had liberally bestowed his favours upon him. Particularly, he made him, in a manner, master of Wales, and the neighbouring counties, by the posts and governments given him, in those parts; but all these favours were forgotten, when he refused him a moiety of the lands of Hereford. The duke perceived the king's policy, in giving him posts, from which he could remove him, at pleasure; whereas, in restoring the lands he demanded, he could not resume them, without compulsive methods. This proceeding convinced him, that the king would continually keep him in dependence; and, being thoroughly acquainted with that prince's character, he plainly foresaw, that the least disgust would occasion the forfeiture of all his enjoyments. Besides, he thought it a palpable injustice, to refuse him what he believed to be his lawful right; and that he violated his promise, and shewed himself extremely ungrateful, in making so ill a return for the services he had received from him; all which made him apprehensive, that he designed to ruin him, in process of time.

The duke and bishop of Ely consult together, how to dethrone the king.

In this disposition, he retired to his castle of Brecknock, where Dr. Morton, bishop of Ely, was prisoner, under his custody; and, in his frequent conversations with that prelate, he could not avoid discovering his resentment

* By putting a gold collar round his neck, and striking him, thrice on the shoulders, with his sword. Rymer's Fœd.

against

1483. againſt the king. The biſhop, who was a man of ſenſe, ſoon found, that the duke was diſſatisfied, which encouraged him freely to ſpeak his mind; and he obſerved, that the duke took a pleaſure in hearing him, and would have, perhaps, ſpoken himſelf with more freedom, had he dared to truſt him entirely; and, therefore, to inſpire him with greater confidence, he affected to talk of the king in a manner, which gave him to underſtand, that he ſhould find in him a perſon ready to ſecond him, in his deſigns. At length, after mutually ſounding each other, for ſome time, they diſcovered their ſentiments to one another, and lamented together the miſerable ſtate of the kingdom, under ſuch a king; and the late death of Edward V. and the duke, his brother, furniſhed them with freſh matter to exclaim againſt Richard. They concluded, that, ſince he ſacrificed his own nephews, no lord in the land could be ſure of his life; and, at length, the duke requeſted the biſhop, to tell him ingenuouſly, whether it was poſſible to prevent the miſchiefs they had reaſon to fear; promiſing, with an oath, to keep the ſecret, with the utmoſt fidelity. Morton, being emboldened by this oath, told him, in plain terms, "In his opinion, the only remedy was to dethrone Richard, and ſet up another king. He owned, that, tho' he could have wiſhed the crown had continued in the family of Henry VI, he could not help following the ſtream, when almoſt all England declared for Edward IV; that, Henry VI. and the prince, his ſon, being dead, he had inviolably adhered to Edward; that, upon Edward's deceaſe, he was no leſs zealous, in the ſervice of his young ſon, whom he believed his lawful ſucceſſor; that, afterwards, he perceived with grief the duke of Glouceſter aſpiring to the throne, and, having the honour to be of the council, thought it his duty to oppoſe his deſign; tho', inſtead of ſucceeding, he had only incurred the hatred and indignation of that prince, who had impriſoned him, ſolely for adhering to the family of Edward IV: That this unjuſt violence had increaſed his averſion for the uſurper, which was, to the laſt degree, inflamed by the tragical death of the two young princes; that being in theſe circumſtances, he had conſidered with himſelf, what prince would be fitteſt to be placed on the throne, in the room of the tyrant, and had found no other than the duke of Buckingham, deſcended from a ſon of Edward III: That, the whole line of Lancaſter being extinct, at leaſt, in England, there remained of the houſe of York only the tyrant and his ſon, with the young earl of Warwick, ſon to the duke of Clarence; but as, for the laſt, he could not claim the crown, his father's attainder having debarred his heirs of the right to any inheritance: That the preſent king had, by his crimes, rendered himſelf unworthy; and to preſerve the ſon's right, after deſtroying the father, would be acting imperfectly; wherefore, once more, he ſaw only the duke of Buckingham capable of lawfully laying claim to the crown."

The biſhop propoſes to the duke to make himſelf king. Moore. Hall.

1483.

The duke liſtened very attentively to this diſcourſe; but he deferred his anſwer till the following day; which threw the biſhop into great perplexity, as it left him ſtill uncertain, whether the duke was ſincere, or only intended to enſnare him. By the way, the biſhop does not ſeem to have been very ſcrupulous, ſince, tho' he could not be a ſtranger to the duke's character, he readily offered his ſervice to place him on the throne; which ſhews, that he acted more, from a motive of revenge againſt Richard, than with a view to the good of the publick; for the king and the duke too much reſembled each other, to expect a great advantage by ſuch a change.

The duke rejects the propoſal, and names the earl of Richmond.

The next day, the duke, after a long apology, for all his former actions, ingenuouſly confeſſed to the prelate, "He once intended to aſpire to the crown; but, upon mature deliberation, he had entirely dropped that deſign. He conſidered, that, in acting for himſelf, he ſhould excite againſt him all the friends of the two houſes of York and Lancaſter; and that there was a prince, nearer than he, whom the houſe of Lancaſter regarded, as their head, on whom he had fixed his eyes, to raiſe to the throne; namely, Henry, earl of Richmond, then in Bretagne: That the project, to reſtore the houſe of Lancaſter to the throne, would draw one half of the nation to that prince's intereſt; and he had contrived a happy expedient, to gain him the other, viz. his marriage with Eliſabeth, eldeſt daughter to Edward IV. which would procure him the friendſhip of all the Yorkiſts; and that the nation would receive great advantage from thence, as it would deſtroy all the ſeeds of the civil wars, by the union of the two contending houſes: That, even thoſe, who were indifferent for either party, would by this means, be conſtrained to promote the common good of their country; and Richard's few adherents would be unable to balance ſo great a power; whereas, if he pretended to place himſelf on the throne, the whole nation would be united againſt him, ſince there was not the leaſt colour to exclude from the crown two houſes, that had been poſſeſſed of it, for above 80 years. In fine, he added, that, in his way to Brecknock, meeting the counteſs of Richmond, he ſounded her, upon this topick; and he was ſatisfied, that ſhe would be eaſily perſuaded to promote the advancement of her ſon."

The biſhop likes the propoſal. Hall.

The biſhop approved of this expedient, as more conformable to juſtice and equity, as well as more adapted to the good of the kingdom; eſpecially as the author of it was the only perſon, who would have had reaſon to oppoſe it, had it been propoſed by another.

The rights of the earl of Richmond.

Henry, earl of Richmond, as I already obſerved, was of Welch extraction; but his mother, Margaret, was daughter to John de Beaufort, duke of Somerſet, grandſon of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter. Margaret's

1483. tet's father dying, without iſſue male, Edmund, his younger brother, inherited his title; but, he and all his poſterity being deſtroyed, in the civil wars, Margaret and her ſon were the only remains of that houſe, who, in appearance, had an inconteſtable claim to all the rights of the houſe of Lancaſter; yet their title was liable to great objections.

Whilſt John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, lived with Conſtantia of Caſtile, his ſecond wife, he kept, as his miſtreſs, Catharine Roet, widow to Sir Otho de Swinford, by whom he had ſeveral children; and, upon Conſtantia's death, marrying his concubine, he had ſufficient intereſt, to cauſe her children, born before marriage, to be legitimated by an act of parliament, and by Richard II's ſubſequent letters patent. However, the king and parliament, to make a diſtinction, between theſe natural children and the others born in wedlock, did not give them the name of Lancaſter or Plantagenet, but that of Beaufort; and tho', in the act of parliament, and in the king's letters patent, they were allowed to hold principalities, dukedoms, earldoms, &c. and to tranſmit them to their heirs, there was not the leaſt mention of the crown. During the lives of Henry IV. and Henry V, the princes of this branch did not dare to aſſume the name of Lancaſter; and it was not, till about Henry VI's reign, that Edmund, duke of Somerſet, being prime miniſter, and extremely zealous for the king, againſt the attempts of the duke of York, began, by degrees, to aſſert his deſcent from John of Gaunt, and his affinity to the king, as being of the houſe of Lancaſter. It was diſputable, therefore, whether the princes of this branch could ſucceed to the crown, in their turn; and, ſuppoſing they could, when their turn was to be, and whether the heirs of John of Gaunt's daughters, born in wedlock, were not to have the preference to the poſterity of a ſon only legitimated, and born before marriage; and, if ſo, there were no leſs than 10 or 12 princes and princeſſes, in Portugal, Caſtile, and Germany, who would have excluded the earl of Richmond: But, on the contrary, Edward IV, by his endeavours to have the earl of Richmond in his power, had, in effect, owned him capable of inheriting all the rights of the houſe of Lancaſter. This was a queſtion, that might have been debated, in thoſe days; but, having been decided, above 200 years ſince, it requires no farther examination, unleſs thoſe, that are verſed in theſe matters, are willing to exerciſe their wits, out of mere curioſity.

In all probability, if the duke of Buckingham had thought it practicable to place himſelf on the throne, he would not have failed to alledge, againſt the earl of Richmond's title, the foreſaid objections; but, as he had himſelf obſerved, in his diſcourſe with the biſhop of Ely, he could not aſpire to the crown, without oppoſing the two houſes of York and Lancaſter, that is, the whole kingdom, which was divided between both theſe factions. The pretence, therefore, to reſtore the houſe of Lancaſter, and put an end to the civil wars, by the union of the two contending houſes, was by far the more natural way, to be revenged on Richard; I ſay to be revenged, for it is ſcarce credible, that a man of his character ſhould act, on this occaſion, from a nobler motive. 1483.

The duke and biſhop inform the counteſs of Richmond of their deſign.

However this be, the duke and the biſhop, having conſulted, how to bring about their deſigns, came to this concluſion: That all hopes of ſucceſs were founded on the marriage of the earl of Richmond with the princeſs Eliſabeth; that, therefore, before all things, this point was to be ſecured; and, accordingly, they agreed, that they ſhould, without loſs of time, communicate their project to the counteſs of Richmond, that ſhe might acquaint her ſon with it, and perſuade the queen dowager, mother of the princeſs, to conſent to the marriage.

But, as conferring with Margaret would have been very dangerous for the duke of Buckingham, by reaſon of the king's extreme jealouſy of the houſe of Somerſet, the biſhop informed him, that he had an old friend, in the counteſs's ſervice, named Reginald Bray, who might ſafely be truſted with the ſecret; upon which, Bray was privately ſent for to Brecknock, and, the project being imparted to him, the propoſing of it to his miſtreſs was committed to his care; and he was particularly charged to tell her, that the marriage of the earl, her ſon, was the very foundation on which the whole project reſted.

The biſhop of Ely flies into Flanders.

Bray no ſooner departed, to execute his commiſſion, than the biſhop of Ely deſired the duke's leave, to retire to his ſee; for he was juſtly afraid of his life, if the plot ſhould be diſcovered; and, perhaps, he did not entirely depend upon the duke's ſincerity; but the duke gave him two invincible reaſons, why he could not comply with his requeſt. The firſt was, that he ſhould be guilty of letting his priſoner eſcape, which alone would inſpire the king with ſuſpicions; and the ſecond, that, in an enterprize of this nature, he could not proceed, without his advice. The biſhop ſeemed to yield to theſe reaſons; but he had ſtill ſtronger, to free himſelf from the impending danger, if the affair was diſcovered; and, therefore, not being ſo narrowly watched by his keepers, ſince his frequent converſations with the duke, he made his eſcape, and retired to Ely; from whence he fled into Flanders. Upon his arrival, he wrote to the duke, to excuſe his eſcape, and alſo endeavoured to convince him, that he could, now, much more promote the execution of their deſign, than whilſt he was priſoner; and, having likewiſe conjured him to perſiſt in his reſolution, he ſhewed him, how he might carry on a private correſpondence with him.

The counteſs of Richmond enters into the plot.

In the interim, the counteſs of Richmond, being informed of what was projected, in favour of the earl, her ſon, ſent back her ſervant to the duke of Buckingham, to return him her thanks; and, at the ſame time, ſhe gave him to underſtand, that ſhe was endeavouring to procure the queen dowager's

conſent

1483. consent to the marriage, and then would take the moſt proper meaſures, to ſend to the earl of Richmond.

She acquaints the queen dowager with it. Hall.

Eliſabeth Woodville, widow to Edward IV, ſtill continued, in her ſanctuary, at Weſtminſter, with her five daughters; where ſhe lamented the fate of her two ſons, and reproached herſelf, for being ſo eaſily perſuaded to deliver the duke of York to his uncle. There never had been any intimate friendſhip, between that queen and the counteſs of Richmond; for the one had been wife to a king of the houſe of York, and the other was of the family of Somerſet, avowed enemies of the Yorkiſts; wherefore, the counteſs could not viſit the queen, in her ſanctuary, without creating great ſuſpicion. To avoid this inconvenience, ſhe employed one Lewis, her phyſician; and, having informed him of the whole, ſhe ordered him to go to London, and ſo to manage, as to have acceſs to the queen, and communicate to her what was projecting; above all, ſhe charged him to tell her, that all hopes of ſucceſs depended upon the union of the two houſes of York and Lancaſter, by the marriage of the princeſs Eliſabeth with the earl of Richmond.

Lewis, arriving at London, without much difficulty, as a phyſician, got admittance to the queen; to whom he imparted what he had in commiſſion, intimating that it would be in her own power to be revenged on her mortal enemy, the murderer of her children, and dethrone the uſurper, if ſhe would only conſent to the marriage propoſed. The queen gladly liſtened to the overture; and ſhe charged the doctor to tell his miſtreſs, that ſhe approved of the project, and would ſo order it, that all the king her husband's adherents ſhould join with the earl of Richmond; but ſhe added, that ſhe could wiſh the earl would ſwear to marry Eliſabeth, or, in caſe of her death, Cecily, her younger ſiſter.

Upon this agreement, between the queen dowager, the counteſs of Richmond, and the duke of Buckingham, they laboured to engage in the plot their moſt truſty friends, who drew in others; and the Engliſh were as favourably diſpoſed, as could be deſired, from three principal motives. Firſt, becauſe of the people's univerſal averſion to the king, who had rendered himſelf extremely odious, as well by his proceedings, during his protectorſhip, as by his late crime, in murdering his nephews, after robbing them of the crown; by which he loſt moſt of the friends of the houſe of York, who only wanted an opportunity, to revenge the family of Edward IV. Secondly, all the Lancaſtrians ſaw, with pleaſure, a project tending to reſtore the houſe of Lancaſter to the throne. Laſtly, thoſe that, regardleſs of the intereſts of the two factions, conſulted only the good of their country, could not but conſider, as a great happineſs, the ſucceſs of an undertaking, that, by uniting the two contending houſes, would put an end to the civil war, with which the kingdom had been afflicted, 30 years; ſo that the Lancaſtrians, Yorkiſts, and even thoſe that ſtood neuter, were equally diſpoſed to concur, to dethrone the uſurper.

1483.

The duke of Buckingham engages ſeveral of his friends in the plot.

The duke of Buckingham being the author and head of the enterprize, it was his buſineſs to conduct it to a happy iſſue; and, with this view, he, firſt of all, ſecured ſome friends, in Wales, where his credit was great, who ſecretly undertook to liſt ſoldiers, to enable him to bring, ſuddenly and ſeaſonably, an army into the field; after which, he ſettled a correſpondence with ſome gentlemen of Dorſetſhire, Devonſhire, and Cornwall, who engaged to raiſe forces, and receive the earl of Richmond, at his arrival. He deſigned to join them himſelf, with his Welchmen, that Richard might be leſs able to oppoſe the earl's landing; and ſeveral lords and gentlemen were to riſe, at the ſame time, in other counties, that the king might be at a loſs, where to march firſt; and the marqueſs of Dorſet, who had lately quitted his ſanctuary, Sir Richard Woodville, his brother, the biſhop of Exeter, Sir Edward Courtney, his brother, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction engaged in the plot.

The counteſs of Richmond ſends two expreſſes to the earl, her ſon.

Theſe meaſures being concerted, the counteſs of Richmond ſent two expreſſes to the earl, her ſon, by different ways, to inform him of the project, in his favour, and how far it was advanced; which expreſſes, arriving almoſt together, gave him a particular account of the plot, and intreated him to repair into England, with all expedition, aſſuring him, that all things were prepared for his reception; and they alſo told him, that Dorſetſhire, Devonſhire, or Cornwall were the moſt convenient places to land in, on account of the ſteps taken with the people of thoſe counties.

He reſolves to impart the matter to the duke of Bretagne. Hall. Stow.

The earl of Richmond was then, at Vannes, in Bretagne, where he had been, ſeveral years, really a priſoner, by reaſon of the duke of Bretagne's engagements with Edward IV; but, the duke contenting himſelf with narrowly watching him, to prevent his eſcape, if he ſhould attempt it, in other reſpects, he enjoyed an honourable freedom. He heard with extreme joy, that he was not forgotten, in England; but, when he conſidered his preſent condition, and how little it was in his power to return into his own country, ſo as to procure a welcome reception, he found it would be next to impoſſible, to ſucceed in his enterprize, without the aſſiſtance of the duke of Bretagne; for, unleſs that prince ſupplied him with money, troops, and ſhips, it was impracticable to take proper meaſures, to accompliſh his deſigns; moreover, the duke might cloſely confine him, and ſo entirely defeat all attempts, in his favour. Finding, therefore, that he could not proceed, without him, he reſolved to tell him the ſecret, and engage him, if poſſible, to aſſiſt him; and he found him more ready, than he could have expected. The duke was not under any engagements to Richard, as he had been to Edward, his brother; and, beſides, his unjuſt and violent proceedings had rendered him odious to all the princes of Europe, and eſpecially to the duke of Bretagne. He

1483. had alſo pretenſions to the earldom of Richmond, in England, formerly poſſeſſed by his anceſtors, and imagined, that the earl would readily promiſe to reſtore it, if, by his means, he arrived to the crown; and it is pretended, that this was the chief article of their agreement, for which the duke very freely engaged to ſupply him with men and ſhips. The earl, being aſſured of the duke of Bretagne's aid, ſent expreſſes to the counteſs, his mother, and the duke of Buckingham, to acquaint them, that he hoped to be in readineſs, by the beginning of October, deſiring them to prepare all things againſt that time; and, this agreeable news ſoon putting all the conſpirators in motion, every one repaired to the poſt aſſigned him, as well to raiſe forces, as excite inſurrections; for, a conſiderable part of September being already paſt, there was occaſion for all poſſible expedition.

How careful ſoever the conſpirators had been to conceal themſelves, all theſe ſteps could not be taken, and Richard have no intelligence, that ſome plot was forming againſt him; but none could inform him, what it was, or who were the authors. He was then at York, thinking of very different matters, ſo ſecure was he, in his own opinion; but theſe advices obliged him to approach the center of the kingdom; and, at the ſame time, he ordered his troops, which were diſperſed, in ſeveral parts, to be ready to march, at a moment's warning. However, he was very ſlow, in his preparations, not ſuſpecting the danger to be ſo near; but, the intelligence, he had received, making him uneaſy, he ran over in his mind all the lords of the kingdom, who could be diſſatisfied, or had ſufficient credit, to excite inſurrections againſt him; and he found none, except the duke of Buckingham. He had diſguſted him by diſappointing him, with reſpect to the lands of Hereford; and, knowing him thoroughly, he could not doubt, that he was capable of any undertaking, to gratify his revenge. Moreover, he was ſenſible, that he alone was in a condition, by his parts, wealth, and intereſt, to form and execute great projects; and his own experience would not ſuffer him to queſtion it. The biſhop of Ely's eſcape ſtrengthened this ſuſpicion; for, as the duke could not be ignorant, how much he deteſted that prelate, his careleſneſs, in guarding ſuch a priſoner, could not but be conſidered, as a colluſion and conſequence of ſome evil deſign. On theſe accounts, Richard reſolved to ſend for him to court; but the duke deſired to be excuſed, under the pretence of ſome indiſpoſition. This refuſal confirmed the king, in his belief of what he had ſuſpected; yet, for his farther ſatisfaction, he ſent him poſitive orders to come to him, without alledging any excuſe; but the duke, perceiving that diſſimulation would be to no purpoſe, ſent him word, that he would not expoſe his perſon to his avowed enemy, whom he neither loved, nor would ſerve.

Richard ſuſpects the duke of Buckingham.

The duke takes up arms.

This was ſufficient to convince the king, that the duke of Buckingham was the prime mover of the plot, which, for ſome time, gave him uneaſineſs; and, on the other hand, the duke, having made ſuch a declaration, without any farther ceremony, drew together the troops he and his friends had raiſed, in Wales, and marched towards the weſtern counties, where the earl of Richmond deſigned to land; and there he was to be joined by thoſe that went before, to prepare all things againſt the earl's arrival. 1483.

Richard was extremely ſurpriſed to hear, that the duke was ſo ready; yet, having taken ſome precautions to aſſemble his forces, in caſe of neceſſity, he appointed the rendezvous, at Leiceſter; whither he repaired himſelf, in order to give his enemies battle, before their number was augmented; but he would have found it almoſt impoſſible to prevent them, if an extraordinary and very ſudden accident had not hindered the duke from joining his friends, who were all in readineſs to riſe in arms, in the counties of Devon and Cornwall. The duke, advancing by long marches to Glouceſter, intended to paſs the Severn; but the river was ſo ſwoln, as, on both ſides, to overflow the country; and great damage was done by the waters. This was the moſt dreadful inundation that ever was heard of, in thoſe parts; for it laſted, ſix whole days, during which, the duke's army could neither paſs the river, nor ſubſiſt, on the other ſide, where was nothing but deſolation; and, in fine, the Welch ſoldiers, tired with being expoſed to hunger, rains, and innumerable hardſhips, returned to their habitations, in ſpite of all the duke's intreaties to the contrary. The deſertion was ſo univerſal, that there remained with the duke only a ſingle ſervant; and, in this extremity, he perceived no other remedy than to conceal himſelf, till he ſhould take new meaſures; but, unfortunately for him, he choſe, for his retreat, the houſe of one Baniſter, who had been his ſervant, and whom his father and himſelf had extremely obliged.

His army diſperſes.

The king, upon the news of the diſperſion of the duke of Buckingham's troops, publiſhed a proclamation againſt him and the marqueſs of Dorſet, with ſome other of his adherents, or whom he ſuppoſed to be in confederacy with him; but, as the marqueſs had not yet appeared in arms, and, therefore, could not be ſtiled a rebel, he made uſe of another pretence, to involve him in the ſentence. He pretended, that, having ſwore, at his coronation, to puniſh vice and immorality, he was obliged to puniſh the marqueſs of Dorſet, notorious for his debaucheries, who had ſeduced and raviſhed ſeveral virgins, committed adulteries, and publickly kept Shore's wife, as his miſtreſs. Then he promiſed a reward of 1000 l. ſterling, or 100 l. per annum to any perſon, that ſhould bring the duke to juſtice; a 1000 marks, or 100 marks a year, for the marqueſs, and ſo in proportion, for the reſt named in the proclamation; and the villain Baniſter, unable to reſiſt ſo ſtrong a temptation, betrayed his maſter to the ſheriff of Shropſhire, who, ſurrounding the houſe, with a company of armed

A proclamation againſt the conſpirators. Act. Pub.

The duke of Buckingham is betrayed, and beheaded. Hall.

1483. ed men, ſeized the duke of Buckingham, diſguiſed like a peaſant, and conducted him to Shrewsbury. The duke deſired to ſpeak with the king; but he could never obtain that favour. Some affirm, that he deſigned to kill him, with a dagger that was found upon him, after his death; but this is no more than a conjecture. However it be, he was beheaded, at Shrewsbury, without a legal proceſs, by the king's bare order; and, thus, this lord, who had contributed to take away the lord Haſtings, the earl of Rivers, and the other priſoners at Pontefract, by an arbitrary ſentence, loſt his life in the ſame manner, by the abſolute command of him whom he had placed on the throne; but, on the other hand, it will appear, preſently, that this very conſpiracy, projected by the duke of Buckingham, the accomplice of all the king's crimes, whilſt he was only protector, occaſioned that monarch's ruin. Is it poſſible not to diſcern the direction of Providence, in ſuch amazing events!

The conſpirators diſperſe.

Upon the firſt news of the diſperſion of the Welch army, the duke's adherents, who expected him, in the weſt, ready to take up arms, the moment they ſhould hear of his paſſing the Severn, alſo diſperſed themſelves; ſome retired among their friends, whilſt others fled to ſanctuaries; but the greateſt part, among whom was the marqueſs of Dorſet, fled to Bretagne to the earl of Richmond, finding that they could not be ſafe in the kingdom.

The earl of Richmond comes upon the coaſt of Cornwall. Hall.

During theſe tranſactions, in England, the earl of Richmond, fancying that all things there ſucceeded to his wiſh, ſailed from St. Malo's, the 12th of October, with 5000 men and 40 ſhips, ſupplied by the duke of Bretagne; but, the fleet being ſcattered by a ſtorm, ſome of the ſhips were driven on the coaſt of France, and others returned into Bretagne. The ſhip, in which was the earl of Richmond, reſiſting the ſeas better than the reſt, arrived, after the tempeſt, upon the coaſt of Cornwall, where he ſaw the ſhore crowded with troops, who made him a ſignal to approach; but he had the good fortune, to reſolve not to land, till his fleet had rejoined him, expecting that they would ſoon be at the rendezvous; and, in the interim, he diſpatched one to inquire, whether the troops he ſaw were friends, or enemies. The commander replied, that he was poſted there by the duke of Buckingham, to wait for the earl of Richmond, and favour his landing; but the perſon, whom the earl ſent, evidently perceiving the contrary, informed his maſter of it; who, finding that his deſign was diſcovered, put to ſea, and arrived at a port, in Normandy. The truth is, the troops he ſaw, on the coaſt of Cornwall, were the militia of the county, poſted there by Richard; by which artifice, he intended to ſurpriſe his enemy.

He returns to Bretagne.

In Normandy, the earl of Richmond heard of the duke of Buckingham's misfortune; and, having, after this, no proſpect of purſuing his enterprize, without taking new meaſures, he returned to Bretagne; where he found the marqueſs of Dorſet, with the reſt that had made their eſcapes out of England. Tho' his deſign appeared to be entirely blaſted; yet he did not deſpair of better ſucceſs, hereafter. The fugitives told him, that Richard was extremely deteſted, in England, which he took for an auſpicious omen; and the duke of Bretagne promiſed him to continue his aſſiſtance; wherefore, reſolving to make a freſh attempt, he ſolemnly ſwore, on Chriſtmas-day, in the cathedral of Rennes, that he would marry the princeſs Eliſabeth, daughter to Edward IV, or, in caſe of her death, Cecily, her younger ſiſter. Upon this, all the Engliſh, there preſent, ſwore allegiance to him, conſidering him, as king of England, by right, tho' he was not ſo, in fact; and, thenceforward, the ſtrict inquiry made, in England, after thoſe that were concerned in the plot, obliging great numbers to retire into Bretagne, the reſort of the Engliſh was very great, for ſome time. 1483.

Richard puts ſeveral of the conſpirators to death. Hall.

In the mean while, Richard, having freed himſelf from this danger, more fortunately than he had reaſon to expect, ordered ſeveral perſons to be ſeized, ſome of whom were, immediately, ſacrificed to his vengeance; and of this number was Sir Thomas St. Leger, who eſpouſed his ſiſter, Ann, widow to the duke of Exeter. For the greater diſpatch, and to avoid the uſual formalities of the courts of juſtice, he commiſſioned Sir Ralph Aſhton to exerciſe the office of vice-conſtable; and with ſuch an extenſive power, that he could condemn and execute, upon the ſpot, all perſons whatſoever, guilty, or only ſuſpected of the the crime of high-treaſon, without regarding any appeal.

By vertue of this commiſſion, Aſhton, who was, in all probability, a man after the king's own heart, came into the weſtern counties; where he ſignalized his zeal, by the bloody executions of ſuch as were found guilty, or only ſuſpected of being concerned in the conſpiracy. Thus, were ſpent the firſt ſix months of the reign of Richard III; for this ambitious prince no ſooner aſcended the throne, than he had occaſion to perceive, that it would be extremely difficult for him to preſerve a crown ſo paſſionately deſired, and procured by ſo many unlawful proceedings.

1484. The parliament meets.

In January, 1484, the king ſummoned his firſt parliament, at a very ſeaſonable juncture; for, upon the duke of Buckingham's death, and the flight of the earl of Richmond, there was not any perſon, in the kingdom, in a condition to lift up his head; ſo that the parliament, compoſed, doubtleſs, of repreſentatives attached to the king, declared Edward IV's iſſue illegitimate, and confirmed Richard's irregular election, with his pretended right to the crown. This act was abſolutely neceſſary, for the king's ſecurity; moreover, the parliament, by this proceeding, avoided the trouble of inquiring after the fate of Edward V, whom all England, for ſome months, had owned, for king.

Then an act of attainder was paſſed againſt Henry, earl of Richmond, and all his adherents, by vertue of which, all their eſtates were forfeited to the king; and, as it declared all thoſe rebels and traytors, that engaged in

1484. in the duke of Buckingham's and the earl of Richmond's conſpiracy, it, in ſome meaſure, juſtified all the late executions, becauſe ſuch, as had ſuffered, were conſidered, as guilty of the crime condemned by this act; but, by good fortune, none of them diſcovered, that the counteſs of Richmond was concerned in the plot, whether ſhe had truſted only few perſons, or her confidents had eſcaped into Bretagne. However, Richard, believing it ſcarce poſſible for the earl of Richmond to form an enterprize, without his mother's privity, ordered the lord Stanley, her husband, to keep her confined, to prevent her from any future attempts. He had, now, an entire confidence in the lord Stanley, whom he had made high-conſtable, after Aſhton, as vice-conſtable, had ſerved his turn; and, probably, he did not think the lord Stanley a fit perſon to exerciſe the ſeverities, for which he had commiſſioned Aſhton; which, doubtleſs, was the reaſon why he did not make him high-conſtable, till every thing, relating to that commiſſion, was compleated.

The king receives freſh advices of the conſpiracy.

Richard had grounds to conclude, that, after his rigorous treatment of the parties concerned, the conſpiracy was entirely ſtifled *; but Thomas Hutton, upon his return from his ambaſſy to Bretagne, told him, that the ſame plot ſtill ſubſiſted; and that the duke of Bretagne had promiſed the earl of Richmond to continue his aſſiſtance. He gave him the names of the conſpirators, who were with the earl; and informed him, that they had frequent conferences together, and were very buſy; from whence it was natural to infer, that the earl of Richmond had not loſt all hopes, and had ſtill, in England, correſpondences, on which he founded the execution of his deſigns: And yet, ſince the death of the duke of Buckingham, the retreat of the marqueſs of Dorſet, and the execution of ſeveral of that party, Richard ſaw no one, in the kingdom, that appeared to be able to withſtand him; wherefore, apprehending that the danger muſt come from abroad, he reſolved to take all poſſible precautions, to hinder his enemies from being aſſiſted by foreign princes.

He ſecures Caſtile and Portugal; Act. Pub.

The preceding year, he ratified the alliance of England with Caſtile; and, in June, this year, he did the ſame, with reſpect to Portugal; for, in all appearance, the whole ſtorm was to come from thoſe two quarters, ſince the king of Portugal and the queen of Caſtile were both deſcended from Philippa and Catharine, daughters to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, and conſequently might have claimed the crown of England; but the readineſs, with which they had renewed their alliance with England, did not ſuffer Richard to ſuſpect them of having any ſuch deſign.

and the archduke Maximilian. Act. Pub.

Maximilian, archduke of Auſtria, who governed the Low-Countries, in the name of his ſon, Philip, being ſon to Leonora of Portugal, grand-daughter to Philippa of Lancaſter, might have alſo pretended to the crown of England, or aſſiſted the earl of Richmond; wherefore, the king reſolved to ſend him ambaſſadors, under the pretence of renewing the truce of commerce between England and the Low-Countries; but it is probable, that the ambaſſadors had inſtructions to ſound, whether there was any project, at that court, with reſpect to England. 1484.

He ſends ambaſſadors to France, Act. Pub.

Tho' Richard did not ſeem to have reaſon to fear any thing from France, under a minority diſturbed with inteſtine diviſions; yet he ſent ambaſſadors to Charles VIII, to deſire the prolongation, or, at leaſt, the confirmation of the truce.

and tries to gain the duke of Bretagne.

There remained only Bretagne and Scotland, that could give him the leaſt uneaſineſs; for, as for the duke of Bretagne, he did not doubt, that he had aſſiſted, and was ſtill inclined to aſſiſt, the earl of Richmond; wherefore, he reſolved to do all that was poſſible, to gain that prince to his intereſt.

The affairs of Bretagne.

Francis II, duke of Bretagne, being old and infirm, was entirely ſwayed by Peter Landais, his treaſurer, to whom he committed the ſole management of his affairs; but this inſolent favourite, who was the ſon of a taylor, ſo abuſed his power, that he drew upon himſelf the hatred of all the Bretons. This very year, 1484, the great men, combining together againſt him, would have ſeized him, in the duke's palace; but, being diſappointed, they found themſelves expoſed to his vengeance, who cauſed them to be declared guilty of high-treaſon. In the interim, the whole country being his enemies, he judged it proper to ſupport himſelf by ſome foreign aid; and, with this view, he ſent, in his maſter's name, ambaſſadors to Richard, under colour of making a truce with him; which was, accordingly, concluded, in June, at Pontefract, where the king then was, and which was to continue, till the 24th of April following.

Secret negotiations between Richard and the duke, or Landais his favourite. Act. Pub.

However, this was not the ſole intent of that ambaſſy; for it appears from two records, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, that Richard had promiſed to ſend the duke of Bretagne an aid of 1000 archers; which could only be for the foreſaid occaſion, ſince the duke of Bretagne had then no war upon his hands; and, as that prince did nothing, of himſelf, very probably, to procure this aid, Landais engaged to deliver up the earl of Richmond. Indeed, the ſequel evidently ſhewed, that he had entered into ſome ſuch engagement; for Richard thought himſelf ſo ſecure from Bretagne, that, inſtead of fearing that the duke would aſſiſt the earl of Richmond, he flattered himſelf, that he ſhould, very ſoon, have his enemy in his power.

A truce with Scotland. Act. Pub.

As he might alſo be apprehenſive, that the king of Scotland, deſcended from a princeſs of

* He ordered Sir William Collingburn of Lydiard, in Wiltſhire, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, for aſſiſting the earl of Richmond, and writing a ſatyrical dyſtich upon him and his favourites, the lord Lovel, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, and Sir William Catesby.

" The rat, the cat, and Lovel, our dog,
" Rule all England under a hog. "

Alluding to Lovel's arms, and to a wild boar, that was one of Richard's ſupporters. Hall. Hollingſh.

the

1484. the houſe of Somerſet, would eſpouſe the cauſe of the earl of Richmond, he negotiated with James III. a truce, concluded, in September, this year, and which was to laſt, from the 29th of that month, to the ſame day of the year 1487; and, at the ſame time, he concluded the marriage of his niece, Ann de la Pole daughter to his ſiſter, Eliſabeth, and the duke of Suffolk, with the duke of Rothſay, eldeſt ſon to the king of Scotland.

The death of the prince of Wales. Hiſt. Croyl.

Having taken theſe precautions, he ſeemed to be ſcreened from all danger; yet, to deprive the earl of Richmond of all hopes of ſucceeding in his deſigns, the prince of Wales, his ſon, dying, in April, this year, he declared his nephew, the earl of Lincoln, his preſumptive heir, deſigning to have this declaration ratified by the parliament; which earl was ſon to Eliſabeth, his ſiſter, and brother to Ann, who was to be married to the prince of Scotland.

An ambaſſy of obedience to the pope. Act. Pub.

Moreover, unwilling to neglect any meaſures, that might give his enemies an advantage, he ſent an ambaſſador of obedience to pope Innocent VIII, lately elected to the papal throne; tho' he had omitted this compliment to Sixtus IV, Innocents's predeceſſor, as is evident from the Collection of the Publick Acts; but, leſt he ſhould incenſe his holineſs, and furniſh ſome pretence to the male-contents in the kingdom, and eſpecially the clergy, he diſpatched his ambaſſadors to Rome.

An ambaſſy from France. Act. Pub.

Soon after, he had the pleaſure to find, that Charles VIII, king of France, deſired a ſafe-conduct for ambaſſadors to be ſent to his court; ſo that every thing ſeemed to be happily diſpoſed, in his favour; yet, as the earl of Richmond was ſtill full of life, and out of his power, he could not think himſelf thoroughly fixed on the throne; and this was the principal, or rather the ſole cauſe of all his perplexity.

Richard treats with Landais, about delivering up the earl of Richmond.

As the truce with Bretagne was to expire, the 24th of April, 1485, Richard ſent ambaſſadors to the duke, under the pretence of prolonging the truce; but they had alſo inſtructions, to negotiate another and more important matter, with Landais, now abſolute maſter of the duke, who, by a ſort of lethargy, was rendered incapable of managing publick affairs; namely, to perſuade this miniſter to deliver up the earl of Richmond.

Landais had no occaſion for the foreſaid 1000 archers; wherefore, it was neceſſary, to obtain what the king deſired, to make a new treaty ſo beneficial to the duke and the favourite, as to remove all their ſcruples, upon that ſubject; and, as to the former, Argentre affirms, that he ſaw, among the records of Bretagne, Richard III's letters patent, by which he gave to duke Francis the earldom of Richmond, with all its dependences, as enjoyed by his anceſtors, with the ſole reſervation of its return to the crown, provided the duke died, without iſſue. As for Landais, as the negotiation was more ſecret, it is not certainly known what reward he expected, for his intended ſervice; yet it is evident, that Richard made him very advantageous offers; but, his avarice not permitting him to be ſatisfied with bare promiſes, there was often occaſion to ſend expreſſes to the king. Theſe delays, which, as Argentre expreſly ſays, were, upon the miniſter's account, proved the earl of Richmond's ſecurity; who, tho' he was then in Bretagne, was entirely ignorant of what paſſed, at that court; but the biſhop of Ely, notwithſtanding his abſence, having vigilant ſpies about Richard, had advice, that the biſhop of Leon, ambaſſador of Bretagne, was treating very ſecretly with the king; and he warned the earl of Richmond, that he was not ſafe in the dominions of the duke of Bretagne. This warning, coming from ſo good a hand, put the earl upon ſeriouſly thinking, to free himſelf from the impending danger; and, knowing that Landais was capable of committing the vileſt actions, he reſolved to retire into France; wherefore, he ſent privately to king Charles, for a paſſport, which was readily granted. However, as he did not doubt, that Landais had ordered him to be narrowly watched; ſo it was extremely difficult to make his eſcape; eſpecially, as he was ſurrounded with a great number of Engliſh, in reſpect of whom it was very hard to conceal the ſecret, and very dangerous to diſcover it. To remedy this inconvenience, the duke of Bretagne being juſt recovered of his indiſpoſition, the earl ſent the principal lords of his retinue, to congratulate him, on that occaſion, ordering them to take with them all their ſervants, under colour of doing him the more honour; for his view was not only to be more alone, at Vannes, but chiefly to remove from his keepers all ſuſpicion of his deſigning to eſcape, whilſt he had ſo many hoſtages, at the court of Bretagne. This artifice fully anſwering his expectation, two days after, he departed from Vannes, in diſguiſe, attended only by five perſons; and, as ſoon as he was out of the town, leaving the high road, and riding croſs the fields and through by-ways, without ſtopping any where, he ſafely arrived, at Angers, the capital of Anjou. This expedition was abſolutely neceſſary; for his keepers, hearing of his eſcape, purſued him ſo cloſely, that they came upon the borders of Bretagne, but one hour after him. In a few days, the duke, being told that the earl was retired, under an apprehenſion of ill treatment, ſeemed highly diſpleaſed with Landais, for giving him cauſe to fear, ignorant, doubtleſs, of what his favourite was negotiating with the king of England; and then he granted all the Engliſh in his dominions leave to repair to the earl, with his compliments and offers of ſervice. The earl of Richmond received theſe civilities, with ſigns of the utmoſt gratitude; and he deſired the duke's meſſenger to aſſure him, that he would have all his favours in everlaſting remembrance. Thus, the earl of Richmond eſcaped, almoſt miraculouſly, out of Richard's ſnares; and this was the ſecond time, he had been ſo fortunately delivered. The Engliſh, belonging to his retinue, thought themſelves no leſs happy than he, to be freed, by the duke's generoſity,

1484.

Act. Pub.

The biſhop of Ely warns the earl of Richmond of his danger.

He eſcapes fortunately, and arrives at Angers. Hall. Hollingſh.

1484. from his unworthy miniſter; who, ſoon after, attoned, on a gibbet, for all the crimes his avarice had prompted him to commit.

Charles VIII. receives the earl of Richmond honourably. Hall.

The earl of Richmond, not continuing long, at Angers, went to Charles VIII, then at Langeais, and met with a very civil reception; but, as the court of France was not yet free from troubles, it was an improper juncture for the earl to procure the aſſiſtance he could no longer expect from the duke of Bretagne; however, as the young king ſeemed well inclined to him, he did not deſpair to obtain ſome aid of that prince, when the commotions, at his court, were appeaſed.

The earl of Oxford eſcapes out of Hammes, and goes to the earl of Richmond.

Whilſt his affairs were in this ſtate of uncertainty, the earl of Oxford arrived, whom Edward IV. had impriſoned, in the caſtle of Hammes, in Picardy; which lord, who had been one of the chief friends of the houſe of Lancaſter, hearing that the earl of Richmond pretended to the crown, had ſo much influence over the governor of Hammes, that he perſuaded him to releaſe him, and declare for the earl; and he even brought him along with him, to ſalute that prince, and offer him his ſervice. It was no ſmall advantage to the earl of Richmond, to have the earl of Oxford in his party, who had great intereſt, in England; and ſeveral other lords privately ſent him word, that he might depend upon their aſſiſtance, as ſoon as they ſhould ſee a proper opportunity to declare againſt Richard.

Richard obliges the lord Stanley to leave his ſon in hoſtage. Hall. Stow.

In the interim, the king had daily intelligence, that ſomething was plotting againſt him, in favour of the earl of Richmond; but he could not diſcover the authors of the plot, notwithſtanding the ſtricteſt inquiries. Beſides, he knew no Engliſh lord that, in his opinion, was in a condition to contrive, or execute ſuch an enterprize; and the lord Stanley was the only one that he could ſuſpect, becauſe he was husband to the counteſs of Richmond; but he had not any proof againſt him. However, to ſecure himſelf from that quarter, Stanley deſiring leave to retire upon his own eſtate, he required him to leave his ſon, at court, as a ſort of hoſtage; and, indeed, his ſuſpicions were but too well grounded, ſince that very lord proved, afterwards, the principal inſtrument of his ruin.

He diſcovers the project of the marriage of the earl of Richmond with Eliſabeth. Hall. Stow.

Richard knew, that he was deteſted, in England; and, on the other hand, he heard, that there were certain motions among the people, which, tho' ſecret, were of dangerous conſequence; yet he could not prevent the miſchief he dreaded, without knowing the nature of the plot, and the principal authors. Upon this, therefore, he took all poſſible pains; and, at length, by planting ſpies in the country, he diſcovered, that the projects, in behalf of the earl of Richmond, were founded upon his promiſe to marry the princeſs Eliſabeth, eldeſt daughter to Edward IV. This diſcovery convinced him, that the Yorkiſts were not far from an union with the Lancaſtrians, ſince they conſented to this marriage; and he manifeſtly perceived, that ſuch an agreement would neceſſarily occaſion his ruin, ſince, in that caſe, he would have only a few friends of his houſe to rely on, all the reſt declaring for his brother's family. Finding, therefore, that the plot reſted upon a more ſolid foundation, than he had imagined, he made it his whole ſtudy, to diſconcert the earl of Richmond's meaſures, by preventing this fatal marriage; and he could apprehend no better way, to accompliſh his ends, than to marry himſelf the princeſs intended for his enemy; but this was clogged with ſeveral difficulties, which to a prince leſs ſcrupulous, than himſelf, would have appeared inſuperable. In the firſt place, he had a wife already, whoſe conſtitution afforded no ſymptoms of her leaving this world; but he did not deſpair to ſurmount that obſtacle, either by a divorce, or ſome other more unlawful means. The ſecond difficulty was, to draw Eliſabeth out of the ſanctuary, at Weſtminſter, where ſhe was with the queen, her mother; for it ſeemed to be next to impoſſible to perſuade the queen dowager, to deliver up her daughter to the murderer of her ſons. Laſtly, the pope's diſpenſation, to marry his niece, muſt be procured; but this obſtacle appeared inconſiderable, in compariſon of the others, being very ſenſible that it was not impracticable to adjuſt that affair with the court of Rome. 1484.

The queen dowager gives up her daughters.

To begin the execution of this ſurpriſing project, he ſent ſeveral perſons to the queen dowager to inſinuate to her, that he deſired to live in amity with her, and to ſhew her proofs of his friendſhip: That he acknowledged, he had treated her with exceſſive rigour; but to repair, in ſome meaſure, the injury he had done her, he deſigned to allow her an honourable penſion, and give her two brothers ſuch poſts, as they ſhould have reaſon to be contented; moreover, he would take care of her daughters, and help them to marriages ſuitable to their quality. But, as it would be extremely difficult to perſuade the queen to credit his promiſes, whom he had ſo cruelly deceived, the perſons he employed intimated to her, that this alteration proceeded from the death of the prince of Wales; that, as the king was now childleſs, and had no proſpect of having any iſſue, his intereſts were no longer diſtinct from thoſe of his brother's family; and, therefore, he could do nothing more beneficial to himſelf and his houſe, than to marry his nieces into the principal families, in England. In fine, it was repreſented to her, that the king's intent was, that, after his deceaſe, the princeſs Eliſabeth ſhould ſucceed to the crown; what he had done, in behalf of the earl of Lincoln, his nephew, being eaſily revocable, ſince it had not, as yet, paſſed into an act of parliament.

These laſt inſinuations made deep impreſſions on the queen's mind; for her intereſt led her to imagine, that they were highly probable; and, on the other hand, ſhe was heartily tired of her ſanctuary, which was, in reality, a priſon, ſince ſhe could not ſtir, without expoſing herſelf to greater miſchiefs. Beſides, ſhe had an extreme affection for her brothers, of which ſhe had given manifeſt proofs, in the life-time of the king, her husband, and was, therefore, agreeably flattered with the hopes of

1484. of their advancement; and, in fine, ſhe conſidered, that the project, in favour of the earl Richmond, having miſcarried, by the duke of Buckingham's death, ſhe could only expect, for herſelf and daughters, a ſtill more rigorous fate, if, by her refuſal, ſhe farther incenſed the king. Theſe conſiderations inducing her to overlook the barbarous outrages received from that prince, ſhe was ſo ſtrangely infatuated, as to put her five daughters into his hands; nay, ſhe wrote to the marqueſs of Dorſet, her brother, to adviſe him to relinquiſh the earl of Richmond, and throw himſelf into Richard's arms. The marqueſs, no leſs inconſiderate and ambitious than the queen, his ſiſter, amuſed with the hopes of honours and preferments, ſecretly withdrew from Paris, in order to paſs into England; but the earl of Richmond cauſed him to be purſued, with ſuch expedition, that he was brought back to Paris, and, by weighty reaſons, prevailed on to ſtay with the earl.

The death of Richard's queen.

Richard no ſooner had his nieces in his power, than he projected means, to execute another part of his deſign; namely, to be rid of his queen, that he might marry his niece; and the hiſtorians, that ſpeak moſt favourably of his conduct, affirm, that he occaſioned the queen's death by diſcovering an averſion for her, which ſhe did not deſerve, and by grievouſly mortifying her, every day; but others ſpeak plainer, ſaying; that he haſtened her death, by poiſon. Some add, that he privately acquainted the archbiſhop of York with certain ſecret infirmities of the queen, which rendered her very diſagreeable to him; and on purpoſe that this prelate might tell her again, which he believed would cauſe her to ſhorten her days. It is farther ſaid, that the archbiſhop, after hearing the king's diſcourſe, told ſome of his friends, that the queen had not long to live; and, indeed, ſhe died, preſently after; but her fate would have been more worthy of compaſſion, if it had not been obſerved to be a manifeſt judgment upon her, for eſpouſing the murderer of the prince of Wales, her firſt husband, ſon to Henry VI. Richard ſhewed an extraordinary ſorrow, for his loſs, and made a pompous funeral, for his deceaſed queen; but this pretended grief was incapable of undeceiving the people, who openly accuſed him of murdering his queen, as he had done his nephews.

The princeſs Eliſabeth refuſes to marry the king, her uncle.

Notwithſtanding the extreme concern he expreſſed, in publick, the queen was no ſooner interred, than he had the aſſurance to make his addreſſes to the princeſs Eliſabeth, and offer her marriage; but her anſwer demonſtrated her abhorrence of ſuch a match; and ſhe deſired him, never to mention it more. Richard, being ſenſible that it was an improper ſeaſon to uſe violence, was ſatisfied, for the preſent, with this firſt overture, till he ſhould meet with a favourable juncture, to preſs the execution of his project; but, in the interim, as he daily become more odious, many lords and gentlemen went over, and offered their ſervice to the earl of Richmond. Others followed their example, to avoid the perſecutions of that bloody prince, if he ſhould unfortunately chance to ſuſpect them; and thoſe, that remained in the kingdom, were no better affected, waiting only for a fair opportunity to declare againſt him. 1484.

Several lords go over to the earl of Richmond. Hall.

The ſiege and taking of Hammes. Hall.

Richard, finding that the earl of Oxford and the governor of Hammes were gone to the earl of Richmond, diſpatched orders to the governor of Calais, to beſiege that caſtle, and reduce it to his obedience; which were ſo ſpeedily executed, that the earl of Oxford, advancing to relieve the place, did not arrive, in the neighbourhood, till after the capitulation; yet he reaped this advantage by it, that he brought away the garriſon, for the earl of Richmond.

1485. Richard lays up his fleet. Hall.

After the earl of Richmond's attempt, Richard had equipped a ſquadron of ſhips, to oppoſe his paſſage, if he ſhould endeavour to make another deſcent; but, in the beginning of the year 1485, the truce with Bretagne being prolonged, for ſeven years, and France ſeeming not very forward to aſſiſt his enemy, he thought he might ſave the charge of a fleet, which he now conſidered, as uſeleſs; and, accordingly, the ſhips were unrigged and laid up, in the ſpring.

The court of France reſolves to aid the earl of Richmond.

The earl of Richmond, encouraged by this proceeding, ſtrenuouſly ſollicited the aſſiſtance of the court of France; and king Charles's miniſters, at length, ſeriouſly conſidering his requeſt, apprehended, that it muſt, of courſe, be advantageous to France, to foment the troubles, in England; and it was ſolely with this view, that they promiſed the earl an aid of 2000 men, with ſhips to tranſport them, and ſupplied him with a ſum of money. Philip de Commines affirms, that he never ſaw ſuch ſorry troops as thoſe intended for this expedition; which clearly ſhews, with what intent the court of France granted the earl this inconſiderable ſupply; moreover, he was required to leave hoſtages, in France, that ſatisfaction ſhould be made, for what was expended by that court. The earl, having reaſon to ſuſpect the marqueſs of Dorſet, left him in hoſtage, at Paris, with Sir Thomas Bourchier; and then he repaired to Roan, where the troops that were lent him were ordered to aſſemble.

When he came to Roan, he received the mortifying news of the queen's death, and of Richard's intent to marry the princeſs Eliſabeth, his niece, and to give Cecily, her younger ſiſter, to one of his favourites; and, his meaſures being diſconcerted by this marriage, which was repreſented to him, as ready to be accompliſhed, he conſulted, upon this occaſion, with the lords that attended him. The reſult of their conſultation was, that, ſince he could have no proſpect of eſpouſing one of Edward IV's marriageable daughters, he ought to think of ſome other; wherefore, he was adviſed to gain to his intereſt Sir Walter Herbert, a perſon of great credit, in Wales, by an offer of marrying his younger ſiſter, the eldeſt being already eſpouſed to the earl of Northumberland. Upon this reſolution, he diſpatched an expreſs to Sir Walter Herbert to make the propoſal; but, fortunately for the earl,

1485. earl, the meſſenger found the roads ſo narrowly watched, that he durſt not venture to purſue his journey to Herbert; and it is highly probable, that, if this affair had ſucceeded, the earl of Richmond would have been abandoned by all the friends of Edward IV's family, who were very numerous; that had engaged in his party, purely from the hopes of his uniting the two houſes of York and Lancaſter, by his marriage with the princeſs Eliſabeth.

He is invited into England.

A few days after, he received letters from England, informing him, that, if he would make haſte and land, in Wales, he could never have a fairer opportunity; that all the nobility of the country eſpouſed his cauſe; and that he would find the people ready to take up arms, in his favour, and a conſiderable ſum of money, which had been privately collected to ſupply his occaſions: That, in the reſt of the kingdom, every one was diſpleaſed with the king, who daily rendered himſelf more odious; and, in fine, that it was a moſt favourable juncture, as it did not appear, that Richard imagined him ſo ready to depart, ſince he had not made any extraordinary preparations.

He lands at Milford-Haven,

This agreeable news obliged the earl to haſten his departure, without waiting for Sir Walter Herbert's anſwer; wherefore, coming to Harfleur, where his ſhips expected him, he embarqued his troops, and ſailed, the laſt day of July; and he arrived, the 6th of Auguſt, at Milford-Haven, in South-Wales, and, next day, came to Haverford, where he was joyfully received by the inhabitants.

and marches to paſs the Severn. Hall.

From this place, he ſent an expreſs to the counteſs, his mother, to acquaint her of his arrival, and deſign to march towards London, deſiring her, alſo to draw together all his friends, that they might join him, upon his rout, with as many troops as poſſible; which rout was neceſſarily to be very long, ſince, having no town upon the Severn, at his command, he was obliged to croſs almoſt all Wales, to reach Shrewsbury, at the head of that river, where he was told, he ſhould be received; and, therefore, making but a ſhort ſtay, at Haverford, he marched towards North-Wales, in order to arrive at Shrewsbury, before the king was in a condition to diſpute his paſſage.

The king orders Herbert to oppoſe the earl's march. Hall.

Richard, hearing that the earl of Richmond was landed, at Milford-Haven, with ſo few troops, did not imagine, that he could make any remarkable progreſs; yet he ſent orders to Sir Walter Herbert, to raiſe the militia of the county, believing that Herbert might eaſily ſtop him, till he was himſelf ready to march; but Herbert, being ſecretly gained by the earl's adherents, ſuffered him to paſs, without the leaſt interruption.

The earl is joined by Sir Rice ap Thomas. Hollingſh.

Some days after, Sir Rice ap Thomas, a man of great intereſt, in Wales, met the earl, upon his rout, and offered his ſervice, which was joyfully accepted; and he had with him an able body of Welchmen; but it is not ſurpriſing, that all Wales ſhould declare for the earl, ſince he was of Welch extraction, and of one of the moſt antient families of the country.

The earl of Richmond's army being greatly augmented by the junction of Sir Rice ap Thomas, and ſeveral Welch gentlemen, and the whole country ſupplying him, in his march, with all neceſſaries, he came, in a few days, to Shrewsbury, where he was received, without oppoſition. 1485.

The lord Stanley and his brother raiſe forces.

The king had very juſtly ſuſpected the lord Stanley, of being a ſecret friend to his ſon-in-law; who had, indeed, aſſured the earl of Richmond, that he would favour him, to the utmoſt of his power; but, as he was conſtrained to leave his ſon in hoſtage with the king, he could not openly eſpouſe his cauſe, without endangering the life of his ſon. On this account, he pretended to take Richard's part, and, having levied about 5000 men, poſted himſelf, at Lichfield, as if he deſigned to oppoſe the earl of Richmond's march; and Sir William Stanley, his brother, alſo aſſembled a body of 2000 men, inſinuating that it was with the ſame deſign.

The king determines to fight Richmond. Hall.

The king was then at Nottingham, where, at the firſt news of his enemy's landing, he had given orders, to muſter his forces together; and he, at firſt, conſidered the earl of Richmond's attempt, as a ſort of bravado, which he hoped to make him very ſoon repent; but, finding that Sir Walter Herbert had let him paſs, without reſiſtance, that Sir Rice ap Thomas had joined him, that all Wales was for him, and that he was marching to Shrewsbury, he perceived, that the affair would become more important; and, therefore, without loſs of time, he reſolved to give him battle, before he had made a greater progreſs, and his army was reinforced; wiſely judging, that, if, on this occaſion, he diſcovered the leaſt faint-heartedneſs, it would infallibly cauſe the whole kingdom to declare againſt him; and that his firmneſs would contribute to keep in awe ſuch, as were inclined to ſide with his enemy. In the interim, he had, every day, the mortification to hear, that his officers and ſoldiers deſerted to the earl; yet he ſtill hoped, that the lord Stanley and his brother would join him, with their troops, tho' the little correſpondence, they held with him, gave him but too much reaſon to ſuſpect them of treachery; but, however this be, having received certain advice, that the earl of Richmond intended to march towards London, he reſolved to expect him, upon his rout, between Leiceſter and Coventry, in order to put a ſpeedy end to their quarrel, by a battle.

The earl advances to Lichfield.

Tho' the earl of Richmond's army was not very numerous, he was no leſs deſirous to engage, expecting that the lord Stanley and his brother would not fail him, in his neceſſity; and, with theſe hopes, he advanced to Lichfield, from whence, upon his approach, the lord Stanley retired to Atherſton; but, whilſt his army was upon the march, coming privately to Stafford, he had an interview with Sir William Stanley, in which were concerted the meaſures, the effects whereof will, preſently, appear.

The

1485. The earl, arriving at Lichfield, heard, that the king was at Leiceſter; and, finding that he could not poſſibly proceed to London, without fighting, he reſolved to march directly to his enemy; but, whilſt he was on the road to Tamworth, he chanced to be behind his company, and, attentively muſing upon his affairs, miſtook his way, loſing the track of his army. He roved about, till night, not daring to ask the road to Tamworth, leſt he ſhould apply to ſome one of Richard's party; and, at laſt, not being able to find the way, he was forced to paſs the night, at a village, without knowing where he was, or daring to inquire. However, next morning, he got to Tamworth, where his army was in great uneaſineſs for him, being ignorant of what had befallen him; but, to excuſe ſuch a blunder, which, had it been known, muſt have done him extreme injury, he pretended that he had been to confer with ſome ſecret friends; and, that very day, he went, with a few attendants, to Atherſton, where he had a long conference with the lord Stanley. On the morrow, having advice that Richard was gone from Leiceſter, to meet him, he advanced, to ſave him ſome part of the way; and the two armies met, at Boſworth, ſo near one another, that it was impoſſible to avoid a battle, if either of the two leaders had deſired it; but they were both very far from ſuch a deſign. The 22d of Auguſt was the day famous for the battle, which decided the quarrel of the two contending houſes.

A dangerous adventure happens to the earl in his march. Hall.

The two armies meet, at Boſworth,

and draw up. Richard, perceiving his enemy to advance, drew up his army, conſiſting of between 12 or 13000 men; and he gave the command of the vanguard to the duke of Norfolk, leading the main body himſelf, with his crown on his head, either to be better known, or to remind his troops, that they were fighting for their king. The earl of Richmond, who had only 5000 men, alſo drew up his army into two lines, of which the earl of Oxford commanded the firſt, and himſelf the ſecond; and an hiſtorian has related the ſpeeches of the two leaders to the ſoldiers, before the fight; but, as it is doubtful, whether they were really ſpoken, and as they contain nothing very remarkable, I ſhall paſs them over in ſilence. Hall.

The conduct of Stanley and his brother. Whilſt the two armies were preparing for battle, the lord Stanley, who, till then, had remained at Atherſton, poſted himſelf with his troops, oppoſite to the ſpace between the two armies; and his brother, who was come from Stafford, took his ſtation, on the other ſide, overagainſt him. Richard had, hitherto, doubted, whether the lord Stanley was for, or againſt him, becauſe he had not yet made any publick demonſtration, in behalf of the earl of Richmond; but, when he ſaw him in that poſt, he was eaſily convinced, that he did not place himſelf there to aſſiſt him, ſince he had not given him notice of his deſign. However, willing to know for certain, what he had to fear, or hope, he ſent him orders to come and join his army; to which Stanley replied, that he would come, when it was convenient. This anſwer not ſatisfying the king, he commanded his ſon to be, immediately, put to death; but his generals repreſented to him, that, tho' the lord Stanley's behaviour was very ambiguous, and even gave cauſe to ſuſpect him, he had not declared for the earl of Richmond; that, probably, he was meditating ſome great action, in favour of his ſovereign, or, perhaps, intended to ſtand neuter, during the fight, in order to join the conqueror; that, in both theſe caſes, it was more adviſable to defer examining his conduct, till after the event, than to provoke him, by putting his ſon to death, to give the earl of Richmond an aid, capable of making victory incline to his ſide; and that, after all, in the king's preſent condition, the death of the young lord Strange could procure him no advantage. Theſe arguments ſeemed ſufficient to the king, to cauſe him to revoke his orders; but he was guilty of an unpardonable error, in remaining doubtful, as to the two brothers, who evidently diſcovered their intentions; for, as his army was ſtill ſuperior to the united forces of the earl of Richmond and the two brothers, he ſhould have oppoſed to the latter two bodies equal to theirs, with orders to attack them, the moment they offered to ſtir; by which means, he would have deprived them of the advantage of taking their time to declare, as afterwards happened; and ſuch an overſight, in ſo politick a prince as Richard, muſt neceſſarily be conſidered, as proceeding from a particular direction of the providence of God, who had determined his deſtruction. 1485.

The two armies approaching each other, the battle began, with a ſhower of arrows diſcharged from both ſides; upon which, the royal army advanced, to come to a cloſe engagement. The lord Stanley, who, hitherto, had been only a ſpectator, perceiving that the duke of Norfolk widened his line, to the left, in order to ſurround the earl of Richmond's troops, on a ſudden, poſted himſelf, on the right of the earl's, to receive the front of the king's firſt line; and, this motion cauſing the duke of Norfolk to halt, to recloſe his line, which was too much extended, to the left, the fight ceaſed, for ſome moments; but, preſently after, both ſides, being more upon an equality, by the lord Stanley's joining the earl, fought with great reſolution.

In the interim, Richard, impatient to know what paſſed, at the firſt line, ſpurred his horſe, towards the place where they were engaged; and, at the ſame time, the earl of Richmond, quitting his ſecond line, where he had poſted himſelf, advanced, as far as the foremoſt ranks of the firſt, to animate his troops by his preſence, being convinced that the ſucceſs of the day would, in a great meaſure, be determined by the fight of the two firſt lines. Richard, perceiving him, inſtantly rode to attack him; and he ſlew Sir William Brandon, the earl's ſtandard-bearer, who had interpoſed in his way. Sir John Cheney, taking Brandon's place, to reſiſt the king's furious efforts, was overthrown to the ground; and the earl of Richmond did not avoid the combat; yet, if we may judge, by the manner wherein the hi-

1485. ſtorians relate theſe particulars, he did not ſeem deſirous to join his enemy, contenting himſelf with ſtanding in a poſture of defence; for he willingly ſuffered his people to come between them, and prevent them from too cloſely approaching each other.

Sir William Stanley flanks the troops, who are put to rout. Hall.

At the very juncture that Richard was ſingling out the earl of Richmond, to decide, at once, their important quarrel, it was decided, extremely to his diſadvantage, from another quarter; for Sir William Stanley, imitating the example of the lord Stanley, his brother, no ſooner obſerved, that the left of the earl of Richmond's firſt line began to give ground, than he openly declared againſt the king, by attacking his troops, in the flank, who were employed in fighting their enemies, in the front, and vigorouſly repulſing them; which ſeaſonable attack, at ſo critical a moment, putting to very great diſorder the right of the king's firſt line, they, ſuddenly, retreated towards the main body, and were ſoon followed by the left. This precipitant retreat ſtruck ſuch a terror into the main body, that they almoſt all took to flight, without expecting the enemy; and the earl of Northumberland alone, who commanded one of the wings, ſtood motionleſs, having firſt ordered his troops to lay down their arms, to ſhew the enemies, that they had nothing to fear from him; but, Richard finding that the day was loſt, not being able to think of flying, or running the hazard of falling into the hands of the earl of Richmond, ruſhed into the midſt of his enemies, where he ſoon met with the death he deſired. Thus, fell the uſurper, in a more glorious manner than his crimes ſeemed to deſerve; after he had only wore, two years and two months, the crown he had purchaſed, by ſo many unlawful proceedings.

The battle continued, about two hours, including the time ſpent, in the purſuit of the run-aways; but, as moſt part of the king's army fled, without fighting, there were not ſlain, on the ſpot, above 2000 men, of his party; and the earl of Richmond loſt only 100, of whom Sir William Brandon was the only perſon of diſtinction; who was father to Charles Brandon, afterwards duke of Suffolk. On the king's ſide, the duke of Norfolk loſt his life, valiantly fighting for him who had created him a duke; but he would, doubtleſs, have gained greater reputation and glory, had he employed his valour for a prince more deſerving, than Richard, that a man ſhould hazard his life, for his ſake. The earl of Northumberland was admitted into the conqueror's favour, who, perhaps, held an underſtanding with him, before the battle; as appears, not only from what he did, in the beginning of the rout, but from certain verſes found, that very morning, by the duke of Norfolk, on his tent-door, intimating, that the king was ſold. The earl of Surrey, ſon to the duke of Norfolk, was taken priſoner, and ſent, at firſt, to the tower of London; but he, ſoon after, obtained his pardon and liberty. Some of Richard's adherents were treated with the ſame lenity; and others had the good fortune to eſcape; but Catesby, Richard's miniſter and confident, who had ſo baſely betrayed the lord Haſtings, was executed, two days after, at Leiceſter, with ſome others of that ſtamp, who had been the uſurper's inſtruments.

The duke of Norfolk is ſlain.

1485. Catesby is executed.

Richard's crown, being found by a ſoldier, was brought to the lord Stanley, who, directly, went and placed it on the earl of Richmond's head, congratulating him upon his victory, and ſaluting him, as king; from which time, Henry retained the regal title, and acted always, as ſovereign, as if that bare ceremony had given him an undoubted right. Richard's body was found, among the ſlain, ſtark-naked, covered with blood and dirt, and ſo thrown croſs a horſe, with the head hanging on one ſide, and the legs on the other, and carried to Leiceſter; and the body, after it had lain, two whole days, expoſed to publick view, was interred, without any ceremony, in one of the churches of that city; but, in proceſs of time, Henry VII, his enemy and ſucceſſor, ordered a more honourable monument to be erected for him, becauſe of Eliſabeth, his queen, who was of the houſe of York.

The lord Stanley ſets the crown on the earl of Richmond's head.

Richard III. was ſirnamed Crook-back'd, becauſe he was ſo, in reality; beſides, one of his arms was almoſt withered, receiving but little or no nouriſhment; and, as to the defects of his mind, according to the hiſtorians, they were ſo great and numerous, that it would be difficult to find, in hiſtory, a prince of ſo vile a character. It is certain, that he had a boundleſs ambition, which often prompted him to commit actions unbecoming a chriſtian prince; and to this paſſion alone muſt be aſcribed his treachery and cruelty, ſince he was only treacherous and cruel, to procure, or preſerve the crown. He was not the ſole prince, whom ambition has led into the like exceſſes; but the hiſtorians who wrote, in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII, have ſo aggravated his actions, that one cannot help obſerving, in their writings, an ardent deſire to pleaſe the monarchs then on the throne. Nay, in all probability, they have charged him with ſome actions, upon a weak foundation; for example, his murdering, with his own hand, Henry VI. and the prince of Wales; and their deſire to blacken this prince made them overlook his good qualities, which ought to have been related. However this be, without either vindicating his crimes, or, with ſome writers, condemning all his proceedings, I ſhall only blame what was really criminal, and, at the ſame time, acknowledge what deſerved commendation. The crimes he committed, to acquire, or ſecure the crown, are, as I obſerved, effects of his immoderate ambition; but their being produced by that paſſion does not, in the leaſt, extenuate their guilt; yet, after all, it muſt be confeſſed, that he had a great deal of ſenſe, and a very penetrating judgment, qualities that might have been an honour to him, had they been employed to better purpoſes. We may judge of his ſenſe and penetration, by his precautions to guard againſt the aſſaults of his enemies; for they were admirably well adapted to the ends he propoſed by them, if the Almighty had not been pleaſed to defeat them, as he ſometimes does the moſt

The character of Richard III.

wiſely

1485. wiſely concerted deſigns. On ſeveral occaſions, he diſcovered an extraordinary valour, and particularly in the battle wherein he was ſlain; and he expreſſed an extreme deſire, that juſtice ſhould be impartially adminiſtered to all his ſubjects, in all caſes where the preſervation of his crown was not concerned; for, in that reſpect, he did not ſcruple to trample upon all the rules of right and equity. This natural inclination to juſtice, tho' combated by his ambition, affords juſt cauſe to preſume, that he would, perhaps, have proved a good king, had he ſo firmly fixed himſelf on the throne, as to have feared no revolution; for the emperor Auguſtus, who was guilty of ſo many cruelties, to arrive at the empire, is a memorable and notorious inſtance of ſuch a change, and it is not impoſſible to find other examples; but, as Richard died, before he had given proofs of any amendment, his ill actions abſorbed all his laudable qualities. However, there is one hiſtorian who has attempted to vindicate this monarch; but, as he has preſcribed no bounds to this vindication, and laboured to render him entirely innocent, he has not acquired much reputation, eſpecially as he was frequently obliged, to attain his ends, to advance facts not ſtrictly true; nevertheleſs, he is allowed a place, in the Collection of the Engliſh Hiſtorians, tho' no modern author has thought fit to take him for a guide.

Bucks.

Richard left only one natural ſon, who was yet a minor; and, ſome months before his death, he had made him governor of Calais, Guiſnes, and of all the Marches of Picardy, belonging to the crown of England. Richard III. was the laſt of the Angevin kings, ſirnamed Plantagenets; who, ſince Henry II, the firſt of this line, had poſſeſſed the crown of England, from father to ſon, 330 years. Richard, tho' he was the laſt king of this houſe, was not the laſt male, as ſome have affirmed, ſince the earl of Warwick, his nephew, ſon to the duke of Clarence, his brother, was ſtill alive; and this young prince was the ſole branch of the male iſſue of Edward III, which had been ſo numerous; but it was almoſt entirely extirpated by the late civil war. This war, commenced 30 years before, was, at length, ended by the battle of Boſworth, after it had deſtroyed above 100,000 Engliſhmen, and a great number of princes of the two contending houſes. Philip de Commines mounts the number to 80; but it is a miſtake or exaggeration of that author, as evidently appears from the genealogical table of the poſterity of Edward III.

The end of the reign of the Plantagenets,

Let us conclude the hiſtory of the Plantagenets, with a brief recapitulation of the moſt remarkable accidents that befel the kings of this race, whilſt on the throne of England; from which abſtract of the 14 preceding reigns, it will appear, and, perhaps, not without aſtoniſhment, that the happineſs and glory, enjoyed by this houſe, for above 300 years, were very inconſiderable, in compariſon of their misfortunes.

and of the civil war.

HENRY II, the firſt king of this race, was the greateſt of all the Engliſh monarchs, in extent of dominion; for, beſides the kingdom of England, he poſſeſſed, in France, Guienne, Poictou, Xaintonge, Auvergne, Limouſin, Perigord, Angouleſmois, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, and Normandy, to which he likewiſe annexed Bretagne, by the marriage of one of his ſons with the heireſs of that duchy; and, laſtly, he crowned all, with the conqueſt of Ireland; but, notwithſtanding all his grandeur, he was ever unhappy; for his conteſt with Becket, the vexatious perſecutions from pope Alexander III, the rebellion of his queen and ſons, and the unfortunate ſucceſs of his laſt war with France, did not ſuffer him to enjoy a moment's repoſe. 1485.

RICHARD I. rendered his name glorious, in the eaſt, by the conqueſt of the iſle of Cyprus, the taking of Acra, and a ſignal victory over the Saracens; yet the fame, he acquired in that expedition, was a dear purchaſe to Chriſtendom, and eſpecially to England, by the prodigious quantity of men and money, exported from thence, without procuring for the chriſtians of Paleſtine any conſiderable advantages. Richard himſelf, at his return into Europe, underwent a grievous and long impriſonment; and he was not, at laſt, releaſed, without an exorbitant ranſom, which quite exhauſted his kingdom; in a word, after a ſeveral years ſtruggle with Philip Auguſtus, to little or no purpoſe, he unhappily periſhed by an arrow, at the ſiege of Chaluz, undertaken from his greedy deſire of money.

JOHN Lack-land did not enjoy a moment's happineſs, during the courſe of his reign; for, being perſecuted by the king of France, then by pope Innocent III, and, laſtly, by his own ſubjects, it was a continued ſeries of misfortunes. He loſt, firſt, all the provinces held by his anceſtors, in France; after which, Innocent III. deprived him of his crown, and reſtored it to him, upon diſhonourable terms; and, in fine, he had the extreme mortification to ſee his barons in arms againſt him, and to die, at a juncture when all England paid allegiance to a foreign prince.

HENRY III, a prince of a very mean ſpirit, continually remained in a ſtate of ſubjection, tho' ſeated on a throne; ſometimes a ſlave to his favourites and miniſters, and, at other times, to the imperious will of the popes. At length, ſtripped of all his authority by his own ſubjects, he continued, ſome time, captive to his greateſt enemies; and he was entirely indebted to a victory fortunately gained by the prince, his ſon, for his reſtoration, and the tranquillity he enjoyed, the two laſt years of his life.

EDWARD I. acquired great glory, by the conqueſt of Scotland; but, after ſhedding torrents of blood, in that unjuſt quarrel, he loſt that acquiſition, and ended his days, before he had recovered it; but his conqueſt of Wales was the moſt real advantage procured for the kingdom, by any of his predeceſſors.

The reign of EDWARD II. is remarkable, only for that prince's ill conduct and misfortunes; who is the firſt inſtance of an Engliſh monarch depoſed, by authority of parliament. It would have been happy for him, if this had been the laſt effect of the fury of his enemies; but, with an unparalleled inhumanity, they

made

made him ſuffer the moſt cruel death that could poſſibly be deviſed, and which vaſtly outweighed all his indiſcretions.

EDWARD III. was one of the moſt illuſtrious kings of England, not only for his perſonal qualities, but for his victories, in France, and the famous treaty of Bretigny, which reſtored to him, with intereſt, the provinces loſt by the imprudence of John Lack-land; but his reign, tho' glorious, was not free from misfortunes. His minority was ſullied by the tragical death of Edward II, his father, and of the earl of Kent, his uncle; and, to puniſh theſe horrible outrages, he was forced to keep his own mother in confinement, to the day of her death. Towards the end of his days, he had the mortification to be deprived of all he had reconquered upon France, without hopes of recovery; and, in a word, he, in a manner, ruined his own reputation, and died, at a time when he began to loſe the former eſteem of his ſubjects.

It is manifeſt, that, hitherto, the race of the Plantagenets had enjoyed no great ſhare of happineſs; but their misfortunes, being intermixed with ſome proſperities, were very inconſiderable, in compariſon of what afterwards befel that race; for, when a man takes a view of what happened to the poſterity of Edward III, he ſees nothing but diſaſters, tragical or untimely deaths, hatred, animoſity, revenge, civil wars, and unheard of cruelties, among princes ſprung from the ſame original. England had never ſeen ſuch a dreadful deſtruction of her inhabitants, nor had the ſcaffold been ever dyed with ſo much noble and royal blood, as during the 100 years between the death of Edward III. and that of Richard III; but let us briefly runover the ſeveral branches of Edward III's family, in order to ſee their calamities.

EDWARD the Black Prince, one of the moſt accompliſhed princes that ever was born, died, in the 46th year of his age, having firſt buried his eldeſt ſon, Edward, only ſeven years old.

RICHARD II, his other ſon, who aſcended the throne, after his grandfather, was depoſed, impriſoned, and barbarouſly murdered.

LIONEL, duke of Clarence, third ſon to Edward III, died in a foreign country, in the flower of his age; and he left but one daughter, whoſe marriage into the houſe of Marche occaſioned all the calamities England was afflicted with, for 30 years together.

The poſterity of John of Gaunt, Edward's fourth ſon, were far from being happy; for HENRY IV, who ſucceeded Richard II, during his whole reign, was continually apprehenſive of loſing a crown acquired by extraordinary methods, and preſerved by the violent death of Richard II, whom he cauſed to be murdered, in priſon.

HENRY V, one of the moſt illuſtrious kings of England, after ſo great a progreſs, in France, as to be declared regent and heir of that kingdom, enjoyed that important advantage only two years, or rather, had but a foretaſte of what he had ſo paſſionately deſired; for he died, in the flower of his age, leaving a ſon nine months old, who afterwards proved very incapable of compleating the work, his illuſtrious father had ſo glorioufly begun.

The dukes of Clarence, Bedford, and Glouceſter, died, without iſſue; and Glouceſter was long expoſed to the fury of his enemies, and, at laſt, ſacrificed to their vengeance.

HENRY VI, ſon of Henry V, loſt all that the king, his father, had acquired, in France; after which, he was deprived of his royalty, impriſoned, reſtored, for a ſhort ſpace, and, at laſt, murdered by a prince ſprung from the ſame ſtock with himſelf.

EDWARD, his ſon, prince of Wales, was put to death, after the ſame manner, and by the ſame hand.

In ſurveying the other branch of the houſe of Lancaſter, viz. that of Beaufort-Somerſet, we ſhall ſcarce find a ſingle perſon that did not loſe his life, in a battle, or on the ſcaffold.

The houſe of York, of whom Edmund de Langley, fifth ſon of Edward III, was head, was ſtill leſs favoured; and ſome unfortunate ſtars ſeemed to be continually ſhedding their malignant influences upon that family; for, except Edmund de Langley himſelf, firſt duke of York, all the princes, his deſcendants, died a violent or untimely death.

EDWARD, duke of York, his eldeſt ſon, periſhed, in the battle of Azincourt.

RICHARD, earl of Cambridge, loſt his head, on a ſcaffold.

RICHARD, third duke of York, and his ſon, EDMUND, earl of Rutland, were ſlain, at the battle of Wakefield.

GEORGE, duke of Clarence, was afterwards condemned to die, in a butt of malmſey.

EDWARD IV, having enjoyed the crown of England, ſome years, to which he had a better title than the houſe of Lancaſter, died, indeed, a natural death, but in the 42d year of his age.

EDWARD V. and RICHARD, his brother, were ſmothered, in their bed.

EDWARD, prince of Wales, ſon to Richard III, was taken out of the world, in the 11th year of his age.

RICHARD III. was killed, at the battle of Boſworth.

In fine, it will appear from the ſequel of this Hiſtory, that EDWARD, earl of Warwick, ſon to the unfortunate duke of Clarence, and the only ſurviving male of the houſe of York, ended his days, by the hand of the executioner.

Nothing now remains, to compleat the account of the calamities that befel the poſterity of Edward III, but to remark, that THOMAS of Woodſtock, earl of Glouceſter, ſeventh ſon of that monarch, died a violent death, in priſon, at Calais.

Were not all theſe misfortunes, which happened to Edward III's poſterity, the effects of the divine vengeance extended to the fourth generation, for the barbarous murder committed on the perſon of Edward II? At leaſt, it is eaſy to ſee, in theſe events, the tragical death of Edward II. revenged upon Richard II; that of Richard upon Henry VI; that of Henry upon Edward V; and that of Edward upon Richard III.

THE

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK XIV.

The Reign of HENRY VII; with the State of the Church, from the beginning of the Reign of HENRY IV, 1399, to the end of the Reign of HENRY VII, 1509.

19. HENRY VII.

1485. HENRY VII. is proclaimed king by his army. Bacon.

THE battle of Boſworth being ended, as was obſerved, by the flight of the royal army, and death of king Richard, Henry ordered Te Deum to be ſung, upon the ſpot; and all the troops fell on their knees, to return God thanks, for his victory. Preſently after, the whole army, as it were by inſpiration, made the air reſound with the cry of, "Long live king Henry!" which was not diſagreeable to him; ſince it was a ſort of military election, that might have ſerved him for a foundation to claim the crown, tho' he had no other pretenſion. In the interim, he was embarraſſed, whether he ſhould inſiſt on this election, or build his title upon a more ſolid foundation; however, he was obliged to determine, without loſs of time, either to reject the title given him by his army, till the parliament ſhould confirm it, or accept it, and aſſert his right, independently of the conſent of the eſtates.

He is in ſuſpence about taking the title of king. Bacon.

The reaſons of it.

He had three foundations, on which he might ground his right to the crown; the firſt was his deſcent from the houſe of Lancaſter, by Margaret, his mother, daughter to a duke of Somerſet. The houſe of Lancaſter had enjoyed the crown, above 60 years, and this poſſeſſion had been confirmed by many acts of parliament; but, on the contrary, ſeveral parliaments had, afterwards, condemned this poſſeſſion, as a continual uſurpation, and adjudged the crown to the houſe of York, as deſcending from Lionel, third ſon to Edward III. This queſtion, conſidered originally, and abſtractly from the circumſtances that moved the parliaments to come to ſuch oppoſite determinations, could not have been decided, in favour of the houſe of Lancaſter, if the laws and cuſtoms of the realm had been obſerved; but, if, ſetting aſide the uſual practice, it ſhould be conſidered, with reſpect to the acts of parliament, it could not but be doubtful, ſince the Pro and Con were equally ſupported by the ſame authority. It might alſo be objected to Henry, that, tho' ſeveral parliaments had decided the point, in favour of the houſe of Lancaſter, it did not follow, that the houſe of Somerſet could receive any advantage from this deciſion; for the Somerſets were only deſcended from the houſe of Lancaſter, by a baſtard branch, which could have no pretenſion to the crown, but by vertue of their legitimation; and it was a queſtion not yet decided, whether the act of legitimation, and Richard II's ſubſequent letters patent, gave to that branch, derived from a baſtard born in adultery, a right to ſucceed to the crown, tho' mentioned neither in the act of parliament, nor in king Richard's letters. Beſides, even upon the ſuppoſition of this right, another query ſtill aroſe, viz. whether the poſterity of this legitimated baſtard could have the preference to the deſcendants of the daughters born in wedlock, of whom there were ſeveral, in Caſtile, Portu- 1485.

1485. gal, and Germany; and, therefore, Henry apprehended it to be dangerous, to ſubmit theſe points to the examination of the parliament. On the other hand, he was ſenſible that, in the deciſion of the diſputes between the houſes of Lancaſter and York, the parliaments had not ſo much regarded the arguments of the reſpective parties, as the circumſtances of time and things; and that he could never have a more favourable juncture than the preſent, ſince he had juſt delivered England from a tyrant univerſally deteſted; for Henry IV, his predeceſſor, had not done more for the Engliſh, when, to reward him, the crown was adjudged to that prince, in prejudice of the houſe of Marche.

Henry's ſecond title was his intended marriage with Eliſabeth, eldeſt daughter to Edward IV, which he had ſworn to perform; but, if he relied upon this title, he muſt reſolve either to reign, only in right of his wife, or to confound together the titles of both houſes. In the former caſe, he would have given up his own, to leave to the houſe of York a title, which had, all along, been diſputed, and have owned that houſe's right, for the ſole foundation of his aſcending the throne; moreover, he conſidered, that, if Eliſabeth ſhould die, without iſſue, all her rights would, of courſe, devolve to her next ſiſter, and he, by this means, be excluded from the throne, upon the deceaſe of his queen; and that, tho' the parliament ſhould adjudge him the crown, during life, he ſhould only have a perſonal right, which would not deſcend to his children, by a ſecond marriage.

In the latter caſe, on ſuppoſition of the confuſion of the titles of both houſes, by the projected match, purſuant to the intention of thoſe who had called him into England, it might, indeed, be advantageous to the children born of this marriage; but, if unfortunately there ſhould be none, and his death happen before Eliſabeth's, he would leave the poſſeſſion of the crown to the houſe of York, which his averſion to that houſe would not ſuffer him to behold, even at a diſtance, without the greateſt uneaſineſs; and, if Eliſabeth ſhould die before him, he foreſaw that it would renew the troubles of the kingdom, becauſe, as ſhe reigned, in her own right, her ſiſter, or neareſt relations, might pretend to ſucceed her.

Henry's third title was that of the ſword or conqueſt, which his late victory ſeemed to give him; but he conſidered, that this victory was entirely owing to the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, and, therefore, gave him, at moſt, only a right of conqueſt over the vanquiſhed party. Beſides, as he could ſupport himſelf only by the ſame aſſiſtance, he was juſtly apprehenſive, that, in reſting upon this pretended title, he ſhould loſe his beſt friends; and he knew, that William the Conqueror had wiſely rejected the title of the ſword, till he ſaw himſelf firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne.

Theſe difficulties were ſo important, as to require Henry's mature deliberation; and yet, on the other hand, he was obliged, immediately, to come to a reſolution. He was neceſſarily either to accept the title given him by the army, and ſo engage to proſecute his rights, independently of the parliament's approbation, or, by rejecting it, ſhew, that he doubted his own right, and be expoſed to a troubleſome examination; but, after weighing the reaſons, on both ſides, as far as the time would permit, he reſolved, at laſt, to reſt upon the title of the houſe of Lancaſter; and, taking it for granted, that the army, in ſaluting him, as king, had only done their duty, he determined to aſſert the Lancaſtrian claim, without any mixture of that of York, and without ſubmitting it even to the examination of the parliament. Purſuant to this reſolution, he determined to be crowned, before he called the parliament, and to defer his marriage, till he had procured an act to adjudge him the crown, as his own by inheritance; reſolving to aſſume the regal title, and iſſue out orders, as king, as if he ſucceeded to the crown by hereditary right, tho' Margaret, his mother, was ſtill alive, and ought to precede him; and, notwithſtanding all the objections that might be made againſt his title, he believed that there were arguments ſufficient to ſupport it, eſpecially at a juncture when his victory was capable of deciding all the queſtions, in his favour; which reſolution was the fountain of all the troubles of his reign. 1485.

Henry is afraid of the houſe of York.

In the mean while, tho' he affected to be convinced of the validity of his title, he doubted it, in his own mind; being ſenſible that, if it came to be conteſted, the reaſons, on which he ſhould found it, were of no great weight, unleſs ſupported by force of arms. In this ſtate of uncertainty, he continued, almoſt all his days; for, tho' he was always unconcerned, in appearance, he was inwardly terrified, dreading that every little accident would be of dangerous conſequence. The houſe of York was a perpetual terror to him; for he knew, that they, who invited him into England, were not enemies to that family, but only to the perſon of Richard III; and, the rights of the two houſes remaining ſtill doubtful, as having been decided only by the ſword, he was fully convinced that his could only be maintained by the ſame means, or by wiſe precautions, to prevent all future deciſions.

He ſends the earl of Warwick to the tower.

On this very account, the next day after the battle, he ſent a detachment of horſe, under Sir Robert Willoughby, to the caſtle of Sheriff-Hutton, to remove from thence the earl of Warwick, and conduct him to the tower of London; who was ſon and heir to George, duke of Clarence, that was ſtifled in a butt of malmſey. After the death of the duke, his father, Edward IV, his uncle, cauſed him to be carefully educated, and created him earl of Warwick; a title enjoyed by his mother's father; for he was unwilling to make him duke of Clarence, leſt that title ſhould preſerve the memory of an unfortunate brother, whom he had ſacrificed to his jealouſy. Richard, aſcending the throne, confined

1485. fined this young prince, his nephew, in the foreſaid caſtle, being apprehenſive of his, one day, diſturbing him in the poſſeſſion of the crown; but, after the uſurper's death, the earl of Warwick ſeemed to have grounds to expect ſome favour from his ſucceſſor; yet ſo far was Henry from releaſing him, that he cloſely impriſoned him, in the tower, a rigour proceeding only from his jealouſy, and inward conviction, that his title was not ſo unqueſtionable, as he affected to believe; nay, it will appear from the ſequel, that he put this unhappy prince to death, by the hand of the executioner, in this ſtill more a tyrant than the tyrant himſelf from whom he boaſted to have delivered the kingdom.

The princeſs Eliſabeth comes to London. Hall.

The princeſs Eliſabeth, whom Henry was to marry, was kept in the ſame caſtle, by the late king's order, who judged it improper to leave her at liberty to chooſe a huſband, deſigning to marry her himſelf; and Henry, reſolving to repair to London, with all poſſible expedition, did not think it adviſable to leave the princeſs, at ſo great a diſtance, leſt ſhe ſhould be told, that ſhe had no occaſion to mix her rights with thoſe of others. For this reaſon, ſhe was deſired to come and continue with the queen, her mother, at London; for his intent was to ſhew, that he intended to eſpouſe her, very ſoon, tho' he was determined to delay his marriage, till after the ſeſſion of the parliament.

Henry is well received at London.

A few days after, Henry proceeded, by eaſy journies, to London; and he ſtudiouſly avoided all appearance of uſing the right of conqueſt. He was received, in all places, with loud acclamations, the people conſidering him, as their deliverer, and expecting that, by his marriage, he would put an end to all the calamities occaſioned by the civil wars; and he made his entry into London, in a very pompous manner; yet the people had not the ſatisfaction to ſee him, as he paſſed through the city, becauſe he was carried, all the way, in a cloſe chariot, till he came to St. Paul's. His hiſtorian aſcribes this conduct to a motive of grandeur and ſecurity, as if, having been proſcribed, in the reign of Richard III, he diſdained to fawn upon the people, leſt they ſhould imagine he expected all from them; but I cannot tell, whether this is better grounded than what the ſame author adds, that Henry ordered Richard's ſtandards, taken at Boſworth, to be brought into St. Paul's church, that the Londoners might not forget, that he had juſt gained a victory, and was entering the city, as a conqueror; for, when a prince has acquired a reputation, for politicks, ſomething myſterious, ſuitable to the idea formed of him, is diſcovered in his moſt indifferent actions.

He ratifies his oath to marry Eliſabeth.

On the morrow, Henry convened a council of all the perſons of diſtinction, in the court and city, before whom he ſolemnly renewed his oath to marry the princeſs Eliſabeth; which declaration was abſolutely neceſſary, on account of a rumour that he was contracted to Ann, eldeſt daughter to the duke of Bretagne, and had acted inſincerely, when he promiſed to marry the eldeſt daughter of Edward IV; moreover, tho' he did not deſign to derive his right from this marriage, it was expedient, that the people ſhould think ſo, till he had obtained his deſire of the parliament, leſt meaſures ſhould be previouſly taken, to prevent it. Indeed, he was reſolved to perform his promiſe; but yet he did not intend to conſummate his marriage, before his coronation, leſt his queen ſhould be crowned with him, and her title ſupported by that junction; nay, he had cauſe to fear, that, if his nuptials were celebrated, before the parliament met, ſome clauſe, in behalf of the houſe of York, might be inſerted in the act to ſettle the ſucceſſion. 1485.

The ſweating-ſickneſs.

About the middle of September, the city of London was afflicted with a diſeaſe, then unknown; which threw the patients into ſo prodigious a ſweat, as carried them off, in 24 hours; but thoſe, that did not die, within that ſpace, were almoſt ſure of recovering. It happily laſted no longer, than till the end of October; but it ſwept away multitudes of people, before proper remedies were diſcovered. The method of cure was to keep the patient neither too hot, nor too cold, with temperate cordials; which, without too much increaſing the heat, aſſiſted nature to expel the humours that cauſed theſe violent ſweatings.

The earl of Oxford is made governor of the tower. Act. Pub.

About this time, Henry made the earl of Oxford conſtable of the tower, who had ever been devoted to the houſe of Lancaſter, and, after his eſcape out of the caſtle of Hammes, joined him, at Paris; and he had ſince done him ſignal ſervices, particularly at the battle of Boſworth.

A truce with France: Act. Pub.

Some time after, the king iſſued out a proclamation, to notify that he had concluded a truce, for a year, with the king of France, from the laſt day of September; and it was to no ſmall advantage to ſhew the people, that Charles VIII. owned him, for king, even before he was declared ſo by the parliament.

The office of high-ſteward is exerciſed by commiſſioners. Act. Pub.

The coronation-day approaching, it was requiſite to ſettle the places and claims of thoſe, who were to officiate at this ceremony; and, with this view, it was neceſſary to create a lord high-ſteward; but, as this office, for ſome time, had been enjoyed only by princes of the blood, and there were none then in the kingdom, the king, leſt he ſhould create jealouſies among the great men, cauſed it to be executed by commiſſioners.

Creations.

In the interim, he would no longer delay to demonſtrate his gratitude to three lords, who had faithfully and effectually ſerved him, in his greateſt extremities; and theſe were Jaſper, earl of Pembroke, his father's brother, Thomas, lord Stanley, his father-in-law, and Sir Edward Courtney. The firſt had been a father to him, in his youth, and preſerved him from the ſnares of Edward IV, when he was concealed, in Wales; and he, afterwards, was his conſtant companion, in Bretagne, and had helped him to ſurmount all the difficulties that occurred in his undertakings. In return for his ſervices, Henry made him duke of Bedford; which title was vacant, ever ſince the

1485. the death of the famous duke of Bedford, brother to Henry V. The lord Stanley, who had been extremely ſerviceable to the king, at the battle of Boſworth, was created earl of Derby; and Sir Edward Courtney, who had ventured to engage in his party, and countenance, in the weſtern counties, the duke of Buckingham's plot, was honoured with the title of earl of Devonſhire; but Henry declined to diſpenſe his favours to others, being willing, according to the cuſtom of his predeceſſors, to reſerve his creations, till the ſitting of the parliament.

The king's coronation.

The coronation had been fixed to the 30th of October; but the parliament was not to meet, till the 7th of November; from whence it appears, that Henry did not intend to lave to the parliament's care any more than to confirm his coronation, without ſuffering the foundations of his title to be examined; for the examples of Edward IV. and Richard III. had inſtructed him, that the beſt way, to obtain the parliament's approbation, was to take poſſeſſion. Indeed, there is a remarkable difference between debating, whether a prince, who claims a crown, has a right to pretend to it, or whether he is to be dethroned, when in actual poſſeſſion; for the former of theſe may be done by reaſons, arguments, and ſtudied ſpeeches; but the latter requires an army ready to enforce the reaſons; ſo that Henry may be ſaid to place the crown on his own head, ſince he alone diſpoſed of his right, without the authority of parliament, who would have had much to object, if they had examined, or been allowed to examine, by what title Henry aſcended the throne. The ceremony of the coronation was performed by cardinal Bourchier, archbiſhop of Canterbury; who, ſuppoſing Henry's right to be inconteſtable, judged it improper to inquire into the validity of his title; and, the ſame day, Henry inſtituted a guard of 50 archers *, to attend him and his ſucceſſors, for ever; varniſhing, with a pretence of grandeur and majeſty, a precaution which he believed apparently neceſſary, in the preſent juncture.

The parliament meets. Hall. Bacon.

The parliament met, eight days after the coronation; and Henry's ends, in calling it, were principally four. The firſt was to be declared king, de Jure, as he was already king, de Facto, and, by an expreſs act, to ſecure the crown to his poſterity; the ſecond, to reverſe the attainders of all his party; the third, to attaint thoſe who had been moſt active againſt him, and moſt zealous for the late king; and the fourth and laſt was to ſhew, that, tho' he had, by his ſole authority, aſcended the throne, to prevent his title from being diſputed, he deſigned, however, to govern the kingdom, like his predeceſſors, by way of parliaments, and not aſſume an arbitrary power; which ſtep was abſolutely neceſſary for a prince, whoſe title was ſo dubious, and who came to the crown, without being called to it, in the uſual manner.

1485. The difficulties about ſettling the ſucceſſion. Bacon.

It was neceſſary, for the people's ſatisfaction, and the king's ſecurity, that the parliament ſhould ſettle the crown upon him, by an act, in form; or elſe obedience to him might be thought diſpenſable; and, tho' he had been able to cauſe his authority to be owned, without ſuch an act, his heirs were not certain to be always in ſuch a favourable ſituation. In the interim, it was difficult to pen this act; for Henry would not hold the crown, either by the people's election, by the parliament, or by the princeſs Eliſabeth, his intended ſpouſe; for it was not even his intent, that ſhe ſhould ſhare in the royalty, otherwiſe than any other foreign queen. Nevertheleſs, in the beginning of his reign, it was expedient, that the people ſhould have ſome cauſe to believe, that the king reſted upon all theſe titles; and that becauſe the Engliſh were extremely jealous of the authority of their parliaments, and, generally, much better affected to the houſe of York, than to that of Lancaſter. The king, therefore, finding the parliament diſpoſed to comply with whatever he could deſire, intimated, or dictated himſelf the words of the act, viz. "That the crown ſhould reſt, remain, and "continue in the king, and the heirs of his "body, perpetually ſo to endure, and in no "other;" which ambiguous words left it undetermined, whether he had a prior right, which was doubtful, or was only king, in fact, which could not be denied. As for the limitation of the entail, he was contented with extending it no farther, than to himſelf, and the heirs of his body, leaving the reſt to be decided by the law, if his line ſhould fail; and, thus, by not mentioning the houſe of York, the act left it undecided, whether that houſe was entirely excluded, or might inherit, after the heirs of the new king. In this obſcure manner, the parliament drew up, and paſſed the act, which was afterwards ratified by the papal bull; in which, however, Henry took care to have all his titles inſerted; namely, his deſcent from the houſe of Lancaſter, his marriage with Edward IV's eldeſt daughter, his victory at Boſworth, and the act of parliament. To theſe might be likewiſe added the pope's bull of confirmation; and all of them, joined together, evidently prove his uncertainty, with reſpect to his right, and his uneaſineſs on that account. Hall. Bacon.

Queſtions in parliament, decided by the judges. Bacon.

The act of ſettlement and ſucceſſion being paſſed, it was moved for another, to reverſe the attainders of the king's adherents, whilſt only earl of Richmond; but ſeveral of theſe were actually members of the houſe of commons, elected by the intereſt they had in the people, ſince the revolution; and there were alſo ſome attainted perſons, in the houſe of lords. It was, therefore, repreſented, as incongruous, that they ſhould give their votes, in an affair that particularly concerned them, and be judges in their own cauſe; but the king was troubled, that the acts, paſſed in the late reign, ſhould be accounted valid, and his

* Under a captain, by the name of Yeomen of the guard; there are, at this day, 100 in daily waiting, and 70 others; and, as one of the 100 dies, his place is filled up out of the 70.

friends

1485. friends wanted to be purged of the crime of eſpouſing his quarrel. However, he concealed his concern, and only inſinuated, that he wiſhed the judges might be conſulted, on this occaſion; who, being met, gave it, as their opinion, that the members, attainted by courſe of law, ſhould abſent themſelves, till their attainders were reverſed.

But, during their debates upon this queſtion, another was ſtarted, with reſpect to the king himſelf, who was among the attainted, having been declared a traytor and rebel, by an act of parliament; which queſtion was much more perplexing than the other; for the king could not be disjoined from the parliament, without a diſſolution, nor was it probable, that he would ſubmit to a parliamentary examination. In this intricate caſe, the judges unanimouſly reſolved, "That the crown re- "moves all defects and ſtops in blood; and "that, from the time the king aſcended the "throne, the fountain was cleared, and all at- "tainders and corruption of blood diſcharg- "ed." This deciſion, more conſiſtent with politicks than the laws of the land, eſtabliſhed a principle, that might be attended with dreadful conſequences.

An act againſt Richard III. and his adherents. Hollingſh. Bacon.

This affair being determined, the parliament paſſed an act of attainder againſt the late king, by the name of the duke of Glouceſter, and againſt his principal adherents; among whom were the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surrey, the lords Lovel, Ferrers, Zouch, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, Sir William Catesby, all miniſters or favourites of Richard III; of which ſome were killed, at Boſworth-field, and others executed, ſince the battle. If the plots, afterwards formed againſt Henry himſelf, had ſucceeded, he would, doubtleſs, have been treated in the ſame manner, with all his adherents; ſo dangerous is exceſſive ſeverity, in caſes of this nature; and, accordingly, the ſequel will ſhew, that Henry, perceiving the conſequences, cauſed an act to be paſſed, to prevent the abuſe of ſuch a precedent. The intent of the preſent act was to ſatisfy the king's vengeance, and procure him the forfeited eſtates of the attainted; which confiſcations brought him in immenſe ſums, ſo that he had no occaſion to demand a ſubſidy, in this firſt parliament, eſpecially as the nation was in peace, or truce, with all the neighbouring princes.

A general pardon.

The king, having revenged himſelf on his enemies, and filled his coffers, iſſued out a royal proclamation, offering pardon to all that had been concerned in any plot againſt him, before his acceſſion to the crown, or borne arms for the late king, provided they ſubmitted themſelves, within a limited time; and his firſt deſign was to procure this general pardon to be paſſed, in parliament; but, conſidering that it was an act of grace, he choſe rather that it ſhould entirely flow from himſelf. Many, apprehenſive of being proſecuted, voluntarily came and took the oath of allegiance, in order to enjoy the benefit of the pardon; but others choſe to continue in ſanctuary, till the character of the new king was more known; and the latter courſe was taken by the lord Lovel, who had been a favourite of Richard III. 1485.

A creation of peers.

Before the breaking up of the parliament, Henry rewarded ſome of the companions of his exile, by creating them peers of the realm. The lord Chandos of Bretagne received the title of earl of Bath; Sir Giles D' Aubeney was made baron of D' Aubeney, and Sir Robert Willoughby lord Brooke. At the ſame time, he reſtored Edward Stafford to the dignity of duke of Buckingham, forfeited by his father's attainder, and to all the poſſeſſions belonging to his family, confiſcated in the late reign; which was a piece of juſtice he owed to the ſon of a lord, who had loſt his life, in his ſervice, and been the firſt author of his advancement to the throne.

The king redeems the pledges from France. Act. Pub.

The parliament being diſſolved, about the end of November, Henry ſent into France Oliver King, archdeacon of Oxford, with money to repay king Charles what he had lent him, and his expences, in fitting out the fleet which brought him to England; upon which, the marqueſs of Dorſet and Sir John Bourchier, left as pledges at Paris, were permitted to return home; and Henry alſo impowered his envoy to prolong the truce with France, if he found king Charles's council inclined.

He borrows money of the city. Stow.

In all probability, his want of ready money, to pay the king of France, occaſioned his ſending to the city of London, to borrow 6000 marks; but his demand met, at firſt, with great difficulties, becauſe he was, as yet, not thoroughly known. However, he obtained, at laſt, 2000 l. which he thankfully received, and punctually repaid; and he frequently borrowed money, in this manner, in the courſe of his reign, and always paid, at the very day; for his view was to eſtabliſh his credit, in that powerful city, that he might uſe it, upon any preſſing emergency.

Morton and Fox are made privy-counſellors. Bacon.

About the end of this year, he called to his privy-council John Morton, biſhop of Ely, lately returned from Flanders, and Richard Fox; for he lay under great obligations to the former, particularly for his intelligence of the plot againſt him, in Bretagne; and he had an extreme value for the latter, knowing him to be a perſon capable of doing him ſignal ſervice, and of a temper very like his own. In proceſs of time, Morton was made archbiſhop of Canterbury, lord chancellor, prime miniſter, and, at laſt, cardinal; and, as to Fox, the king made him firſt lord keeper of the privy ſeal, and then biſhop of Exeter; after which he tranſlated him to Bath and Wells, from thence to Durham, and, laſtly, to Wincheſter, the richeſt biſhoprick, in England. Theſe two prelates, with Urſwick, the king's chaplain, were generally employed in the moſt important commiſſions, ambaſſies, and negotiations; for Henry loved to employ eccleſiaſticks, becauſe he had always church-preferments ready to reward them; but he took care to promote them, by degrees, from ſmaller to more conſiderable ſees. In this, he found his own advantage; for, by tranſ-

1485. lating biſhops from one ſee to another, he made the more vacancies, and conſequently the firſt-fruits, accruing to the king, were exceedingly multiplied. No prince ever more induſtriouſly ſought occaſions, to accumulate riches; for avarice, his predominant paſſion, influenced even his meaner actions, and prompted him to take many falſe ſteps, as the ſequel will inform us.

The events of this reign have ſuch a connexion with thoſe of ſome other ſtates, that it is abſolutely neceſſary briefly to relate the ſituation of the affairs of ſeveral princes; for, otherwiſe, the motives of Henry VII's conduct would not be perfectly known, who made, in his time, a very great figure, in Europe, tho' not ſo much by his arms as policy; and I ſhall begin with Bretagne.

The affairs of Bretagne. Argentre.

I have, elſewhere, obſerved, that Peter Landais entirely governed the duke of Bretagne, who was old and infirm, and greatly impaired, in his underſtanding; and that ſeveral lords of Bretagne had entered into a league againſt that miniſter, and deſigned to ſeize him; but, being diſappointed, they were expoſed to the vengeance of that favourite, who had cauſed them all to be condemned to die. In the beginning of 1485, Landais, in the name of the duke, his maſter, raiſed an army, to execute the ſentence; and the lords, on their part, took up arms, in their defence. Whilſt Bretagne was, thus, divided, and the two parties in readineſs to come to a battle, the condemned lords cauſed it to be repreſented to thoſe who ſerved Landais, that, in the preſent caſe, the intereſt not of their common maſter, the duke, but only of his worthleſs miniſter, was concerned; that it was unjuſt to ſhed the blood of their countrymen, in the quarrel of a man, who had notoriouſly abuſed his maſter's confidence: And that, therefore, to appeaſe, at once, the commotions of Bretagne, there was a much more natural and ready way than that of arms; viz. to diſpatch that miniſter, after which, not a man would refuſe to render due obedience to the duke. The lords of the duke's party, approving of this expedient, were of opinion, that, in effect, it was both for the intereſt of the country and the duke, that Landais, the ſole cauſe of the troubles, ſhould be ſacrificed to the good of the publick; but Landais, hearing that the lords of the two armies were forming ſome plot againſt him, cauſed a declaration to be drawn, in which the duke ordered, that all perſons of his own army, who held an underſtanding with the proſcribed lords, ſhould be accounted traytors and rebels; yet this only ſerved to haſten his deſtruction. The chancelior, who was in the confederacy againſt him, refuſed to ſeal the declaration, and informed the lords of it, who reſolved to have no farther regard for the favourite; and, going, in a body, to the palace, they ſeized Landais, in the duke's own apartment, who was forced to deliver him, on condition they would ſpare his life; but, on the contrary, they brought him to a ſpeedy trial, and, convicting him of 1000 crimes, made him atone for them, on the gallows, before the duke even heard of the ſentence. How much ſoever the duke was concerned, at the death of his favourite, he was obliged to grant the lords of the two armies letters of pardon; and, thus, Bretagne would have been reſtored to her former tranquillity, had not the duke indiſcreetly interfered in the commotions of the court of France, which proved the ruin of himſelf and his dukedom; which muſt, now, be ſhewn, ſince it occaſioned the war between Charles VIII. and the duke of Bretagne, and in which Henry VII. was concerned. 1485.

The affairs of France. Mezerai.

Lewis XI, king of France, dying in 1483, appointed Ann, wife to Peter de Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu, governeſs to the perſon of Charles VIII, his ſon and ſucceſſor, who was 14 years old, and conſequently of age, purſuant to the ordinance of Charles V; but, as he had not been well educated, the king, his father did not think him capable of holding the reins of government. Lewis XI. was no ſooner in his grave, than Lewis, duke of Orleans, firſt prince of the blood, refuſed to own Ann of Beaujeu, for the king's governeſs; affirming, that a woman had no right to meddle with the affairs of the kingdom. The ſtates, aſſembled at Tours, in January, 1484, decided the diſpute by their authority; for they confirmed the late king's will, and ordered, that the duke of Orleans ſhould be preſident of the council, in the abſence of the king.

During the convention of the ſtates of France, the lords of Bretagne made their firſt attempt upon Landais, which proved unſucceſsful; and the ſentence, that was given againſt them, creating a dread of the favourite's revenge, they applied to Ann of Beaujeu, to obtain the king her brother's protection. On the other hand, Landais, finding that his enemies had recourſe to the lady Ann, thought it adviſable to rely upon the aſſiſtance of the duke of Orleans; and, with this view, he intreated him to come to the court of Bretagne, inſpiring him with hopes, that the duke would give him in marriage Ann, his eldeſt daughter, and heir apparent to his dominions. The duke of Orleans had married, againſt his will, Joanna, daughter to Lewis XI; but he had made againſt this forced marriage a ſecret proteſtation, which he intended to uſe, in order to annul it, at a more favourable juncture. Being, therefore, pleaſed with the proſpect Landais had given him, he came to Bretagne, where he was extremely careſſed; but he made no long ſtay, being obliged to aſſiſt at the king's coronation, which was performed, in June; yet, in all probability, whilſt he was in Bretagne, he concerted, with the duke and his favourite, meaſures to diſturb the government of Ann of Beaujeu, who was become abſolute miſtreſs of the king her brother's perſon and affairs.

Shortly after, the duke of Orleans, forming a league againſt the court, and retiring to Boiſgency, demanded, that the ſtates of France might be aſſembled; deſigning to annul the regulation, with reſpect to the government of the king's perſon; but Ann of Beaujeu cauſed the

1485. the king ſo ſpeedily march againſt him, that he was conſtrained to accept of ſuch terms as were granted him, his friends not being, as yet, ready to aſſiſt him; and, by this agreement, the earl of Dunois and Longueville, who was conſidered, as his principal adviſer, was baniſhed to Aſt, in Piedmont, a town belonging to the duke of Orleans, with orders not to ſtir from thence, without the king's expreſs licenſe.

The duke of Orleans, being forced to diſmiſs his troops, cauſed the greateſt part to liſt, in the duke of Bretagne's army, againſt the condemned lords; whilſt, on the contrary, Ann of Beaujeu ſent to the barons part of the king's forces; and Landais's death, which fell out, ſoon after, was incapable of making the duke of Orleance deſiſt from his projects. He had occaſion for the duke of Bretagne, to ſupport him againſt the court, and even expected to marry his daughter; and the duke of Bretagne, on his part, having been greatly perſecuted by Lewis XI, and being ſenſible, that Ann of Beaujeu followed the ſame maxims, reſolved to reſt upon the aſſiſtance of the duke of Orleans. After ſeveral negotiations, theſe two princes formed a league, into which entered John de Chalon, prince of Orange, nephew to the duke of Bretagne, the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Dunois, the duke of Lorrain, with ſeveral other princes and lords; and, ſome time after, the earl of Dunois, returning into France, without leave, retired to his ſeat, at Partenay, in Poictou. The king was, hitherto, ignorant of the duke of Orleans's deſigns; but, the earl of Dunois's return convincing him, that ſome plot was projecting, in favour of that prince, who was now at Blois, he ſent him a poſitive order, to repair to court. The duke obeyed, upon a ſecond ſummons; but, next day, hearing that he was in ſome danger, at court, he, pretending to go a hunting, withdrew into Bretagne, where he was preſently followed by the prince of Orange and the earl of Dunois. This was in the beginning of 1486; but we muſt, now, take a view of what paſſed, in the Low-Countries.

The affairs of the Low-Countries.

Since the death of Maria of Burgundy, Maximilian of Auſtria, her husband, had been involved in troubles, becauſe of the guardianſhip of Philip, her ſon, become ſovereign of the Low-Countries, upon the deceaſe of the ducheſs, his mother; for Brabant, Holland, and Zealand had voluntarily received him, for guardian; but Flanders and Hainault diſowned his authority.

The obſtinacy of the Flemings obliged Maximilian to conclude a peace with Lewis XI, upon theſe terms: That the dauphin Charles, ſon to Lewis, ſhould marry Margaret, daughter to Maximilian, as ſoon as they arrived at ſuch an age; that Margaret ſhould have, for her dowry, Artois, Franche-Comte, Macon, and Auxerre, and be educated, at the court of France; and, by vertue of this treaty, Lewis kept theſe provinces which he had already ſeized, and took Margaret home, till the conſummation of the marriage.

In 1483, Maximilian ſucceſsfully made war upon the Liegeois; and, the ſame year, Hainault acknowledged him, as guardian of Philip, his ſon. 1485.

In 1484, the Flemings, ſtill refuſing to own Maximilian, for guardian, appointed governors for Philip, of whom Adolphus de Cleves, lord of Ravenſtein, was the chief; but their obſtinate refuſal cauſed between them and Maximilian a war, in which Charles VIII. aſſiſted the Flemings.

This war was ended, in January, 1485, by a treaty, importing, that the Flemings ſhould own Maximilian, for guardian of his ſon, upon the expreſs condition that he ſhould not remove him from Flanders, till of age; and, this treaty being ſigned, Maximilian made his entry into Gaunt; where, a few days after, was a ſedition, but which was happily appeaſed. During the remainder of the year, the Low-Countries enjoying tranquillity, Maximilian took a journey into Germany, to be elected king of the Romans; but let us proceed to relate the Spaniſh affairs.

Henry IV, ſirnamed the Impotent, king of Caſtile, dying, in 1474, left only a daughter, called Joanna, who was univerſally believed to be ſuppoſititious; wherefore, Iſabella, ſiſter to Henry, and Ferdinand, prince of Arragon, her husband, aſcended the throne of Caſtile; but they had a fierce war to maintain againſt Alphonſo, king of Portugal, who, being contracted to Joanna, ſuppoſed daughter of Henry IV, laid claim to the crown of that kingdom. This war ended, in 1479, to the advantage of Ferdinand and Iſabella, who forced Alphonſo to deſiſt from his pretenſions; and, by the treaty, on this occaſion, it was agreed, that Alphonſo, grandſon to the king of Portugal, ſhould eſpouſe Iſabella, daughter of Ferdinand, when the parties were of age to conſummate the marriage.

John, king of Arragon, died, this year, leaving to his ſon, Ferdinand, the kingdom of Arragon, with a war to carry on againſt France; for John had mortgaged to Lewis XI. Rouſillon and Cerdagne, for 300,000 crowns; but, afterwards, the inhabitants of Perpignan revolted from the French, being diſpleaſed with their dominion. Upon this news, John, coming to Perpignan, endeavoured to perſuade them to remain in ſubjection to the French, till he could redeem Rouſſillon, by the payment of the mortgage; but, in the interim, Lewis XI. cauſed Perpignan to be beſieged, and John himſelf was ſhut up in the place. The ſiege laſted, four months; but, at laſt, Ferdinand, John's ſon, relieving him, obliged the French to retire. Shortly after, John leaving Perpignan, Lewis ordered the place to be re-inveſted, and, after a long ſiege, became maſter of it; from which time, the king of Arragon pretended, that the king of France ought to reſtore Rouſſillon, without receiving the money lent, either on account of his expence, in protecting his ſubjects, or becauſe the French had levied large ſums upon the mortgaged countries; but Lewis did

1485. did not think himſelf obliged to this reſtitution, without the repayment of 300,000 crowns.

In 1485, Charles VIII. ſent an ambaſſador to Ferdinand, who refuſed to receive him, unleſs he was expreſly impowered to reſign Rouſſillon and Cerdagne.

About the latter end of this year, was born Catharine, daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella, who, in proceſs of time, became queen of England, and will have a great ſhare in the Hiſtory of that kingdom; but Ferdinand and Iſabella had ſeveral other children, viz. Iſabella, affianced to the prince of Portugal, John born, in 1477, and Joanna born, in 1479.

The affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

I ſhall conclude this digreſſion, with the affairs of Scotland; where James III. continued to rule, with oppreſſion and violence, regardleſs of the affection of his ſubjects. I have already obſerved, that the duke of Albany, his brother, delivered up Dunbar to the Engliſh, and, after the death of Edward IV, retired into France, where he loſt his life, at a tournament; and, thenceforward, the Engliſh kept poſſeſſion of that place, tho' Richard III. promiſed to reſtore it; but, this promiſe not being performed, when Henry VII. aſcended the throne of England, James reſolved to recover Dunbar, by force of arms. With that view, about the end of this year, or, perhaps, the beginning of the next, he beſieged and took the town; for the ſeaſon, and the important affairs which then employed Henry's thoughts, did not permit him to prepare for its relief.

Such was the condition of the ſtates, with whom Henry VII. had any concerns, during the courſe of his reign; but it is now time to return to our Hiſtory.

1486. The king's marriage. Jan. 18.

How great an averſion ſoever the king might have in his mind to the houſe of York, he had too ſolemnly promiſed to marry the princeſs Eliſabeth, not to make good his engagement; moreover, this marriage was neceſſary to amuſe the Engliſh, who ſtill flattered themſelves, that the king intended to confound his rights with thoſe of the houſe of York, tho' he had taken ſuch particular care to prevent her being mentioned, in the act of ſettlement. The nuptials were ſolemnized, the 18th of January, with far greater demonſtrations of joy, on the people's part, than on that of the king; for much leſs ſatisfaction was expreſſed, on the days either of the king's entry, or coronation. This was an evident proof of the people's affection for the houſe of York, and eſpecially for the family of Edward IV; but this was not to be conſidered, as extremely ſurpriſing. The houſe of Lancaſter, of which there remained no branch, except what was deſcended from the daughters, had been forgotten, during the reigns of the kings of the houſe of York; and, tho' Henry reſted upon his deſcent from the houſe of Lancaſter, he was known to be grandſon to a Welch gentleman, and his mother to be ſprung only from a baſtard of that houſe, whom the credit of his father, and the circumſtances of the times, had cauſed to be legitimated; and, as to the princes and princeſſes, the poſterity of the lawful daughters of John of Gaunt, as they happened to be in Portugal, Caſtile, and Arragon, and were unknown in England, it was no wonder, that there was no great inclination for them. Henry diſliked the people's joy for his marriage; for he perceived, that Eliſabeth had a greater ſhare in it than himſelf; and that, of courſe, he was thought really king, only in right of his queen. This conſideration inſpired him with ſuch a coldneſs for her, that he inceſſantly gave her proofs of it, to the day of her death; and he deferred her coronation, two whole years, and, doubtleſs, would have done ſo, for ever, if he had not believed it would be prejudicial to him, to perſiſt in refuſing her that honour; nay, perhaps, he would have treated her, as Edward the Confeſſor had formerly done his queen, daughter to earl Goodwin, had not the deſire of children induced him to overcome his averſion. He had conceived ſuch a mortal hatred to the whole houſe of York, that, on all occaſions, he humbled the Yorkiſts, behaving always towards them, not as a juſt king, but as the head of a party; and, in the courſe of his Hiſtory, will be ſeen ſeveral inſtances of his averſion to that family. 1486.

The king's coldneſs for the queen.

A three years truce with France. Act. Pub.

The day before the king's marriage was celebrated, at London, his envoy, at Paris, had concluded with the court of France a three years truce, till the 17th of January, 1488-9; to which Charles VIII, who began to form projects againſt Bretagne, readily conſented, to hinder the king of England from aſſiſting that dukedom; and, on the other hand, Henry, a ſtranger to his deſigns, believed it muſt, of courſe, be for his advantage to live in a good underſtanding with that monarch, as it would render him more formidable to his domeſtick enemies, who could no longer expect any diverſion from France.

The earl of Derby is made high-conſtable. Act. Pub.

Shortly after, the king made Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby, high-conſtable, and William Stanley, his brother, lord chamberlain; to whom, of all the kingdom, he was under the greateſt obligations, ſince they enabled him to gain the victory of Boſworth, which procured him the crown; and the lord D'Aubeney was appointed governor of Calais, for ſeven years.

A diſpenſation for the king's marriage. March 10. Act. Pub.

Henry and Eliſabeth, being both deſcended from Edward III, had wanted a diſpenſation to marry, becauſe they were couſins, in the fourth degree; and the biſhop of Imola, legate a Latere, in England and Scotland, had granted the diſpenſation, by vertue of his commiſſion, which impowered him to grant that favour to any 12 perſons he pleaſed. The king, at firſt, believed, that this diſpenſation was ſufficient, and, accordingly, conſummated his marriage; but he, afterwards, apprehended, that occaſion might be taken, from hence, to queſtion the validity of his marriage, and to maintain, that a power, for 12 perſons, in general, could not be extended to ſovereigns. To prevent, therefore, any ſuch objection, he deſired Innocent VIII, then

pope,

1486. pope, to grant him a diſpenſation, immediately from himſelf, and peculiarly adapted to his caſe; upon which, his holineſs ordered a bull to be drawn; but, as it was dated, March the 13th, about two months after the marriage, and did not mention the conſummation, or the legate's diſpenſation, Henry deſired another, with theſe two articles inſerted, which was granted him, the July following. This ſhews, how careful he was, to guard againſt whatever might afford his enemies a pretence to diſturb him; but another precaution he took, at the ſame time, is ſtill a more evident proof of this point.

The bull confirming the act of ſettlement. March 27. Act. Pub.

With the firſt diſpenſation he received a bull, ratifying the act of ſucceſſion made by the parliament; in which the pope declared, "He had heard, that, tho' the crown of "England fell to Henry, not only by con-"queſt and an indiſputable hereditary right, "but alſo by the unanimous conſent of the no-"bility and people, and by an act of parlia-"ment; and tho', doubtleſs, and of right, "it belonged to him and the heirs of his bo-"dy; yet, to put an end to the troubles which "had long diſtracted the kingdom, he was "deſirous to marry Eliſabeth of York, eldeſt "daughter and heir of king Edward IV, of "glorious memory: That, therefore, hav-"ing conſidered, with his brothers, the car-"dinals, his intent, in the ſpirit of charity, "he had granted the diſpenſation neceſſary "for the marriage, and pronounced the chil-"dren, that ſhould iſſue from it, legitimate, "and capable of ſucceeding to their father "and mother: That he had granted this fa-"vour, not at the requeſt of Henry, or Eli-"ſabeth, or any other in their name, but of "his own accord, certain knowledge, and "pure generoſity, as it was more copiouſly "expreſſed in the letters of diſpenſation, to "which he gave the ſame force, as if they "were inſerted, verbatim, in theſe preſents; "and that, therefore, he decreed, declared, "and pronounced legitimate the ſucceſſion of "the children born of this marriage, and con-"firmed the act of parliament about king "Henry's title, and the ſucceſſion of his "children, ſupplying, by his apoſtolical au-"thority, all defects of right, or fact, that "might therein occur.

"That, of his own motion, and by his au-"thority, he admoniſhed and charged all the "people of England, and all king Henry's "ſubjects, of what rank ſoever, to obey that "prince, and expreſly prohibited them to raiſe "diſturbances concerning the ſucceſſion, or "on any other account whatſoever, or to in-"fringe, in any manner, the diſpenſation, "declaration, and act of parliament.

"That he pronounced, ipſo facto, excom-"communicate all perſons that ſhould raiſe "any ſuch diſturbances, or infringe the above-"mentioned letters and acts, to be abſolved "only by the holy ſee, or ſuch as ſhould be "commiſſioned by her, unleſs at the point of "death.

"That, if Eliſabeth ſhould die before "Henry, without iſſue, he decreed, agreeably "to the foreſaid act of parliament and con-"firmation, that Henry's children, by any "other lawful marriage, ſhould ſucceed him, "by hereditary right, pronouncing excommu-"nicate, as above, all that ſhould oppoſe the "ſucceſſion of his children; and granting, on "the other hand, his benediction and plenary "indulgence, for all their ſins, to thoſe who "ſhould, in ſuch a caſe, aſſiſt Henry, or his "poſterity. 1486.

"Beſides, he commanded all archbiſhops, "biſhops, abbots, deans, archdeacons, curates, "rectors, priors, and ſuperiors of monaſteries, "upon the penalties expreſſed in the holy "canons, to excommunicate publickly, and "to pronounce excommunicate, whenever "they were enjoined, all perſons that ſhould "create any diſturbances, on that account, or, "in any manner, oppoſe the execution of the "ſaid acts, notwithſtanding all the conſtitu-"tions and ordinances apoſtolical, to the "contrary, &c."

Remarks on the bull.

Nothing more fully demonſtrates, how much Henry was convinced of the weakneſs of his title, than his procuring the pope's confirmation; for this precaution was not only unneceſſary, but even unlawful, ſince it directly contradicted the ſtatute of Præmunire, for which the Engliſh had ſuch a tender regard. Accordingly, he took care to have it ſaid, in the bull, that the pope granted the diſpenſation, of his own motion, and without any previous requeſt; a clauſe manifeſtly falſe; for it is certain, that the bull of diſpenſation ran, in expreſs terms, that the pope granted it, upon the repreſentations made to him by Henry and Eliſabeth. Moreover, what the pope affirmed, that the crown of England fell to Henry, by hereditary right, with that confuſed heap of other titles, viz. the conſent of the nobility and people, the act of parliament, and the king's marriage with Eliſabeth; all this, I ſay, correſponded ſo preciſely with Henry's uncertainty about his title, that, doubtleſs, it did not proceed from the pope's own knowledge, but rather from the king himſelf, who had, as it were, dictated, how the bull ſhould be worded. In fine, the pope would never have dreamt of confirming the act of ſettlement, if he had not been requeſted; but it was inconvenient, that the king ſhould appear to have deſired ſuch a bull, ſince nothing could be more diſagreeable to the Engliſh. King John, by taking ſuch a ſtep, even before the ſtatute of Præmunire was enacted, entirely loſt the love and confidence of his barons, with the crown which he intended to ſecure, by that expedient; and Henry III. had like to have been expoſed to the ſame fate, for the like precautions. Accordingly, the ſequel will ſhew, that this bull could not prevent the king's being frequently moleſted; for the Engliſh were not, as formerly, ſuch bigots, as to imagine, that the papal authority could give Henry a title which he really wanted.

The king's uneaſineſs, with regard to the houſe of York.

Tho' the king had fortunately attained his ends, with reſpect to the act of ſettlement and ſucceſſion; yet the proceedings of the parliament contradicted the ſentiments of the people; for Bacon.

1486. for he had been invited into England, to deliver the kingdom from the tyranny of Richard III, and not wholly to diſpoſſeſs the houſe of York; and, indeed, if the Yorkiſts had not joined with him, in order to preſerve the crown, in that houſe, by means of his marriage with Eliſabeth, the Lancaſtrians would never have been able to raiſe him to the throne. The queen, widow to Edward IV, the duke of Buckingham, and the lord Stanley were not attached to the houſe of Lancaſter, tho' ſecret enemies to the perſon of Richard; and yet to theſe Henry was principally indebted, for his greatneſs; and, if the people had been, conſulted, and at liberty to elect a ſovereign, tho' Richard would have been dethroned Eliſabeth would have been placed on the throne, and the earl of Richmond left in his exile, in Bretagne. Henry, therefore, was only conſidered, as the inſtrument of their deliverance from the dominion of a tyrant; but, as it was reaſonable to reward him, the giving him a ſhare of the regal dignity, by his marriage with the princeſs Eliſabeth, was thought an ample recompence; and, if it was readily agreed, that his right from the houſe of Lancaſter ſhould be united with Eliſabeth's, it was rather to avoid freſh troubles, than from a belief of the lawfulneſs of his title. He had himſelf joyfully accepted the propoſal, upon which foundation he formed his enterprize; otherwiſe he would have, doubtleſs, met with leſs aſſiſtance, and much greater oppoſition; but he had no ſooner gained the battle of Boſworth, than he reſolved to reign, in his own right only, and exclude the houſe of York, in which he defeated the expectations of the Engliſh, and abuſed their confidence; and this is what continually employed his thoughts, tho' he concealed his uneaſineſs, with all poſſible diligence.

The king's progreſs into the north. Hall.

As the houſe of York had moſt adherents, in the northern counties, Henry determined to take a progreſs into thoſe parts; hoping that his preſence, with ſome acts of grace and favour he might have an opportunity to diſpenſe, would produce a good effect; and, with this view, he departed, towards the middle of the ſpring, and kept his Eaſter, at Lincoln. Before he left that city, he heard, that the lord Lovel, one of Richard III's favourites, with Humphrey and Thomas Stafford, brothers, who refuſed to accept of the general pardon, had quitted their ſanctuary, tho' he could not learn their deſign; and, therefore, he continued his journey to York. Shortly after, he received more certain advice concerning the fugitives; being informed, that the lord Lovel was advancing towards York, at the head of 3 or 4000 men; and that the Staffords were in arms, in Worceſterſhire, before the city of Worceſter. This news exceedingly perplexed him; for he was in a part of the kingdom, where he knew he was not beloved, and where it would be difficult to levy forces; moreover, he had reaſons to apprehend, that the lord Lovel had correſpondents, in York, and among the nobility of the county; and conſequently that he muſt ſpeedily reſolve, either to quit York, or take ſome courſe to oppoſe the rebels. In this extremity, he choſe to ſeem unconcerned, perceiving that flight would neceſſarily prove of dangerous conſequence; wherefore, not diſcovering any ſigns of fear, he armed ſuch of his followers, as were able to carry arms, and commiſſioned ſome truſty adherents to raiſe men, in and about York, with all poſſible expedition; and he was ſo fortunate, as to aſſemble, in a ſhort time, 3000 men, of whom he gave the command to his uncle, the duke of Bedford; but theſe troops were ſo ill armed, and in ſuch diſorder, that he could not expect much ſervice from them; beſides, they were raiſed in a county, where the inhabitants were diſaffected to the king. On this account, Henry expreſly charged the duke of Bedford, to avoid fighting, if poſſible, till reinforced, but, at the ſame time, to ſhew no dread, and proclaim, in his name, pardon to all that would lay down their arms; which precaution ſucceeded to his wiſh. The duke of Bedford, approaching the male-contents, ordered the proclamation to be publiſhed, in terms importing great ſuperiority and confidence; yet it had very little effect on the rebels; but the lord Lovel, their commander, apprehenſive that they would accept of the pardon, deſerted them, firſt; and, retiring alone, he concealed himſelf, in Lancaſhire, at his friend Sir Thomas Broughton's, and, ſhortly after, paſſed into Flanders to the ducheſs dowager of Burgundy. His army, being without a leader, ſubmitted to the king; and the Staffords, who were beſieging Worceſter, being told what happened, in the north, raiſed the ſiege, and, abandoning their troops, took ſanctuary, in the church of Colnham, a ſmall village near Abingdon; but, that church enjoying no peculiar privilege, it was judged, in the king's bench, to be no ſufficient ſanctuary for traytors. Upon this, the two brothers being taken thence, by force, Humphrey, the eldeſt, was ſent to London, to be executed, at Tyburn; but Thomas, becauſe he was ſeduced by his brother, received a pardon. This rebellion, the firſt, in this reign, was, like a blaze, of a ſhort continuance; for it was quenched with the blood of a ſingle perſon; but we ſhall ſee, hereafter, others that coſt the king more, to extinguiſh the flames.

The rebellion of the lord Lovel and the two Staffords.

On the 3d of July, the Scotch ambaſſadors, who had been, ſome time, at London, concluded a truce with Henry, which was to laſt, three years. Act. Pub.

Cardinal Bourchier, archbiſhop of Canterbury, died, about this time; and the king, intending to procure the archbiſhoprick for Dr. Moreton, biſhop of Ely, entruſted him with the cuſtody, during the vacancy, that no other biſhop might make intereſt, for the nomination. Accordingly, Moreton was elected, ſome time after; but he had not the pope's bulls, till December. The death of cardinal Bourchier; Moreton ſucceeds him. Act. Pub.

July the 22d, John de Bouteillier, lord de Maupertuis, ambaſſador of Francis II, duke of Bretagne, concluded, at London, with the king, a truce, or rather a prolongation of the truce,

1486. truce, ſubſiſting between England and Bretagne, till the death of one of the two princes; but the trade, between the two nations, ſettled by ſeveral articles of this treaty, was to continue, till the death of the ſurvivor.

The birth of prince Arthur.

September the 20th, the queen was delivered of a prince, tho' ſhe had been, but eight months, with child; and the king called the new-born prince Arthur, in memory of the renowned Britiſh monarch; but, the family of the Tudors being Britiſh or Welch, it was not improbable, that Henry, by naming his ſon Arthur, deſigned to inſinuate his being deſcended from that illuſtrious monarch. However, it is certain, that this report was not ſpread, nor were genealogies forged, to confirm it, till after the time we are ſpeaking of; for thoſe who ruled the ſtate, during Henry VI's minority, were very far from this opinion, ſince, after the deceaſe of Catharine of France, the prince's mother, they ſent Owen Tudor, grandfather of Henry VII, to the tower, for preſuming to marry the queen; nay, according to ſome, he was beheaded.

The murmurs of the people.

The king's proceedings, to deprive the houſe of York of their rights, had extremely diſguſted the people, who were deceived in their expectations; for they, who had called in Henry, had entertained hopes, that, the titles of the two houſes being confounded by his marriage with Eliſabeth, there would be no more diſtinction between Yorkiſts and Lancaſtrians, but all might equally expect the places, in the king's diſpoſal. Theſe hopes were farther confirmed by the birth of prince Arthur, in whom were united the rights of the two contending houſes; but it was obſerved, with the greateſt concern, that the king ſtill conſidered the houſe of York, as rivals and enemies, and that his jealouſy extended to the queen, whoſe intereſt ſhould have been as dear to him as his own; for, not ſatisfied with ſhewing, by his continual coldneſs, and ſeveral mortifications, the little kindneſs he had for her, he had given her a very convincing proof of it, in deferring her coronation, as if ſhe had been unworthy to ſhare in his royalty; nay, after ſhe had brought him a ſon, her coronation was no more talked of, than upon their firſt marriage. This conduct evidently proved, that the houſe of York was ſtill odious to him, and that he dreaded to take any ſtep which might give the people occaſion to believe, that ſhe had ſome right to the crown; and it was impoſſible but this affectation ſhould greatly trouble the Yorkiſts, who were much more numerous than the Lancaſtrians.

It is rumoured, that the king deſigned to put Warwick to death; Bacon. Hall. and that one of Edward's ſons was alive.

This diſcontent being almoſt univerſal, ſome malicious perſons ſpread a rumour, that the king intended to take away the life of the earl of Warwick, a priſoner in the tower, and the ſole male of the houſe of York; and, doubtleſs, their view was to compare Henry with Richard III, who had put to death his two nephews, to ſecure the crown, and intimate to the people, that, in changing kings, they had only received one tyrant, for another; moreover, it was publickly rumoured, that one of Edward IV's ſons was ſtill alive, having, as it were miraculouſly, eſcaped his uncle's cruelty. All this manifeſtly tended to ſound the people's inclinations; and the king himſelf, whether he was the author of this report, as his hiſtorian affirms, or only fomented it by his carriage, was not ſorry, that the people ran after a phantom, becauſe it prevented them from too firmly adhering to the perſons of the houſe of York, which really exiſted; but, in the interim, as the eagerneſs, with which the people ſwallowed this falſe rumour, was a clear evidence, how ready they would be, at a favourable juncture, to liſt againſt the king, ſo it occaſioned the following project. 1486.

The project of a prieſt.

A certain Oxford-prieſt, Richard Simon, perceiving the people's joy, at the fictitious report of one of Edward IV's ſons being alive, reſolved to put upon the world, for Richard, duke of York, brother to Edward V, a young man, called Lambert Simnel, a baker's ſon, whom he trained up, in his houſe, and thought a proper perſon to act ſuch a part; for he was about the duke of York's age, of good natural parts, and, in his whole behaviour, had ſomething grand, and above his extraction. Simon had ſcarce begun to inſtruct his pupil, when another rumour was ſpread, that the earl of Warwick had made his eſcape out of the tower; which news, tho' falſe, cauſed among the people ſo general a joy, that the prieſt judged it more adviſable to make Simnel paſs, for the earl of Warwick; for Simnel's age was more agreeable to the earl's, and the circumſtance of his eſcape was ſuitable to the plot; and his pupil ſtood in need of particular inſtructions, for this purpoſe, ſince he was not to perſonate a young man taken out of his cradle, in his infancy, and concealed in ſome obſcure retreat, but a prince well known, and brought up in the court of Edward IV. The earl was about 12 years old, when impriſoned by Richard III; wherefore, Simnel was to learn to talk pertinently of Edward's court, and to have a thorough knowledge of the lords and ladies that frequented it, as well as the king and queen; which renders it probable, that the prieſt was himſelf inſtructed by perſons well informed, and the plot ſuggeſted to him; for, tho' he had the aſſurance to form ſuch a deſign, it is unlikely, that he could inſtruct his pupil, in many neceſſary particulars; at leaſt, it is certain the king imagined, that the queen, his mother-in-law, and other friends of the houſe of York were the real authors of this contrivance, and only employed the prieſt, as an inſtrument, to execute their deſigns. The queen dowager was extremely intriguing; who ſet on foot the project, in behalf of the king, when in Bretagne, and ſo ſhewed her credit with the Yorkiſts; moreover, ſhe could not but be very highly diſpleaſed with the king's coldneſs to her daughter, and his refuſing to have her crowned; which alone was ſufficient to induce the king to ſuſpect her; but, poſſibly, there was more than bare ſuſpicions.

A prieſt makes Simnel paſs for the earl of Warwick.

However

1486. The prieſt carries Simnel into Ireland.

However this be, Simon, or thoſe that employed him, judging it improper to produce Simnel, firſt, in England, where he might be examined too cloſely, and by perſons too knowing, thought it convenient, that he ſhould act his firſt ſcene, in Ireland, where Simon the prieſt accompanied him; and, in all probability, ſome meaſures had been taken for his reception, in that iſland; for Henry, ſince his acceſſion to the crown, had extremely neglected the affairs of that country, fancying that, as he was maſter, in England, the Iriſh were not to be feared. Indeed, he made the duke of Bedford governor of Ireland, in the room of the earl of Lincoln, nephew to Richard III; but he continued the ſame deputy and chancellor, and all the reſt of the officers placed there by Richard; ſo that, the duke of Bedford being ſtill, in England, Thomas Fitz-Gerald, earl of Kildare, acted, in Ireland, as deputy, and his brother was chancellor. Bacon.

Simnel is received and proclaimed king.

It is more than probable, that the the earl of Kildare was concerned in the plot, and had even concerted meaſures, to cauſe Lambert Simnel, the pretended earl of Warwick, to be owned, in Ireland; for, ever ſince laſt June, Henry had received intelligence, that ſomething was contriving againſt his ſervice, in that country, tho' he was ignorant of the particulars; and, upon this information, he ſent for the deputy to court; but, at the earl's inſtigation, the council of Ireland wrote to the king, that the deputy's preſence was abſolutely neceſſary, in the iſland. Simnel, upon his arrival at Dublin, addreſſed himſelf to the earl of Kildare, as earl of Warwick, and acquainted him, how he eſcaped out of the tower; but, if the earl of Kildare had not been in the plot, or, at leaſt, wiſhed the affair to be, as Simnel related it, he would, doubtleſs, have ſeized the pretender. This was his duty, as he commanded, in the name of the king; but he left him at liberty, and ſo managed, with his brother the chancellor's aſſiſtance, that the arrival of the pretended earl of Warwick was divulged, without their appearing to be concerned. They were willing, firſt, to ſee, how the people reliſhed the news; but the impreſſion it made was as great and ſudden, as the authors of the plot could have deſired; for it was no ſooner known, in Dublin, that the earl of Warwick was arrived, than the people were tranſported with joy, inſomuch, that the deputy and chancellor concluded, that there was no danger, in owning the pretender. Accordingly, after a conference with their friends and confidents, they ſolemnly waited upon him, at his lodging, and conducted him, in a very pompous manner, to the caſtle, where he was treated, like a prince; and Simnel received the reſpect that was paid him, with a countenance and carriage vaſtly exceeding the meanneſs of his extraction. In a few days, he was proclaimed, in Dublin, king of England, and lord of Ireland, by the name of Edward VI; for the Iriſh overlooked the attainder of the duke of Clarence, his pretended father, having lately learnt, by the example of Henry himſelf, that the advancement to the throne removes all defects. Hall.

1486. The king is embarraſſed. Hall. Bacon.

The news of this unexpected event gave the king the greateſt uneaſineſs, becauſe it ſtruck upon that ſtring, which he ever moſt dreaded; viz. his title, of the goodneſs of which he was not himſelf thoroughly convinced. Indeed, the victory at Boſworth had enabled him to decide the queſtion, in his own favour; but he very well knew, that, if the titles of the two houſes came, once more, to be put in competition, he ſhould want a ſecond victory to confirm his, and the houſe of York would have reaſons more than ſufficient, in a time of proſperity. In the next place, Ireland, where the pretended earl of Warwick was retired, was a country entirely devoted to the houſe of York; and conſequently, to attack the rebels, it would be neceſſary to lead thither a powerful army, which could not be done, without an immenſe charge; and, in fine, it was to be feared, that the flames, which broke out, in Ireland, would reach England, and that there was a ſecret correſpondence between the Iriſh and Engliſh. In this perplexity, he called a council of his moſt intimate friends, ſecretly to conſult with them, about proper meaſures, in the preſent emergency; and it is to be preſumed he told them, that the queen dowager, his mother-in-law, had raiſed this ſtorm, whether he had any proof, or it was only an imaginary ſuſpicion.

A ſecret council. Hall. Bacon.

Henry confines his mother-in-law to a monaſtery, and ſeizes her eſtate.

However this be, preſently after holding this council, he confined his mother-in-law in the nunnery of Bermondſey, in Southwark; and he likewiſe ſeized all her eſtate, which was very conſiderable; but, as he was unwilling to diſcover to the publick the reaſon of this rigorous uſage, for want of ſufficient evidence, he cauſed it to be reported, that ſhe was, thus, puniſhed, for delivering up the princeſſes, her daughters, to Richard III; but this pretence rendered his action ſtill more enormous, with the people. They could not avoid thinking it very ſurpriſing, that the queen dowager ſhould be ſo ſeverely treated for a fault, which might rather be accounted a weakneſs, than a premeditated malice; ſecondly, it could not be imagined, why the king had ſo long neglected to inquire into this pretended crime; thirdly, in marrying her daughter, he ſeemed to have owned, that ſhe was innocent, or, at leaſt, had forgiven her; and, laſtly, as it was notorious, that ſhe had been one of the chief inſtruments of his advancement to the throne, they abhorred his ingratitude. This ſevere treatment was taken to be a manifeſt indication of a ſettled deſign, by all poſſible pretences, to compleat the ruin of the houſe of York, and its adherents; and it was not only compaſſion for the queen's ſufferings, that occaſioned theſe reflections; but her example ſtruck a terror into all the kingdom. Moſt of the families, in England, had either aſſiſted Richard III, or, at leaſt, not oppoſed him; and, therefore, when it was conſidered, that the king's mother-in-law was reduced to this wretched condition, for not having been able, or willing, to reſiſt the tyranny of the late king, every one was in dread of being puniſhed, for the like crimes,

1486. crimes, which were ſuppoſed to be buried in oblivion; however, the queen dowager was kept in confinement, to the day of her death, which did not fall out, till after the courſe of ſome years. 1486.

The earl of Warwick is ſhewn in publick.

It was, at firſt, believed, that the queen dowager's misfortune was a puniſhment of the crime charged upon her by the king; but it was ſoon perceived to be an effect of the decrees of the ſecret council, held upon Simnel's affair. Shortly after, purſuant to another decree of the ſame council, the king ordered the true earl of Warwick to be ſhewn, in publick, who was led through the main Streets of London, and then conducted, in a ſolemn proceſſion, to St. Paul's, where multitudes flocked to ſee him; and, there, all had leiſure to view him attentively; nay, he was made to talk with thoſe that knew him beſt, and eſpecially with ſuch as were well affected to the houſe of York; after which, he was again conveighed to the tower. Nevertheleſs, the Iriſh maintained, that this earl of Warwick ſhewn in London, was an impoſture, and theirs, at Dublin, the true earl; and they even exclaimed againſt the king, for proſtituting the ceremony of a proceſſion to ſuch an impoſture. Henry, apprehenſive that the miſchief would gain ground, in order to ſtop it, proclaimed a general pardon to all that ſhould abandon the rebels, and promiſed a reward to thoſe who ſhould diſcover the ſecret of the plot; and, at the ſame time, he iſſued out orders to guard the ports, that the Engliſh male-contents might not paſs over, and join their friends, in Ireland; but all this was incapable of diſconcerting the meaſures of his enemies.

Bacon.

The earl of Lincoln goes over to the dutcheſs of Burgundy.

It was not only, in Ireland, that troubles were preparing for the king; for the readineſs, with which ſome Engliſh lords and gentlemen embraced this opportunity, to promote his ruin, evidently demonſtrated, that the conſpiracy had been formed, ſome time before, in England; indeed, it is unlikely, that a ſingle prieſt ſhould have contrived ſuch a project, without imparting it to perſons more able than himſelf to put it in execution. However this be, John, earl of Lincoln, declared, by Richard III, his uncle, heir apparent of the crown, was the firſt that openly eſpouſed the cauſe of the pretended earl of Warwick. He was ſon to John de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, and and Eliſabeth ſiſter to Edward IV. and Richard III; yet this earl ſeemed to act contrary to his own intereſt, in taking part with the earl of Warwick, who was nearer the throne than himſelf; but, as, probably, he knew, that the perſon, in Ireland, was an impoſtor, he did not doubt, that he ſhould eaſily deſtroy him, when he ſerved his turn, in dethroning Henry; wherefore, upon the firſt news of Simnel's being proclaimed king, at Dublin, he embarqued for Flanders, to project, with the ducheſs dowager of Burgundy, the means to execute this deſign.

Since the death of Charles, duke of Burgundy, Margaret of York, his widow, ſiſter to Edward IV. and Richard III, her dowry being aſſigned her, in Flanders, kept her reſidence there; and, as ſhe had no iſſue by the duke, her husband, ſhe diligently attended the education of the archduke Philip, ſon to Maximilian of Auſtria and Maria of Burgundy. She had, with extreme concern, ſeen the reſtoration of the houſe of Lancaſter to the throne, in prejudice of that of York; yet ſhe would not have been impatient, if Henry VII, in uniting the two houſes, by his marriage with Eliſabeth, had diſpenſed his favours impartially to the friends of both parties; but ſhe altered her ſentiments, when ſhe found that Henry deferred marrying her niece, till the crown was adjudged to himſelf, without any mixture of the title of the houſe of York. She could not perceive, without uneaſineſs, that, even after his marriage, he refuſed to let Eliſabeth be crowned, an honour that had been denied to no queen of England, ſince the conqueſt; and that the birth of a ſon had not induced him to do her that juſtice; wherefore, being convinced, that his hatred of the whole houſe of York was implacable, ſhe did not ſcruple to labour his deſtruction. Indeed, it is uncertain, whether this princeſs engaged in the prieſt's and Simnel's plot, before Ireland declared, in his favour; yet it is highly probable, that ſhe aſſiſted in the management of it, together with the queen dowager, the earl of Lincoln, and ſome other adherents of the houſe of York; for the earl of Lincoln's voyage snto Flanders, upon the firſt news of Simnel's arrival in Ireland, affords occaſion to preſume, that he concerted meaſures with the ducheſs of Burgundy, and from her expected the ſucceſs of the undertaking; and the lord Lovel, who was in Flanders before him, was alſo concerned in the plot, as well as Sir Thomas Broughton, who continued in England, to ſend them intelligence of what was tranſacting in that kingdom.

She promiſes to aſſiſt the earl of Lincoln. Hall. Bacon.

Whether the ducheſs of Burgundy contrived this plot herſelf, or was only acquainted with it by the earl of Lincoln, ſhe readily embraced this opportunity, which ſhe apprehended to be ſufficient to inſpire her with hopes of defeating Henry's eſtabliſhment; and, having adviſed with the earl Lincoln, lord Lovel, and ſome other fugitives, ſhe promiſed to ſupply them with 2000 veteran German ſoldiers, under the command of Martin Swart, a noted officer, with whom they ſhould paſs into Ireland, to reinforce the new king's party, not, in the leaſt, doubting but theſe ſuccours, coming from a foreign country, would encourage the Yorkiſts to take up arms, in England. In this ſituation were the king's affairs, about the end of 1486; but, before we proceed to the occurrences of the following year, we muſt briefly relate what paſſed, in the neighbouring countries, eſpecially in France and Bretagne, during the courſe of this year.

The affairs of Bretagne. Argentre.

I left the duke of Orleance in Bretagne, with the prince of Orange and the earl of Dunois; and theſe princes were no ſooner in that country, than they were joined by many of their friends, who even brought them ſome troops. The duke of Bretagne was old and

1486. infirm, both in body and mind; and, ſince the death of Landais, he was at a loſs whom he ſhould entruſt with the adminiſtration of his affairs, believing his barons to be ſo many enemies, tho' he had granted them a pardon. The duke of Orleans, ſeeing him, thus, embarraſſed, gained ſuch an influence over him, that he ruled Bretagne, as if he had been the ſovereign; and, as almoſt every thing was in his diſpoſal, he drew thither many Frenchmen, who came to offer him their ſervice. In the interim, the duke of Bretagne convened the ſtates, and cauſed his eldeſt daughter, Ann, to be declared heireſs of the duchy; and, provided ſhe died, without iſſue, it was decreed, that her younger ſiſter, Iſabel, ſhould ſucceed her.

The lords of Bretagne, lately reconciled to their ſovereign, finding that the duke of Orleans governed abſolutely, in the name of the duke, and that the French reſorted to him, in crowds, began to entertain ſuſpicions of their prince; for they were apprehenſive, that he had ſent for all theſe ſtrangers, to help him to be revenged on them, for their outrage upon his favourite; and, therefore, they aſſembled, at Chateaubriant, to conſult about proper means, to prevent the impending danger, being headed by the lord of Rieux, marſhal of Bretagne. Charles VIII, fearing that the duke of Orleans deſigned to make uſe of the duke of Bretagne's forces, to raiſe freſh commotions in France, judged it his intereſt to cheriſh the diſcontent of the Britiſh lords; for he expected, that this would hinder the duke of Bretagne from aſſiſting the duke of Orleans; and, with that view, he ſent to the barons met, at Chateaubriant, Andrew d' Epinay, commonly ſtiled the cardinal of Bourdeaux, with an offer of his protection. The propoſal was gladly accepted by many of them; ſome of whom, perhaps, were already gained by the court of France. Others, foreſeeing the conſequences, rejected it; alledging the ſeveral attempts of Charles's predeceſſors, to become maſters of Bretagne, and how dangerous it was to admit the French into the country; and, in fine, it was reſolved, that a treaty ſhould be made with the king of France, to determine the number of men he was to find them, and to preſcribe bounds to his pretenſions. Accordingly, they ſigned with the cardinal a treaty, importing, that the king ſhould ſend them no more than 400 lances, and 4000 foot; and that he ſhould not take, or beſiege any place, nor make any demands upon the duchy, before duke Francis's death. Charles ratified this treaty; but, as it afterwards appeared, not with an intent to obſerve it.

The cardinal of Bourdeaux, returning to the king, told him, that, before he left Chateaubriant, he had learnt, that the prince of Orange was ſecretly negotiating a marriage between Maximilian of Auſtria, and Ann, eldeſt daughter and heireſs to the duke of Bretagne; which diſcovery obliged king Charles to form the project of ſeizing Bretagne, if, perhaps, it was not already projected. The ſituation of the affairs of Europe was extremely favourable; for Ferdinand and Iſabella, king and queen of Arragon and Caſtile, did not much regard the preſervation of Bretagne; and, beſides, they were then employed in their wars with the Moors of Granada. But, tho' Charles might have feared, that Ferdinand would engage in ſome league, for the duke of Bretagne's defence, he had an infallible expedient to prevent him; namely, to reſtore him Rouſſillon, which was of far leſs conſequence, than Bretagne, to the crown of France. Henry VII, whoſe intereſt it evidently was to oppoſe this enterprize, was perplexed with affairs that, probably, would not allow him leiſure to concern himſelf with thoſe of others; for it was preciſely at the time, when the pretended earl of Warwick firſt appeared, in Ireland. As for the Low-Countries, Charles had not much to fear from that quarter; for Philip, the ſovereign, was ſtill a minor; and Maximilian, his father and guardian, who governed theſe provinces, in his name, was but little reſpected. Tho' he had made peace with the Flemings, there was a mutual diffidence, which would not ſuffer him to ſend his forces out of the country; moreover, the war with France was renewed, this year, upon Terouenne's being ſurpriſed, in full peace, by the governor of Douay; and, in a word, tho' Maximilian was the emperor's ſon, and elected king of the Romans, in February, he was ever in extreme want of money, his new dignity having made no addition to his power. 1486.

1487. In the beginning of the year 1487, Henry concluded with Maximilian a treaty entirely relating to trade; but it was only proviſional, till certain articles could be ſettled, about which the Engliſh and Flemings did not eaſily come to an agreement. The trade between England and the Low-Countries was ſo neceſſary, that it could not be interrupted, without greatly prejudicing the ſubjects of both princes; and, therefore, each of them ſtrove to reap ſome advantage, from the poſture of affairs, which rendered the treaties extremely difficult.

A treaty of commerce with the Low-Countries. Jan. 2. Act. Pub.

The biſhop of Exeter being tranſlated to Wincheſter, the king placed in his room Richard Fox, who was already keeper of the privy ſeal; and, of all the courtiers, he was the king's greateſt confident, next to the archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Fox is made biſhop of Exeter.

In the interim, Henry was uneaſy, ſince the earl of Lincoln's retiring into Flanders; for he knew the ducheſs of Burgundy to be haughty, enterpriſing *, and in a condition to aſſiſt ſuch, as would attempt to diſturb him. The earl of Lincoln's retreat into Flanders, preſently after Simnel's arrival in Ireland, fully convinced him, that a deſign was formed, between that lord and the ducheſs of Burgundy, to ſupport the pretended earl of Warwick; and, therefore, leſt the ſtorm ſhould fall upon him, both from Flanders and Ireland, he reſolved to have two armies, under the duke of Bedford and the earl of Oxford, to be in readineſs, at the ſame time, to oppoſe the deſcent of the Flemings and Iriſh, if

The king takes meaſures to oppoſe his enemies.

* The lord Bacon ſays, "She had the ſpirit of a man, and the malice of a woman."

they

1487. they ſhould think of invading England. In the mean while, as he was not afraid of an invaſion, before ſummer, he determined, during the winter ſeaſon, to take a progreſs into the eaſtern counties of Suffolk and Norfolk; from which parts there was the greateſt danger, becauſe of the neighbourhood of the Low-Countries. When he arrived, at St. Edmundsbury, he heard, that the marqueſs of Dorſet was haſtening, to clear himſelf of ſome accuſations againſt him, and to offer his ſervice; but the king, concluding that, after his late treatment of the queen dowager, the marqueſs, her brother, could have no great affection for him, refuſed his offer, and diſpatched the earl of Oxford to meet him, with orders to carry him to the tower. However, he gave him to underſtand, that, after the troubles were appeaſed, he ſhould willingly hear him; and that his whole deſign, in arreſting him, was to provide for his own ſafety, by preventing his being corrupted by evil counſels. Then he proceeded to Norwich, from whence he went in pilgrimage to our Lady of Walſingham *, and, after this, he returned to London.

Simnel is crowned at Dublin. J. Ware.

It was not till the beginning of May, that the earl of Lincoln, the lord Lovel, and Martin Swart embarqued for Ireland, with 2000 Germans raiſed by the ducheſs of Burgundy, at her own charge; and, ſoon after their arrival at Dublin, they put the crown on the head of the pretended king. The ceremony of the coronation was performed, with great ſolemnity, in the preſence of the earl of Kildare, the chancellor, and the reſt of the great officers; and he was crowned with a crown taken from the head of the virgin's ſtatue, in St. Mary's church; but two or three biſhops refuſed to own the new king. The Hiſtory of Ireland affirms, that the pretended ſovereign ſummoned a kind of parliament; in which the clergy granted the pope a ſubſidy, leſt the court of Rome ſhould take occaſion, from theſe proceedings, to moleſt them.

He reſolves to paſs into England. Bacon.

The coronation being over, a great council was called, to conſult about proper meaſures; and their ſucceſs, in Ireland, where not ſo much as a ſword was drawn for Henry, induced them to expect great matters, in England. The leaders imagined, that they were in a far better condition to overthrow Henry, than Henry himſelf was, when he paſſed into England, to overthrow Richard III; and they did not doubt of proving ſucceſsful, being confident that the Engliſh, for the moſt part, would riſe, in their favour. However, ſome propoſed the making Ireland the ſeat of the war; alledging, as the principal reaſon, that Henry would never venture to come over, in perſon, or, that, if he quitted England, his abſence would occaſion, in the kingdom, inſurrections which would exceedingly promote the affairs of the new king. Had this advice been taken, Henry would have been extremely embarraſſed; for, in that caſe, he muſt have had two powerful armies on foot, one to ſubdue Ireland, and another to maintain tranquillity, in England. It is obvious, that, at ſuch a juncture, it would have been imprudent to leave England, without troops, both on account of the correſpondents, the rebels might have in that kingdom, and the neighbourhood of the ducheſs of Burgundy, who would have improved ſuch a neglect; and, accordingly, Henry, as I obſerved, had already reſolved to have two armies. But others, on the contrary, repreſented, that Ireland was unable to pay the German troops, much leſs ſupport a long war; moreover, that the ſtanding upon the defenſive, in Ireland, was not the way to dethrone Henry, but the attacking him, in England, where, it was probable, they ſhould meet with many friends; and this advice was enforced by another reaſon, which, tho' not alledged, was the real motive of it, viz. that the Germans and Iriſh hoped to make their fortunes, in England, whereas, in Ireland, they had ſcarce what was ſufficient for their ſubſiſtence; wherefore, it was reſolved to paſs immediately into England, in the ſame veſſels that had tranſported the Germans. In the interim, Henry, hearing of the earl of Lincoln's arrival in Ireland, with the foreign troops, was no longer embarraſſed, when he found that he ſhould only be attacked from one quarter; wherefore, giving orders, that all his forces ſhould aſſemble, near Coventry, he repaired, in perſon, to that city, which lies in the center of the kingdom, till he had certain intelligence of the deſigns of his enemies.

Simnel arrives in England.

Some time after, he heard that Simnel was landed, in Lancaſhire, accompanied by the earls of Lincoln and Kildare, the lord Lovel, and the German general; and, Sir Thomas Broughton joining the rebels, with a ſmall body of Engliſh, they all marched together towards York, ſtudiouſly refraining from any any act of hoſtility, in their rout, to gain the people to their intereſt; but not a man, except thoſe Broughton had brought, took up arms, in their favour, the Engliſh diſliking to receive a king at the hands of the Iriſh and Germans. The earl of Lincoln, who commanded the army, had reſolved to avoid fighting, in hopes of being reinforced by great numbers of male-contents; but, perceiving the people's coldneſs, he judged it adviſable to come to a battle, as ſoon as poſſible, leſt his army, which was only 8000 ſtrong, ſhould diminiſh, inſtead of increaſing; and, therefore, on a ſudden, changing his rout, he marched towards Newark, in expectation of becoming maſter of that place, before the king's arrival.

The king marches to Nottingham. Hall. Bacon.

In the interim, Henry, being advanced as far as Nottingham, held a council of war; and, as he had yet drawn together only 6000 men, ſeveral adviſed him to decline fighting, till his army was augmented by the reſt of the expected troops; but he was himſelf of a different opinion. As he could not believe, that the earl of Lincoln had formed ſuch a project,

* This place was formerly famous, over all England, for pilgrimages to the Virgin Mary; for, in thoſe days, whoſoever had not made a viſit and an offering to our Lady of Walſingham, was accounted impious and irreligious. Camb. in Norfolk.

without

1487. without assurances of assistance, he thought it expedient to give him battle, without delay; and, two days after, his army being reinforced with 5 or 6000 men, all the reasons, against the resolution he had taken, entirely vanished. He no sooner had reviewed these new troops, than he detached several parties of light-horse, to discover the earl of Lincoln's designs; and, hearing that he was advancing towards Newark, he resolved to prevent him. With this view, he marched, with such expedition, that he encamped, between the enemy's army and Newark; and the earl of Lincoln, advancing, that day, to a small village, called Stoke, encamped, on the side of a hill.

The battle of Stoke. June 6. Hall. Bacon. Hollingsh.

Next morning, the 6th of June, Henry offered him battle, leaving only in the plain a space, to serve for the field; but the ground, being narrow, would not permit him to extend the front of his army, which was more numerous than that of the enemy; wherefore, he was forced to draw up his army into three lines, having taken care to place, in the first, all his best troops, to the number of 6000 men. In all probability, the earl of Lincoln had designedly chosen that ground, hoping that, if he could defeat the king's first line, they would attack the rest of the army and put them in disorder, as it happened to Richard III, in the battle of Bosworth; and, in effect, it was the king's first line only that resisted the enemy. They withstood, for three hours, the efforts of the Germans, who, being accustomed to war, and well disciplined, fought, with great order, and inspired the Irish with courage; but, at length, the earls of Lincoln and Kildare and Martin Swart being slain, on the spot, and most of the Germans killed, or wounded, the Irish took to flight, not being able alone to oppose the English; and it is said, that, at least, 4000 of the rebels were killed, and half of the king's first line; which shews, that both sides fought with the greatest obstinacy and resolution.

Simnel is taken and made the king's scullion, then falconer. Hall.

Among the prisoners, were found the new king of Ireland, reduced to Lambert Simnel, as before, and the priest, his companion and instructor; but Henry, either out of generosity, or policy, was pleased to give Simnel his life, and to honour, with the office of turn-spit, in his kitchen, the person that had boldly aspired to, and even wore a crown. In process of time, he was promoted to be one of the king's falconers, in which office he died; but, as for the priest, he was, immediately, put under close confinement, and heard of no more. Some imagined, that he was secretly put to death; others, that the king spared his life, in order to learn all the circumstances of the conspiracy, and, perhaps, to confront him with the guilty, if there was occasion; yet it does not appear from History, that Henry, by this means, made any discovery; at least, nothing was divulged. If the queen dowager was concerned in the plot, she could not be treated with more severity, than she was already, unless she was brought to the scaffold; and, as to the duchess of Burgundy, she had no reason to dread any proceedings against her. It is reported, that the king was extremely sorry, for the death of the earl of Lincoln, which deprived him of the satisfaction of learning all the particulars of the plot; but, as for the lord Lovel, according to some, he was drowned, in attempting to swim the Trent; whilst others affirm, that he was slain, in the battle. Some again relate, that he spent the residue of his days, in a cave; but, however that be, he appeared no more, from that time. 1487.

Several suspected persons are fined.

Presently after the battle, the king marched to Lincoln; and, after some stay there, he went to York; but, in his way, were tried many persons accused of holding an understanding with the late rebels. Indeed, most of them were punished only by fines, the king's sole view being to fill his coffers; and, therefore, he chose rather, that these trials should be ended by commissioners appointed by himself, or by a court martial, than by the usual course of justice, which would not so effectually answer his purpose. In such accusations, the laws of England admit of no medium between death and absolute discharge, and the king would have neither; but commissioners and court martials, not being so strictly confined to the letter of the law, judge in a more arbitrary manner; wherefore, in England, the frequent incroachments of the martial law, upon the privileges of the people, has caused it to be reduced within proper bounds, so that it cannot take place, until it be authorised by an act of parliament. As for administering justice by commissioners, the king still enjoys that prerogative; but then he seldom uses it, and in certain cases only by commissions of Oyer and Terminer *; and it is certain, that Henry, upon this occasion, discovered his avaricious and selfish temper. He pretended to favour the guilty, in sparing their lives; but this clemency was more than balanced, by the loss of their possessions. They were not charged with having assisted the rebels, but with having raised and spread a report, some days before the battle, that the royal army was cut in pieces; for the king, supposing that that the sole intent of such a rumour was to discourage his friends, and prevent them from supplying him with troops, made a strict inquiry after those that were suspected of this new sort of crime. As his only design was to make an advantage of the fines and confiscations, the persons, commissioned to be judges, were less scrupulous to countenance it, than if it extended to the lives of the parties accused; and it may be naturally presumed, that the king made choice of the fittest persons to serve his turn; for his historian asserts, that Henry's progress to Lincoln and York was more like an itinerary circuit of justice, than a king's progress to visit his counties. Bacon.

A bull in favour of the rebels. Aug. 5. Act. Pub.

When the king had extorted what he wanted from the guilty, or suspected persons, he sollicited the pope, to impower the archbishop of Canterbury to absolve those that had incurred the penalty of excommunication decreed

* Two old French words, which signify to hear and determine.

by

1487. by the bull above-mentioned; and, his holineſs, in this commiſſion, took it for granted, that they, who had attempted to diſturb Henry in the poſſeſſion of the crown, were ſtruck with bitter remorſe; wherefore, he was willing, from a motive of charity, to eaſe their conſcience; but it was manifeſt, that this was only intended for a farther ſupport of the king's title.

A bull concerning ſanctuaries. Bacon.

At the ſame time, Innocent VIII. ſent a bull, to reſtrain, in ſome meaſure, the privileges of ſanctuaries; for it ran, that, if thieves, murderers, or robbers, regiſtered, as ſanctuary-men, ſhould ſally out and commit freſh crimes, and enter again, they might be forced out of their ſanctuaries by the king's officers; that, as for debtors who had taken ſanctuary, to defraud their creditors, their perſons only ſhould be protected, but their goods out of ſanctuary ſhould be liable to ſeizure; and, as to traytors, the king was allowed to appoint them keepers, in their ſanctuaries, to prevent their eſcape. Doubtleſs, it was a great abuſe, to make churches ſerve for the protection of villains; and, as this had been long complained of, in England, probably, the king had applied for a reformation; but he could only obtain the bull that we have juſt related. Alexander VI. confirmed, this bull in 1493.

The queen is crowned. Nov. 25.

In the king's progreſs to Lincoln and York, he had often occaſion to obſerve, that his partiality to the houſe of York, and injurious treatment of his queen, in refuſing to have her crowned, were the main ſprings of the diſcontent of his ſubjects; and, therefore, contrary to his inclination, purely to prevent future troubles, he reſolved, at laſt, to do her that juſtice. He returned to London, the beginning of November, where he made a triumphant entry; and, the next day, he went in proceſſion to St. Paul's, and had Te Deum ſung, for his victory over the rebels; being extremely deſirous to render it as conſpicuous, as poſſible, in order to ſtrike terror into his enemies; after which, he commiſſioned the duke of Bedford, to execute the office of high-ſteward, at the queen's coronation, which was performed, on the 25th of November, with the uſual ſolemnities. The queen was, then, 21 years old, and had been married, two years; wherefore, the king's affected delay of this ceremony was neceſſarily conſidered, as proceeding from a ſettled deſign to humble the houſe of York, and the queen, in particular; and, accordingly, as it was evidently perceived, that his reſolution to have her crowned, immediately after Simnel's affair, was the effect of his fear, he received no thanks for it, becauſe it was believed, that he did it, with reluctance. He alſo releaſed the marqueſs of Dorſet, without examination, probably, to give the people ſome ſatisfaction; and he deſigned to have it thought an act of grace, and, at the ſame time, to leave that lord under apprehenſions of being ſtill called to an account; but it is to be preſumed, that, ſince he was ſo little inclined to ſhew mercy to the Yorkiſts, he would not have diſcharged the marqueſs ſo eaſily, had he not wanted proofs to convict him.

Act. Pub.

Towards the end of this year, Henry ſent a ſolemn ambaſſy to the pope; and the ambaſſador, that was ſpokeſman, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his extravagant encomiums of the king, his maſter; which would have been thought immoderate, if they had not appeared in a different light, by his commendations of the pope.

1487. An ambaſſy to the pope. Bacon.

The troubles in Scotland.

During the king's ſtay at York, after the battle of Stoke, publick commotions, in Scotland, afforded him an opportunity to enter into a negotiation with James III, from which he expected to reap ſome advantage. I have already deſcribed James's character, in the reign of Edward IV, and ſhewn, that he had rendered himſelf ſo odious to his great men, as to force them to hang his favourites; but the war made upon him by Edward IV, and his danger of being dethroned, ſeemed to have ſomewhat moderated his paſſions, or, at leaſt, obliged him to reſtrain them, more than before. However, the death of prince Alexander, his brother, and of Edward IV, and the troubles, in England, during the reign of Richard III, inducing him to believe, that he was out of danger, he returned to his former courſes; and, notwithſtanding the riſque he had run, he entirely gave himſelf up to a new ſett of favourites, men of mean extraction, and no leſs odious to the nation than the former; but this was a trifle, in compariſon of the deſign he afterwards formed. As he harboured in his breaſt a violent deſire of revenge upon the lords who had offended him, he determined to diſpatch, at once, all thoſe whom he apprehended to be his principal enemies; and, with this view, he careſſed them exceedingly, that he might more eaſily ſurpriſe them; and when, by this diſſimulation, he had drawn almoſt all of them to court, he imparted his deſign to the earl of Douglaſs, and told him, that he was reſolved to take the preſent opportunity of deſtroying, at once, all his enemies. Douglaſs pretended to approve his reſolution; but he ſecretly warned the lords of their danger, and retired with them from court. The king, being diſappointed, levied troops, in order to execute his project, by open force; but the lords likewiſe armed for their defence. As all mutual confidence was deſtroyed, and no ſtreſs could be laid on an agreement with ſuch a prince, they found means to gain his ſon, by making him apprehenſive, that they would deliver up Scotland to the king of England, if he would not appear at their head; and no ſooner had the prince joined the lords, than their party grew ſo powerful, that the king, repenting of his enterprize, propoſed an agreement; but he was aſſured, that there was no other way to a reconciliation, than his reſignation of the crown to his ſon. Upon this, all hopes of peace vaniſhing, James ſhut himſelf up, in the caſtle of Edinburgh; from whence he diſpatched ambaſſadors to the pope, and the kings of France and England, to deſire their aſſiſtance.

A treaty of Henry with the king of Scotland.

In September, whilſt Henry was at York, the ambaſſadors of Scotland came to him, under the pretence of treating of ſome differences about the fiſhery of the river Eske; but Henry, Act. Pub.

1487. ry, who had an admirable talent of turning all things to his advantage, reſolved to improve this opportunity, to be rid, at once, of the queen, his mother-in-law, and her two daughters, by marrying them, in Scotland; and, with this view, he ſent to king James Richard Fox, biſhop of Exeter, and Sir Richard Edgecomb, who agreed with him upon the following articles, with their maſter's pleaſure.

Several matches are agreed upon. Nov. 28. Act. Pub. Hall.

I. That, purſuant to a former agreement, the marqueſs of Ormond, a Scotchman, ſhould eſpouſe Catharine, the third daughter of Edward IV.

II. That king James ſhould marry Eliſabeth, widow to Edward IV, and mother to the queen of England.

III. That James, duke of Rothſay, eldeſt ſon to the king of Scotland, ſhould eſpouſe another of Edward IV's daughters.

IV. That the king of England ſhould reſign, for ever, to the king of Scotland the town of Berwick.

V. That, to ſettle the articles and conditions of the three marriages, commiſſioners on both ſides ſhould aſſemble, at Edinburgh, the 24th of January next, and meet again, on the ſame account, in May.

VI. That the two kings ſhall have a conference, in July.

VII. Laſtly, That, as the truce, concluded between the two kingdoms, would expire, July the 3d, 1488, it ſhould be prolonged to the 1ſt of September, 1489.

As for the ſuccours that James expected from Henry, they were not mentioned, in theſe preliminaries; and, probably, king James's ambaſſadors were contented with a verbal promiſe.

Henry ratified theſe articles, the 20th of December; but the king of Scotland's ratification is not with Henry's, in the Collection of the Publick Acts; and, perhaps, James was prevented by the commotions in his kingdom, which daily increaſed, and alſo cauſed this project to vaniſh into air, as the ſequel will inform us.

The affairs of the Low-Countries. P. Daniel.

The war ſtill continued in the Low-Countries, between Charles VIII. and Maximilian, to the advantage of the former, whoſe troops ſurpriſed St. Omer and Terouenne; and, ſome time after, Maximilian, having ordered the lord Ruffingheim to be carried away and conducted to Wilvorde, the priſoner made his eſcape and retired to Gaunt. Upon his arrival, he excited the Gantois to revolt, and take up arms againſt Maximilian; and this war was of extremely great conſequence, with reſpect to the affairs of Bretagne, of which it is neceſſary, at preſent, to give a particular, tho' brief account, ſince they will be the ſubject of the hiſtory of the five following years.

The affairs of Bretagne.

The king of France and the lords of Bretagne had treated together, with quite different views; for the lords believed, that it would effectually ſecure them from the deſigns of their duke; and Charles perceived, that it was an infallible means to conquer Bretagne.

In the beginning of the ſpring, 1487, Charles ſent four armies into Bretagne, from four ſeveral quarters; and the firſt alone was 6000 ſtrong, which already exceeded the number he had promiſed to find by the treaty. Upon the news of this deſcent, the duke of Bretagne, finding himſelf abandoned by almoſt all his barons, retired into the center of his country, being accompanied by the duke of Orleans, the prince of Orange, the earl of Dunois, and ſome other French lords of the duke of Orleans's party; and, ſtaying ſome time, at Maletroit, he very ſpeedily aſſembled an army of 16000 men ill armed, and undiſciplined, becauſe of the long peace Bretagne had enjoyed. 1487. Charles VIII. makes a great progreſs, in Bretagne.

The duke's court was in ſuch a conſternation, that none knew what ſteps to take, to reſiſt ſo formidable an invaſion. Indeed, means were found to engage the lord d' Albret, then in Navarre, to eſpouſe the duke's cauſe, on the promiſe of a marriage with the princeſs Ann, heireſs of Bretagne; and the duke himſelf, with all the reſt of the lords, except the duke of Orleans, gave it under their hands to procure him this match, but without the leaſt thoughts of performing their word. The duke of Bretagne thought him too inconſiderable for his daughter; the earl of Dunois intended to marry the young princeſs to the duke of Orleans; and the prince of Orange privately endeavoured to procure this great fortune for the king of the Romans. Thus, this engagement was ſolely deſigned to perſuade the lord d' Albret to withdraw two troops of men at arms, which he had in the French army, and ſend them into the duke of Bretagne's ſervice; a ſorry refuge, upon ſuch a preſſing occaſion!

In the interim, the French, being joined in one body, advanced into the country, and beſieged Ploermel; but the duke of Bretagne, immediately, marched to the relief of that place; yet he had the mortification to find himſelf deſerted by his army, of which there remained with him not above 4000 men. Upon this unexpected accident, he retired to Vannes; but the French, now maſters of Ploermel, ſo cloſely purſued him, that he was forced to embarque, in great diſorder, and ſhut himſelf up, in Nantz; and the French, improving this conſternation, took Vannes and Dinant, and then laid ſiege to Nantz. Some time before, the duke had ſent the earl of Dunois to England, to deſire aſſiſtance; but, tho' the earl had put to ſea, four ſeveral times, contrary winds had ſtill prevented him from purſuing his voyage. In the interim, the marſhal de Rieux, head of the male-contents, perceiving that king Charles ſo ill obſerved the treaty, made loud complaints of his conduct; but, inſtead of receiving any ſatisfaction, he was told, that great offence was taken at his boldneſs.

Whilſt Charles was employed in the ſiege of Nantz, he was informed, that the king of England had gained a ſignal victory over his enemies; and that the affair of the pretended earl of Warwick was entirely ended. He had

An ambaſſy of France to Henry about Bretagne.

1487. had, hitherto, believed him ſo embarraſſed, at home, that he had not ſaid any thing to him, about the war with Bretagne; but, finding him, now, freed from his domeſtick troubles, he diſpatched ambaſſadors, to divert him from any deſign he might have to interpoſe, in that affair.

The French ambaſſadors diſcourſe to the king.

The ambaſſadors found the king at Leiceſter, where they had their audience; and they repreſented to him, that the king, their maſter, conſidering him, as his beſt friend, had ſent them, to acquaint him with the ſucceſs of his arms, in Flanders, and alſo to congratulate him, upon his victory over his rebellious ſubjects; that they were likewiſe ordered to tell him, that the king, their maſter, was obliged to enter into a juſt war with the duke of Bretagne, who had received the duke of Orleans, an avowed enemy of France, not to protect him, but purely to aid him to excite commotions in the kingdom, by lending him the aſſiſtance of his arms; that the king of France was forced to take proper meaſures, to prevent his pernicious deſigns, and, therefore, his war with the duke of Bretagne was properly only defenſive, tho' he had cauſed an army to enter his dominions; that he, that gave the firſt blow, was not to be accounted the aggreſſor, but he that offered the provocation; that the duke of Bretagne could not deny, that he had harboured in his country, and even in his court, French rebels, and was concerned with them in plots extremely prejudicial to France, tho' he had no cauſe to complain of any injury; that, therefore, the king, their maſter, hoped, from his wiſdom and juſtice, that, before he engaged in the war, he would weigh the dangerous conſequences of a protection given to rebellious ſubjects, contrary to the law of nations, and the moſt ſolemn treaties, particularly by a homager; that, if he was under ſome obligations to the duke of Bretagne, he had not, doubtleſs, forgot the aid he had received from the king of France, when the duke of Bretagne had not only abandoned him, but was even upon the point of delivering him up to his enemy; that this aid was granted, contrary to the intereſt of France, ſince it would be more advantageous for her, that a tyrant, abhorred by all his ſubjects, ſhould reign, in England, than ſuch a prince as himſelf; and that, therefore, the king, their maſter, hoped, that he would not undertake the defence of the duke of Bretagne, in ſo unreaſonable a quarrel, but, on the contrary, aſſiſt his real friend, or, at leaſt, ſtand neuter.

The king's anſwer. Hall. Bacon.

The ambaſſadors avoiding, as a rock, the leaſt mention of their maſter's deſign to conquer Bretagne, the king judged it improper to take notice of it, in his anſwer, tho' it was not difficult to diſcern it, through all their diſguiſes; contenting himſelf with ſaying, that, of all perſons, he was moſt obliged to the king of France and the duke of Bretagne; wherefore, he was extremely deſirous to give them both convincing proofs of his gratitude; and that he would, on the preſent occaſion, diſcharge the office of a ſincere friend, by endeavouring amicably to end their differences, and very ſpeedily ſend them ambaſſadors, to offer his mediation. 1487.

The king has a wrong notion of the war of Bretagne.

Henry was not ſo blind, as not to perceive the king of France's intention; but, unfortunately for Bretagne, he was poſſeſſed with a notion, that Charles would never be able to accompliſh his deſigns. His belief was grounded upon the forces of Bretagne, which had, hitherto, ſucceſſfully reſiſted France; the natural levity of the French, who are eaſily diſcouraged by difficulties; the commotions the duke of Orleans might excite in that kingdom, by means of his friends; and upon the diverſion the king of the Romans could make, in Flanders. Accordingly, tho' he afterwards found, that he was greatly miſtaken, in his opinion, he reſolved to become only mediator, without ſending any effective ſupplies to the duke of Bretagne; for he was confident, that king Charles would conſent to an accommodation, leſt he ſhould draw upon him the arms of England. Indeed, it was manifeſtly the intereſt of the Engliſh to prevent the ruin of Bretagne; wherefore, Charles muſt have thought, that they would do all that was poſſible, to defeat his project; and Henry, building upon this foundation, that Bretagne could not be conquered, if England ſeriouſly eſpouſed her cauſe, and that Charles would not think that he was ſo impolitick, as to ſuffer that duchy to become a province of France, fancied that he would readily accept of his mediation, and deſiſt from his undertaking. He hoped, by this means, to gain two conſiderable advantages; firſt, the reputation of making peace between the two princes, to whom he was equally obliged; and, ſecondly, which was of far greater importance to him, as he was natually extremely covetous, and as the deſire of accumulating riches was the principal end of all his deſigns, he perceived that this affair would afford an occaſion to demand money of the parliament, under the pretence of aſſiſting Bretagne, with which he might fill his own coffers.

He offers his mediation to both the princes; and Charles accepts of it.

Purſuant to this ſcheme, he ſent ambaſſadors to Charles, to offer his mediation; and, if it was accepted, the ambaſſadors had orders, to make the ſame propoſal to the duke of Bretagne. Charles was then employed in the ſiege of Nantz; and, expecting to be ſoon maſter of the place, and ſeeing nothing that, after this, could hinder him from entirely ſubduing Bretagne, his ſole ſtudy was ſo to manage, as that Henry ſhould not aſſiſt the duke of Bretagne, before the taking of Nantz. When the ambaſſadors offered him the mediation of the king, their maſter, he replied with great diſſimulation, that he readily conſented, that the king of England ſhould act, not only as a mediator between him and the duke of Bretagne, but alſo as an abſolute arbiter of the peace. He entertained hopes, that the duke of Bretagne would reject this offer; or, if he accepted it, that he ſhould gain time, till the taking of Nantz, which would render him maſter of Bretagne.

The

1487. The ambaſſadors, concluding that they had ſurmounted the greateſt difficulty, repaired to the duke of Bretagne, who was ſhut up in Nantz, and made him the ſame propoſal from their maſter; but the duke of Orleans told them, in the name of that prince, that, at a juncture when his dominions were invaded, and ready to be ſwallowed up by the French, he expected rather an effective ſupply from the king of England, than a mediation, which muſt prove ineffectual, ſince nothing was more eaſy than to prolong the negotiation, till Bretagne was loſt; and that he intreated the king to remember the favours he had received, in Bretagne, and conſider how prejudicial it would be to England, if that duchy ſhould become a province of France. The ambaſſadors returning with this anſwer to Charles, he aſſured them, that, for his part, he was very deſirous of peace, as evidently appeared from his propoſal, but was ſorry to find, that the duke of Bretagne, ſwayed by the duke of Orleans, would never conſent, unleſs he was compelled by the continuation of the war; and this he artfully inſtilled into the ambaſſadors, who, upon their return into England, repreſented to the king, that it was proper to leave the duke of Bretagne, in his extremity, that he might be induced, of his own accord, to deſire the rejected mediation.

The duke rejects it. Hall.

In the interim, the ſiege of Nantz was proſecuted, with vigour; and Charles, probably, would have, at laſt, taken the place, had not the earl of Dunois been detained, in Lower Bretagne, by contrary winds; but, whilſt he was in thoſe parts, the inhabitants of the country, hearing that their duke was beſieged, in Nantz, aſſembled, to the number of 60,000 men, with a reſolution to relieve him. The earl of Dunois, putting himſelf at their head, approached Nantz; but the French not daring to attack the undiſciplined multitude, and even contracting their quarters, for their better defence, left the earl of Dunois at liberty to throw ſuccours into the town. Having done this, he ſuddenly retreated, not deſiring, with ſuch troops, to fight the French army; but this ſeaſonable relief obliged the French to retire, in deſpair of taking the place. The raiſing of the ſiege confirmed Henry in his opinion, that the conqueſt of Bretagne was too difficult for France; and, ſtill perſiſting in his reſolution to ſtand neuter, he had even no thoughts of ſending ſuccours to the duke of Bretagne. However, he pretended to have his intereſt at heart; but it was only to procure a ſubſidy from the parliament, which he had ſummoned, for the 9th of November. In the mean while, he ſent again the ſame ambaſſadors to king Charles and the duke of Bretagne, in appearance, to be perfectly informed of the ſtate of this affair, in order to lay it before the parliament; tho' he knew, beforehand, the particulars of their anſwer.

The earl of Dunois cauſes the ſiege of Nantz to be raiſed.

Hall.

About this time, Edward, lord Woodville, the queen's uncle, deſired the king's leave to go and ſerve the duke of Bretagne, with a troop of voluntiers; but Henry denied his requeſt, judging it improper to aid one of the parties, when he was offering his mediation to both; nevertheleſs, Woodville ſailed from the Iſle of Wight, of which he was governor, with 400 men, into Bretagne. This aid, tho' inconſiderable, made a great noiſe, at the court of France; and Charles openly complained of it; but, Henry declaring, that the lord Woodville had carried theſe troops to the duke, without his conſent, he was contented with that ſatisfaction, at the preſent juncture. 1487.

Woodville carries a ſmall aid to the duke of Bretagne.

Before the Engliſh ambaſſadors arrived, in Bretagne, there had been, in that country, a revolution prejudicial to Charles's affairs; for the lords of Bretagne, who had treated with him, manifeſtly perceiving that he intended to conquer the duchy, made their peace with the duke, and obtained a full pardon. The marſhal de Rieux, their head, was the laſt to comply; who would firſt be thoroughly convinced of the king of France's deſigns, which, as yet, he only ſuſpected. With this view, after ſecretly treating with the duke of Orleans, he diſpatched a meſſenger to tell the king, that the duke of Orleans offered to quit Bretagne, with all his followers; and, therefore, as the French troops had entered Bretagne, only to expel that prince, he moſt humbly intreated him to recall them, purſuant to his treaty with the barons. Ann of Beaujeu, who was haughty and imperious, fancying that there was no need of any farther ceremony, told the meſſenger, that the king had gone too far to recede, and would ſee the iſſue of the affair; which anſwer obliged the marſhal to follow the example of the reſt of the lords, and be reconciled to the duke, who gave him the command of his army.

The lords of Bretagne are reconciled to the duke. June 20.

Tho' Charles had raiſed the ſiege of Nantz, he continued his conqueſts, in other places; and, ſhortly after, his troops took the town of Dol, by ſtorm; upon which, the duke, not thinking himſelf ſafe, in Nantz, retired to Rennes. He found himſelf extremely preſſed; and yet he could not learn, that preparations were, any where, making for his relief. In this extremity, he was prevailed on by the prince of Orange, to promiſe Ann, his eldeſt daughter, to the king of the Romans, tho' he had already promiſed her to the lord d' Albret; for the prince of Orange aſſured him, that Maximilian, finding himſelf concerned to defend Bretagne, would come to his aſſiſtance, with a numerous army; but, at this very time, the revolt of the Gantois diſabled that prince from aſſiſting Bretagne.

The duke promiſes his daughter to the king of the Romans. September.

During theſe tranſactions, Henry's ambaſſadors, in Bretagne, had frequent opportunities to learn, that Charles only amuſed the king, their maſter, and deſigned to conquer that duchy; but Henry knew this, ſtill better than they; yet he was willing, that their report ſhould ſerve for a pretence to demand a ſubſidy, for the defence of Bretagne, tho' he ſtill believed, that the affair might be adjuſted, without compulſive methods; and his ſole view was to make the parliament apprehenſive of the loſs of Bretagne, that they might more readily ſupply him with money, which he intended to put entirely into his own coffers.

Henry's ambaſſadors diſcover the king of France's deſigns. Hall. Bacon.

The

1487. The parliament meets.

The parliament met, the 9th of November, juſt after the return of the ambaſſadors; and pains had been taken to ſpread the report they had brought to the king, to prepare the commons to make a vigorous effort, in the defence of Bretagne. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, as lord chancellor, opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech to both houſes, to the following purpoſe:

The chancellor's ſpeech. Bacon.

"That the king thanked his parliament, "for the acts paſſed in his favour, at their "their laſt meeting: That he was ſo well "ſatisfied of their affection, that he had made "it a rule for himſelf, to communicate to ſo "good ſubjects all affairs, as well foreign as "domeſtick, that might happen; and that one "now occured, concerning which, he deſired "to have their advice.

"That the king of France (as, no doubt, "they had heard) was making fierce war up-"on the duke of Bretagne: That he alledged "for a reaſon the protection given by the duke "of Bretagne to the duke of Orleans; but "others gueſſed a very different motive: That "both parties applied to the king, one to "pray him to ſtand neuter, the other to de-"ſire a powerful aid: That the king, having "offered his mediation, found the French "king ready to treat, but without diſconti-"nuing the war: That the duke, on the con-"trary, tho' he was very deſirous of peace, "and moſt wanted it, was averſe to a nego-"tiation, not upon confidence of his own "ſtrength, but upon diſtruſt of the French "court's ſincerity: That, after ſundry am-"baſſies tending to an amicable determinati-"on of this affair, the king had deſiſted from "his meditation, becauſe he could neither re-"move the duke of Bretagne's diſtruſt, nor "perſuade the king of France to ceaſe hoſtili-"ties, during the treaty: That, this being "the ſtate of the caſe, he deſired their ad-"vice, whether he ſhould ſend ſuccours to the "duke of Bretagne, and enter into a defenſive "league with him, againſt France."

Having, thus, ſtated the queſtion, he alledged ſeveral arguments, Pro and Con, his intent being, under colour of leaving the parliament free in their determinations, to convince them of the neceſſity of aiding Bretagne; but this point was, in effect, ſo evident, that a very moderate knowledge of the intereſts of the ſtate was ſufficient to diſcover, of what conſequence it was to England to prevent the conqueſt of Bretagne. However, it deſerves to be remarked, that the king, knowing how much it concerned the Engliſh to defend Bretagne, advanced theſe reaſons, by the mouth of his chancellor, only to procure a ſubſidy, which he had not the leaſt thoughts of employing, in ſupport of the oppreſſed prince; and this will manifeſtly appear from the ſtrain of his future proceedings. The parliament, as the king expected, adviſed him to undertake the defence of Bretagne; and they granted him, for that purpoſe, as large a ſubſidy as had ever been given to any of his predeceſſors, on account of a foreign war.

A ſubſidy granted for the aid of Bretagne.

The parliament no ſooner broke up, than Henry reſumed the way of negotiation with Charles, ſtill imagining, that the terror of his arms would lead that prince to an agreement; tho' the only means, to ſave Bretagne, was to ſend thither a powerful aid, and declare war with France, purſuant to the parliament's intention; but Henry had formed another plan, entirely founded upon his extreme deſire, that the affair might be decided, without his being forced to expend the money lately received. He was ſatisfied, therefore, with ſending ambaſſadors to king Charles, to notify to him the reſolution of the parliament; but, at the ſame time, as if he was afraid of proceeding too far, he declared, that the war, on the part of England, ſhould be only defenſive, and purely with reſpect to Bretagne.

1487.

The king ſends an ambaſſy to France.

The court of France eaſily diſcovered, from theſe proceedings, that Henry was not ſtrongly inclined to puſh this affair, ſince, when he ſhould have made preparations for war, he was ſatisfied with ſending ambaſſies; wherefore, Charles told the ambaſſadors, that he was ever ready to accept of the king of England, for arbiter of the quarrel between him and the duke of Bretagne; but yet he did not deſign to be amuſed with a treaty, which would only give the duke leiſure and opportunity to reſtore his affairs; tho' he ſhould be always willing to treat, provided it was not intended to require a truce deſtructive of his intereſts.

Charles's anſwer.

1488. The duke of Bretagne makes ſome progreſs. Argentre. Mezerai.

The duke of Bretagne, by means of the winter, obtained a ceſſation of arms, which all the inſtances of the king of England had not been able to procure, as it obliged Charles to put his troops into quarters, and return to Paris; and, beſides, in March, 1488, the marſhal de Rieux retook Vannes and Dinant, and garriſoned Ancennis and Chateaubriant. On the other hand, the lord d' Albret's two troops of men at arms, deſerting the French ſervice, reinforced the duke's army; but this little turn of fortune was of a ſhort duration; for, in April, the king took the field again, and, having retaken Ancennis and Chateaubriant, razed them to the ground; and then, marching to Fougeres, he beſieged, at once, that place and St. Aubin du Cormier.

The lord d' Albret arrives in Bretagne, and preſſes the duke about his marriage; and the duke evades his demand.

In the interim, the lord d' Albret, having accepted the propoſal made him, in the beginning of the war, came into Bretagne, to ſerve the duke with 1000 horſe; and, upon his arrival, he preſſed the duke to make good his engagement, about the marriage; but the duke, who had ſecretly promiſed his daughter to Maximilian, being extremely embarraſſed, perſuaded the young princeſs to declare, that ſhe would never marry the lord d' Albret, tho' ſhe was then only 11 years old; which oppoſition afforded the duke a pretence to elude d' Albret's purſuits, till he could gain the conſent of that princeſs.

He ſues for peace to the king of France.

In the mean while, the unfortunate duke, being in no condition to reſiſt the French, and having no proſpect of aſſiſtance, either from Maximilian, or the king of England, ſent the earl of Dunois to Charles, to ſue for a peace; but that monarch did not think fit to return a poſitive anſwer. He was deſirous, firſt, to ſee

1488. the ſucceſs of his ſieges; moreover, he was treating with Henry for a truce, which he expected ſhortly to conclude; and that was to determine him, either to refuſe the duke's requeſt, or enter into a treaty with him; wherefore, keeping the earl of Dunois ſtill at court, under various pretences, he put him off, from day to day, till he had received certain intelligence from England. Soon after, he heard, that Henry had ſigned, at Windſor, a truce, to commence, the 14th of July, this year, and to end, the 17th of January, 1490; and, having nothing to fear from this quarter, he entirely applied himſelf to continue his conqueſts.

Remarks on Henry's conduct, and upon an omiſſion of his hiſtorian. Bacon.

Doubtleſs, Henry, in leaving the duke of Bretagne to the mercy of his enemy, directly oppoſed the intention of the parliament, who had granted him a ſubſidy, for the aid of that prince; and this truce, made without any neceſſity, when the duke of Bretagne was moſt preſſed, evidently ſhews, that he ſuffered himſelf to be blinded by the court of France, or rather by the deſire of appropriating the money granted by the parliament, to aſſiſt Bretagne. The duke could not be in greater want of a powerful ſupply; for Charles was in the heart of his country, at the head of a numerous army, taking his towns, one after another, whilſt he was unable to make any reſiſtance; and, at the ſame time, Henry was concluding with France a truce, which afforded king Charles time, with eaſe, to conquer Bretagne. On this account, his hiſtorian, queſtionleſs, prepoſſeſſed in his favour, and not imagining, that he had ſo cauſeleſly abandoned the poor duke, in his diſtreſs, does not mention this truce made with France, at ſuch an unſeaſonable juncture; nay, he makes the ſuccours, ſent by Henry into Bretagne, to arrive there, in the beginning of Auguſt, this year, tho' it is very certain they did not come till March, ſeven months after; and theſe affected delays, which ſurpriſed all the world, proceeded wholly from the king's miſtaken notion of this war, and his deſire to end it, without uſing the money given by the parliament.

The duke of Bretagne reſolves upon a battle. Argentre. Hall.

In the interim, the duke of Bretagne, the duke of Orleans, the prince of Orange, and the marſhal de Rieux were in the utmoſt confuſion; for, tho' the king of the Romans, the king of England, and the duke of Lorrain had ſeemed to eſpouſe their quarrel, it did not appear, that any of them were preparing for their aſſiſtance. In this extremity, a council was held, to conſult about proper meaſures; and moſt were for marching to the relief of Fougeres, and fighting the enemy, rather than ſuffer that place to be loſt. The marſhal de Rieux, to no purpoſe, on the other hand, repreſented, that the loſs of a battle would infallibly occaſion the ruin of Bretagne; and that it would be much more adviſable to delay the time, till the neighbouring princes ſhould perceive their own intereſt, ſince it muſt, of courſe, be extremely prejudicial to them, to ſuffer Bretagne to be ſwallowed up by France. To this it was anſwered, that, probably, Bretagne would be loſt, before any ſuccours arrived, and, therefore, the only way, to preſerve it, was a victory; and, the duke of Bretagne being rendered incapable of judging ſoundly of an affair of ſuch conſequence, ſuffering himſelf to be governed by the counſels of the duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange, his nephew, reſolved to march to the relief of Fougeres. However, upon his approach, he found, that the town had already capitulated; and then he determined to relieve St. Aubin du Cormier; but the governor, for want of proviſions and ammunition, had, a few days before, ſurrendered to the French. 1488.

During the duke of Bretagne's march, all the forces of France joined, in a body, under the command of Lewis de la Trimouille, apprehenſive that the duke deſigned to retake that place; and, in a few days, the two armies were ſo near each other, that it was impoſſible to part, without giving battle. In the interim, a rumour being ſpread among the Bretons, that the duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange intended to betray them, they were upon the point of disbanding; but the two princes diſpelled their fears, by going among them, to charge on foot. The battle was fought, the 28th of July; which proved fatal to the duke of Bretagne, who was defeated, with the loſs of his beſt troops. The duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange being taken priſoners, the king confined the former, in the tower of Bourges, but releaſed the latter; and the 400 Engliſh, brought over by the lord Woodville, were almoſt all ſlain, with their leader. As the Engliſh were then diſtinguiſhed by a red croſs, 1200 Bretons were joined to them, with the ſame badge, to make the French believe, that freſh ſuccours were arrived from England; and, perhaps, this gave occaſion to ſome to affirm, that Henry had already ſent a freſh body of troops to the duke of Bretagne. The lord Verulam, who wrote the Hiſtory of this reign, does not ſay ſo much; but he aſſures us, that 8000 Engliſh arrived, a few days after, and offered the French battle, who did not think fit to accept it. Polydore Virgil and ſeveral others aſſert the ſame thing; but, in this point, they are all miſtaken; for Henry had not, as yet, made any treaty with the duke of Bretagne, and it was not till after the duke's death, and in March, the following year, that he ſent, as will be ſeen, 6000 men to the ducheſs, his daughter. 1488.

The battle of St. Aubin, where the duke of Bretagne is defeated. Mezerai. Argentre.

Rennes refuſes to ſurrender.

In a few days after the battle of St. Aubin, Lewis de la Trimouille ſummoned the city of Rennes, capital of Bretagne; but the citizens continued firm in their allegiance to their ſovereign.

An inſurrection in the north of England. Hall. Hollingſh.

During theſe tranſactions, in Bretagne, Henry levied, in England, the money granted by parliament; which was a principal affair that he haſtened extremely, under pretence of the duke of Bretagne's preſſing want of a ſpeedy aſſiſtance. All the counties, except Yorkſhire and the biſhoprick of Durham, readily paid the tax impoſed by the parliament; but, in theſe parts, where the friends of the houſe of York

1488. York were very numerous, it was not collected, with the ſame facility; for, ſome incendiaries ſtirring up the people, the commiſſioners, for gathering the ſubſidy, met with ſo great oppoſition, that they were obliged to make application to the earl of Northumberland, who, immediately, gave notice to the court, and deſired the king's direction. The king replied, that he would not have one penny abated of the money granted by parliament, both on account of the urgent occaſion, and becauſe other counties might expect the like mitigation; and, upon this anſwer, the earl of Northumberland, aſſembling the chief juſtices and free-holders of the county, in very imperious terms, declared to them the king's intention; but his rough language, in which he did not expreſs the leaſt regard for perſons, who were but too much incenſed, induced them to conclude, that he himſelf adviſed the king to ſuch an anſwer; which being rumoured in York, the mob roſe, and, forcing open the earl's houſe, murdered him, with ſeveral of his ſervants; and the mutineers, preſently after, being inflamed by one John a Chamber, they placed Sir John Egremond at their head, and publickly declared, that they were marching to London, to give the king battle.

The earl of Northumberland is killed by the mob.

Henry, upon the news of this inſurrection, ſent into the north a body of troops, under the command of the earl of Surrey, whom he had received into favour, preparing to follow him, in perſon, with more conſiderable forces; but, whilſt he was on the road, he was informed, that Surrey had defeated and diſperſed the rebels, and John a Chamber was taken priſoner. As for Egremond, he had the good fortune to eſcape, and retire into Flanders to the ducheſs of Burgundy, whoſe palace was a ſanctuary to all the king's enemies; however, tho' this affair was ended, Henry proceeded on his journey to York, where he ordered John a Chamber to be executed, on a gibbet, raiſed in the midſt of a ſquare gallows, on which 12 of his accomplices were hanged round about him; and then he returned to London, leaving the earl of Surrey preſident of the north, and Sir Richard Tunſtal his principal commiſſioner, to levy the ſubſidy, of which he would not remit a ſingle penny.

The king goes to York, and puniſhes the ring-leaders.

In the mean while, the king, hearing of the battle of St. Aubin, appeared to be reſolved to ſend a powerful aid to the duke of Bretagne; but it was ſtill in expectation, that the terror of his arms would oblige king Charles to conſent to a peace; yet, notwithſtanding this artifice, the court of France plainly diſcerned all his deſigns.

He feigns to be reſolved to aid Bretagne.

The loſs of a battle had reduced the duke of Bretagne to a truly deplorable condition; for he could no longer ſupport himſelf, with his own forces, and ſaw no preparations for his defence, either in Flanders, or England. Henry inſpired him with hopes of aſſiſtance, but was not in haſte to ſend him any; and, as to Maximilian, he was himſelf detained, as a priſoner, in a ſedition againſt him, at Bruges, where ſeveral of his officers were killed; and his captivity laſted, from the beginning of January to the 15th of May, and, then, he was indebted, for his releaſe, to the emperor Frederick, his father, who had marched into the Low-Countries, at the head of an army, to his relief; ſo that, inſtead of thinking to aſſiſt Bretagne, he was himſelf ſeeking, on all ſides, for foreign ſuccours againſt the Flemings. With this view, forgetting his engagements with the duke of Bretagne, his future father-in-law, he ſent, this very year, to the king and queen of Spain, to demand in marriage Iſabella, their eldeſt daughter, and alſo Jane, their ſecond daughter, for his ſon Philip; but the firſt of theſe demands could not be granted, becauſe Iſabella was already promiſed to the prince of Portugal. However, the other was effected, in time; and, at laſt, in September, Philip de Cleves, lord of Ravenſtein, heading the Gantois and ſurpriſing the city of Bruſſels, Maximilian retired into Germany, leaving, in the Low-Countries, Albert, duke of Saxony, to command in his place, in the name of the archduke, his ſon.

The ſad condition of the duke of Bretagne.

1488.

There was, therefore, no proſpect of aid for the duke of Bretagne, either from England, or the Low-Countries, or, in a word, from any other quarter; and, in this extremity, the unhappy duke humbly ſued to the king of France, for peace, who very willingly complied with his requeſt, not from a motive of generoſity, but entirely to diſable him from defending himſelf, by cauſing him to loſe the aſſiſtance of the king of England, whoſe intereſt it was to ſupport him. Tho' Henry had conſented to a truce with France, which was not to expire, till January, 1490, Charles was afraid, that he would alter his mind, and aſſiſt the duke, his ally, with all his forces, the next campaign; and, therefore, in order, to divert him from this thought, he very readily concluded a peace with the duke of Bretagne, deſigning to keep it no farther than was conſiſtent with his intereſts; for, in his whole conduct, with reſpect to Bretagne, he did not ſeem more ſcrupulous than his father, king Lewis XI, in all his negotiations.

The duke of Bretagne ſues for peace; and reaſons, why Charles granted it. Hall. Bacon.

The diſcuſſion of Charles's pretenſions to Bretagne delayed, for ſome time, the concluſion of the treaty which was negotiating, at Verger, a ſeat belonging to the marſhal de Rieux, where the king then was; for, Charles pretending, that, upon the death of the duke of Bretagne, he had a right to the guardianſhip of his daughters, as ſovereign lord of the duchy, this point was diſputed by the Bretons, who alledged, that the dukes of Bretagne had never done liege homage to the kings of France, and conſequently that they could not juſtly claim the guardianſhip in diſpute. This was an improper juncture to decide, to the advantage of the Bretons, this ſo long and, as yet, undetermined conteſt; but this claim of Charles was a trifle, in compariſon of another of much greater importance; for he maintained, that the duchy itſelf belonged to him, by vertue of a grant to king Lewis XI, from the lady de la Broſſe, heireſs of the houſe of Blois, who had diſputed

Charles VIII's pretenſions. Argentre.

1488. disputed Bretagne with the anceſtors of Francis II. Thus, he revived an antient quarrel, which had been ended by ſeveral treaties, and particularly by that of Guerande, by which the houſe of Blois relinquiſhed all their pretenſions; yet Charles did not obſtinately inſiſt on theſe two articles, reſting ſatisfied with the mention of them, till he could proſecute them, in a proper time and place; ſo that the treaty was concluded, about the end of Auguſt, importing, that Charles ſhould keep the places he had conquered, and withdraw his forces out of the reſt of Bretagne; but it was not his intent to obſerve the laſt article. The duke ratified the treaty, at Coyron, where he then was; wherefore, it is called by the Bretons, the treaty of Coyron, and by the French, the treaty of Verger, or Vergy.

The treaty of Verger or Coyron. Argentre. Mezerai.

Diſſenſions among the Bretons, upon the death of the duke.

A few days after, viz. on the 9th of September, died Francis II, duke of Bretagne, in a very advanced age; and with his underſtanding ſo impaired, that, for ſome years paſt, he had been incapable of ruling the ſtate. He was ſucceeded by Ann, his eldeſt daughter, about 12 years old; and the duke, her father, had appointed her, for guardian, the marſhal de Rieux, who was to be aſſiſted by the earl of Cominge; but Philip de Montauban, chancellor of Bretagne, carried away the young ducheſs to Guerande, where, under the pretence of adviſing her, he made her ſpeak, as he pleaſed; which cauſed between the marſhal and the chancellor a difference, that proved extremely prejudicial to the ducheſs, and to the Bretons, in general.

Henry pretends to aid the ducheſs. Hall.

Henry, upon the news of the duke of Bretagne's deceaſe, publickly declared, that he conſidered the intereſt of the young orphan ducheſs, as his own, and ſeemed to prepare, in earneſt, to aſſiſt her; but, being alſo informed that, a few days before the duke's death, a proviſional treaty had been concluded, till all the king of France's pretenſions were ſettled, he did not doubt, that the affair would be ended, without a war. The buſineſs was only to prevent king Charles from taking advantage of the preſent conſternation of the Bretons; and this, he fancied, could be effected, by loudly proclaiming his concern for the ducheſs's affairs. He ſtill believed, that Charles feared him, and, rather than break with him, would recede from his pretenſions; and, therefore, his view was to become arbiter of this difference, and avoid a war which would have obliged him to empty his coffers.

He ſends ambaſſies to ſeveral courts,

Accordingly, he ſent ambaſſadors to the king of the Romans, the archduke, his ſon, and the kings of Spain and Portugal, to induce the king of France to conclude, that he was labouring to form a league againſt him; and he likewiſe ſent an ambaſſy to Charles himſelf, to preſs him to enter into a treaty with Bretagne; whilſt, in the interim, he diſpatched Edgecomb and Ainſworth, to offer his aſſiſtance to the ducheſs, and commiſſioned them to promiſe, in his name, to ſupply her with a certain number of troops, upon ſufficient ſecurity for the repayment of the charges. However, all theſe ambaſſies proved inſignificant, as the ſequel will inform us; but, before we proceed, it will be neceſſary briefly to relate the revolution in Scotland.

and offers to aid Ann. Act. Pub.

1488.

The affairs of Scotland. Buchanan. Hall.

The affair of Bretagne ſo employed the kings of France and England, that James III. could procure no aid from either, againſt the lords who were headed by the prince, his ſon; and the male-contents would have been extremely glad to decide the quarrel, by a battle; but the king ſtill remained in the caſtle of Edinburgh, where it was impoſſible to force him. Tho' Charles and Henry had promiſed to aſſiſt him, they were not very deſirous to eſpouſe his cauſe; yet he ſtill ſhut himſelf up, expecting that theſe monarchs would make good their engagements.

In the mean while, he was adviſed, to quit the caſtle of Edinburgh for Sterling, as a more convenient place, and there expect the foreign ſuccours; and James, approving this advice, began his march, with his few troops, and, preſently, the lords cloſely purſued him; yet he was far enough before them, to be ſecure, if the governor of Sterling, bribed by his enemies, had not denied him admittance. James, at a loſs where to go, reſolved to return to Edinburgh; but, meeting the army of the male-contents, he was conſtrained to fight, tho' much inferior, in number of troops; and he was ſlan in the battle which was fought, in the month of June. After his deceaſe, James IV, his eldeſt ſon, about 15 years old, was proclaimed, in his room, by the lords who had ſet him at their head; but many of the Scots diſliked this change, and refuſed to own the young prince, whom they conſidered, as the murderer of his father, and gave him, for ſome time, great diſturbance. In July, the new king ſent ambaſſadors to Henry, to notify his acceſſion to the throne.

James III. ſlain, and James IV, his ſon, ſucceeds him.

1489. Henry's view in his treaty with Ann.

On the 10th of February, 1489, the ambaſſadors, ſent into Bretagne, concluded a treaty with the ducheſs; and the chief article was, that the king engaged to ſend into Bretagne an aid of 6000 men. To conſider this, abſtractly, one would be apt to conclude, that Henry acted purely, from a principle of generoſity, or, at leaſt, for the intereſt of his ſubjects; but theſe were the fartheſt from his thoughts. His ſole view was, firſt, to hinder Bretagne from being over-run by a ſudden invaſion of the French, in order to pave the way for a treaty; and, ſecondly, to draw a pecuniary advantage from the ſuccours ſent to the ducheſs, the expences of which he was willing to advance, that he might afterwards be repaid with uſury. As this treaty diſcovers his ſelfiſh views, in this affair, it will be proper to inſert the ſubſtance of each article; which, added to what will be ſaid, hereafter, will greatly contribute to conveigh a juſt idea of this prince's character.

The treaty of Redon. Act. Pub.

I. The antient treaties, between England and Bretagne, ſhall be obſerved.

II. There ſhall be an uninterrupted friendſhip and alliance, between the king of England and the ducheſs of Bretagne.

III. They ſhall mutually aſſiſt each other, if either is attacked.

IV. If

1489. IV. If the king ſhall make war upon France, for the recovery of Guienne and Normandy, the ducheſs ſhall ſupply him with troops, according to her power.

V. The king ſhall alſo aid the ducheſs, if ſhe carries the war into France, for the recovery of her right; yet without prejudice to the truce concluded between England and France, which is to laſt, till the 17th of January, 1490.

VI. Neither of the two parties ſhall receive into his dominions the rebellious ſubjects of the other.

VII. The king ſhall ſend the ducheſs, at his own expence, an aid of 6000 men, provided a ſufficient number of theſe troops be allotted to guard the cautionary towns hereafter mentioned, which ſhall be delivered to the king; but the number ſhall not exceed 500.

VIII. Theſe 6000 men ſhall ſerve the ducheſs, at the king's charge, till the firſt of November.

IX. Immediately after that day, the ducheſs ſhall furniſh ſhips, with all neceſſaries, to tranſport the troops into England.

X. The 6000 men ſhall be embarqued, at Portſmouth, about the middle of this inſtant February, or, at fartheſt, by the end of the ſaid month, in veſſels provided by the ducheſs.

XI. The ducheſs engages to repay the king all his expences, for the tranſportation of the troops, both out and home; for their maintenance, whilſt in her ſervice; and likewiſe for the defence of the cautionary towns hereafter mentioned.

XII. The re-imburſement ſhall be made, in England.

XIII. It may be made, at ſeveral payments, the cautionary towns remaining in the king's hands, till the whole is paid.

XIV. Immediately after the arrival of the 6000 men, in Bretagne, the ducheſs ſhall deliver any two of the following places the king ſhall chuſe, Tonclaromneau, Hennebond, Avray, Vannes, and Guerande, with all their revenues, to be kept, till the king is fully repaid, without any deduction; and, then only, he ſhall be obliged to reſtore them.

XV. If the king makes war upon France, on his own account, and the ducheſs find him ſuccours, her charges ſhall be deducted out of what ſhe ſhall owe the king; and, if the king aid the ducheſs, in an offenſive war with France, ſhe ſhall repay his charges, on that occaſion.

XVI. If any of the places, now poſſeſſed by the king of France, be retaken, the king may chuſe one or two of theſe places, in the room of one or two of thoſe which ſhall then be in his hands; yet upon condition that he do not chuſe Breſt and Tonclaromneau, at the ſame time.

XVII. Two commiſſioners, on each ſide, ſhall ſettle the king's expences, for the aſſiſtance of Bretagne.

XVIII. The ducheſs ſhall ſwear, before the Engliſh ambaſſadors, that ſhe will not demand again the cautionary towns, till the whole debt be diſcharged; and the marſhal of Bretagne, with three or four of the principal lords, ſhall take the ſame oath. 1489

XIX. Before the delivery of the cautionary towns to the king, they ſhall be furniſhed with a ſufficient quantity of artillery, and a fortnight's proviſions.

XX. The fairs and markets ſhall be kept there, as before.

XXI. Immediately after the arrival of the king's troops, in any port of Bretagne, the ducheſs ſhall ſend to the ſhips 16 hoſtages; viz.——or, at leaſt, four of them to be detained, till the cautionary towns are delivered.

XXII. The ducheſs the marſhal, and three or four of the moſt conſiderable lords ſhall ſwear, upon the holy goſpels, that ſhe will not make a contract of marriage with any perſon whatſoever, without the king's conſent.

XXIII. She ſhall make no league, nor hold intelligence with any prince, except the king of the Romans and the king of Spain, nor even with theſe, without the king's approbation.

XXIV. She ſhall conclude neither peace, nor truce, for above two months, nor even a truce, ſo long, without including the king.

XXV. The king on his part, promiſes the ſame.

XXVI. The treaty of commerce, between England and Bretagne, of the 22d of July, 1486, ſhall be renewed.

XXVII. The king and the ducheſs ſhall both give ſecurity, for the obſervance of the treaty of commerce.

XXVIII. Engliſh money ſhall paſs, in Bretagne, after this manner,——the king ſhall receive the ſame money, in payment.

Remarks upon this treaty.

It is obvious, that, in making this treaty, Henry had three different views; firſt, to hinder Charles VIII. from being maſter of Bretagne, whilſt the ducheſs was ſo unable to reſiſt him; for, if Charles ſhould have compleated the conqueſt of Bretagne, the next campaign, as might very eaſily be done, he would have been inexcuſable to the parliament, who had given him a large ſubſidy, for the defence of that duchy. His ſecond deſign was to terrify the king of France, by the ſending of Engliſh troops, into a compliance to end the affair, by way of negotiation; which manifeſtly appears from his lending the 6000 men, for eight months only; and that too, when they could be of no farther ſervice, than to prevent the court of France from violating the treaty of Vergy, then ſubſiſting. His third and principal intent was, to ſecure the re-imburſement of what he was about to advance, for the ſupport of the 6000 men, for eight months; for he had already projected the keeping, for his own uſe, the ſubſidy granted by parliament, for the defence of Bretagne, in hopes of deciding the affair, by his mediation. In the interim, he perceived, that the young princeſs was in no condition to withſtand the king of France, if he thought of purſuing his conqueſts; ſo that, to oblige king Charles to enter into the treaty, it was neceſſary to ſhew him that the ducheſs would not want protectors, if he pretended to continue to make uſe of force of arms. He could

1489. not, therefore, help advancing the money, ſince the ducheſs was unable to do it; but, at the ſame time, he took ſuch precautions not to loſe his money, that it is viſible from the treaty, that his principal view was the repayment of his expences. It may be farther remarked, firſt, that, probably, he would lend his troops, only for eight months, leſt the ſum ſhould riſe too high, and conſequently become difficult to be repaid; and, ſecondly, that he was willing not only to ſecure the principal, but to receive it with intereſt; for, after he had in his hands the places mortgaged, for his ſecurity, he left the ſum undetermined, in order to have it ſettled by commiſſioners. He knew, that, when he was poſſeſſed of the towns, Ann would, one day, be forced to ſubmit to what he ſhould preſcribe; and that it would be in his power to mount the charges of levying and maintaining his troops, as high as he pleaſed. What I have ſaid is not a bare conjecture, ſince the ſequel will demonſtrate, that he raiſed this expence to an exorbitant ſum; and, thus, Ann's aid became no leſs expenſive to her than the French army itſelf, which continued quiet, tho' it ſtill remained in the country. Charles had fully reſolved to take advantage of the conſternation of the Bretons, upon the deceaſe of their duke; but, in a council held, on that occaſion, the chancellor de Rochefort was of a directly contrary opinion from motives of honour and equity; and his allegations made the deeper impreſſion upon the king, as he was ſtill apprehenſive, that, tho' Henry acted but faintly, he would alter his ſentiments. Moreover, that monarch's ambaſſies to Spain, the king of the Romans, and the archduke, gave the court of France ſome uneaſineſs; for they were afraid of a league, that would have obſtructed the execution of a grand project already formed, and which will be mentioned, hereafter.

A diſſenſion in Bretagne. Argentre.

During the negotiations, at Redon, the ducheſs's affairs were in a deplorable ſituation; for ſhe not only ſaw a French army, in the heart of her country, poſſeſſed of ſeveral towns, but was likewiſe deſtitute of men and money; and what was ſtill more afflicting, at ſuch a juncture, was the diſſenſion among her principal lords. The marſhal de Rieux pretended to govern her, as her guardian; but Philip de Montauban, her chancellor, had ſuch an influence over her, that, through his inſinuations, ſhe conſidered the marſhal, as an enemy, and abſolutely refuſed to be under his guardianſhip. Montauban's pretence to incenſe her againſt him was, that the marſhal would have married her to the lord d' Albret; for he repreſented to her, that the marſhal deſigned to ruin her, by giving her a huſband unable to protect her; and he even inſinuated, that the marſhal was bribed by king Charles, whoſe intereſt it was to eſpouſe her to a lord not ſupported by any prince, in Europe. Perhaps the chancellor was himſelf gained, in favour of the king of the Romans; but, however that be, their animoſity roſe to ſuch a height, that the marſhal de Rieux cauſed the gates of Nantz to be ſhut upon the ducheſs, and even threatened to beſiege her, in Rennes. It is not, therefore, ſurpriſing, that Montauban, who managed the ducheſs's affairs, ſhould conſent to the treaty of Redon; ſince the arrival of the Engliſh troops would exceedingly ſtrengthen his party. 1489.

The Engliſh ſuccours, at laſt, arrived, in March; which, with Henry's ambaſſies to ſeveral courts, led king Charles to imagine, that he intended to act vigorouſly, in defence of Bretagne; and, in this belief, ſince he could not execute his deſigns, by open force, without a war with the Engliſh, and drawing, perhaps, other enemies upon himſelf, he judged it adviſable to take other meaſures. There was a treaty on foot between him and Maximilian, and between Maximilian and the Gantois, by the mediation of the German princes, convened a Francfort; and, as this affair was in a promiſing way, he did not doubt, that it would end in a peace. He had in his power Margaret, daughter to the king of the Romans, in order to eſpouſe her, when marriageable, and was not inſenſible of the late duke of Bretagne's engagement with that prince, about his daughter's marriage; and, therefore, being confident that his future father-in-law, with whom he was on the point of concluding a peace, would readily favour him, he ſent and offered the ducheſs of Bretagne, to make him umpire of their quarrel. Ann gladly accepted the propoſal, being almoſt ſure of an intereſt in the prince who expected to marry her; and Maximilian did not want much intreaty to become arbiter of a diſpute, in which he himſelf was ſo greatly concerned; and, thus, Charles, Ann, and Maximilian acted, all three, with inſincerity. The Engliſh arrive in Bretagne. Hall.

The ambaſſadors of France and Bretagne, at Francfort, concluded, by the mediation of the king of the Romans, a proviſional treaty, importing, that Charles ſhould reſtore the towns conquered upon Bretagne, except Dinant, St. Aubin, Fougeres, and St. Malo; that theſe four places ſhould be committed in truſt to Maximilian and the duke of Bourbon, and the French troops quit the reſt of Bretagne; that the ducheſs ſhould ſend away the Engliſh, and, next April, a congreſs be held, at Tournay, to determine all diſputes; and that, in the interim, both parties ſhould ſend their reaſons to Avignon, to be diſcuſſed by civilians, that their opinions might ſerve for the inſtruction of the mediators. The treaty of Francfort.

This treaty was ineffectual, tho' both parties ſeemed pleaſed with it; for Ann engaged, by the treaty of Redon, to deliver two places to the king of England, which were to be kept by 500 Engliſh; yet, by the preſent treaty, ſhe engaged to ſend away all the Engliſh; but, as the 500 men, which kept the two places, were not excepted, Charles pretended, that he was not bound to execute the treaty of Francfort, till all the Engliſh quitted Bretagne, to which Ann could not oblige them. Accordingly, tho', in November, purſuant to the treaty of Redon, the Engliſh troops returned into England, the 500 men remained; and Charles does not obſerve the treaty.

1489. and the ducheſs could not ſend them away, unleſs ſhe repaid the king of England all his expences, which was impoſſible. The affair, therefore, continued in the ſame ſtate, as before the treaty of Francfort; and the two parties neither ſent their reaſons to Avignon, nor their ambaſſadors to Tournay.

The ducheſs is perſuaded to marry Maximilian. Argentre.

In the interim, Maximilian's marriage with Ann was negotiating, with all poſſible ſecrecy; and his agents repreſented to the young princeſs the honour ſhe would enjoy of being queen of the Romans, and, in time, empreſs; but, after all, it was not in her lover's power to give her a powerful aſſiſtance. He could not draw any forces out of Flanders, and ſend them to Bretagne, without breaking with France, included in his late treaty with the Gantois; moreover, this peace was ſo ill ſecured, that it did not laſt, an entire year; ſo that Maximilian, ſon to an emperor, himſelf king of the Romans, and governor of the Low-Countries, with all theſe empty titles, was in no condition to aſſiſt Bretagne. However, the young ducheſs was ſtill made to expect great matters from him, whether her counſellors wilfully ſhut their eyes, or there was, then, no other prince, in Europe, from whom ſhe could hope for any aſſiſtance; for, tho' the king of England might have protected her, he had entertained ſuch a wrong notion of the affair, that the event alone was capable to undeceive him.

The marriage is ſolemniſed by proxy.

At laſt, the marriage was ſolemniſed, in November, with a ceremony, then, altogether new, in thoſe parts; for the prince of Naſſau, Maximilian's ambaſſador and proxy, put his naked leg into the bed, where the ducheſs was laid, as a ſort of conſummation; yet this was tranſacted ſo ſecretly, that neither Charles nor Henry appear to have known it, till March, 1491. Indeed, Argentre, an hiſtorian of Bretagne, affirms, that, from the beginning of 1490, all the publick acts, ran in the name of Maximilian and Ann; and, if ſo, it would be difficult to conceive, how their marriage could be kept ſecret; but, in all probability, Argentre was miſtaken, in a whole year; for we find, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, ſeveral commiſſions of the year 1490, in the name of the ducheſs alone, and the firſt, with Maximilian's name, is dated, in March, 1491.

1490. Charles is put to a ſtand.

Notwithſtanding the departure of the Engliſh forces, Charles did not renew hoſtilities, in Bretagne; which forbearance led Henry to imagine, that he had attained his end, that is, had terrified Charles, by the ſole appearance of a rupture; but the truth is, Charles was extremely embarraſſed. He could not think of dropping his deſign upon Bretagne; and yet he ſaw, that it would be very hard to compleat the conqueſt, without drawing on himſelf a war from England, and, perhaps, from ſeveral other ſtates.

An ambaſſy of Ann to Henry. Act. Pub.

In the mean while, Ann, perceiving that the war would infallibly be renewed, as ſoon as her marriage was divulged, did all that was poſſible, to convince Henry of the neceſſity of ſending freſh ſuccours to Bretagne, and, at the ſame time, concealed the true reaſon; and, with this view, ſhe ſent to him, in February, 1490, chancellor Montauban, and other ambaſſadors, with orders to deſire an aid, and expreſly impowered them to promiſe, in her name, that ſhe would never marry, without his conſent. This ſhews, that her marriage with Maximilian was ſtill a ſecret, which ſhe did not think fit to diſcover; and, in their inſtructions, the ambaſſadors were ordered to inform the king of her proteſtation, in form, againſt her father's engagement with the lord d' Albret, and of all that d' Albret and de Rieux had done, to compel her to ratify the ſame. This was an inſinuation of her wanting his aid, as well againſt her own ſubjects, as the king of France, ſince Bretagne was in danger from both; nevertheleſs, Henry, inſtead of treating with the ducheſs, about freſh ſupplies, ſent ambaſſadors to France, to treat with king Charles, concerning all his differences with the ducheſs of Bretagne. He ſtill imagined, that Charles, dreading the junction of England with Bretagne, was extremely deſirous of a peace; and he reſolved to make him pay for it, inſiſting upon a freſh demand; viz. the arrears of the penſion that Lewis XI. was obliged to pay Edward IV, by the treaty of Pequigny, which, by a ſubſequent treaty, was not to expire, till the death of the ſurvivor of the two kings. Theſe arrears amounted to 125000 crowns; and, thenceforward, this article was always inſerted in the king's commiſſions to treat with France; for Henry believed, that, in Charles's treaty with Ann, of which he thought himſelf almoſt ſure, he would ſubmit to this article, leſt it ſhould prove an obſtruction to the peace. 1490.

He treats with Bretagne, but upon his own affairs. Act. Pub.

Whilſt his ambaſſadors were in France, he appointed commiſſioners to treat with thoſe of Bretagne; but it was purely to amuſe them; for the negotiation ſolely tended to a treaty, which ſtill, more effectually than the former, ſecured him the re-imburſement of his charges, on the ducheſs's account, without the leaſt mention of the deſired aſſiſtance. He only made ſome verbal promiſes, that he would never abandon the ducheſs; for he fancied, that this aſſiſtance was entirely needleſs, in the preſent ſituation of the affair, being ſtill apprehenſive that the king of France was wholly inclined to a peace. In the interim, Charles, in his turn, amuſed the Engliſh ambaſſadors, reſolving to conclude nothing, till he could more evidently diſcover Henry's intention; for he had an army in the bowels of Bretagne, and ſeveral towns in his poſſeſſion, and Ann was in no condition to expel him, without auxiliary forces; and, therefore, he willingly waited for a favourable opportunity to end the affair, otherwiſe than by the king of England's mediation, whom he too much ſuſpected. Henry, who entertained quite different ſentiments made it his principal ſtudy to ſecure the payment of what he had advanced, in behalf of Bretagne; wherefore, pretending that the city of Nantz was in danger of being poſſeſſed by the French, he demanded, that it ſhould be

1490. be delivered to him, promiſing to reſtore it, whenever required; but, preſently after, he heard, that the lord d'Albret had prevented him, who, deſpairing to marry the ducheſs, had joined with France, and taken that wealthy city, where he had acquired a great booty.

The Flemings revolt again.

During theſe negotiations, freſh commotions aroſe, in Flanders, vaſtly prejudicial to the affairs of the ducheſs of Bretagne; for the duke of Saxony, who commanded, in Flanders, for Maximilian, having iſſued out an edict, concerning the coin, the inhabitants of Bruges not only refuſed to obſerve it, but drew the Gantois into the revolt; and the king of France, who deſired nothing more than a war, in Flanders, ſent an aid to the rebels, under the marſhal Deſquerdes, governor of Picardy; whilſt, on the other ſide, Maximilian, or the duke of Saxony, in his name, ſent ambaſſadors to Henry, to negotiate a league with him againſt France.

With the troops arrived from Picardy, the rebels made great progreſs, and, after taking Ipre and Sluce, beſieged Dixmude; but Henry, incenſed againſt Charles, for delaying his anſwer ſo long, being likewiſe concerned to ſupport the archduke, reſolved to aſſiſt him; and, with this view, he ſuddenly ſent the lord Morley, with 1000 men, to Calais, with orders to the lord D'aubeney, governor of that place, to relieve Dixmude, if poſſible. D'aubeney, joining 1000 men of his garriſon, to thoſe come from England, marched directly to Dixmude, which was not well inveſted, and he entered the town, by night, without reſiſtance; and, at break of day, ſallying out of the oppoſite gate, he attacked the camp of the French and Flemings, and entirely put them to rout. This affair created a great coldneſs between Charles and Henry; but the former durſt not complain, ſince he had no more right to aid rebellious ſubjects, than the latter had to aſſiſt the ſovereign.

The lord D'aubeney relieves Dixmude. July 16. Act. Pub.

In the interim, the ambaſſadors of Bretagne waited, at London, to no manner of purpoſe. However, the king gave them good words, which only engaged them the more to do his, inſtead of the ducheſs's affairs; and, on the 26th of July, he required of them an acknowledgment, that he had punctually obſerved the treaty of Redon, a freſh engagement to re-imburſe all his expences, and a promiſe to deliver to him Morlaix and Concarneau, upon the hopes of an aid which he never deſigned to give; yet it was neceſſary, in order to accompliſh his ends, to make the king of France believe, that it was, in reality, his intent to aſſiſt the ducheſs of Bretagne, the only means to put a ſtop to his proceedings. Charles appeared to have ſome knowledge of Henry's ſentiments; for he ſeemed more cold than ever, with reſpect to his agreement with the ducheſs, returned no direct anſwer, nor did he talk of reſtoring his conqueſts upon Bretagne, or of paying the arrears of the penſion, due till the deceaſe of Edward IV; ſo that Henry thought it time to proceed more openly, and inſpire that monarch with a dread not only of the arms of England, but of ſeveral other ſtates.

Henry makes ſeveral alliances. Act. Pub.

In the beginning of this year, he had renewed the treaties of alliance with Portugal and Denmark; and, in September, he concluded with Maximilian and his ſon, Philip, a league againſt France, for their mutual defence, and for that of the ducheſs of Bretagne. At the ſame time, he publiſhed a treaty made with Ferdinand and Iſabella, in March, the preceding year; by which, the two kings were obliged to make war upon the king of France, unleſs he reſtored Rouſſillon to Ferdinand, and Guienne and Normandy to Henry; and they likewiſe agreed upon a marriage between Arthur, prince of Wales, Henry's ſon, and Catharine, third daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella, as ſoon as the prince was 14, and the princeſs 12 years of age. His treaty with the king of the Romans had a relation to this; and the three princes were, at once, to enter France, each at the head of an army, as well for their own, as for the intereſts of the ducheſs of Bretagne; but, by ſecret articles ſigned, two days after, there were ſo many reſtrictions, as to the time, manner, and conditions of the war, that it is evident Henry's ſole aim was to frighten the king of France; for, by one of the ſecret articles, the time of this invaſion was fixed to the 15th of Auguſt, 1492. 1490.

The 4th of October, Henry concluded with John Galeazzo, duke of Milan, a treaty of alliance, containing only general articles of friendſhip and a good underſtanding; but, in the interim, Henry reaped this advantage, that theſe negotiations, which were openly tranſacting, embarraſſed the king of France. Indeed, all theſe treaties, as he was ignorant of the ſecret articles, gave him uneaſineſs; having cauſe to fear, that a league was forming againſt him, which would obſtruct not only the conqueſt of Bretagne, but likewiſe that of the kingdom of Naples, which he had been, ſome time, projecting. It was this that prevented his renewing the war, in Bretagne, tho', in the ducheſs's preſent circumſtances, it ſeemed eaſy to diſpoſſeſs her entirely; moreover, Henry's conduct appeared ſo extraordinary, that he was utterly at a loſs how to judge concerning it; for, tho' he had made a great noiſe, about the league he was making, for the defence of Bretagne, he ſent no aid to the ducheſs. In this uncertainty, Charles reſolved to ſend an ambaſſy into England, under colour of diſengaging Henry from the ducheſs's party; but, in reality, to know by his anſwer what he was to hope, or fear from him. He appointed for this purpoſe Francis de Luxemburgh, viſcount of Martigues, Waleran de Sams, and Robert Gaguin, general of the order of the Trinity; who, upon their arrival at London, had their audience of the king, when nothing particular was tranſacted; but, ſome days after, the king having nominated to treat with them Richard Fox, biſhop of Exeter, Thomas, earl of Ormond, and ſome others, in their firſt conference, the general of the order of the Trinity, being the ſpeaker, made the moſt humble and cringing ſpeech that ever was ſpoken by a French ambaſſador to a foreign prince, if, after all, the matter is to be referred

Charles's ambaſſy to ſound Henry. Dec. 10. Act. Pub.

1490. red to Henry VII's hiſtorian; yet, having ſeveral reaſons to ſuſpect this ſpeech to be rather that author's than the ambaſſador's, I ſhall only mention the principal points, without keeping to the very words, or taking notice of certain articles which, in my opinion, are altogether improbable.

The ambaſſador's ſpeech.

The ambaſſador began with ſaying, "Their "maſter had ſent them, to implore a peace "with the king of England; and ſuch was "his reſpect for that great prince, that, paſſ-"ing by all formalities, he would make ad-"vances unuſual in ſuch ſovereigns as he; nor "would he conceal from him another motive, "which made him deſirous of peace. Having "determined to carry his arms into remote "countries, it muſt, of courſe, be for his ad-"vantage, that all the world ſhould know, "that he was in amity with all his neigh-"bours, and particularly with the king of "England; and then the ambaſſador himſelf "excuſed Henry's aiding Bretagne and Flan-"ders, even againſt France, and owned it to "be no juſt cauſe of a rupture between the "two crowns. As for Flanders, he juſtified "the king his maſter's ſending troops thither, "becauſe he was under obligations to protect "the Flemings, his vaſſals, againſt the king "of the Romans, their oppreſſor; adding, "that king Charles deſigned to make war up-"on the kingdom of Naples, unjuſtly detain-"ed from him by a baſtard of the houſe of "Arragon; and, as that kingdom belonged "to him, by an unqueſtionable right, he was "obliged, in honour, to attempt its recove-"ry; tho' his thoughts did not reſt there, ſince "he intended to make the conqueſt of Naples "ſerve, as a bridge, to tranſport his forces "into the Eaſt, and ſubvert the empire of the "Turks, to which he was invited, as by a "voice from Heaven, by a rent in the Otto-"man family; wherefore, being reſolved up-"on a holy war, he was content, for the credit "and intereſt of the Chriſtian religion, to beg "peace from all the princes of Europe, that he "might not be diverted by them from his "grand deſign.

The ambaſſador, in concluſion, ſaid, "He "had only another affair to mention, not as "a ſubject of treaty, but as a proof of his "maſter's great deſire to preſerve a good un-"derſtanding with the king of England, viz. "being ſovereign lord of Bretagne, and, as "ſuch, guardian of the ducheſs, he intreated, "that, with the king of England's conſent, "he might diſpoſe of her marriage, as he "ſhould judge expedient."

The chancellor's anſwer, in the king's name. Bacon.

Some days after, the ambaſſadors of France being ſent for to the council, the chancellor returned them the following anſwer from the king: "That the king, his maſter, had not "forgot his former love and friendſhip with "the king of France; that, if the friendſhip "was ſtill the ſame, there was no occaſion to "talk of it; but, if not, it was not words "but deeds that muſt renew it; that, as for "the affair of Bretagne, he could not help "thinking it ſtrange, that the king of France "ſhould make him his inſtrument to ruin one "of his beſt allies, and moreover pretend, he 1490.
"was very much obliged to him for it: As
"for the ducheſs's marriage, he meant not
"to meddle with it, provided the king of
"France would proceed by law, and not by
"the ſword: That, however, what had paſſ-
"ed in Bretagne, as well as in Flanders,
"did not make ſo deep an impreſſion, as
"to refuſe to treat of a peace, if all their
"other affairs might be debated, at the
"ſame time. That as for the war upon
"Naples, the king had but one thing to ſay,
"which was, as the king of France thought
"himſelf bound, in honour, to try to recover
"that kingdom; ſo, for the ſame reaſon, the
"king thought himſelf obliged to exert his
"utmoſt, for the recovery of Guienne, Nor-
"mandy, and the kingdom of France itſelf,
"which, of right, belonged to him."

Henry had eaſily diſcovered the intent of this ambaſſy, and that, by a general propoſal to live in peace with him, Charles's ſole view was to ſound his intentions, with reſpect to Bretagne; wherefore, purſuant to the maxim he had eſtabliſhed, namely, to frighten him, he threatened a war, not only for the ſake of the ducheſs of Bretagne, but alſo for his own. In the interim, it is probable, that he ſpoiled his affairs, by carrying the artifice too far; and that Charles perceived, that this anſwer was no more than bare words. It was very unlikely, that, in the then ſituation of France, Henry, who tottered, as it were, on the throne of a kingdom abounding with male-contents, would renew a quarrel of ſuch importance, of which he could not naturally expect to ſee a fortunate iſſue; for his reputation, of being one of the moſt politick princes of his time, made it incredible, that he would embarque in ſuch an undertaking; and, therefore, Charles, taking it for granted, that he intended only to frighten him, ſtill purſued his courſe, with reſpect to Bretagne, and ſucceeded, at laſt, as the events of the next year will inform us. On the other hand, his ambaſſadors, ſurpriſed at the chancellor's ſpeech, warmly replied, that the king, their ſovereign, did not fear ſuch menaces, being able to maintain his juſt rights againſt any perſon whatſoever; and the chancellor calmly anſwered, that the king expected no other reply from them, but would directly ſend ambaſſadors, to acquaint their maſter more fully with his intentions. Then he asked them, whether the king of France would conſent to have the diſpoſal of the marriage of the ducheſs of Bretagne, with an exception that he ſhould not marry her himſelf; and the ambaſſadors anſwered, that the king, their maſter, was ſo far from intending to marry the ducheſs of Bretagne, that he had given them no inſtructions, as to that point.

The ambaſſadors reply. Bacon.

Ann notifies to Henry her marriage.

In the mean while, Ann was extremely troubled to find, that no aid arrived, either from Maximilian, or the king of England; wherefore, tho' ſhe had, hitherto, kept her marriage ſecret, perceiving that it could uot be concealed any longer, and that it was diſhonourable to hide it from him whom ſhe accounted her principal protector, ſhe ſent a ſolemn am-

1490. bassy into England, consisting of the prince of Orange, the earl of Dunois, and the chancellor. Their business was to desire assistance, and, probably, notify her marriage to the king; for, till after this ambassy's arrival in England, the beginning of the following year, we do not find Maximilian's name and her's joined together in the Publick Acts.

1491. Henry's ambassy to Charles. Act. Pub.

In February, 1491, Henry sent ambassadors into France, pursuant to his promise, in order to treat of all his differences with king Charles, and, in particular, of a certain sum due to him from that prince, as also of the quarrel between Charles and the duchess of Bretagne. These instructions alone evidently prove, that Henry did not design vigorously to push his pretensions to the kingdom of France, or, at least, to Guienne and Normandy; for is it to be imagined, that he would have comprized under the general word, differences, his claim to all France, or to two of the richest provinces, and have specified a debt of 125000 crowns, if the first had been the principal? It is, therefore, manifest, that he was still desirous to end the affair of Bretagne, without a war, and to secure the sums that were advanced by the parliament.

Ann's marriage is imparted to him. Act. Pub.

A few days after, he appointed commissioners to treat with the ambassadors, that came last from Bretagne; and then it was, in appearance, that the duchess's marriage with Maximilian was communicated to him; for, tho, perhaps, he was told of it before, he pretended ignorance, because it had not been notified to him, in form.

Charles besieges the duchess in Rennes. Argentre.

In the interim, Charles, having, at last, notice of this marriage, which had been industriously concealed, resolved to use no more ceremony, but vigorously hasten the conquest of Bretagne; for, in all probability, he plainly saw through all Henry's disguises, and, perhaps, believed the acquisition of Bretagne well deserved the hazarding a rupture with England. As to Maximilian, he did not much fear him, having an infallible expedient to pacify the king of Arragon, by restoring Rousillon, much less important to the crown of France than Bretagne; wherefore, without loss of time, he ordered Rennes, capital of the duchy, where the princess then was, to be invested. During the siege, which continued, some months, Ann sent into England John Bouteiller, lord of Maupertuis, and Peter Cojalu, to sollicit Henry's aid; and, shortly after, she dispatched the countess de la Val, the marshal de Rieux, and some others, to inform him of her distress, and demonstrate to him, that Bretagne was on the point of falling into the hands of France. This ambassy afforded the king a pretence to borrow money of his subjects, to enable him to make war upon France; and yet, tho' he seemed in extreme haste, he gave no orders for levying troops, but took particular care, about collecting the loans.

Shortly after, the league between Henry and Ferdinand was renewed; who agreed, once more, that, in May, or, at fartherest, in June, next year, each should enter France, at the head of an army; and Maximilian also engaged to do the same, who sent an aid of 2000 men to his duchess; but all this was no more than an empty flourish, in order to deter the king of France from his design to conquer Bretagne; for it was not the intent either of Henry, Ferdinand, or Maximilian, to make war upon France. Ferdinand was then entirely employed in the war of Granada; and, if he leagued with Henry, it was only to force king Charles, by the terror of the league, to restore him Rousillon, being very ready to desist, the moment he should recover the possession of that province. Maximilian's view, who wanted both men and money, was to engage the kings of England and Spain in a war with France, and reap all the fruit, by being possessed of the duchess and duchy of Bretagne; and, Henry, as he could not, in any measure, depend upon such allies, and saw Bretagne almost lost, was unwilling to engage alone in its defence. His sole design was to secure, by the dread of this league, the payment of what was owed him by France and Bretagne; and, in the interim, Henry and Ferdinand, to attain their ends, feigned a real intention to make war upon France. 1491.

Charles VIII. demands Ann in marriage. Argentre. P. Daniel.

Whilst these two monarchs were taking measures to execute their designs, and the ambassadors of Bretagne waited, to no purpose, at London, Charles caused the siege of Rennes to be continued; but, the siege being in an ill way, and the season far advanced, he found out a speedier and more effectual means, than the sword, to secure Bretagne. He gained, by his liberalities, all the young duchess's counsellors, whom he employed, to persuade her to break off her marriage with Maximilian, and take himself for her husband; and, perhaps, he had formed that project before; but, however, he first discovered it, during the siege of Rennes. Being secure of the concurrence of the lords of Bretagne, he caused the duchess, then above 15 years of age, to be so strenuously importuned, that she had not a moment's repose; but, at first, she courageously withstood all their sollicitations, affirming that she could not resolve to be false to a prince whom she had voluntarily espoused. However, it was represented to her, that Maximilian had abandoned her, first; that, instead of coming, in person, to defend her, or, at least, of sending her sufficient aids, he had remained quietly, in Germany, as if he was, no way, concerned in the affairs of Bretagne; that, at present, it was impossible to prevent Bretagne from becoming a province of France, and Maximilian would regard her still less, when he found her dispossessed of her dominions; nay, perhaps, she would have the mortification to see, that he himself would cancel his marriage, by which means she would lose, at once, both her duchy and spouse, and reduce her subjects to slavery: That, in marrying king Charles, she might preserve, by a treaty, the sovereignty and liberties of Bretagne; whereas, by an obstinate and ineffectual defence, she would ruin her subjects, without reaping any advantage herself: In fine, that the king of France was more suitable to one of her age; and that

1491. that the glorious titles of queen of the Romans, and empreſs, did not outweigh that of queen of France, with a real kingdom. In the mean time, the ducheſs reſiſting, Charles thought of another expedient, to conquer her reſolution; for he went himſelf, and releaſed the duke of Orleans out of the tower of Bourges, where he was confined, after the battle of St. Aubin, and told him, that, being ſenſible of his great intereſt with the ducheſs of Bretagne, he required him, in return for his liberty, to labour to prevail on her to comply with his deſires. The duke of Orleans, tired of his impriſonment, readily accepted of the office, and, repairing to Rennes, ſucceeded, at laſt, in determining the ducheſs to the marriage; which was concluded, December, 1491.

He employs the duke of Orleans;

who prevails on the ducheſs, and the marriage is concluded. Argentre. Mezerai.

Whilſt this affair was in agitation, Charles amuſed the Engliſh ambaſſadors, being unwilling to come to any concluſion, or even treat with them, till he knew the reſult of his negotiation with Ann; but, at laſt, the ambaſſadors, hearing that the marriage was on the point of being concluded, withdrew, about the end of November, without taking leave. Thus, Henry perceived, and not without confuſion, that his avaricious policy was defeated, not only as he had not ſaved Bretagne, but principally as the re-imburſement of the ſums, he had advanced, was become more precarious, than ever; yet he had ſtill one refuge left, which he had the art to improve, and that brought him off, if not with honour, at leaſt, with a pecuniary advantage, which he chiefly conſulted, in all his proceedings. Fortunately for him, Charles perſiſted in his deſign of conquering the kingdom of Naples; and, as a rupture with England would have laid inſuperable obſtacles in his way, he reſolved to avoid it, by all poſſible means. Henry, on his part, well knowing that, at the preſent juncture, Charles would not ſcruple to purchaſe a peace, feigned an extreme reſentment of the affront he had received, and a reſolution to be revenged, at any expence; and, the very moment his ambaſſadors made their report, he iſſued out orders to levy forces, and prepare tranſports, intimating, that he would undertake the moſt dreadful war that had ever been, between England and France. He ſeemed to prepare to tread in the ſteps of Edward III. and Henry V, and not think of ſtopping, till he had wreſted the crown of France from the houſe of Valois; but we ſhall preſently ſee the iſſue of all this ardor.

Henry prepares for war. Act. Pub.

The king of the Romans threatens high.

Maximilian was inraged, to find that Charles had ſo injuriouſly robbed him of his wife; and he threatened, like Henry, to carry fire and ſword into the heart of France, in revenge of ſuch a mortal affront. On the other hand, the archduke Philip demanded his ſiſter, Margaret, who was at Paris, and contracted to king Charles; but the court of France did not, as yet, think fit to ſend back that princeſs. They feared neither father nor ſon; and they made it their whole ſtudy to avert the ſtorm, with which they were threatened from England and Spain, tho it was not near ſo violent, in reality as in appearance; but, before I relate the effects of this quarrel, it will be neceſſary briefly to enter upon the affairs of Scotland.

1491.

The affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

Since James IV's acceſſion to the crown of Scotland, he had found it extremely difficult to ſupport himſelf on the throne; and the troubles, that, immediately, broke out, ſtill continued, by the policy of king Henry, who took care to foment them; for he gave, from time to time, the Scotch male-contents ſome little aids, which enabled them to maintain their ground, but not to make any remarkable progreſs againſt their ſovereign. It is very uſual, with princes, to cheriſh the commotions among their neighbours, taking it to be the moſt effectual way to preſerve peace, at home, tho' there are ſome, who would ſcruple to uſe ſuch methods; but Henry was not of this number; for he even ſeems to have been leſs ſcrupulous than many others, ſince it appears from the Collection of the Publick Acts, that the lord Bothwel and Sir Thomas Tod, both Scots, had engaged to deliver up to him the perſons of the king of Scotland and the duke of Roſs, his brother, which could not be done, without notorious treachery. Nay, it is evident from the record, that he had lent the earl of Buchan and Sir Thomas Tod 2661. 13s. 4d. Sterling, to enable them to execute this deſign, and that Tod left his ſon in hoſtage, for ſecurity; which act is dated, April the 17th, 1491.

A truce between England and Scotland, in vain.

This project failing, Henry, who was preparing for the war in France, was willing, firſt, to prevent the diverſions the Scots might make, in England, during his abſence; and king James deſired nothing more than to deprive his rebellious ſubjects of the protection always afforded them by the king of England; ſo that, the two kings ſending their ambaſſadors to Caldſtream upon Tweed, a treaty of truce was concluded, from the 21ſt of December, to the ſame day five years, 1496; purſuant to which, the city of Berwick, with its territory, was to ſtand neuter, and the lordſhip of Lorn, in Scotland, with the little iſland of Lundey belonging to England, were excepted out of this treaty. Henry ratified it, January the 9th, 1492; but, probably, the king of Scotland, whether bribed by France, or from ſome other motive, refuſed to confirm it; tho' he conſented to a much ſhorter truce, from the 20th of February, 1492, to the 20th of November following.

1492. France is threatened on all ſides.

France ſeemed to be threatened, from all ſides, with a furious war; for Maximilian vigorouſly preſſed it, expecting that his ſon Philip, then 20 years old, would make a powerful diverſion, in Flanders, whilſt the allies acted, in other places; and Henry openly made preparations for war, with great noiſe and boaſtings. In fine, Ferdinand and Iſabella, who had lately, in a glorious manner, compleated the war with the Moors, by the taking of Granada, publickly threatened to invade France; wherefore, Charles would have been greatly embarraſſed, if this formidable league had been, in reality, what it was, in appearance. Upon his being maſter of Bretagne, he thought of executing his

1492. his grand project, relating to the conqueſt of Naples; but he muſt, firſt, diſpel the ſtorm that was gathering, in Spain, England, and Flanders; and, whilſt he was wholly employed about this affair, Henry was no leſs intent upon his own concerns.

Henry acquaints the parliament with his deſign to war upon France.

In the beginning of 1492, he convened a parliament, and communicated to both houſes his deſign to carry war into France, not with an intent to ask their advice, as in the caſe of Bretagne, but to acquaint them with his reſolution to do all that was poſſible to recover the kingdom of France, which he ſtiled the inheritance of his anceſtors; and, to inflame them the more, he reminded them of the glorious battles of Crecy, Poictiers, and Azincourt, wherein the Engliſh alone, with a ſmall number of troops, defeated the ſtrongeſt armies of France; by which he would inſinuate, that he was no leſs a warrior than Edward III, the prince of Wales, his ſon, and Henry V. In demanding a ſubſidy proportionable to the greatneſs of the undertaking, he exhorted the commons to ſpare the purſes of the poor, and lay the tax upon the rich, not, in the leaſt, doubting, that they would grant his requeſt; tho', certainly, great fault might have been found with his miſmanagement of the former aid given, for the defence of Bretagne, ſince the duchy was loſt, without his uſing the leaſt endeavours to prevent it; but the conqueſt of France was a very proper decoy to draw in the parliament. Indeed, the king was not deſirous to embarque in ſuch an hazardous enterprize; for he knew that, France being now at unity with itſelf, it would be too difficult a task to conquer that kingdom. Of his two allies, the one had will but not power, and the other had power but not will, Ferdinand's view being, by the ſhow of war, to attain a peace, which might procure him the reſtitution of Rouſſillon; moreover, as he had but lately ended his war with the Moors, he was not in a condition to begin another with France. However, Henry expreſſed to his parliament and council an ardent deſire to ſignaliſe his name, by the conqueſt of France, or, at leaſt, of Normandy and Guienne; in which he had an eye to his profit, two ways, viz. upon his ſubjects, for a ſubſidy for the war, and upon his enemies, for a peace, which would ſecure him the payment of his debts. He evidently foreſaw, that the defection of the king of the Romans, and Ferdinand, would furniſh him with a ſpecious excuſe to deſiſt from a war he was undertaking, with ſo much noiſe; and the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the biſhop of Exeter were the only perſons, that were privy to his real intentions; the latter of whom was, ſhortly after, tranſlated to the ſee of Bath and Wells.

The parliament grants a benevolence. Bacon.

The parliament took fire, as the king expected, and granted him a very conſiderable ſum, which, purſuant to his exhortation, was to be levied upon the rich, by the name of benevolence; which ſort of tax was introduced by Edward IV, and raiſed, without the conſent of parliament. Richard III, to ingratiate himſelf with the people, aboliſhed it; but this parliament revived it, and gave it the ſeal of their authority *. 1492.

An ambaſſy from France. Feb. 5. Act. Pub.

Henry, ſoon after, received ambaſſadors from king Charles, with propoſals that were not divulged; and it is probable, that nothing was concluded, in their conferences with the archbiſhop of Canterbury and biſhop Fox, ſince the martial preparations were ſtill ſeen to continue; yet, in all likelihood, theſe ambaſſadors laid the firſt foundations of the peace, which was made, before the end of the year.

The birth of prince Henry.

In June, the queen was delivered of a prince, who ſucceeded the king, his father, by the name of Henry VIII.

Succours are ſent to the archduke.

The warlike preparations, in England, were very ſeaſonable for the archduke Philip; for, ſince the laſt year, the Gantois had revolted, once more, and placed at their head Philip de Cleves, a zealous adherent to France. Some commotions, in Holland, preventing the archduke from attempting to ſuppreſs this revolt, it was the middle of this year, before he marched againſt Philip de Cleves, and beſieged him, in Sluice; and he would have found it difficult to take that place, if Henry had not ſupplied him with 12 ſhips, and 2500 men; but, with this aid, he was enabled to compel the rebels to ſue for peace, and ſurrender Sluice into his hands.

The king not, in the leaſt, intending to puſh vigorouſly the war with France, did not haſten his preparations, being glad to begin the campaign late, in order to end it the ſooner; and, in the interim, he ſent ambaſſadors to France, to ſhew that he was, firſt of all, willing to try amicable methods; but it is extremely probable, that the deſign of this ambaſſy was only to finiſh, with king Charles, the terms of peace. Moreover, the king's honour was to be ſecured, who, after making ſo great a noiſe, could not think of deſiſting, without a ſeeming neceſſity; and, with this view, he muſt act in concert with the king of France. At the ſame time, Henry diſpatched ambaſſadors to the king of the Romans, and to Ferdinand, to ſummon them to take the field and enter France, purſuant to their treaty; but he knew they had neither power nor will, to perform their engagements. Maximilian had no army, and Ferdinand was now in treaty with Charles, for the reſtitution of Rouſſillon; and yet Henry, pretending ignorance, in theſe reſpects, in appearance, laid a great ſtreſs upon their aſſiſtance. In the beginning of Auguſt, he iſſued out orders, for the levying a great number of forces; and, on the 22d, of that month, he nominated commiſſioners to confer, at Caldſtream, with thoſe of Scotland; all which afforded him pretences, to delay his expedition. At length, tho' not till the 2d of October, he came to Dover, in

Henry makes new levies, and paſſes over to Calais. Act. Pub.

* It is ſaid, that biſhop Moreton, the chancellor, uſed this dilemma, in his inſtructions to the commiſſioners, which ſome called his fork, and others his crutch. "That, if they met with any that were ſparing, they ſhould tell them, "that they muſt needs have, becauſe they laid up; and, if they were ſpenders, they muſt needs have, becauſe it "was viſible, in their manner of living." Bacon.

order

1492. order to embarque, having conſtituted, by patent, his eldeſt ſon, Arthur prince of Wales, guardian of the realm; and ſuch of his courtiers, as were ſtrangers to his real intentions, could not forbear telling him, that it was very late to begin a campaign; but he replied, "That he "did not deſign to make a ſummer's buſineſs "of the war, and, therefore, it was inſignifi- "cant, when it began; and that he had Ca- "lais at his back, where he might winter, in "order to be ready to open the campaign, "early next ſpring." He arrived, the ſame day, at Calais; where his whole army, being aſſembled, amounted to 25000 foot, and 1600 horſe.

Before the embarquement, Henry received a letter from the marſhal Deſquerdes, offering a negotiation of peace, in England; but he judged it more proper, in order to ſalve appearances, to treat, in France. He was ſcarce landed, at Calais, when the ambaſſadors, ſent to the king of the Romans, arrived, who informed him, that Maximilian was altogether unprepared to enter France, according to his promiſe; which news was, immediately, publiſhed to the whole army; and, ſome days after, he received from his ambaſſadors, in Spain, letters that were alſo made publick, importing, that Ferdinand had concluded a peace with the king of France, in which he promiſed to reſtore Rouſſillon, without demanding the 300,000 crowns lent by Lewis XI. upon that country. Henry knew all this, before, but had ſo managed, that theſe advices came together, after his arrival in France, that it might appear he was conſtrained to the peace he intended to make; and, upon theſe advices, at which he ſeemed extremely ſurpriſed, he agreed, that Richard Fox, biſhop of Bath and Wells, and the lord D'aubeney, governor of Calais, ſhould hold a conference, at Eſtaples, with the marſhal Deſquerdes. However, he marched, the 15th of October, to beſiege Boulogne, and, in four days, appeared before the place; yet it muſt be remarked, that king Charles was then at Tours, and, tho' the martial preparations, in England, had been notorious, there was no army, in Picardy, to oppoſe the invaſion of the Engliſh; at leaſt, no ſuch thing is mentioned, in Hiſtory. This clearly proves, that all Henry's proceedings were concerted with the king of France, who was not ſo ill furniſhed with troops, but he could have ſent an army ſufficient to ſtop his progreſs; ſo that this pretended ſiege of Boulogne was only an artifice to diſcourage the Engliſh, that, by conſidering the difficulties of a ſiege, at ſuch a ſeaſon, they might the leſs wonder at a peace; and, at the end of eight days, Henry received, at the camp before Boulogne, the articles of peace agreed by the commiſſioners of both parties, with the conſent of the two monarchs, the ſubſtance of which was, as follows:

A remark on the king's conduct.

Articles agreed upon by the commiſſioners of the two kings. Act. Pub.

I. That the king of France ſhould pay the debt contracted by his queen, for the defence of Bretagne; which, according to the account of the Engliſh ambaſſadors, amounted to 620,000 crowns of gold, French money, or 124,000 l. ſterling.

II. That the king of France ſhould diſcharge to the king of England the arrears of the annual penſion of 50,000 crowns paid by Lewis XI. to Edward IV, amounting, in the whole, to 125,000 crowns, or 25,000l. ſterling.

III. That the king of France ſhould pay theſe two debts, at ſeveral times, viz. 50,000 livres, every year, each livre at 20 ſcutz, or crowns, and to be paid half-yearly, till the whole was diſcharged.

IV. Whereas, in the obligation of the ducheſs of Bretagne to the king of England, there was no ſum ſpecified, the king of England ſhould be obliged to prove his debt, before commiſſioners of Bretagne, or France, to be ſent to England, on that account.

V. That the two kings ſhould name ſuch of their allies, as they intended to include in the peace, who ſhould declare, within four months, whether they would be included, or not.

VI. That, provided the king of the Romans and the archduke Philip, his ſon, deſired to be included in the treaty, if afterwards the king of France ſhould, in any manner, invade their country, the king of England might lawfully aſſiſt them; but, if, on the contrary, they ſhould attack the king of France, the king of England ſhould give them no aſſiſtance.

VII. That, if the two kings conſented to theſe articles, they ſhould give each other hoſtages, till the treaty was drawn up and ſigned, in form.

Henry asks the opinion of his principal officers, who adviſe him to peace.

As theſe articles exactly correſponded with Henry's ſentiments, from the beginning of the war of Bretagne, doubtleſs, they were framed by himſelf, or his own ambaſſadors; and yet he would have them accounted propoſals from the French king, and pretended to queſtion, whether he ſhould accept, or reject them; wherefore, he called a council of all the lords and general officers, and ſent them the articles, with his orders to give him their real opinion. As this council, in all probability, was managed by ſome perſon of great credit, who was in the king's ſecret, all that were preſent unanimouſly agreed, that he ought to accept of the terms; and they inſerted their reaſons in a long memorial, under all their hands, which, omitting the exaggerations, were, as follow:

Their reaſons for ſo doing. Act. Pub.

I. The firſt reaſon was drawn from the length of the nights, the ſeverity of the weather, the want of proviſions, as they were to come, by ſea, the fear of diſtempers, and the like.

II. They inſiſted on the conſideration of the ſum offered, far exceeding any ever yet paid by France to the king's predeceſſors; and alſo on the apprehenſion of the murmurings the refuſal of a peace might occaſion, in England, and in the army.

III. They alledged the great benefit that would accrue, by the peace, to the king of the Romans and the archduke; the advantage they had already received, in the reſtitution of

1492. Sluice; and, laſtly, the fruits which the Engliſh merchants would reap, ſince the peace would ſecure their commerce with Flanders.

IV. They ſaid, that the king had honourably performed his engagements with his allies, in ſpite of the inſtances of his council, who ſollicited him to defer his expedition to a more convenient ſeaſon, and till his allies ſhould be prepared; that he had led his army into France, put himſelf in a condition to oppoſe alone all the enemy's forces, and expoſed his perſon to the greateſt dangers, at a juncture when his allies diſappointed him; and that, therefore, if the war was diſcontinued, he might very juſtly charge the blame upon them.

V. That the king was far from being in ſo good a ſituation, as Edward IV, when he conducted an army into France; for that monarch was joined by the duke of Burgundy, with all his forces, and by ſeveral French lords who were in his intereſt; and he was poſſeſſed of all the towns, as far as the Somme, and began the war, in the midſt of ſummer; but that, on the contrary, the king was not aided by any foreign troops: That, when he marched out of Calais, he entered the enemy's country, and was advanced to Boulogne; and that he had razed ſeveral places, as Ardres and Montory, and had ſtood, 24 days, ready for battle, defying the armies of France.

VI. That, very probably, the Engliſh would thank the king for a peace, which would put a period to taxes and exactions, and reſtore the publick tranquillity.

VII. They likewiſe added, that the reſtoring the archduke to his dominions would redound to the king's honour, and the nation's advantage, becauſe of their trade with his ſubjects.

VIII. They alledged, that, before the ſiege of Boulogne, it was believed to be a weak place and eaſy to be taken; whereas it was found to be well fortified, ſtrongly garriſoned, and plentifully ſtored with artillery and proviſions; wherefore, in all probability, if the king continued the ſiege, he would be compelled to raiſe it, with diſgrace, tho', by making a peace, he could retire with honour.

IX. They ſaid, that it was impracticable to continue the war, during the winter, without utterly deſtroying the army, which would extremely afflict the whole kingdom.

Remarks on theſe reaſons.

If theſe reaſons are never ſo ſlightly conſidered, they will appear to be all fallacious, except the article of the money; but, without canvaſing them too ſtrictly, I ſhall only obſerve, that, of all the inconveniencies mentioned by the officers, there was not one which was not obvious, and which the king did not actually foreſee; ſo that he could only blame himſelf, for beginning the campaign ſo late. All, in the 5th article concerning Edward IV, is evidently falſe; and, as to the murmurs of the people, which were pretended to be feared, if the king rejected the peace, it was, on the contrary, much more probable, that the nation would murmur to ſee the money, levied for a war with France, employed about a diſhonourable peace, advantageous only to the king; in a word, his cauſing this peace to be approved by the officers of his army evidently ſhewed, that he was himſelf convinced, how little it would redound to the advantage of England. 1492.

A treaty concluded at Eſtaples. Act. Pub.

Henry, feigning to be determined by theſe conſiderations to accept of the peace, the treaty was drawn up, in form, and ſigned, at Eſtaples, the 3d of November; and Charles ratified it, the 6th of that month; who was then at Tours, unconcerned at the ſeemingly threatened invaſion, tho' an Engliſh army, in France, had never failed to give his predeceſſors the greateſt uneaſineſs. It was peculiar to this treaty, that, tho' it was ſtiled a treaty of a peace, it was to laſt no longer, than the lives of the two kings; but the ſucceſſor of him, that died firſt, was to ratify it, within a year after his acceſſion to the crown; which, in my opinion, was an expedient deviſed to excuſe the ſilence concerning the kingdom of France, or, at leaſt, Guienne and Normandy, of which there was not the leaſt mention, tho' the war was proclaimed, ſolely upon that occaſion. In the interim, this treaty, which properly concerned only the payment of two debts, was to be approved and confirmed by the ſtates of France, and the parliament of England; which proves, that it was not conſidered, as a bare truce, and, indeed, it was called a treaty of peace; but, on the other hand, it is difficult to conceive, how a treaty, in which the principal difference was not ſettled, and which was to expire, upon the death of the two kings, could be accounted a treaty of peace; for nothing could more reſemble a truce. However this be, Henry was extremely ſollicitous to ſee, that king Charles ratified every article of the treaty, and eſpecially thoſe relating to the payment of the money; and Charles was, on his part, very punctual, in paying the 50,000 livres, every year, as was alſo Lewis XII, his ſucceſſor.

Reflections on the affairs of Bretagne.

Thus, ended the war of Bretagne, which had continued, ſince the year 1487; I ſay the war of Bretagne, becauſe that, I have been ſpeaking of, was only a conſequence of the other; and Henry reaped the intended benefit, namely large ſums of money which were not expended, in the ſervice of the publick. Firſt, he obtained of the parliament a tenth of all the perſonal eſtates of his ſubjects, of which he laid out no more than was neceſſary, for levying and ſupporting 6000 men, for eight months; but this expence was only advanced, the money being repaid him with intereſt; and we have ſeen, that he mounted his charges to 620,000 crowns of gold, a prodigious ſum, in thoſe days, when money was much ſcarcer, than at preſent. In the next place, he borrowed money, over all the whole kingdom, which, probably, was never repaid; and he had a ſubſidy, under the name of benevolence,

1492. nevolence, which amounted to a vaſt ſum, much exceeding what was ſufficient for the maintenance of his army, for two or three months. Laſtly, he received 125000 crowns, for the arrears of the penſion due to Edward IV; but, on the other hand, he ſuffered Bretagne to be loſt, to the irreparable prejudice of England, ſince her alliance with the duke of Bretagne gave her an advantage over France, which ſhe could never recover. Moreover, the recovery of the money, advanced for Bretagne, is to be aſcribed rather to his good fortune than policy; for he was entirely indebted for it to the king of France's deſign upon the kingdom of Naples, which induced him to purchaſe a treaty with England; for, otherwiſe, Henry would have found it a very hard task to recover his money, and who knows what might have been the iſſue, had he been forced to obtain it, by dint of ſword? However, the fruits Charles reaped, by this peace, were much more conſiderable; becauſe, for the penſion of 50,000 livres paid, a few years, and which he received with intereſt from Bretagne, he annexed that duchy to the crown of France, and deprived the Engliſh of their principal ally.

I have inſiſted the longer on the circumſtances of this affair, becauſe they perfectly diſcover the genius and character of Henry VII; who, ever greedy of money, and always conſulting his own intereſt, made an advantage, whether of war, or peace; and it was he that, by his policy, wholly bent to promote his ſelfiſh ends, gave the turn we have ſeen to the affairs of Bretagne.

A truce with Scotland.

The very day the peace of Eſtaples was ſigned, the ambaſſadors of England and Scotland concluded, at Caldſtream, a truce, from the 3d of November, this year, to the 30th of April, 1494.

Henry, having made a peace with France, purſuant to his own ſcheme, ſet out for London, where he arrived, the 17th of December.

On the 5th of November, the archduke's forces ſurpriſed Arras, which had been, fifteen years, in the poſſeſſion of the French; and, Philip refuſing to be included in the treaty of Eſtaples, the war continued, in Flanders, till the following year.

Columbus's firſt voyage.

In Auguſt, this year, Chriſtopher Columbus ſailed, the firſt time, from Cadiz, with king Ferdinand's licenſe, in queſt of the new world *.

1493. Henry imagined, that he ſhould, for the future, enjoy a peaceable reign; for there was not, among his ſubjects, the leaſt appearance of a revolt; and no prince, or princeſs, of the houſe of York was in a condition to give him any diſturbance. The earl of Warwick was ſtill a priſoner, in the tower; Edward IV's daughters were in his power; and there was not a lord of the York-party of ſufficient credit, to raiſe commotions in the kingdom. Beſides, he was in peace, or truce, with his neighbours; and, in the ſeven years and a half that he had ſat on the throne, he had, by his œconomy, accumulated ſuch large ſums of money, as none of his predeceſſors had ever been maſter of, at once; but yet this ſtate of proſperity was incapable of diſmaying his enemies; for whilſt he was entirely taken up with the affairs I have juſt related, the ducheſs dowager of Burgundy was labouring to raiſe him domeſtick troubles, ſo much the more dangerous, as they were not ſuſpected. This princeſs was not inſenſible, how well affected the Engliſh and Iriſh were to the houſe of York; and ſhe principally built her hopes of dethroning Henry upon their affection. Tho' Simnel's affair had miſcarried, ſhe did not aſcribe the ill ſucceſs ſo much to the project itſelf, as to the managers; moreover, Henry was expoſed to the hazard of a battle, which he might have loſt, and it was not impoſſible but he might be defeated, hereafter, if he ſhould be in the ſame ſituation; and, thus, ſhe did not deſpair of wreſting the crown from the houſe of Lancaſter, or rather of Tudor, after which, ſhe thought it would not be difficult to reſtore the houſe of York. 1493.

Since Simnel's misfortune, ſhe had inceſſantly ſpread a report, either by herſelf, or emiſſaries, that Richard, duke of York, ſecond ſon to Edward IV, having eſcaped the cruelty of his uncle, Richard III, was ſtill alive; and this ſhe did, to prepare the people to receive a ſecond phantom, who was to perſonate the young prince, her nephew, as Simnel had done the earl of Warwick. With this view, ſhe induſtriouſly ſought out for young lads, of the duke of York's age, fit for her purpoſe; and, at length, ſhe found one, in whom ſhe fancied to ſee all the qualities requiſite to repreſent that prince. His name was Perkin Warbeck, ſon to John Osbeck, a Jewiſh convert of Tournay, who had long lived at London; and Edward IV, having occaſion to know this Jew, and receive ſome ſervice from him, did him the honour to ſtand godfather to one of his children, and gave him the name of Peter, from whence was derived the diminutive Peterkin, or Perkin; but, ſome years after, Osbeck, returning into Flanders, placed young Perkin with one of his relations, at Antwerp, who kept him, ſome time. This boy was ſo handſome, and endowed with qualities ſo far ſurpaſſing his birth, that many ſuſpected him to be ſon to Edward IV; and, indeed, it was ſomewhat extraordinary, that Edward ſhould ſtand godfather to one of ſo mean extraction. Perkin, leaving Antwerp, lived in ſeveral towns of Flanders, and ſhifted his habitation ſo often, that, when Henry afterwards would have traced him, in order to learn the whole ſtory of his life, he found it extremely difficult; and, as Perkin generally converſed with the Engliſh ſettled in the Low-Countries, he was ſo perfect in the Engliſh

The hiſtory of Perkin. Bacon.

* Columbus was the ſon of a wooll-comber, and he himſelf followed that buſineſs, in his younger years; who ſet out from Port Palos de Moger, in Andaluzia, Auguſt 3, 1492, and landed at Guana-bay, one of the Lucay iſlands; and he returned to Port Palos, in May, the next year, and died, in 1506.

tongue,

1493. tongue, that he might eaſily paſs for an Engliſhman, eſpecially as he had ſpent his childhood, at London.

The ducheſs inſtructs him. Hall. Bacon.

This lad being mentioned to the ducheſs of Burgundy, ſhe cauſed him to be ſecretly brought to her palace; and, finding him proper for her purpoſe, ſhe took care to inſtruct him, with reſpect to the perſon he was to repreſent; from whence it may be preſumed, that Perkin was a youth of great wit and ſenſe, to enter into the ducheſs's deſigns, otherwiſe it would have been fruitleſs to give him inſtructions. She ſo frequently deſcribed Edward IV, his queen, prince Edward, their eldeſt ſon, and the princeſſes, their daughters, that, after ſeveral repetitions of her leſſion, he could talk very pertinently of the court of the king, his pretended father, at leaſt, as far as the duke of York could be ſuppoſed to have a knowledge of it; and the natural way he had acquired, of relating circumſtances fit for a child's memory, and certain particulars of Edward's court, induced the ducheſs to conclude, that he would not fail to gain credit, when he appeared in the world. Above all, ſhe took care thoroughly to teach him what he was to frame, whilſt in ſanctuary with the queen, and when taken from thence by the contrivance of Richard III, and particularly in the manner of his eſcaping from the executioners, who were ordered to murder him; which things might ſo much the eaſier be counterfeited, as few people could contradict them; and, beſides, ſhe taught him to aſſume the air and character of a well-bred prince. The youth was ſo apt a ſcholar, that ſhe was herſelf aſtoniſhed at it; for, in a ſhort time, Perkin contracted ſuch a habit of talking and acting, like a prince, that one would have ſworn he had been born ſo, and educated in a palace.

It is not known, when the ducheſs of Burgundy took Perkin home, to inſtruct him; but, in all probability, it was not long after the battle of Stoke, wherein the earl of Lincoln and Simnel were defeated. However that be, the affair of Bretagne leading that princeſs to think, that Henry would ſoon break with France, as himſelf would have had it believed, reſolved, that Perkin ſhould appear, as duke of York, ſo ſoon as the war was begun; and, in the interim, being very ſenſible that, if he appeared firſt, in Flanders, or in any town, in the Low-Countries, the world would not fail to ſuſpect her, ſhe ſent him into Portugal, where he lived in obſcurity, for a year; but, at length, in 1492, the war between England and France ſeeming unavoidable, ſhe diſpatched orders to Perkin, to repair into Ireland, where, probably, ſhe had already tampered with ſeveral perſons of diſtinction. Perkin, inſtantly, obeying, and arriving at Cork, ſtiled himſelf duke of York, ſon of Edward IV, in which he was countenanced by the mayor, who, it is likely, was concerned in the plot; and, a few days after, he wrote to the earls of Deſmond and Kildare, zealous adherents to the houſe of York, acquainting them with his arrival.

She ſends him to Portugal.

Henry was, then, employed in preparing for his expedition into France; and, as the ducheſs of Burgundy imagined he would depart, early in the ſpring, ſhe expected, that he would be involved in the war with France, by the time Perkin appeared in Ireland, in which ſhe was miſtaken; for the report, that the duke of York was come from Portugal into Ireland, occaſioned no alteration in Henry's meaſures, who apprehended it to be only a contrivance to divert him from his enterprize. However, preſently after, he heard, that the duke of York was gone from Ireland into France, which gave him the greateſt uneaſineſs; and, indeed, the news was but too well grounded. It happened, ſome time before, that one Frion, ſecretary to the king, for the French tongue, had withdrawn from court, and retred to Paris, where he was very kindly received; and this Frion, who followed king Charles's court, being informed that the duke of York was in Ireland, told that monarch of it, intimating, that he might make that affair turn to his advantage. Whatever were Charles's ſentiments of this pretender, he really believed, that, tho' he was an impoſtor, he might be uſeful to him, in making a peace with Henry; wherefore, he ſent Frion into Ireland, to invite him, in his name, to come to him, with aſſurance of his protection, and aid to recover the crown of his anceſtors. Perkin, receiving this invitation from a prince ſo great, and ſo able to aſſiſt him, departed, immediately; and, arriving in France, he waited on the king, who gave him a very gracious reception, treated him, as duke of York, lodged him in his palace, and aſſigned him a guard, under the pretence of doing him honour, but in reality to prevent his being ſeized, by order of the king of England. The courtiers, copying after their maſter, paid no leſs reſpect to Perkin, than if he had actually been duke of York; and, ſhortly after, above 100 Engliſhmen, diſcontented with Henry, repaired to Paris, with offers of their ſervice to the pretender; but the honours, Perkin received, at the court of France, were of a ſhort continuance. As ſoon as Charles had a fair proſpect of a peace, he diſmiſſed him, leſt the king of England, who now demanded him, ſhould make it one of the articles of the treaty; for, he was unwilling to be thought to ſurpriſe the young man, in order to deliver him up to his enemy; and on the other hand, he would not have the peace miſcarry, on his account.

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Charles VIII. ſends for Perkin to Paris.

Perkin conſidered his freedom, as a ſingular happineſs; ſince he was apprehenſive of worſe uſage, when he heard, that a peace was negotiating between the two kings. Having readily left the court of France, he retired into Flanders to the ducheſs of Burgundy, very induſtriouſly concealing that he had ever ſeen her before; and, at the firſt interview, Margaret, playing her part extremely well, treated him very roughly, and ſeemed much ſurpriſed, that, in her preſence, he ſhould preſume to ſtile himſelf duke of York. She openly ſaid, that, having been already deceived by a counterfeit

Perkin goes to the ducheſs of Burgundy. Bacon.

1493. counterfeit earl of Warwick, it would be more difficulr to impoſe on her, a ſecond time; and, therefore, ſhe adviſed him to withdraw, leſt he incurred the puniſhment due to his inſolence. Perkin did not ſeem, in the leaſt, concerned at theſe menaces; but, confeſſing that ſhe was in the right to doubt, he perſiſted in affirming, that he was the duke of York, her nephew. The ducheſs, feigning a deſire to prove him an impoſtor, asked him, before her whole court, certain queſtions, to which, ſhe knew, he could make pertinent anſwers; and, accordingly, he replied, in ſo natural and unaffected a manner, as to aſtoniſh the ducheſs. In a word, they acted their parts ſo well, that the ducheſs, pretending ſhe could not withſtand ſuch evident proofs, owned him, for her nephew, aſſigned him a guard of 30 halberdiers, and gave him the title of the white Roſe, the badge of the houſe of York; and Perkin, on his part, laboured to ſatisfy the world, that he was the real duke of York, by his natural way of relating the principal occurrences of his life. If, at any time, his diſmiſſion out of France was objected to him, he anſwered, with a ſigh, it was not very ſurpriſing, that a young prince, perſecuted by fortune, ſhould be ſacrificed to the policy of two potent monarchs; and that this very particular was a ſtrong argument in his favour, ſince the peace, between Charles and Henry, could only be eſtabliſhed upon his ruin. What Perkin ſaid, together with the ducheſs's publick approbation, convinced the whole court, that he was the true duke of York; and from thence the rumour ſpread over all the Low-Countries, and, at laſt, all Europe.

Many in England believe the duke of York to be alive. Hall. Bacon.

News being brought into England, about the beginning of 1493, that the duke of York was in Flanders, and acknowledged by the ducheſs of Burgundy, it was credited by an infinite number of people, ſome of whom diſliked the king, and others were greedy of novelty. Some implicitly followed their leaders; and others, of deſperote fortunes, were deſirous of a change in the government. The king was not generally beloved; and the loſs of Bretagne, his late treaty with the king of France, the uncivil uſage the queen and the whole houſe of York had met with, and did daily receive at his hands, and, laſtly, his unneceſſary taxes were but too apt to induce the people to wiſh the report to be true.

The king's conduct.

The king was aſtoniſhed to ſee, with what greedineſs the news was believed; and it made him ſenſible, that he was in great danger from the Yorkiſts, who were ready to embrace all opportunities, to promote his ruin. However, he appeared unconcerned, leſt his fears ſhould encourage his enemies; and, therefore, continuing to act, as uſual, he waited, till they more manifeſtly diſcovered their deſigns.

He ſends the garter to the duke of Calabria. Act. Pub.

In the beginning of March, Henry ſent the order of the garter to Alphonſo, duke of Calabria, eldeſt ſon to Ferdinand, king of Naples; who had been extremely deſirous of this honour, to inſinuate to the Italian princes, that he was under the king of England's protection; and to induce them to league with the king, his father, againſt Charles VIII, who was reſolved to undertake the conqueſt of the kingdom of Naples.

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A few days after, Henry concluded, at London, a treaty of perpetual peace and friendſhip with Ferdinand and Iſabella, king and queen of Caſtile and Arragon; which alliance was a mutual engagement to aſſiſt each other, on all occaſions. It was ſo far particular, as it did not extend to all the kings of England and Spain, without diſtinction, but only to all their ſucceſſors deſcending from them; and, in this treaty, the marriage-articles between prince Arthur and Catharine, daughter to Ferdinand and Iſabella, were confirmed and renewed.

He concludes a perpetual peace with Ferdinand and Iſabella. Act. Pub.

In the interim, the king's enemies, not content with embracing the report concerning the duke of York, laboured to form a plot, to dethrone him; for his avaricious temper had alienated ſeveral of the firmeſt adherents to his perſon and the houſe of Lancaſter; and William Stanley, lord chamberlain, brother to the earl of Derby, John Ratcliffe, the lord Fitz-Walter, Sir Robert Clifford, Sir Simon Montfort, Sir Thomas Thwaites, and William Barley, were the principal conſpirators. The lord chamberlain had greatly contributed to his victory of Boſworth, by declaring for him, in ſo critical a moment; and, tho' the king owned it, he thought him ſufficiently rewarded with the ſpoils of Boſworth-field, and the office of lord chamberlain; but Stanley was diſſatisfied, who thought it too mean a recompence for his ſervice. Sir Robert Clifford was ſon to him that murdered the young earl of Rutland, brother to Edward IV, at the battle of Wakefield; and who afterwards loſt his life, in fighting for the houſe of Lancaſter; but Henry, perhaps, had forgotten the conſtant attachment of that family to his houſe, and neglected to give him a ſhare in his favours. Clifford and Barley were deputed to go into Flanders, to concert meaſures with the ducheſs of Burgundy and the pretended duke of York, for the execution of their deſigns; and they were very civilly received by that princeſs, who conſidered it, as an auſpicious omen, that avowed enemies of her houſe ſhould be the firſt to offer their ſervice. Soon after their arrival, Clifford wrote to his friends, in England, that the duke of York, ſon to Edward IV, was in Flanders, and that he knew him perfectly well; which news inflamed the conſpirators, who, from that time, did all that wat poſſible, to promote the intereſt of the pretended duke of York.

A conſpiracy againſt the king. Bacon.

Whilſt the king's enemies were ſollicitous to create him troubles, he himſelf was no leſs intent upon deviſing means, to avert the impending ſtorm; and his main buſineſs was to undeceive the people. To ſucceed, in this, he had occaſion for two ſorts of proofs, it being neceſſary to ſhew, firſt, that the duke of York was dead; and, ſecondly, that, tho' he was alive, the perſon that borrowed his name, was an impoſtor.

Henry ſeeks to undeceive the people. Bacon.

To prove the duke of York's death, it was requiſite to produce the teſtimonies of thoſe,

1493. He orders the murderers of the duke of York to be examined. Bacon.

who had diſpatched him, or ſeen him dead, and who were only four, in all; viz. Sir James Tyrrel, ordered by Richard III. to take away that prince's life; John Dighton, employed by Tyrrel to commit the fact; Miles Foreſt, his ſervant, who aſſiſted him; and the prieſt who buried both the princes. Of theſe perſons, the prieſt and Foreſt were dead; ſo that there remained only Tyrrel and Dighton, who were apprehended by the king's order and impriſoned. After a private examination, it was given out, that they agreed in their depoſitions; namely, that Dighton and Foreſt ſmothered the two princes in their bed, and ſhewed their dead bodies to Tyrrel; and that the prieſt afterwards buried them, under a ſtair-caſe; but that, ſoon after, Richard ordered them to be removed, elſewhere, by the ſame prieſt who was ſince dead, without diſcovering where he laid them. However, it is likely, that Tyrrel's depoſition was not ſo favourable to the king's purpoſe, as Dighton's, ſince he was detained in priſon; whereas Dighton was enlarged, probably, that he might divulge his own evidence.

Objections againſt the depoſitions. Bacon.

The publication of theſe teſtimonies did not produce the effect expected; for what vertue could there be in a confeſſion, taken at a private examination, and publiſhed by him, whoſe intereſt it was to make it appear for his advantage? Beſides, the removal of the bodies from the place, where they were firſt interred, to another unknown, juſtly occaſioned violent ſuſpicions; for, were it not for this removal, nothing would have been more eaſy than to prove the death of the two princes, ſince the bodies would have been ſtill found, under the ſtair-caſe; and, therefore, people imagined, that the king, wanting ſuch a natural proof, had invented this removal. Moreover, the teſtimony of two villains, who confeſſed themſelves guilty of ſo black a crime, and whoſe evidence was ſo advantageous to the king, could not be very convincing; and, accordingly, the king, finding this method inſufficient to undeceive the people, made it his principal ſtudy to diſcover, who this impoſtor was, that pretended to be the duke of York.

The king ſends ſpies into Flanders.

To ſucceed in this deſign, he could think of no better expedient, than to bribe ſeveral perſons, who repaired to the counterfeit duke, under the pretence of offering him their ſervice; and he charged them to leave no method unattempted, to know, who and whence he was, and to trace him, from his nativity to the day he came to the ducheſs of Burgundy. He likewiſe ordered them to inquire ſtrictly after his correſpondents, in England, and narrowly watch every thing that paſſed about him; eſpecially he enjoined ſome of the moſt prudent, to ſpare no pains, or expence, to gain Sir Robert Clifford, much ſuſpecting him to be concerned in the ſecret. It is ſaid, that, in order to make diſcoveries, he bribed the ſervants, and even the very confeſſors of the great men he ſuſpected; and, to procure his ſpies, in Flanders, the greater credit, he uſed to have them pronounced excommunicate, every Sunday, at St. Paul's, by vertue of a bull of pope Innocent VIII. He was ſo effectually ſerved by theſe ſpies, that he ſoon found, that the pretended duke of York was no other than Perkin Warbeck; and he had a perfect information of his birth, life, actions, profeſſion, and of all the places he had lived at, from his childhood; which was inſtantly divulged, in all parts of the kingdom. However, as the particulars were publiſhed by the king, the principal party concerned, the generality of the people did not think themſelves obliged to believe him, upon his bare word; but their prejudice made them require more convincing proofs.

1493. He learns the whole ſtory of Perkin, and publiſhes it.

During theſe tranſactions, he was employed about two affairs, from which he wanted to be diſengaged, leſt any troubles ſhould ariſe in the kingdom, on account of the pretended duke of York. The firſt was, to make peace with Scotland; and the ſecond, to procure the pope's confirmation of the peace of Eſtaples, purſuant to his agreement with the king of France. With this view, he ſent ambaſſadors to Edinburgh and Rome; and the former concluded with king James a truce, from April the 30th, 1494, to that day ſeven years, 1501, upon the ſame terms with that of Caldſtream, which expired, the day that this was to commence. It appears from the ambaſſadors inſtructions, that he deſired to conclude a marriage, between the king of Scotland and Catharine, daughter to the counteſs of Wiltſhire, and grand-daughter to the duke of Somerſet; but this match was not propoſed, or, at leaſt, the negotiation did not prove ſucceſsful.

A ſeven years truce with Scotland. Jan. 25. Act. Pub.

As to the affair of Rome, the ambaſſadors petitioned pope Alexander VI, for a bull of excommunication againſt whichſoever of the two kings ſhould violate the treaty of Eſtaples; and the pope, owning it to be one of the articles of the treaty, anſwered, that he was ready to grant ſuch a bull, provided the king of France did not oppoſe it, an inſtrument of which he ordered to be given to the ambaſſadors.

He demands the pope's bull for the peace of Eſtaples.

The emperor Frederick dying, in Auguſt, this year, Maximilian, his ſon, king of the Romans, ſucceeded to the imperial throne.

The 21ſt of the ſaid month, John Moreton, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was made a cardinal of St. Anaſtaſius.

Moreton is made a cardinal.

Henry, having had a thorough information of every circumſtance relating to Perkin Warbeck, ſent ambaſſadors to the archduke Philip, to deſire him to deliver him up; repreſenting, "That it was contrary to the law of nations, "and the alliance they had made together, to "protect a counterfeit, who ſought to rob him "of the crown by an evident impoſture; that "he had an account of all the paſſages of Per-"kin's life, from his cradle, and offered to "produce authentick proofs of the cheat, as "well as of the death of the duke of York, "whoſe name Warbeck borrowed; and that, "as Perkin was only a theatrical king form-"ed by the ducheſs of Burgundy, he hoped "that the archduke would not ſcruple to ſur-"render him into his hands." Philip being ſtill a minor, his council told the ambaſſadors, "That

The king demands Warbeck of the archduke.

1493. "That the archduke's intent was, conſtantly "to maintain a good underſtanding with the "king of England; and, therefore, he would "give no manner of aid to the pretended "duke of York; but, as the ducheſs of Bur-"gundy was ſovereign, in the lands of her "dowry, the archduke could not meddle with "her affairs, or prevent her from doing what "ſhe judged expedient."

The treaty of Senlis between Charles VIII. and Philip.

Philip thought, that he had then the leſs reaſon to regard the king of England, as he had made a peace with Charles VIII, by a treaty concluded, at Senlis, the 23d of May; by which, Charles had reſtored to the archduke his ſiſter, Margaret, with the earldoms of Artois and Burgundy; yet he detained ſome towns, on promiſe to reſign them, as ſoon as Philip was of age.

A rupture between Henry and Philip. Hall.

The ambaſſadors brought Philip's anſwer to the king, and, at the ſame time, told him, that there was a colluſion between him and the ducheſs of Burgundy; and, upon this news, Henry broke off all commerce with the archduke, and baniſhed all the Flemings out of his kingdom. The archduke did the ſame by the Engliſh, in Flanders; but the animoſity between theſe two princes proceeded no farther, each fearing that he might, one day, want the other's aſſiſtance.

Henry wins Clifford, who betrays Warbeck's ſecrets.

In the interim, Henry, having, at length, gained Sir Robert Clifford, who was intruſted with Warbeck's and the ducheſs's ſecrets, received a perfect information of their correſpondents, in England; and, as it muſt, of courſe, be dangerous to ſuffer the evil to increaſe, he reſolved to apply proper remedies. With this view, he ordered to be arreſted, in one day, and almoſt at the ſame inſtant, John Ratcliffe, the lord Fitz-Walter, Sir Simon Montfort, Sir Thomas Thwaites, William D'Aubeney, Robert Ratcliffe, Thomas Creſſener, and Thomas Aſtwood; who were all convicted and condemned, for high-treaſon, in adhering to, and promiſing to aſſiſt the pretender. The lord Fitz-Walter was ſent priſoner to Calais, with ſome proſpect of obtaining a pardon; but, his impatience cauſing him to attempt his eſcape, he was diſcovered and beheaded. Sir Simon Montfort, Sir Robert Ratcliffe, and William D'Aubeney were executed, immediately after their condemnation; the reſt were pardoned; and thoſe, that were apprehended, on the ſame account, among whom were certain Dominican friars, and William Worſeley, dean of St. Paul's, were releaſed; but Sir William Stanley, lord chamberlain, whether he was not, as yet, accuſed, or the king was willing to ſtay for ſtronger proofs to convict him, was not touched, at that time.

Henry notifies to the king of France, that he would be included in the peace of Senlis.

On the 1ſt of November, Henry wrote to king Charles, deſiring to be included in the peace of Senlis, purſuant to the tenor of the treaty; and, the 17th of the ſaid month, he notified to him the ſame thing from Ferdinand, king of Naples, and Alphonſo, duke of Calabria, his ſon, who were expreſly included in the treaty of Senlis, on the part of the emperor and archduke; nevertheleſs, the king of France did not deſiſt from his deſign upon the kingdom of Naples.

1493.

1494. Henry takes care of Ireland.

England was extremely quiet, during the year 1494; for Perkin Warbeck ſtill continued in Flanders, without offering to ſtir, the execution of his adherents convincing him, that the king knew more of his affairs than he imagined. In the interim, Henry endeavoured, underhand, to learn more and more of the circumſtances of the conſpiracy, and what the ducheſs of Burgundy was contriving, in England and other places. In this, Sir Robert Clifford, whom he had gained, was very ſerviceable; who informed him, that Perkin had ſtill ſome dependence, in Ireland, and had written to the earls of Deſmond and Kildare, when he landed there from Portugal; which diſcovery led him to reſolve to take care of that iſland, that had been, hitherto, much neglected. With this view, he made Henry, his ſecond ſon, then only two years old, lieutenant or governor of Ireland; but he appointed, for deputy, Sir Edward Poynings, a man verſed in affairs, and employed in ſeveral ambaſſies; to whom he gave a very extenſive power, as well over the militia, as the civil government, that he might reduce the iſland to their allegiance.

Poynings, upon his arrival in Ireland, made a ſtrict inquiry after thoſe that were ſuſpected of diſaffection to the king; particularly, he vigorouſly attacked the earls of Deſmond and Kildare. The firſt took care to keep out of of the reach of the lord-deputy; but the earl of Kildare was ſent priſoner into England, tho' he was quickly ſent back by the king, with marks of friendſhip and eſteem. As he dreaded freſh commotions, in Ireland, where a rebellion, in his circumſtances, would have extremely embarraſſed him, he judged it expedient to prevent them by acts of grace, rather than ſeverity; and, therefore, he ſent a commiſſioner with a general pardon, in form, as well for the earl of Deſmond, as for all the Iriſh rebels, to ſtifle, if poſſible, all the ſeeds of rebellion in that iſland, where the houſe of York had but too many adherents.

Whilſt Poynings was in Ireland, he aſſembled a parliament, famous for the ſtatutes enacted to the advantage of the crown of England, and of the Engliſh ſettled in the iſland; and one of theſe ſtatutes, ſtill called Poyning's law, ran, that the parliament of Ireland ſhould not be convened, before the lord lieutenant and council had acquainted the king with the reaſons, and obtained the royal licenſe, under the great ſeal. It was likewiſe enacted, that all the ſtatutes of England, relating to the publick, ſhould take place, in Ireland; and both theſe ſtatutes are in force, to this day.

Henry exacts money by unlawful ways. Bacon.

Tho' Henry had given ſeveral proofs of his ſelfiſh temper, they might be varniſhed over; becauſe the ſecret ſprings of his policy were not, as yet, fully known; but the caſe was otherwiſe, with reſpect to his proceedings, this year, which manifeſtly diſcovered his natural diſpoſition; for, tho' he wanted the pretence of foreign affairs, he extorted large ſums from

1494. from private perſons, by forfeitures upon penal laws, on purpoſe to fill his coffers. This ſtep was the more diſpleaſing to the people, as they evidently perceived, that it flowed from his nature, ſince he had no occaſion to make uſe of ſuch extraordinary methods; for he was in peace with all the princes of Europe; and he had drawn from the parliament two very conſiderable ſubſidies, of which he had not expended a fourth part, and even that was repaid him with intereſt. Moreover, beſides ſeveral confiſcations, he received, every year, 50,000 livres of the king of France; and all this, added to the uſual revenues of the crown, which were no leſs than in the preceding reigns, ſeemed to enable him to eaſe, inſtead of oppreſſing his ſubjects with frivolous accuſations, to drain their purſes. The firſt he attacked, in this manner, was Sir William Capel, alderman of London, who was fined 2700 l. and forced to compound with the king, for 1600; and the archbiſhop of Canterbury was charged with being the projector of theſe means, to procure the king money; but, whether Henry's avarice daily increaſed, or the miniſters, who ſucceeded that prelate, were ſtill leſs ſcrupulous, the people had but too great cauſe to lament him, after his deceaſe.

Towards the end of this year, Henry gave a freſh inſtance of his avarice, which proved extremely injurious to his reputation, eſpecially as he endeavoured to cover it with the veil of juſtice; for, by ſecret advices from Sir Robert Clifford, he was informed, that Sir William Stanley, lord chamberlain, was one of Perkin Warbeck's adherents; and, tho' that lord had done him the greateſt ſervice imaginable, ſince he had gained him the victory, which raiſed him to the throne, he determined to ſacrifice him to his avarice, under the pretence of puniſhing his crime. I ſay, to his avarice, and not to juſtice, or revenge; for, if we may paſs a judgment, from his uſual conduct to the ſtate-criminals, of whom there was nothing to be got, he would, doubtleſs, have pardoned Stanley, had he not been rendered inexorable, by the deſire of confiſcating his eſtate.

To attain his ends, he ordered Clifford, ſtill in Flanders, to repair privately into England; and, upon the news of the informer's arrival, he removed to the tower, that the lords, who ſhould be accuſed, might be more conveniently arreſted. Clifford being ſecretly come to London, the king aſſembled the council, in the tower, and ſent for Sir Robert; who, falling down at his feet, implored his pardon, offering to declare whatever he knew of the conſpiracy; and the king, immediately, pardoned him, but on expreſs condition, that he ſhould conceal nothing of what was come to his knowledge. Upon this, Clifford impeached ſeveral perſons, and, among the reſt, the lord chambrelain; but, the king ſeeming extremely ſurpriſed, charged him to take care what he ſaid, ſince his life lay at ſtake, if the accuſation ſhould prove groundleſs. Clifford perſiſting, the lord Chamberlain was quickly apprehended; and, next day, he was examined by the council, where he confeſſed what was ſufficient to condemn him; but the ſignal ſervice he had done the king, and the intereſt of the earl of Derby, his brother, induced him to hope, that he ſhould meet with gentle treatment. However, two things rendered his crime unpardonable; firſt, his immenſe riches, which promiſed the king a plentiful confiſcation; and, ſecondly, his being accuſed, and, probably, convicted of ſaying to Clifford, in diſcourſing of Perkin Warbeck, "If he was ſure, that young man was king "Edward's ſon, he would never take up arms "againſt him." This was wounding the king, in the moſt tender part, ſince he, in effect, owned, that the houſe of York had a better title than that of Lancaſter; but, if this had been his only crime, it is a queſtion, whether the judges would have ſentenced him to death; ſo that he was, probably, convicted of acting more directly againſt the king, and holding intelligence with Warbeck and the ducheſs of Burgundy. All the favour, he could procure, was a delay of ſome weeks, to prepare for his fate, which he did not ſuffer, till the beginning of the following year; but, the king's rigour, on this occaſion, was, in appearance, exceſſive; for all the world imagined, that he would pardon a lord to whom he was ſo highly obliged, and who had even put it in his power to exerciſe acts of mercy, by placing him on the throne; moreover, he was brother to the earl of Derby, a zealous ſervant, and father-in-law to the king. 1494.

A great terror in England. Bacon.

The lord chamberlain's execution ſtruck a terror, all over the kingdom; who was condemned, for a crime of which moſt Engliſhmen were guilty, viz. preferring the title of York to that of Lancaſter; but they were ſtill more terrified, to perceive that the king had planted ſpies about that lord, to inſpect his conduct. As this might be every man's caſe, the great men were afraid of ſpeaking their ſentiments to one another, leſt thoſe, whom whom they thought their beſt friends, ſhould be the king's ſpies; but this reſtraint was, in ſome meaſure, made up by ſwarms of libels againſt the judges, the council, and even the king; which licenſe ſo diſpleaſed the king, that he took away the lives of five perſons, convicted of diſperſing theſe libels.

Richard Fox, biſhop of Bath and Wells, one of Henry's favourites, was tranſlated, this year, to the ſee of Durham.

Prince Henry, the king's ſecond ſon, two years old, was alſo, the ſame year, created duke of York.

A negotiation with Scotland.

Tho' a truce was concluded with Scotland, to the 30th of April, 1501, there ſtill remained ſome differences between the Engliſh and Scots, about certain lands on the borders of the two kingdoms, and the fiſhery of the river Eske; but Henry, continually dreading ſome domeſtick inſurrection, was extremely deſirous to have no diſputes with his neighbours; and, therefore, he had, in May, this year, moved, that the affairs between England and Scotland might be adjuſted. King James ſeeming

to

1494. to have the ſame inclination, they both ſent ambaſſadors to Caldſtream, to negotiate ſome expedient; and Richard Fox was at the head of the Engliſh ambaſſy; but, with all his addreſs, he could not end a conteſt, that, in all appearance, might eaſily be decided; which led Henry to ſuſpect, that the king of Scotland reſerved it, for an occaſion of quarrel, and to order the earl of Surrey to be upon his guard, in the north.

Charles VIII. undertakes the conqueſt of Naples. Commin.

Charles VIII. undertook, this year, the long projected conqueſt of the kingdom of Naples; but this affair is ſo notorious, that it is unneceſſary to relate the particulars; tho', at the ſame time, it is requiſite briefly to mention the riſe and principal events.

An abſtract of the ſucceſſion of the kingdom of Naples. Colien. Capac. Summ, &c.

The poſterity of Charles of Anjou, firſt king of Sicily, of the houſe of France, was divided into two branches; one of which reigned, in Naples, and the other, in Hungary. After ſeveral revolutions, the crown of Naples fell, at length, to Joan, the firſt of that name; but, in 1380, Charles de Durazzo, of the branch of Hungary, claiming the ſame crown, and repairing into Italy, attacked queen Joan, who, being preſſed by this enemy, adopted Lewis I, duke of Anjou, uncle to Charles VI, king of France; and, thenceforward, there was a continual war between the two houſes of Anjou. At laſt, Charles de Durazzo remained in poſſeſſion of Naples, and was ſucceeded by Ladiſlaus, his ſon; who, dying, in 1414, left the crown of Naples to Joan II, his ſiſter. In the interim, Lewis I, duke of Anjou, and Lewis II, his ſon, conſtantly ſtiled themſelves kings of Sicily, and maintained their pretenſions to Sicily, on this ſide the Pharo, or the kingdom of Naples; and Lewis II, who died, in 1417, left three ſons, viz. Lewis III, Rene, and Charles.

In 1421, Lewis III. led an army into Naples, to dethrone Joan II, who, to ſupport herſelf, adopted Alphonſo, king of Arragon; and Alphonſo, arriving in the kingdom of Naples, compelled Lewis III. to quit the country, and retire into France. Shortly after, upon a quarrel between Joan and Alphonſo, Joan, revoking his adoption, adopted the very Lewis of Anjou, that would have deprived her of the crown, and declared him her preſumptive heir and ſucceſſor; but Lewis died, without iſſue, in 1431; and Joan departed this life, the following year, having made a will, in favour of Rene of Anjou, brother to Lewis III.

Rene made ſome attempts to take poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Naples, but to no purpoſe; for Alphonſo, king of Arragon, kept the crown, till his death, in 1458; leaving the kingdom of Arragon to John, his legitimate ſon, and that of Naples to Ferdinand, his baſtard.

Mezerai. In 1474, Rene made a will, appointing for his heir Charles, earl of Maine, his nephew, ſon to Charles, his younger brother, to the prejudice of Violante, his daughter, ducheſs of Lorrain, and Rene, his grandſon, the duke of Lorrain.

Charles, earl of Maine, nephew and heir of king Rene, died, in 1481, leaving Lewis XI, king of France, his ſole heir; and by vertue of this will, Charles VIII, ſon to Lewis XI, pretended, that he had a right to the kingdom of Naples. 1494. The foundation of Charles VIII's claim.

If what has been ſaid be never ſo ſlightly conſieerhd, it will, doubtleſs, appear, that Charles's title to the kingdom of Naples was very diſputable; but, to determine this affair in a judicial way, it would have been neceſſary to examine two points of equal importance. Firſt, whether Joan II. could revoke the adoption of Alphonſo, king of Arragon, and adopt Lewis of Anjou, in his room. Indeed, the French hiſtorians alledge, that Alphonſo would have dethroned his benefactreſs, and, upon that ſuppoſition, the revocation ſeems to be juſt and reaſonable; but the Arragonians deny the fact, aſcribing it to Joan's levity, who was fickle and capricious. In the next place, ſuppoſing the houſe of Anjou's title better than that of the houſe of Arragon, it muſt have been examined, whether king Rene could ſet aſide Violante, his daughter, and her heirs, and give the kingdom of Naples to Charles, earl of Maine, his nephew. It could not be pretended, in favour of this will, that the kingdom of Naples was a maſculine fief, ſince the houſe of Anjou's title was derived from a daughter; ſo that Charles VIII. could lay no claim to that kingdom, only upon ſuppoſition that the laws decided theſe two points, in his behalf, which, to ſay no worſe, was very doubtful and precarious. Moreover, the houſe of Arragon had another title, founded upon a 60 years poſſeſſion; but what rendered this affair extremely intricate was, that the popes, as ſoverign lords of Naples, ſeemed to have decided it, in favour of the houſe of Anjou, by inveſting the princes of that houſe with this kingdom.

The cauſes of the war of Naples. Mezerai.

But it was not ſo much his title to the kingdom of Naples, that put Charles VIII. upon this conqueſt, as the juncture of time, and the ſituation of the affairs of Italy. Ferdinand, king of Naples, had two ſons; viz. Alphonſo, who was ſtiled duke of Calabria, and Frederick; and Alphonſo had a ſon, named Ferdinand, after his grandfather. Theſe Arragonian princes were not only deteſted, in Naples, but in the reſt of Italy; and, beſides, old king Ferdinand had baniſhed the prince of Salerno, with all the other heads of the Angevin faction. Theſe exiles excited Charles to undertake the conqueſt of Naples; but this alone would not have been ſufficient, had he not been encouraged by Ludovico Sforza, uncle to the duke of Milan. The occaſion was this:

The affairs of Milan. Bern. Corio. Hiſt. di Milan.

The duchy of Milan was paſſed from the family of Viſconti, to that of Sforza; Philippo Maria Viſconti, laſt duke of that houſe, having adopred Francis Sforza, who had eſpouſed Blanche, his only daughter.

Franciſco Sforza, becoming duke of Miſan, upon the deceaſe of his father-in-law, died, in 1466, leaving two ſons, Galeazzo, his ſucceſſor,

1494. ceſſor, and Ludovico, ſirnamed the Black; but, the former being aſſaſſinated, John Galeazzo, his ſon, ſucceeded him, under the guardianſhip of his mother, a woman infamous for her lewdneſs, and of Ludovico, his uncle. In proceſs of time, the young duke eſpouſed Iſabella, daughter to Alphonſo, duke of Calabria, eldeſt ſon to Ferdinand, king of Naples; but, John Galeazzo being a prince of a mean genius, Ludovico, his uncle, engroſſed the whole power, leaving to his nephew only the bare ducal title, without giving him much concern. However, Iſabella, his ducheſs, diſdaining to ſee the duke, her ſpouſe, without any authority, complained to the duke of Calabria, her father, of this ill uſage; and, ſoon after, the duke perſuaded Ferdinand, his father, to proclaim war againſt Ludovico, to compel him to reſign the government to his nephew.

To avoid this war, Ludovico excited Charles VIII. to undertake the conqueſt of Naples, by inſpiring him with hopes, that he would aſſiſt him, with all his forces; and he likewiſe deſigned to make uſe of Charles's aid, to become maſter of the duchy of Milan, and diſpoſſeſs John Galeazzo, his nephew. He had already taken ſome ſecret meaſures, with the emperor Maximilian, to whom he had given Blanche, his niece, in marriage, with a dowry of 400,000 crowns; and Maximilian had privately inveſted him with the duchy of Milan, for him and his heirs.

Upon the rumour of Charles VIII's preparations for the conqueſt of Naples, king Ferdinand offered him an annual tribute of 50,000 crowns; but the propoſal was rejected; and Ferdinand died, a little before Charles's expedition, being ſucceeded by Alphonſo, his eldeſt ſon.

The war of Naples, at firſt view, ſeems entirely foreign to the Hiſtory of England; yet, as it was the ſource and origin of many remarkable tranſactions, in Europe, in the next century, I judged it not improper to ſhew the occaſion; and, for the ſame reaſon, it is neceſſary to relate the principal events.

Charles's departure and journey to Rome. Commin.

Charles VIII, departing from Paris, in July, 1494, came to Aſti, in Piedmont, where he fell ſick of the ſmall-pox; and, this diſtemper detaining him, at Aſti, he could not proceed, till the 6th of October, to Turin, where he was obliged to borrow the ducheſs of Savoy's jewels, ſo preſſing was his want of money, to execute ſuch an important undertaking. Ludovico Sforza, who made haſte to meet him, accompanied him to Pavia, where they found duke John Galeazzo out of order, upon eating ſomething that his uncle, Ludovico, had cauſed to be given him; and, when they arrived at Placentia, they heard of John Galeazzo's death. Then Ludovico left the king, in order to take poſſeſſion of the duchy of Milan, tho' the late duke, his nephew, had left a ſon; and Ludovico, having obtained what he deſired, had not the ſame attachment for the king of France, as before; but, on the contrary, it was his ſole ſtudy how to expel him out of Italy, by a league of which he was the chief promoter. 1494.

In the interim, Charles, purſuing his march, entered the ſtate of Florence, and forced Peter de Medicis, the duke, to deliver him four of his beſt towns, and lend him money. He made his entry into the city of Florence, the 17th of November, and publiſhed his manifeſto concerning the war with Naples; then he took the rout to Rome; and all the places, in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, readily brought him their keys. Alexander VI, upon Charles's approach, required prince Ferdinand, ſon to the king of Naples, to depart from Rome, where he was received, ſome time before; and, on the other hand, Frederick, Alphonſo's brother, who was on the coaſt of Genoa, with a fleet, came to Naples, where things were in the utmoſt conſternation. Thus, Charles having paſſed through Italy, without the leaſt reſiſtance, entered Rome, the 28th of December, whilſt the pope, in a fright, ſhut himſelf up, in the caſtle of Angelo, for the ſecurity of his perſon; but it is, now, time to return to the affairs of England. 1495.

A precaution of Henry againſt Scotland. Act. Pub.

Henry, finding that the negotiation with Scotland went on very ſlowly, tho' he could not diſcover any viſible reaſon, was apprehenſive, that king James would take occaſion, from their differences about the fiſhery of the river Eske, to violate the truce; wherefore, not to be ſurpriſed, he ordered the earl of Surrey to levy troops, for the defence of the north, againſt the attempts of the Scots and Iriſh; but theſe attempts, which he pretended to fear, were only an excuſe to put himſelf in a ſtate of defence, in caſe he ſhould be attacked by the king of Scotland.

The duke of York is made governor of the north. Act. Pub.

Shortly after, he made the duke of York, his ſecond ſon, preſident of the northern marches, tho' he was only three years old, having made him, laſt year, lord lieutenant of Ireland; by which means, he kept in his own coffers the ſalaries of both theſe poſts, that muſt, otherwiſe, have been given to two ſeveral lords; for no prince ever better underſtood the art of husbanding his money, and making every thing turn to his advantage.

The ducheſs of York, mother to Edward IV. and Richard III. died, this year, in a very advanced age.

In July, Alexander VI. ſent into England a bull, impowering all the biſhops of the kingdom to abſolve the rebels, which, by Innoſent VIII's bull, was ſolely granted the archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Perkin's attempt upon the county of Kent miſcarries. Hall. Bacon.

Perk in Warbeck had not, as yet, made any attempt, in England, being ſenſible that the king was informed of all his correſpondents; but, as the ducheſs of Burgundy could not relinquiſh her hopes of gaining ſome advantage by the idol ſhe had formed, ſhe, at length, reſolved, to ſend him into England; judging it neceſſary to ſound the people's affection for the houſe of York, without waiting any longer for the aſſiſtance of the great men, who, being narrowly watched, were extremely cautious; and

1495. and ſhe likewiſe perceived, that, if the people ſeemed ready to riſe, there would be no want of great men, to ſupport and conduct them. She, therefore, having given orders to prepare ſome forces and ſhips, cauſed Perkin Warbeck to embarque, and make a deſcent, in the county of Kent; whilſt, in the interim, Henry, entirely ignorant of theſe preparations, in Flanders, took a progreſs to Yorkſhire, to viſit the counteſs, his mother; but, as the projected invaſion miſcarried, it was not doubted, that the king, being informed of the pretended duke of York's deſign, had taken that journey, on purpoſe to draw him into the ſnare, ſo perſuaded were people, that policy was the ſpring of all his actions.

Perkin, purſuant to the ducheſs of Burgundy's directions, arrived upon the coaſt of Kent, near Sandwich, and landed ſome men, to ſound the ſentiments of the inhabitants; and theſe troops greatly boaſted of the powerful armament the duke of York had made, in Flanders, pretending that the ſhips, in view, were but a ſmall part of the fleet which would ſoon appear; but the people, finding that theſe men were almoſt all foreigners, inſtead of joining them, conſulted the gentlemen of the county, to know how they ſhould behave; and it was reſolved, that they ſhould feign to be willing to aſſiſt Perkin, to allure him to land, and take him priſoner. Purſuant to this reſolution, they took up arms and appeared on the coaſt, making ſigns, to invite Perkin and his men to land; but Perkin and his counſellor, Frion, ſuſpecting the artifice, kept on board, expecting the return of ſome of their troops, to inform them of what paſſed, on ſhore; and, at laſt, the Kentiſhmen, perceiving that they could draw in no more, fell upon thoſe that were already landed, and cut them in pieces, except about 150, who, being taken alive, were all hanged, by Henry's order. Perkin, being an eye-witneſs to this tragical ſpectacle, weighed anchor and returned into Flanders; and the king, who was then on his progreſs, hearing of the deſcent, intended to turn back towards Kent; but, preſently after, receiving news of what was tranſacted, he proceeded on his journey, and ſpent ſome time with the counteſs, his mother, at the earl of Derby's houſe; with an intent to make a ſort of excuſe to that lord, for putting his brother to death, and alſo to give him a proof of the continuance of his favour.

A remarkable ſtatute. Bacon.

The 13th of October, the king aſſembled a parliament, in which, it was enacted, that no perſon ſhould be impeached or attainted, for aſſiſting the king, for the time being; but it is obvious, that the deſign of this act was to hinder a ſtrict examination of the king's title to the crown, ſince, whatever was the conſequence, thoſe that ſerved him would be always in ſafety. Indeed, the precedent he had himſelf given, in the condemnation of thoſe that carried arms for Richard III, muſt have rendered his friends apprehenſive of being in the ſame caſe, upon a like revolution; but the clauſe, in the body of the ſtatute, that, if, hereafter, any act of attainder ſhould paſs againſt ſuch, as aſſiſted the king, for the time being, it ſhould be of no force, was itſelf void and of no effect; for how could an act of the preſent limit the power of a future parliament, and cauſe an act, in its nature revocable, to be perpetually binding? In the mean while, this ſtatute, which ſeemed to be made, ſolely for the people's ſafety, was, in reality, only for the king's ſecurity; and it diſcovered Henry's diſquiet and uncertainty, with reſpect to his title. 1495.

An act was likewiſe paſſed, to oblige thoſe who had not paid their quota of the benevolence, to pay the arrears, by a limited time; which brought in large ſums to the king, the arrears of this tax being very conſiderable, becauſe, as the war with France was of a ſhort continuance, many perſons had declined to pay, either in full, or in part; and the Collection of the Publick Acts ſhews, that the archbiſhop of Canterbury was indebted, no leſs than 1500 l. ſterling.

Warbeck comes to Ireland.

Before the parliament broke up, the king received intelligence, that Perkin Warbeck was landed, in Ireland; and, as this muſt, of courſe, be with ſome evil deſign, he ordered, that the coaſts ſhould be diligently guarded, in order to oppoſe a deſcent, wherever it was made. It was but too true, that the ducheſs of Burgundy had ſent Perkin into Ireland, to raiſe a rebellion; and ſhe had ſecretly treated with the king of Scotland, who, probably, had engaged to aſſiſt him. It is generally believed, that the emperor, the archduke Philip, and the king of France, were alſo concerned in the plot; the two former, in revenge of Henry's prohibiting his ſubjects all commerce with the Low-Countries; and the other, to prevent his entering into a league, that was forming in Italy, to which he was ſtrenuouſly ſollicited; but, however that be, in all probability, James, in promiſing to eſpouſe the cauſe of the pretended duke of York, had been induced by ſome private view, or by the ſollicitations of ſome other prince.

He goes to Scotland, and king James marries him to one of his relations.

In the interim, ſince Poynings had been in Ireland, the affairs of that iſland were entirely altered; ſo that Perkin, not finding the country inclined to favour his deſigns, departed for Scotland, where, in all appearance, he knew he ſhould be kindly received. When he arrived at Edinburgh, he demanded an audience of the king, by the name of the duke of York; and, James pretending to be extremely ſurpriſed, gave him a ſolemn reception, in the preſence of the whole court. Perkin made a long ſpeech, recounting his fictitious adventures, and how he eſcaped the cruelty of Richard III; and then he inveighed againſt Henry Tudor, who had uſurped the crown of England, and unjuſtly detained it from the lawful heirs of Edward IV. He copiouſly inſiſted on the ſteps he had taken, to attempt the recovery of his kingdom; and he concluded with ſaying, that, ſeveral accidents having diſconcerted his meaſures, he was come to put himſelf under his protection, hoping that, aided by ſuch a generous prince, he ſhould expel the uſurper, and aſcend the throne

1495. throne of his anceſtors; and that, upon this, he ſhould always regard him, as a brother, and, on all occaſions, demonſtrate his gratitude.

James ſeemed to be touched with Perkin's misfortunes, and told him, that, whoſoever he was, he ſhould not repent of putting himſelf into his hands; yet he feigned to have ſtill ſome doubt, to ſhew that it was upon a mature examination, that he was convinced of the truth; and, ſhortly after, he publickly owned him, for duke of York, and gave him in marriage Catharine Gordon, daughter to the earl of Huntley, one of the handſomeſt and moſt accompliſhed ladies, in Scotland.

Henry projects to marry his daughter to the king of Scotland. Act. Pub.

Henry, whether he had received private advice of what was plotting againſt him, or it was purely the effect of his foreſight, ardently deſired to live in a good underſtanding with the king of Scotland; and, therefore, he had impowered his ambaſſadors, who were ordered to repair to Caldſtream, to treat of the marriage of Margaret, his eldeſt daughter, with that monarch. Indeed, this match was accompliſhed, ſome years after; but, in all likelihood, it was not mentioned, in this congreſs, the Engliſh ambaſſadors having, doubtleſs, perceived, that ſuch a propoſal would be, then, unſeaſonable.

The 28th of January, 1495, Charles VIII. departed from Rome, having received the ſtrongeſt towns of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, with cardinal Cæſar Borgia, natural ſon to pope Alexander VI, in hoſtage; but, whilſt he was on his march, the ambaſſador of Ferdinand, king of Spain, informed him, from his maſter, that, when he engaged not to moleſt him, in the conqueſt of Naples, he did not intend, that this conqueſt was to extend to all Italy; that, notwithſtanding, he ſaw him poſſeſſed of Florence, Piſa, and all the papal dominions; that, therefore, he declared, that he did not think himſelf obliged to obſerve their treaty; and, accordingly, the ambaſſador tore it in pieces, before his face; yet Charles, who was ſailing with a proſperous gale, made a jeſt of the ſe menaces, and purſued his march.

In the interim, Alphonſo, the new king of Naples, finding that he ſhould be attacked by a powerful king, who was now upon the borders of his dominions, was entirely diſcouraged; and, knowing he was not beloved by his ſubjects, he reſigned his crown to Ferdinand, his ſon, and retired to a monaſtery, where he died, this very year; but the new king, in order to defend his kingdom, advanced towards the frontiers, to endeavour to ſtop the king of France; yet he was ſuddenly deſerted by his own troops. In this extremity, he would have retired to Naples, but the gates were ſhut againſt him; and, in a word, he was forced to ſeek a retreat, in the little iſle of Iſchia, having firſt garriſoned the caſtles of his metropolis, where he could enter, without paſſing through the city.

In the mean while, Charles ſtill continued his march; and Triulzi, a Milaneſe, who was in the ſervice of the king of Naples, having ſurrendered Capua, all the reſt of the towns 1495. ſent him deputies, with offers of ſubmiſſion. At laſt, he entered Naples, the 22d of February; and, a few days after, he became maſter of the caſtles.

Such a torrent of ſucceſs ſo blinded the young monarch and his council, that they knew not how to take any proper meaſures, to ſecure this conqueſt; and, by degrees, the towns, that had ſubmitted, returned to their ſovereign; for his army, which was not very numerous, could not furniſh all places with garriſons; moreover, the French rendered themſelves ſo odious to the inhabitants of Naples, that they ſoon repented of their ſubmiſſion to them.

But what moſt embroiled the conqueror's affairs was a league formed againſt him by the pope, the emperor, the king of Spain, the archduke, the king of Naples, Ludovico Sforza, new duke of Milan, and the republick of Venice; and this league, which was to laſt, 25 years, was ſigned, the 25th of March, 1495, when the confederates began to aſſemble their forces. Bembo.

Charles now found, that it was time to think of his return; but he was reſolved, firſt, to make a triumphant entry into Naples; from whence he departed, the 20th of May, for France, leaving only a few troops to defend his conqueſt. However, the allies did not ſuffer him to retire, without oppoſition; for they expected him, upon his rout, with an army of 40,000 men, and poſted themſelves, at Fornova, to oppoſe his paſſage. Tho' Charles was much inferior, in number of troops, he determined to give them battle, being ſenſible that he muſt either conquer, or periſh; and the battle was fought, on the 6th of July; but the king of France defeated that formidable army, and, on the 15th of that month, arrived at Aſti.

The battle of Fornova.

Whilſt he marched through Italy, Naples again ſubmitted to Ferdinand; and almoſt all the towns, that were ſtill in the French intereſt, followed her example. The duke of Montpenſier, left by Charles, at Naples, with a few troops, retired to the caſtle of leOvo, where, after maintaining a ſiege of three months, he was, at laſt, conſtrained to capitulate; and, thus, Charles who had conquered the kingdom of Naples, in the ſpace of three weeks, loſt it, with the ſame rapidity. He afterwards formed ſeveral projects, to recover his conqueſt; but they proved abortive.

This year, the emperor Maximilian came into the Low-Countries, and reſigned the government to his ſon, Philip, tho' he ſtill wanted ſome years to be of age; and then, he returned into Germany; but Philip, being no longer under the emperor's guardianſhip, ſent, about the end of the year, ambaſſadors to Henry, to negotiate the renewal of the commerce between England and the Low-Countries.

The ambaſſadors eaſily ſucceeded, in their 1496. negotiation; for the renewal of the commerce, which they came to deſire, was no leſs neceſſary for the Engliſh than the Flemings; ſo that, on the the 24th of February 1496, was concluded,

1496. concluded, at London, a treaty of peace and perpetual friendſhip between Henry and Philip; and the trade between the nations was ſettled, to the ſatisfaction of both the parties.

Among the articles of this treaty, there were two eſpecially very remarkable; by the firſt of which, the two princes engaged to give neither aid, nor protection, to the rebellious ſubjects of either; and Philip, in particular, expreſly obliged himſelf to hinder the ducheſs dowager of Burgundy, from harbouring the king's rebellious ſubjects, in the lands ſhe poſſeſſed, by what title ſoever ſhe held them, whether of dowry, or otherwiſe; but, if ſhe acted, contrary to this prohibition, he promiſed to deprive her of all her poſſeſſions, in the Low-Countries.

By another article it was, in expreſs terms, agreed, that any veſſel, ſuffering ſhipwrack, on the coaſts of either of the two princes, ſhould not be liable to confiſcation, if there was left alive a man, woman, or child, a dog, a cat, or a cock.

The Flemings termed this treaty Intercurſus magnus, or the great Treaty of Commerce, not only on account of the great number of articles, but principally with reſpect to another, made afterwards; and which, not being ſo much to their advantage, was called Intercurſus malus, or the bad Treaty.

A patent to John Cabott. Act. Pub.

It appears from the Collection of the Publick Acts, that, March the 5th, this year, the king granted a patent to John Cabott, a Venetian, and to three of his ſons, to go in queſt of new lands, with Engliſh colours, on condition, that all charges being deducted, they ſhould give the king a fifth of the profit.

The king of Scotland and Warbeck's invaſion.

In the interim, the king of Scotland, not ſatisfied with affording the counterfeit duke of York a ſanctuary, in his dominions, likewiſe undertook to place him on the throne of England; for he was told, that, as ſoon as he appeared, in that kingdom, at the head of an army, all the Yorkiſts would riſe, in favour of the pretender. It was with this view, that, immediately after his arrival in England, he took care to diſperſe the pretended duke's proclamation, in which the king was called an uſurper, tyrant, and murderer; and, beſides, he promiſed all ſorts of favours to ſuch as would aid the lawful heir, to deſtroy him that unjuſtly detained the crown; but, notwithſtanding this proclamation, not a man offered to join the Scots. Indeed, Henry was deteſted, eſpecially in thoſe parts; but, as, ſince Perkin had aſſumed the title of duke of York, many were undeceived, and others in doubt, it was judged improper to hazard life and fortune, without a greater aſſurance, that it was really for a ſon of Edward IV. Moreover, the execution of the lord chamberlain ſo terrified all, that they deſpaired of the king's pardon; and, at length, James, finding that there was no room to expect, that the Engliſh would take up arms, for his duke of York, that he might not wholly loſe his labour, ravaged Northumberland, and acquired a great booty; but Perkin, pretending to be extremely moved with the calamities of the Engliſh, conjured that prince, before his whole court, to ſpare his miſerable ſubjects. This was a very artful device, to perſuade the publick, that he was no impoſtor; but James anſwered, with a ſmile, that he thought him very generous, to be ſo ſollicitous about what was none of his, in order to ſave it for the uſe of his enemy. In the interim, the news of, that an Engliſh army was advancing, made him reſolve to return into his own country, being unwilling to expoſe his great ſpoils to the hazard of a battle; ſo that this expedition, on which he founded ſuch raiſed expectations, ended only in the ruin of the people of Northumberland. 1496.

Charles VIII. cauſes the peace of Eſtaples to be confirmed by the ſtates. Act. Pub.

During theſe tranſactions, in England, Charles VIII, leſt Henry ſhould enter into the league of Italy, procured the peace of Eſtaples to be confirmed by the ſtates, purſuant to the treaty, which he had, hitherto, neglected, tho' it was ratified by the parliament of England, the preceding year; yet, not thinking it expedient to aſſemble the ſtates general, he cauſed the peace to be approved by the ſtates of each province, and, in all appearance, to Henry's ſatisfaction. We find, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, the approbations of the ſtates of Languedoc, Normandy, and ſeveral other provinces; and alſo of particular towns of little note, ſigned by great numbers of people of inferior rank and condition.

Tho' the king of Scotland's invaſion had proved abortive, he was ſtill apprehenſive of future attempts, that might be attended with dangerous conſequences; for he knew, that his ſubjects were diſpleaſed; that the Yorkiſts were very numerous; that Ireland was diſaffected; and that Perkin Warbeck was in Scotland ready to take advantage of theſe diſpoſitions. To guard againſt the danger, which might ariſe from all theſe quarters, he granted, firſt, a general pardon to all the Iriſh adherents of the pretended duke of York, leſt the dread of puniſhment ſhould induce them to revolt; ſecondly, he commiſſioned Richard Fox, biſhop of Durham, to try, as of himſelf, to negotiate, with the king of Scotland, a treaty of marriage between his eldeſt daughter, Margaret, and that monarch; and, laſtly, he ſent ambaſſadors to Ferdinand and Iſabella, to ratify his alliance with them, and ſecure, by freſh engagements, the marriage of Arthur, his eldeſt ſon, with Catharine, their third daughter.

He enters into the league of Italy.

Some time before, he diſpatched to Rome Robert Sherburn, who, in his name, entered into the league of Italy againſt Charles VIII; and, the 23d of September, he confirmed what his ambaſſador had done; by which he thought himſelf ſufficiently ſupported; for he had nothing to fear from the king of France, who was, elſewhere, employed, and he was allied to the moſt potent princes of Europe. As to the king of Scotland, he believed, that he could eaſily reſiſt him, in caſe of an attack; and, tho' he had juſt taken ſteps, to make peace with that

1496. prince, and had grounds to hope for ſucceſs, he determined to improve this opportunity to demand a ſubſidy of the parliament, as well to put himſelf in a poſture of defence, as to revenge the inſults of the Scots. With this view, he called a parliament, the 16th of January following; however, it was not difficult to foreſee, that the king of Scotland, being aſſiſted neither by France, the archduke, nor the ducheſs of Burgundy, would not alone undertake a war, for the ſake of Perkin Warbeck, tho' he was ſo blind, as to think him to be the real duke of York.

The marriage of the archduke with Jane of Arragon, and of Margaret of Auſtria with the prince of Spain.

In October, this year, Jane, ſecond daughter to Ferdinand and Iſabella, came into the Low-Countries, to marry the archduke Philip, to whom ſhe had been contracted; Iſabella, her eldeſt ſiſter, had been eſpouſed, in 1490, to Alphonſo, king of Portugal, who died, ſhortly after; and the ſhips, that brought Jane into the Low-Countries, carried Margaret of Auſtria, Philip's ſiſter, into Spain, to conſummate her marriage with prince John, heir apparent of Caſtile and Arragon.

1497. The parliament grants a ſubſidy for the Scotch war. Hollingſh.

The parliament meeting, the beginning of the year 1497, the king made a ſpeech to both houſes, highly aggravating the affront received from the king of Scotland; and he, very pathetically repreſented the calamities endured by his northern ſubjects, when the truce ſhould have ſecured them from ſuch provocations. In a word, he told them, that his honour, and the protection he owed his people, would not ſuffer him to paſs over theſe inſults, with impunity; and the parliament, apprehending his meaning, gave him a ſubſidy, after which, they were inſtantly diſſolved, as having been called, on purpoſe for that affair.

The king haſtens the levying the ſubſidy.

Tho' Henry expected much from his negotiation with the king of Scotland, he believed it neceſſary to prepare for war; for, without ſuch preparations, negotiations generally prove abortive. The levy of the ſubſidy granted by the parliament was the firſt and principal object of his care; and the neceſſity of a war with Scotland furniſhed him with a pretence to haſten that affair, from which he hoped the ſame advantage as from that of Bretagne; namely, to put the whole into his coffers. In order to this, it was requiſite, that it ſhould be entirely levied, before the concluſion of the treaty with Scotland, otherwiſe the people would pay their reſpective ſums, with reluctance; but, as the king ſet his heart upon this affair, he iſſued out very ſtrict orders to the commiſſioners, who were to collect the ſubſidy, in the ſeveral counties.

A rebellion in Cornwall.

The commiſſioners, proceeding with extreme rigour, in the county of Cornwall, met with unexpected oppoſition; for the Corniſhmen, being leſs tractable than the reſt of the Engliſh, made loud complaints, that, for ſome petty damage done to the other end of the kingdom, they were deprived of their neceſſary ſubſiſtence. Theſe murmurs were inflamed by Michael Joſeph, a farrier of Bodmin, and Thomas Flammock, a lawyer; the latter of whom affirmed, That ſubſidies ought not to be granted, or levied, for the war of Scotland, the law having provided for it by eſcuage; much leſs when the Scotch invaſion was made a pretence to fleece the whole nation; that it would be ſhameful to ſubmit to ſuch an oppreſſion, and all the miſchief entirely proceeded from the king's miniſters, who made their court, at the poor people's expence; that, to redreſs theſe grievances, it was expedient to take up arms, and, without injuring any perſon, to go and preſent a petition to the king, to beſeech him to deſiſt from this tax, and puniſh his evil counſellors, for a warning to others, how they gave him ſuch advice, for the future; and that a greater ſervice could not be done to the kingdom, than to free it from ſuch harpies, who ruined it, under the pretence of ſerving the king. Flammock chiefly ſtruck at Moreton, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Reginald Bray; who were generally the king's inſtruments, in affairs of this nature. 1497.

The rebels march towards London.

The people beginning to take fire, Flammock and Joſeph, offered to lead them, till ſome lord ſhould appear at their head; which they affirmed would ſoon be the caſe; and, indeed, the ſequel ſhewed, that they were countenanced by perſons of diſtinction. This was ſufficient to excite all the rabble of the country to an inſurrection; who, arming themſelves, in the beſt manner they could, marched under the conduct of theſe two incendiaries into Devonſhire, and from thence into Somerſetſhire; and the number of the rebels was daily augmented, by many of the inhabitants of the places where they paſſed, who had nothing to loſe, and were inflamed by Henry's ſecret enemies. At Taunton, they killed a commiſſioner, who had ſignaliſed himſelf by his rigour, in levying the ſubſidy; but this was all the miſchief they did, in their march. Then they proceeded to Wells, where the lord Audley, a nobleman of a turbulent and factious ſpirit, joined them, who was, immediately, accepted, as their general. Audley, heading the male-contents, led them directly to Saliſbury, and from thence to Wincheſter; not permitting them to commit any violence, and obliging them to reſt ſatisfied with a bare ſubſiſtence. When they arrived at Wincheſter, inſtead of marching to London, as was, at firſt, deſigned, they forced their commander to lead them into Kent; for Flammock, having aſſured them, that the people of that country were extremely fond of liberty, they imagined that they ſhould be re-inforced by them, in defence of the rights and privileges of the nation; but, coming there, they were greatly diſappointed. By the diligence of ſome Kentiſh lords, not a man would take up arms, in their favour; which ſo diſpirited many of the rebels, that they returned quietly to their own habitations. However, thoſe that remained, encouraged by the king's remiſſneſs, who had not, hitherto, moleſted them, inſolently boaſted, that they would give give him battle, or take London, before his face; wherefore, they encamped, between Greenwich and Eltham, within a few miles of London.

The

1497. The king's measures againſt the rebels.

The firſt news of this inſurrection gave the king the greateſt uneaſineſs; for a war with Scotland, a rebellion in England, and a pretender to the throne were affairs of the laſt importance, eſpecially as they came upon him, at once; and theſe objects were exceedingly magnified by his inward diſquiet, about the doubtfulneſs of his title to the crown. He was apprehenſive, that the Corniſh rebellion would introduce a general conſpiracy, of which Perkin was waiting the iſſue, in Scotland; but, fortunately for him, this rebellion broke out, at a juncture, when he had an army in readineſs, which was to march into the north, under the command of the lord D'aubeney. Upon the intelligence of this inſurrection, he kept his forces, about London, and contented himſelf with detaching the earl of Surrey, towards the borders of Scotland, to oppoſe king James, if he ſhould make a ſecond inroad into England; and, in the interim, the rebels traverſed the counties, without the leaſt oppoſition. This conduct ſurpriſed all the world, ſince it was his cuſtom ſpeedily to march to the place where there was any appearance of danger; but, on this occaſion, he acted otherwiſe, and for ſeveral reaſons. Firſt, he greatly rejoiced, that the rebels were ſo far from their homes, and harraſſed themſelves, with tedious marches; ſecondly, he did not apprehend any neceſſity to haſten his attacking them, ſince they committed no outrages; moreover, he could not find, that their numbers increaſed; but the principal reaſon of his ſlowneſs was, that he would ſee, if they had any correſpondents, in other countries, that he might divide his army, if neceſſary, or more ſpeedily relieve the weakeſt; and, in fine, age, and the continued enjoyment of a crown, had, doubtleſs, rendered him more averſe to encounter dangers; for any other way ſeemed to him leſs hazardous than a battle, on the preſent occaſion.

He reſolves to gives them battle. Hall. Bacon.

However, the rebels encamping, on Black-Heath, from whence they might have a proſpect of London, the king could no longer delay to oppoſe them; for he was afraid that it would be believed, that his coldneſs proceeded from fear, which might have produced very pernicious effects, among the people; yet, as he was much ſuperior to the rebels, both in number of troops and military knowledge, he determined to leave little to hazard or fortune. With this view, he divided his army into three bodies, the firſt of which, commanded by the earl of Oxford, was poſted behind the hill, where the rebels were encamped, to cut off their retreat, and, if neceſſary, to attack them, in the rear; and the ſecond, under the conduct of the lord D'aubeney, was ordered to charge them, in the front. The king, retaining the third, about his own perſon, encamped, in St. George's-Fields, that, in caſe of ill ſucceſs, he might be ready to renew the fight, or throw himſelf into London, to ſecure the city, as he ſhould judge expedient; and, beſides, he was ſo near, that he could ſuccour his people, during the battle.

Every thing anſwered the king's expectation; for the rebels were deceived by a report he had cauſed to be ſpread, that he reſolved to give them battle, on the Monday following; whereas he attacked them, on the Saturday, which he fancied to be the moſt fortunate of all the days of the week. As this attack was unexpected, they were ſo ſurpriſed, that they had ſcarce time to draw up; and, moreover, for want of intelligence, they ſuffered themſelves to be ſurrounded by the earl of Oxford, who, being poſted behind them, prevented their retreat; ſo that, of 6000 men, 2000 were ſlain, on the ſpot, and the reſt were forced to ſurrender, at diſcretion. The king, for once, only cauſed to be executed the lord Audley, Flammock, and the farrier *, who were taken alive; but he gave the priſoners to the captors, with leave to compound with them, for their ranſoms, as they ſhould think convenient. It is not improbable, that the moderation of the male-contents, in their march from Cornwall to London, tempered alſo the king's ſeverity; eſpecially as they had not aſſerted the title of the houſe of York, a crime he never could pardon; but, however that be, he was contented with theſe three victims, for the expiation of this great rebellion.

1497. The battle of Black-Heath, where the rebels are defeated. June 22.

Soon after the battle, the archduke's ambaſſadors ſigned, at London, articles of agreement; by which, in explaining the late treaty of commerce, the archduke deſiſted from the duty of a florin, that he before exacted, upon every piece of Engliſh cloth that was imported into his dominions.

A new treaty of the archduke. July 7. Act. Pub.

The 18th of July, Henry confirmed the marriage-articles between Arthur, his eldeſt ſon, and Catharine of Arragon; and this marriage, concluded in 1491, was ratified, the 1ſt of October, 1496.

About the ſame time, Charles VIII. ſent an ambaſſy into England, on purpoſe to confirm the treaty of Eſtaples, by the reparation of ſome outrages committed by both the parties.

Whilſt Henry was employed againſt the Corniſh rebels, king James, improving this advantage, made a ſecond irruption into England, and appeared before the caſtle of Norham; but, the earl of Surrey, then in Yorkſhire, poſting to its relief, he raiſed the ſiege and retired into his own kingdom. The earl of Surrey, not contented with expelling him out of England, purſued him into Scotland, and took the little town of Aton; but this war was, on ſeveral accounts, inconvenient to the king. Firſt, he could not carry it on, without expending all the money given by the parliament, which he would have gladly avoided; and, beſides, Perkin Warbeck making him uneaſy, he perceived, that it would be eaſier to remove him from Scotland by treaty, than by arms; yet he was deſirous, that the overtures of peace ſhould come from another, to prevent the diſgrace of a refuſal, if the king of Scotland ſhould reject the propoſal.

Whilſt he was in this perplexity, he apprehended, that Don Pedro d' Ayala, the Spaniſh ambaſſador,

Henry employs the Spaniſh ambaſſador to make peace with Scotland.

* He is ſaid to pleaſe himſelf with the notion, that he ſhould be famous, in ſucceeding ages. Hall.

1497. ambaſſador, would be a proper inſtrument, on the preſent occaſion; who readily undertook to go to king James, and propoſe, as of himſelf, an agreement with the king of England; and he pretended, that nothing could be more agreeable to king Ferdinand, his maſter, than to ſee the two kings, his friends and allies, live in peace and amity. This expedient anſwered Henry's expectation; for the ambaſſador found the king of Scotland ſo well diſpoſed, that he ſent word to the king, that, if he would enter into negotiation, he did not doubt of ſucceſs; upon which, the two kings, ſending their ambaſſadors to Aton, to negotiate a peace, Ayala performed the office of mediator. The greateſt difficulty, that occurred in this negotiation, was about Perkin Warbeck, whom Henry demanded, and James refuſed to deliver; and the biſhop of Durham, finding that he could not gain that point, propoſed an interview of the two kings, at Newcaſtle; but, when it was mentioned to the king of Scotland, he declared, that, tho' he greatly deſired peace, he would not go and beg it of his enemy. However, at length, it was mutually agreed, that the king of Scotland ſhould honourably diſmiſs the pretended duke of York, before the negotiation of a peace proceeded any farther, leſt he ſhould be thought to be conſtrained to it; and that, after this, they ſhould treat, as if Perkin had never been in that kingdom.

James ſends away Perkin to Ireland.

Purſuant to this agreement, James told the counterfeit duke, that he had done for him all that was poſſible; that he had twice entered England, at the head of an army, to try the diſpoſition of the Engliſh; but that, being diſappointed, there was no probability, that, with his forces alone, he could place him on the throne, and diſpoſſeſs a king ſo firmly eſtabliſhed; that his misfortune was ſolely occaſioned by the Engliſh refuſing to eſpouſe his quarrel, and his being abandoned by thoſe who had engaged him in the undertaking, whilſt the Scots expoſed their lives, for his ſake; and that, therefore, he adviſed him to ſeek his fortune, elſewhere; yet that he would make good what he promiſed him, at firſt, "That he ſhould not repent of putting him-"ſelf into his hands." Perkin, finding that the king of Scotland was reſolved to diſmiſs him, thanked him for the protection he had, hitherto, received from him, and for all his other favours; intreating him alſo to conveigh him into Ireland, with his wife, which the king, immediately, granted.

A truce of ſeven years between Scotland and England. Act. Pub.

Perkin Warbeck was no ſooner removed from Scotland, than all the obſtacles to a peace vaniſhed; and the ambaſſadors, aſſembled at Aton, ſigned a truce, for ſeven years, to commence, the 30th of September, the day of ſigning the treaty. It was expreſly agreed, that neither of the two kings ſhould make war upon the other, by himſelf, or ſubjects, or any other perſon, by which Perkin Warbeck was ſufficiently underſtood, tho' he was not named; and that certain points, not ſettled by the ambaſſadors, ſhould be referred to the deciſion of Ferdinand and Iſabella. This truce, limited to ſeven years, was afterwards prolonged, till 1497. a year after the deceaſe of the ſurvivor of the two monarchs; and, in fine, each of the two kings gave letters patent to the mediator, deſiring him to report to Ferdinand and Iſabella the differences not yet decided, and promiſing to ſtand to their determination. Theſe letters abounded with marks of eſteem and acknowledgement for the ambaſſador; and the two princes demonſtrated, how much they were pleaſed with his equity, wiſdom, impartiality, and the trouble he had ſo willingly undertaken. Nothing could be more honourable to Ayala, whom the Engliſh and Scotch writers term Hialas, or Elias, than the perfect confidence repoſed in him by theſe two princes; but yet it may be ſaid, that he had the good fortune, to find them equally inclined to a peace ſo neceſſary for both.

The firſt propoſal of the marriage of Margaret with the king of Scotland.

I obſerved, that, in 1495 and 1496, Henry commiſſioned his ambaſſadors to treat of a marriage, between Margaret, his daughter, and the king of Scotland; but we do not find, that this affair was taken notice of, in any of the former negotiations, or even in this laſt mentioned; yet it is highly probable, that Henry, who was deſirous of that marriage, inſinuated the propoſal, by the Spaniſh ambaſſador, who was in his intereſt and confidence. It was an extremely proper occaſion, ſince Ayala might make the overture, as from himſelf, without engaging Henry, in caſe of refuſal; and, tho' it proceeded no farther, at this time, we ſhall ſee preſently its happy effects, which gave birth to the union of the two kingdoms.

The death of the prince of Spain. Mayern.

In the beginning of the year, Margaret of Auſtria, ſiſter to the archduke, went into Spain to Don John, her husband; and the nuptials were celebrated, in a very ſolemn and magnificent manner; but, a few months after, Don John died, leaving the princeſs with child, who was delivered of a ſtill-born infant.

The marriage of Iſabella, his ſiſter, with the king of Portugal.

By the deceaſe of Don John, his ſiſter, Iſabella, widow to prince Alphonſo of Portugal, became preſumptive heir to the kingdoms of Caſtile and Arragon; but, ſince the death of the prince, her ſpouſe, ſhe was contracted to Don Manuel, new king of Portugal; who, hearing of Don John's ſickneſs, ſo preſſed his marriage, that it was conſummated, before that prince expired.

The affairs of France.

The preceding year, as was related, Charles VIII. loſt the kingdom of Naples; and, tho' the diviſions, among the Italian princes, ſeemed to invite him to this conqueſt, he could never reſolve upon it, having turned all his thoughts to love and pleaſure; yet he punctually paid Henry 25000 livres, every half year, purſuant to the treaty of Eſtaples, leſt he ſhould draw upon himſelf new troubles from England.

1498. After this treaty, there was no war, or difference, between France and England, during the reign of Henry VII; for the two monarchs ſtood in awe of each other. Charles, who, at firſt, had formed vaſt projects, found that the king of England was the only prince that

1498. that could lay obſtacles, in his way; and, afterwards, when he deſiſted from the war of Italy, to indulge his pleaſures, he was continually afraid, that a war with Henry would diſturb his tranquillity. Henry, on the other hand, dreaded all foreign wars, and particularly with France, on account of his domeſtick enemies; ſo that the two kings, having the ſame intereſt, lived in peace, till Charles's death, on the 6th of April, 1498; and the duke of Orleans, his ſucceſſor, by the name of Lewis XII, was no leſs ſollicitous to preſerve a good underſtanding with England. As his mind was ſolely intent upon Italy, it highly concerned him to keep fair with Henry, who might overthrow all his projects by a diverſion, in Picardy; and Lewis was no ſooner on the throne, than he cauſed his marriage with Jane, daughter to Lewis XI, to be annulled, in order to marry Ann of Bretagne, his predeceſſor's widow; or elſe he would have run the riſque of ſeeing Bretagne, once more, ſevered from France, and in the poſſeſſion of a foreign family.

The death of Charles VIII; Lewis ſucceeds him.

Freſh troubles in England.

Tho' Henry had nothing to fear from abroad, being in peace with all the princes of Europe, the caſe was different, with reſpect to his own ſubjects; for, before he could acquire that perfect tranquillity, he ſo ardently deſired, he was again attacked by the Corniſhmen; for Perkin Warbeck himſelf, having learnt to live, like a prince, could not think of returning to his primitive obſcurity, and, therefore, embraced this opportunity, to create new commotions.

An inſurrection in Cornwall.

The Corniſh rebels had been uſed more gently, than they could have reaſonably expected, conſidering the nature of their crime; for moſt of them had compounded, for two or three ſhillings a man, ſo extreme was their poverty; but theſe, being returned home, openly ſaid, that, if the king had treated them with lenity, it was not from a motive of clemency, but becauſe he perceived, that, if he puniſhed all that were of their party, he muſt hang up three parts in four of his ſubjects. Theſe diſcourſes inducing their friends and neighbours to believe, that the whole kingdom was ready to riſe, they, by flocking together, ſhewed, that they were not diſcouraged by the battle of Black-Heath; and, at laſt, ſome of the ring-leaders, hearing that Perkin Warbeck was in Ireland, propoſed to ſend for him, with an intent to place him at their head. The propoſal meeting with applauſe, they acquainted Warbeck, that, if he would come among them, he ſhould find a conſiderable aid; and that, with the aſſiſtance of other well affected Engliſhmen, they hoped to place him on the throne.

Perkin comes and heads them. Hall.

Perkin, having no refuge, in Ireland, nor any expectations from Scotland, France, or the Low-Countries, gladly accepted the invitation; and his counſellors were Hern, a broken mercer, Skelton, a taylor, and Aſtley, a ſcrivener, who told him, that he had committed an egregious error in relying upon the ducheſs of Burgundy, and the kings of France and Scotland, who, regardleſs of his, ſolely conſulted their own intereſts; that he had taken a wrong ſtep, when he landed, in Kent, which was too near London; but, if he had been ſo fortunate as to have been in Cornwall, when the Corniſhmen took up arms, he would have been already crowned, at Weſtminſter: That the Scots were improper inſtruments to put the crown on his head, becauſe they were not beloved by the Engliſh; but he muſt entirely depend upon the people of England, who alone were able to procure him the crown; and that, therefore, they adviſed him to repair into Cornwall, where he was expected. 1498.

Accordingly, Perkin embarqued for Cornwall, with no more than 70 men, in four ſmall veſſels, and arrived, in September, at Whitſand-bay; but he no ſooner landed his little troop, than he came to Bodmin, the farrier's town, who was executed, after the battle of Black-Heath; where, aſſembling about 3000 men, he publiſhed a proclamation, aſſuming the title of king of England, and the name of Richard IV. He very freely reproached and inveighed againſt Henry and his government, with magnificent promiſes to ſuch as ſhould take up arms, to dethrone the uſurper; and he formed a deſign to become maſter of Exeter, not only to make it ſerve for a magazine, but likewiſe for a retreat, in time of neceſſity. At firſt, he attempted to bribe the inhabitants, promiſing them the preſervation and augmentation of their privileges; but, finding this means to be ineffectual, he reſolved to ſtorm the city. As he wanted artillery, he was obliged to ſcale the walls, and, at the ſame time, endeavoured to fire one of the gates; but the attempt miſcarried, and he loſt 200 men, in the aſſault.

He aſſumes the title of king,

and beſieges Exeter. Bacon.

Henry, upon the news, that Perkin had joined the Corniſh rebels, and was before Exeter, merrily ſaid, "He hoped now to have "the honour to ſee him, which he could ne-"ver, as yet, obtain." He likewiſe intimated, that he ſhould receive, with pleaſure and gratitude, the ſervice of the nobility, on the preſent occaſion; upon which, ſeveral lords and gentlemen of Devonſhire, and the adjacent parts, not called from court, drew ſome forces together, and appeared in arms; and, on the other hand, the king ordered the lord D'aubeney, to march to the relief of Exeter, ſpreading a report of his following, in perſon, with a powerful army.

He flies to ſanctuary. Stow. Hollingſh.

Perkin, hearing of theſe preparations againſt him, raiſed the ſiege of Exeter, and retired to Taunton, where he prepared all things, as if he deſigned to fight; but, that very night, he fled to Bewley-monaſtery, in the New-Foreſt, where he and ſeveral of his company regiſtered themſelves, as ſanctuary-men; but the lord D'aubeney, being informed that Perkin had deſerted his army, detached 300 horſe to purſue him, and prevent his eſcaping, by ſea; yet, arriving too late at Bewley, they contented themſelves with ſurrounding the ſanctuary, till farther orders. In the interim, Perkin's troops, tho' augmented to 6000, wanting their head, ſubmitted to Henry's mercy, who pardoned them all, except a few ring-leaders, who were hanged, for

1498. an example. Presently after, he detached a party of horse to St. Michael's Mount, to bring away Perkin's wife who had retired thither, lest, if she was with child and escaped, this affair should not end, in the person of Perkin; but this virtuous lady, who entirely loved her husband, tho' unworthy of her, so attracted the king's favour, by her modesty, that he afforded her a very gracious reception. He comforted her himself, in the most affectionate terms, had her conducted to the queen, and assigned her an honourable allowance, which she enjoyed, during his life, and many years after; and she was called the white Rose, as well by reason of her beauty, as on account of the name given by the duchess of Burgundy to her husband.

The king goes to Exeter. Bacon.

Tho' Perkin was in a place, from whence he could not escape, the king went to Exeter, to inquire more strictly into the rise and origin of the rebellion; and, as he entered the city, taking his sword from his side, he gave it to the mayor, to be always carried before him, honouring, by that mark of distinction, the zeal shewn by the inhabitants for his service. On the morrow, he ordered some of the rebels to be hanged, as so many sacrifices to the inhabitants of Exeter, and as a sort of satisfaction for what they had suffered; but, as to the rest, who had submitted to his mercy, he, indeed, gave them their lives; tho' he appointed commissioners, to punish them by fines, proceeding, on this occasion, with so great severity, that one would have imagined, he repented of giving them their lives, and intended to starve the miserable wretches, after freeing them from the gallows.

Some of the rebels are executed, and others fined. Act. Pub.

Debates about Perkin. Hall.

After this, he advised with his council, how he should proceed, with respect to Perkin, who was still in his sanctuary; and some were for removing him, by force, and putting him to death, not, in the least, doubting, that, after the execution, the king might easily agree with the pope. Others were of opinion, that, pursuant to the license granted by Innocent VIII's bull, it was sufficient to have him narrowly watched; and that, unless it was absolutely necessary, such an advantage should not be given to his holiness; and, besides, that the king ought studiously to avoid being accounted a violater of sanctuaries, which his enemies would not fail to improve to his prejudice. In a word, some expresly told the king, that he could never satisfy the people, that Perkin Warbeck was an impostor, unless Warbeck himself voluntarily undeceived those that his artifices had seduced; and that, therefore, it was most advisable to engage him, by a pardon, freely to make a confession of his crime. The king, following this advice, sent to Perkin an offer of his life, provided he would voluntarily surrender himself; which he readily accepted, being so strictly watched and guarded, that he despaired to make his escape; moreover, if he could have escaped, he was destitute of all hopes, after the trial of so many different means had proved unsuccessful.

Soon after, Henry caused Perkin to be brought to court, as if he was entirely at liberty; but yet he was attended by several persons, who were commanded to take all possible care, to prevent his escape. Every one might see and discourse with him; but he could never obtain leave to throw himself at the king's feet, tho' the king, to gratify his curiosity, saw him, without being seen; and, after that, Perkin was conducted to London. He was, all the way, exposed to the insults and derision of the populace; but he seemed to bear all, with uncommon courage and constancy. He never acted the prince better, than at present, neither affecting too great an insensibility, nor discovering too much dejection; and, upon his arrival at London, he was made to ride, twice, through the city, that people might have time and opportunity to view him thoroughly, and then he was confined in the tower. A few days after, was executed one of his principal confidents, who, rather than take sanctuary with him, in Bewley, chose to wander about the country, in a hermit's habit*; and, this execution being over, Perkin Warbeck was secretly examined, and his confession published, giving a full account of all his actions, and the places where had lived, from the time of his nativity; but all were surprised to find no particulars of the conspiracy, or the authors. The duchess of Burgundy herself was not so much as named; from whence some were confirmed in the belief, that the person, termed Perkin Warbeck, was the real duke of York; being persuaded, that this affected silence was mysterious, and that the king durst not insert, in Perkin's pretended confession, any of the circumstances relating to foreign princes, lest he should be publickly contradicted by persons, who would not have for him the same regard as his own subjects; and, as to what was published about Perkin's life and kindred, nothing, as they said, was easier than to invent such stories. However, some believed, that the king's silence was the effect of complaisance to the king of France, the emperor, archduke, duchess of Burgundy, and king of Scotland; and that there were even English lords concerned in the plot, against whom he did not think fit to proceed.

1498. He is carried to London, and confined in the tower. Bacon.

The year 1498 ended with an accident, at which Henry was not a little concerned; for, whilst he was at his palace of Shene, a fire broke out, the 21st of December, with such violence, that, in a few hours, the buildings with all the rich furniture, was entirely consumed; but Henry, being extremely fond of that palace, caused it, soon after, to be rebuilt, from the ground, calling it Richmond; which name it retains, to this day.

Shene palace is burnt, and Richmond built. Bacon. Stow.

The same year, Isabella, queen of Portugal, was solemnly acknowledged heir apparent of Castile and Arragon, by the states of both these kingdoms; but, soon after, she died, in childbed, at Saragossa, having been delivered of a prince, named Michael, who was proclaimed presumptive successor to Ferdinand and Isabella.

The death of Isabella, queen of Portugal; Michael, her son, is heir of Spain.

* He was farrier to the king's stables, and accompanied Perkin, in his procession through the city, bound hand and foot upon a horse. Bacon.

Since

1498. Since Lewis XII's acceſſion to the throne of France, he had been employed in projecting how to recover the duchy of Milan, which he claimed, in right of Valentina of Milan, his grandmother.

1499. A quarrel between the Engliſh and Scots. The truce between England and Scotland being concluded, as was ſaid, to the ſatisfaction of both parties, the Scots familiarly converſed with their neighbours, the Engliſh; eſpecially with the inhabitants of Norham. This place, which was fortified with a ſtrong caſtle and an able garriſon, is ſituated on the little river Tweed, that parts the two kingdoms; and it happened, one day, that ſome Scotchmen, walking out of the town, ſtood looking attentively upon the caſtle; but, this creating ſuſpicion in the ſoldiers of the garriſon, they ſent them an order, to retire. The Scots, reſenting their being ſuſpected, returned an angry anſwer; and, in ſhort, falling from words to blows, ſome of them were ſlain. The affair, being brought before the wardens of the marches, was overlooked; ſo that, after many delays, the king of Scotland diſpatched ambaſſadors into England, to demand ſpeedy ſatisfaction. Henry, unwilling to quarrel with James, replied, that, tho' what had been done was a mere accident, and without his privity, he would readily make all convenient ſatisfaction, and, with that view, would ſend ambaſſadors to the king of Scotland. Buchanan and the lord Bacon, Henry VII's hiſtorian, affirm, that the firſt overture of the match, between king James and the princeſs Margaret, was made, during this negotiation; and that James himſelf propoſed it to Richard Fox, biſhop of Durham; whereas the Collection of the Publick Acts ſhews, that, above four years before, Henry had projected this marriage, and, probably, procured it, as I obſerved, by ſome indirect means, to be ſuggeſted to the king of Scotland. As the biſhop of Durham could not be ignorant of the king's intent, who had been twice commiſſioned to treat of this marriage, he took care to inſpire king James with hopes, that he ſhould be entirely ſatisfied with the reſult of this buſineſs; and, ſhortly after, the ambaſſadors of the two kings, meeting at Sterling, to decide the Norham-affair, renewed the former truce, adding certain articles, to prevent the like accidents; after which, Henry appointed the biſhop of Durham, to ſettle with the king of Scotland the articles of the intended marriage, tho' this affair was not finiſhed, till January, 1502.

Perkin Warbeck, accuſtomed to live, like a prince, was heartily tired of the tower, where, doubtleſs, he was treated in a different manner; and, tho', probably, the king had ordered him to be ſtrictly guarded, he found means to eſcape, and take the road into Kent, where he expected to find ſome ſhip to carry him out of the kingdom; but, hearing that orders were every-where ſent, to apprehend him, he fled for refuge to the monaſtery of Bethlehem, which enjoyed the privilege of a ſanctuary. The prior could not eaſily protect ſuch a perſon; and yet he could not reſolve either to ſet him at liberty, or violate the privilege of the houſe, in delivering him up to the king. In this perplexity, he choſe to wait upon the king; and, informing him that Perkin Warbeck was in his power, he petitioned for his life, leaving him, otherwiſe, to the diſcretion of the king. Henry evidently perceived, that it was impoſſible to draw Perkin out of the monaſtery, to put him to death, without raiſing a great clamour againſt him; and, therefore, pretending a profound reſpect for the prior, who was extremely reverenced, he granted the priſoner his life; but he ordered him to be ſet in the ſtocks, a whole day, in the palace-court, at Weſtminſter, and, next day, at the croſs in Cheapſide, from whence he was conveighed to the tower. Such a priſoner ſhould, naturally have been thrown into ſome dungeon; and yet his confinement was not the moſt rigorous, ſince he was allowed to converſe with the reſt of the priſoners. 1499.

After he had continued, ſome time, in this ſtate, he found means to gain four ſervants of Sir John Digby, lieutenant of the tower, with whom he conſpired to kill their maſter, ſeize the keys of the tower, and eſcape with the earl of Warwick, who had been alſo perſuaded to engage in the plot, in hopes of recovering his liberty, of which he had been ſo long unjuſtly deprived; but, unfortunately for them, the affair was diſcovered, before it could be put in execution. It was ſcarce doubted, that the king himſelf contrived this plot; and that his view, was to draw, at once, Perkin Warbeck and the earl of Warwick into the ſnare, in order to put them both to death. Indeed, ſeveral reaſons rendered it highly probable; for, firſt, it was extremely ſurpriſing, that Perkin was not more cloſely confined, ſince he had attempted to make his eſcape; ſecondly, it was unlikely, that, as he was in no condition to reward Sir John Digby's ſervants, they ſhould run ſuch a riſque, for his ſake; thirdly, Perkin was too cunning to join with the earl of Warwick, who would have hurted him only, if they had eſcaped; and, laſtly, if they had diſpatched the governor, without being diſcovered, and procured the keys of the tower, is it to be ſuppoſed, that the guards would have opened the gate, or ſuffered it to be opened, in the night, without either examining the perſons that went out, or the governor's expreſs order; but it farther confirms this ſuſpicion of the king, that, about the ſame time, a young man, one Wilford, a ſhoemaker's ſon, pretended to be the earl of Warwick. He was accompanied, or rather directed, by an Auguſtin friar, named Patrick, who preached publickly, in ſome town, in Kent, that Wilford was the earl of Warwick, and exhorted the people to take up arms, in his favour; but, tho' they were both apprehended, Wilford was hanged, and the friar pardoned; from whence it was believed, that Wilford had been ſeduced by the friar, and by the king's particular direction, that

1499. that he might have a plauſible pretence to take away his life, under colour of cauſing freſh commotions.

However this be, it is certain, that Henry reſolved to free himſelf, at once, from all the uneaſineſs occaſioned by Perkin Warbeck and the earl of Warwick; and, tho' it cannot be poſitively aſſerted, that he laid a ſnare for them, at leaſt, this plot afforded him a ſpecious pretence to deliver them over to juſtice. Perkin was condemned, by commiſſioners of Oyer and Terminer, to be hanged, and was executed with the mayor of Cork and his ſon, who had been his conſtant companions, in all his adventures; but, of eight others, condemned with them, among whom were Sir John Digby's four ſervants, only two were put to death. This was the fate of Perkin Warbeck, who had been owned, as a lawful king, in Ireland, France, Flanders, England, and Scotland, and made Henry ſhake in his throne; and, perhaps, he would have ſucceeded in his deſigns, had he been concerned with a leſs politick prince. However, it is certain, that the king took too little care to undeceive the publick; and that the proofs alledged to ſhew, that Perkin was an impoſtor, being taken only from a private examination, did not appear to be ſufficiently evident.

The earl of Warwick is condemned and beheaded.

A few days after Perkin's execution, the earl of Warwick was brought before the houſe of lords, the earl of Oxford exerciſing, by commiſſion, the office of high-ſteward; and he was arraigned, not for attempting to eſcape, which could not be made high-treaſon, ſince he was not impriſoned for any ſuch crime, nor even for any other, but for, jointly with Perkin Warbeck, conſpiring the death of the king. The poor prince, confeſſing that he conſented to the project laid by Perkin and Digby's ſervants, was condemned to loſe his head; and the ſentence was executed, on Towerhill *. He was the laſt male heir of the houſe of York, which, in reality, was the crime that coſt him his life, the king chuſing rather to ſacrifice his own reputation, than not ſecure the crown to himſelf and his heirs; and to leſſen, in ſome meaſure, people's horror of this cruelty, the king ſpread a report, that king Ferdinand had expreſly declared, that he would never marry his daughter, Catharine, to prince Arthur, whilſt the earl of Warwick was alive; a ſtrange apology, inſinuating, that the marriage of the princeſs of Spain was ſo neceſſary for England, that it muſt be purchaſed with blood! However, if this marriage was not requiſite for the ſtate, it was, at leaſt, very advantageous to the king, who was to receive 200,000 crowns of gold, for Catharine's dowry; which alone would have induced him to ſacrifice the earl of Warwick, if he had no other advantage by his death; and he had beheaded the lord chamberlain, from a like motive; but, in the interim, in all probability, what was publiſhed, concerning king Ferdinand, was a mere pretence to excuſe Henry, ſince Arthur's marriage with Catharine was celebrated, by proxy, the 19th of May, this very year, before the earl of Warwick's execution †. 1499.

The peace of Eſtaples is confirmed by the ſtates of France. Act. Pub.

Lewis XII. had ſolemnly ratified and ſworn to the peace of Eſtaples, a little after he aſcended the throne; but, being deſirous to convince Henry, that he really intended to obſerve it, he cauſed it to be approved and confirmed by the ſtates-general, aſſembled at Nantz, in the beginning of the year. Then he ſent ambaſſadors to the pope, to requeſt his confirmation of it; and his holineſs, ſeeing no farther obſtacle from France, iſſued out a bull of excommunication againſt whichſoever of the two kings ſhould violate the treaty.

Lewis had reaſon to deſire the preſervation of the peace, made by his predeceſſor with England; for he had projected to ſeize the duchy of Milan, and, with this view, entered into a league with the Venetians, who were to have, for their ſhare, all that part of the Milaneſe, ſituated beyond the Adda. This very year, the confederates attacked the duchy of Milan; and Ludovico Sforza, the moſt perfidious of men, being forſaken by all the world, was conſtrained to fly to the emperor, having loſt all his places, except the caſtle of Milan; Genoa, of which he was poſſeſſed, following the example of the Milaneſe, in voluntarily ſurrendering to the king of France.

The king of Naples is included in the peace of Eſtaples. Act. Pub.

Frederick, king of Naples, ſucceſſor to Ferdinand, his nephew, fearing that the preparations, in France, were intended againſt him, gave Henry ſpeedy intelligence, that he was deſirous to be included in the treaty he had lately renewed with France; but Lewis had no thoughts of attacking him, this year; for he reſerved the war of Naples, after the conqueſt of Milan.

1500. A jubilee furniſhes the pope with means to raiſe money. Hall.

Alexander VI, having publiſhed a jubilee, for the year 1500, the laſt of the century, had granted, by his bull, to all chriſtians at a diſtance from Rome, the privilege of the jubilee, without obliging them to viſit the churches of that city; but on condition they paid a certain ſum, for the favour. This was an infallible means to draw money from all the ſtates of Chriſtendom; and the commiſſioner appointed to levy it, in England, was Jaſper Pons, a Spaniard, who diſcreetly executed his commiſſion, without noiſe or ſcandal, and carried a conſiderable ſum to his maſter.

A Cruſade intended with the ſame view. Act. Pub.

Beſides, he was charged with another affair, which ſeemed of great importance; but, like the firſt, it only tended to fill the pope's coffers. He had orders to inform the king, that his holineſs reſolved to publiſh a Cruſade againſt the Turks; and that, therefore, it was agreed by the ambaſſadors of ſeveral po-

* He was 24 years old; and, having been a priſoner, 15 years, he was ſo kept from the company of men and beaſts, that he is ſaid not to know a gooſe from a capon.

† It is reported, that Catharine, upon Henry VIII's divorcing her, ſaid, "That ſhe had not offended; but it "was a judgment of God, for that her former marriage was made in blood." Meaning the earl of Warwick's. Bacon.

tentates,

1500. tentates, that the Hungarians, Polonians, and Bohemians ſhould make war upon the Turks, in Thrace; the French and Spaniards, in Greece; and himſelf, with the king of England, the Venetians, and the Italian princes, who were moſt powerful, at ſea, ſhould attack Conſtantinople: That, purſuant to this reſolution, he had ſent nuncio's to all the courts, to exhort the ſovereigns amicably to put an end to their private quarrels, that all the Chriſtian forces might be united together for ſuch a pious undertaking. Alexander VI. was too well known, to be thought to act, in this reſpect, from a motive of religion and zeal for the glory of God; and, conſequently, it was obvious, that the ſole intent of this Cruſade was to accumulate money by voluntary contributions, as well from private perſons as ſovereigns. However, Henry, unwilling to ſhew his diſlike of this project, which, probably, would be ſufficiently oppoſed, from other quarters, told the nuncio, "That no "prince, in all Chriſtendom, ſhould be more "zealous than himſelf, to promote this affair, "to the glory of God and the good of the "church; but as his dominions were ſo "remote from Conſtantinople, as he had no "gallies, and as his mariners were not ſuffi-"ciently acquainted with the Mediterranean "ſea, he judged it more proper, that the "kings of France and Spain ſhould accom-"pany his holineſs, by ſea; whereby, not "only all things would be ſooner ready, but "the jealouſy wiſely avoided, which would "infallibly ariſe between theſe two monarchs, "in caſe they ſhould march together, by "land, without a ſuperior: That, for his "part, he would freely contribute both men "and money towards the undertaking; but, "if the kings of France and Spain ſhould "refuſe to accompany the pope, he would go "himſelf and command under him, provided "all differences between the Chriſtian princes "were firſt appeaſed, which he would not "obſtruct, ſince he was in peace with all the "world, and ſome good towns, on the coaſt "of Italy, put into his hands, to ſerve for "retreat, in caſe of neceſſity."

The king's anſwer. Bacon.

Henry is choſen protector of the order of St. John. Act. Pub.

The pope evidently perceived the meaning of this anſwer; and, as, probably, the other princes would return the like, the Cruſade vaniſhed into air. In the interim, Henry, to diſplay his zeal, appointed ambaſſadors to go to Rome, to treat with his holineſs, about that affair; but it does not appear, that theſe ambaſſadors ever went from London; however, Henry's anſwer being publiſhed, the knights of Rhodes elected him, for protector of their order, believing there was no prince, in Chriſtendom, more zealous than himſelf for religion.

The plague having, for ſome time, raged, in England*, the king, after frequent removals, determined to go and make ſome ſtay, at Calais, with his family, till the danger was over; and, upon his arrival, the archduke Philip ſent ambaſſadors, to welcome him into thoſe parts, and expreſs'd his deſire of making him a viſit; but, at the ſame time, he intreated him to appoint, for their interview, ſome place that was not a fortified town; not that he, in the leaſtt ſuſpected him, but becauſe he had already refuſed to confer with the king of France, in a walled place. Henry, very civilly accepting this compliment, appointed the place at St. Peter's church, without the gates of Calais; and then he diſpatched ambaſſadors to Philip, to return his compliment, and acquaint him, that he expected his coming, with the utmoſt impatience. Some days after, being told that the archduke was near Calais, he rode out of the town, to receive him; and, when Philip ſaw him, he alighted and offered to hold the king's ſtirrup; but, Henry not permitting him, they embraced, after which, they had a long conference, at the place appointed. The archduke, to efface the impreſſion which his protection of Perkin might have made on the king, declared that he was ardently deſirous of living in friendſhip with him, calling him his patron and father; which is evident from the king's letter to the mayor of London, on that occaſion; and it is likewiſe ſaid, that overtures were made of croſs marriages between Henry, duke of York, the king's ſecond ſon, and Margaret, Philip's ſiſter, widow to the prince of Spain, and between Charles, ſon to Philip, and Mary, the king's ſecond daughter. Charles was born, the 24th of February, this year; and, prince Michael of Portugal dying, about the ſame time, he was become heir apparent of the crowns of Caſtile and Arragon.

An interview between Henry and the archduke. Bacon.

1500.

A bull upon the peace of Eſtaples. Act. Pub.

This year, the pope, at Lewis XII's own requeſt, granted a bull, pronouncing that prince excommunicate, if he failed in his payments contained in the treaty of Eſtaples.

A diſpenſation for the Scotch marriage. July 28. Act. Pub.

The Engliſh and Scotch ambaſſadors, at length, agreeing upon the terms of the marriage between king James and Margaret, the pope gave a diſpenſation; but, as the princeſs was only between 10 and 11 years old, it was not conſummated, till three years after.

The king inquires after Warbeck's adherents. Act. Pub.

As Henry was now in peace with all the princes of Europe, and there was no appearance of any commotions, in his kingdom, he could not have any pretence to demand of his parliament new ſubſidies; but, this way of raiſing money, which he ſo greedily deſired, failing him, he deviſed other infallible methods. Perkin Warbeck's affair was a plentiful fountain, which was not yet exhauſted; and the commiſſion he had eſtabliſhed, whilſt at Exeter, properly regarded only ſuch as had actually taken up arms againſt him; but, tho' that commiſſion had brought him in very large ſums, he was not contented. Under colour, that thoſe, who had, in any manner, adhered to Warbeck's party, were ſtill expoſed to the ſeverity of the law, he was willing to grant them a pardon, unasked; but then it was on condition, that they paid the fines impoſed on them; and, with this view, he appointed new commiſſioners, to inquire after thoſe that aſſiſted Michael, the farrier, author of the firſt Corniſh rebellion, and Perkin Warbeck, the impoſtor, impowering them to pardon the

* No leſs than 30,000 died of it, in London. Hall, Stow.

1500. guilty, upon their paying fines, at the commiſſioners diſcretion; ordering alſo the eſtates of ſuch as were deceaſed to be ſeized and ſold, if the heirs refuſed to make a reaſonable compoſition. From hence it is manifeſt, that, if the king had ſpared the rebels, during the troubles, it was only becauſe he was afraid of driving them to deſpair, whilſt they were yet heated; ſince he treated them with rigour, as ſoon as he believed them to be no longer dangerous.

The death of cardinal Moreton. Hall. Stow.

Cardinal Moreton, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was conſidered, as the author of theſe oppreſſions; but it afterwards appeared, that they ſprung from the king himſelf. The archbiſhop died, the latter end of this, or the beginning of the next year, little lamented by the Engliſh, who were extremely prejudiced againſt him; and Henry Dean, biſhop of Saliſbury, ſucceeded him, tho' he had not poſſeſſion, till the Auguſt following; but, before we conclude this year, it will be neceſſary briefly to relate what paſſed, in Italy.

Lewis XII. and Ferdinand ſhare the kingdom of Naples. Mezerai.

Lewis XII, being maſter of the duchy of Milan, applied his thoughts to the conqueſt of Naples; and, tho', probably, he might alone have ſubdued that kingdom, he made an alliance with the king of Arragon, by which they engaged to join their forces, and ſhare the conqueſt; for Ferdinand was to have Apulia and Calabria, and Lewis the city of Naples, Abruzzo, and Terra di Lavaro. Upon the ſigning of this treaty, Ferdinand ſent an army into Italy, under the conduct of the famous Gonzolvo, commonly ſtiled the great captain; and Lewis gave the command of his army to d' Aubigni, the earl of Gaiazzo, and Cæſar Borgia, the pope's baſtard, who, having relinquiſhed the cardinalate, was become duke of Valentinois; but the French fleet was commanded by Philip of Cleves, lord Ravenſtein. In a very ſhort ſpace, each of the two monarchs conquered the portion aſſigned him by the treaty; and the unfortunate Frederick, king of Naples, was obliged to caſt himſelf upon the mercy of Lewis XII, who ſent him to reſide, in France, with a penſion of 30,000 crowns.

1501. Henry, having no war with any of his neighbours, lived in profound tranquillity; and the more, as he ſaw, in England, no lord in a condition to create him any diſturbance. The ability he had diſcovered, in ſeveral affairs, as well foreign as domeſtick, which had unexpectedly happened, kept his neighbours in awe, and his ſubjects in obedience; ſo that he could perceive nothing capable of interrupting his quiet; and yet, in the interim, when he leaſt expected it, he imagined, tho' without a cauſe, that a new ſtorm was gathering againſt him. The earl of Suffolk *, nephew to Edward IV. and Richard III, and brother to the earl of Lincoln, ſlain at Stokefield, quarrelling with a man, had the misfortune to kill him; which accident might have given the king a pretence to free himſelf from the earl, of courſe, odious to him, ſince he was, by his mother, of the houſe of York; however, whether the action, in itſelf, was not criminal, or for ſome other reaſon, the king was pleaſed to forgive him, provided he publickly pleaded his pardon. The earl, more offended at this diſgrace, than grateful for the favour he received, ſhortly after, retired into Flanders, to his aunt, the ducheſs of Burgundy; but Henry was ſtartled at his retreat, fearing that he went into the Low-Countries, to contrive ſome plot againſt him; for his conſtant uneaſineſs, with reſpect to his crown, made him apprehenſive, that the leaſt beginnings would be attended with fatal conſequences; wherefore, that the earl might not have leiſure to concert new projects with the ducheſs of Burgundy, he prevailed on him, by meſſages, to return into England, where he was very readily pardoned. The ducheſs of Burgundy, being advanced in years, was tired with ſo many fruitleſs attempts to dethrone Henry; and, beſides, ſhe had no proſpect of any farther aſſiſtance from the archduke, who was willing to live in amity with him.

1501.

The earl of Suffolk withdraws into Flanders. Bacon.

Several marriages.

This year abounded in marriages, and projects of marriages of conſequence. The archduke going into Spain, by land, had an opportunity to confer with Lewis XII, and conclude with him a marriage between his ſon Charles with Claude, eldeſt daugher to that monarch.

On the other hand, Margaret of Auſtria, the archduke's ſiſter, and widow to the prince of Spain, married Philibert, duke of Savoy.

The marriage of Arthur with Catharine is conſummated.

In fine, Catharine of Arragon, daughter to Ferdinand and Iſabella, arriving in England, in October, her nuptials with Arthur, prince of Wales, were ſolemnized, the 14th of November; and, tho' the prince was only in the 16th year of his age, the conſummation of the marriage was not called in queſtion. The prince himſelf, next morning, ſaid ſeveral things, which left no room to doubt it; and yet there were afterwards very warm conteſts about it, Catharine, or her council, affirming that there was no conſummation; but it is not yet time to treat about this point.

A diſpenſation is granted to Thomas Wolſey. Act. Pub.

Thomas Wolſey, afterwards archbiſhop of York and cardinal, who made ſo great a figure, in England, was now rector of the pariſh-church of Lymington, in the dioceſs of Bath and Wells; and the Collection of the Publick Acts ſhews, that, in November, this year, the pope, on account of his diſtinguiſhed merit, granted him a diſpenſation to hold two benefices, otherwiſe, inconſiſtent.

1502. The laſt agreements about Margaret's marriage with James IV.

Tho' the diſpenſation for the king of Scotland's marriage was come, Henry delayed to finiſh that affair, becauſe of his daughter's tender age; but, at length, the princeſs being entered upon her 13th year, the 29th of November, 1501, James ſent ambaſſadors to London, where every thing relating to this match was ſettled, and the contract drawn, in form, the 24th of January, 1502. Henry gave with his daughter 30,000 angel nobles of

* Edmund de la Pole, ſon to Eliſabeth, Edward's eldeſt ſiſter, by John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, her ſecond husband.

gold,

1502. gold, each noble worth 20 groſſes, or groats, payable in three years; and James ſettled on the princeſs, his ſpouſe, a jointure of 2000l. ſterling a year, in land, of which, however, he was to receive the income, during his life, and allow her only 1000l. per annum, at her own diſpoſal. It was farther agreed, that ſhe might have 24 Engliſh ſervants, and, as one died, appoint another in his room; that the marriage ſhould be performed, per verba de Præſenti, about the feaſt of Purification; but the king of Scotland ſhould not have Margaret in his hands, till September the 1ſt, 1503; and that, then, Henry ſhould cauſe her to be conducted, at his own expence, to the borders of the two kingdoms. Before this contract was ſigned, a privy-counſellor repreſented to the king, that it was poſſible this marriage might, one day, give England a Scotch ſovereign; but Henry replied, that, if this ſhould be the caſe, the ſtrongeſt would carry it from the weakeſt, and Scotland be annexed to England, and not England to Scotland, which fell out accordingly.

Two treaties between England and Scotland. Act. Pub.

The ſame day, two other treaties were alſo ſigned; one of perpetual peace and alliance between Scotland and England, and the other about the outrages that might be committed, on both ſides, contrary to the peace.

The death of prince Arthur.

Whilſt the court rejoiced, for the marriage of the queen of Scotland, prince Arthur, her brother, was ſeized with a diſtemper that laid him in his grave. He died, the 2d of April, about five months after his marriage, and in the 17th year of his age; but, as the princeſs, his widow, might be with child, the king deferred, for two or three months, to create Henry, his ſecond ſon, prince of Wales. The lord Bacon affirms, that Henry was not made prince of Wales, till February, 1503; but there are, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, letters patent of the 22d of June, 1502, in which he is ſtiled prince of Wales; a convincing evidence, that he was now inveſted with that principality.

Shortly after, Henry received an ambaſſy from the emperor Maximilian, to propoſe a league againſt the Turks, tho' this was properly no more than a pretence to demand of the king an aid of money, which the emperor promiſed punctually to repay; but the king, knowing Maximilian to be always in want, choſe rather to make him a preſent of 10,000l. than to lend him the ſum he deſired. As to the league propoſed by the emperor, Henry would not engage in it, contenting himſelf with ſtipulating, that the 10,000l. ſhould be expended in the war againſt the Infidels; yet he concluded with him a treaty of commerce,

Treaties between the emperor and Henry. Act. Pub.

and another of friendſhip, wich was to laſt, one year after the death of the ſurvivor. It was likewiſe agreed, that Maximilian, and his ſon, the archduke, ſhould be admitted into the order of the Garter, and Henry into that of the Golden-fleece; purſuant to which agreement, Henry ſent ambaſſadors to Maximilian, with the order of the Garter, and to ſee him ſwear to the treaties.

* He was a ſieve-maker's ſon. Bacon.

About this time, Ladiſlaus, king of Hungary, being preſſed by the Turks, and deſirous of the aid of the Chriſtian princes, Henry ſent ambaſſadors, to treat with him; but they were only impowered to promiſe, in his name, a ſum of money to be employed againſt the Infidels. 1502. An ambaſſy to Hungary. Act. Pub.

During the remainder of the year, nothing remarkable paſſed, in England; for James and Henry were entirely taken up with ratifying their three late treaties, and ſwearing to obſerve them. It appears from the Collection of the Publick Acts, that, the king of England's ambaſſadors having delivered to king James a writing, containing the oath he was to take, he, reading it, as it was, inadvertently, gave Henry the title of king of France; but, afterwards perceiving his error, he publickly took another oath, in which the words, "and of France," were omitted, making that his authentick act; for he was, doubtleſs, apprehenſive, that the king of France would be diſpleaſed with his giving Henry the title, tho' it was of little importance. A confirmation of the treaty between England and Scotland. Act. Pub.

We alſo find, in the Collection, that, on the 9th of December, Henry granted a patent to James Elliot and Thomas Aſhurſt, merchants of Briſtol, and to John Gonſalez and Francis Fernandez, natives of Portugal, to go, with Engliſh colours, in queſt of unknown countries, upon certain terms expreſſed in the patent. A patent for diſcovering new lands. Act. Pub.

1503. Eliſabeth, Henry's queen, died, the 11th of February, 1503, not much lamented by the king, who never loved her, and had given her ſenſible mortifications; for his hatred to the houſe of York was extended to his own wife, eſpecially as he always conſidered her, as a dangerous rival; and his confining the queen, her mother, in a convent, and confiſcating all her eſtate, were evident proofs of the ſmall intereſt ſhe had in his affections. The death of the queen.

The king oppreſſes his ſubjects by Empſon and Dudley.

The king's affairs were, now, ſo proſperous, that he ſeemed to poſſeſs all he could deſire; for he was in peace with all the princes of Europe, and without domeſtick commotions, or the appearance of any thing to diſturb or embarraſs him; but, unhappily for his ſubjects, his avarice was ſtill as inſatiable, as before, and he continually projected new ways to accumulate riches, which he did not want, ſince it was not to uſe them, and no prince was ever a greater œconomiſt than himſelf. His inſtruments, for this purpoſe, were Sir Richard Empſon and Edmund Dudley, two infamous perſons, who, regardleſs of their own and their maſter's reputation, made it their ſole ſtudy to gratify his humour, and deviſe new means, to fill his coffers; the latter of whom was of a good family, well ſkilled in the laws of the land, and able to varniſh the moſt deteſtable actions; but Empſon was of a very mean extraction *, extremely impudent, and ſo little aſhamed of his unjuſt proceedings, that he gloried in them; and theſe are the methods they uſed, to extort money from the people, for the king's treaſury, beſides numberleſs others too tedious to be recited. Their character.

In

1503. In the firſt place, they cauſed ſuch as were reputed rich, to be indicted of ſeveral crimes; and, when the bills were found by the grand-jury, they committed them, without bringing them to their trial, till, of themſelves, they deſired to compound with the king; but, if they delayed too long, the miniſters took care to terrify them by emiſſaries, who made them believe, that their lives were in danger. Thus, the parties were forced, at length, to come to a compoſition, which deprived them of the beſt part of their eſtates; and yet the miniſters termed theſe mitigations, as if the king had done them a favour, in allaying the exceſſive rigour of the law.

2. They proceeded, at laſt, ſo far that, without obſerving any form of juſtice, they iſſued out their precepts, to attach and cite people before themſelves, at their own private houſes, in a court of commiſſion; where, after a ſummary examination, without proofs or witneſs, they paſſed ſentence, and condemned them, in large fines, to the uſe of the king. Thus, without vouchſafing to make uſe of juries, and the methods preſcribed by the law, they aſſumed themſelves a power to give judgment, as well in civil controverſies, as in pleas of the crown; and one would have imagined, that all criminal cauſes had belonged to that kind of juriſdiction, which, tho' it had been extremely rare, in the preceding reigns, was grown common, in this.

3. They charged the ſubjects lands with tenures in Capite, by finding falſe offices, refuſing, upon ſeveral pretences and delays, to admit people to traverſe them, according to law; from whence they formed a variety of proceſſes, of which they alone were the judges, that were always decided, in favour of the crown.

4. When the king's wards had attained to their full age, they could never have livery of their lands, without paying exorbitant fines, contrary to the expreſs tenor of Magna Charta.

5. If men were out-lawed, in perſonal actions, the miniſters would not ſuffer them to purchaſe their charters of pardon, unleſs they paid intolerable ſums; inſiſting on the rigour of the law, which, upon out-lawries, gives forfeiture of goods; nay, againſt all law and colour of reaſon, they maintained, that the king had a right to the half of men's lands and rents, during two whole years.

6. They would alſo menace the jurors, and oblige them to find, as they ſhould direct; and, upon their refuſing to act ſo unjuſtly, they were cited, impriſoned, and fined.

It is unneceſſary to relate any more of their courſes; ſince theſe, already mentioned, are ſufficient to prove, that men of this character did not ſcruple to commit the greateſt enormities, provided it was for the king's advantage; tho', in this, leſs blameable than the king himſelf, who permitted them to abuſe his name and authority.

A remarkable inſtance of the king's rigour.

We do not find, in the life of this monarch, that he ever exerciſed one act of grace, as to fines or confiſcations; for he was always inflexible, even with reſpect to his moſt faithful ſervants; and his hiſtorian takes notice of a very remarkable particular, which manifeſtly diſcovers this prince's character. Of all the lords of the kingdom, he repoſed moſt confidence in the earl of Oxford, who, had, indeed, done him the greateſt ſervices, both in war and in peace; but, one day, the king went to viſit him, at his caſtle at Henningham, and was entertained with the utmoſt magnificence. When the king was ready to depart, he ſaw a great number of men, dreſſed in rich liveries, and ranged, on both ſides, to make him a lane; for the earl, it ſeems, had forgotten that it was prohibited by ſeveral acts of parliament, to give liveries to any except menial ſervants; but the king, who remembered it, turning to the earl, ſaid, "My "lord, I have heard much of your magni-"ficence and hoſpitality; but I find they ex-"ceed all report. Theſe handſome gentle-"men and yeomen I ſee, on both ſides of "me, are, ſure, your menial ſervants." The earl, not apprehending the king's deſign, ſmiled, and anſwered, that he did not keep ſo many domeſticks; but theſe people were only his retainers, who came to ſerve him, on ſuch extraordinary occaſions. The king, ſtartling a little, replied, "By my faith, my "lord, I thank you for your good chear; but "I muſt not ſuffer to have my laws broken, "before my face. My attorney muſt talk "with you." The hiſtorian adds, that this treſpaſs coſt the earl, 15000 marks. 1503.

The ſame author affirms, that he had ſeen a book of accounts of Empſon's, with the king's hand almoſt to every leaf, by way of ſigning; and it was alſo, in ſome places, poſtilled in the margin, with the ſame hand, where, among many others, were the following memorandum:

"Item, received of ſuch a one five marks, "for the pardon to be procured; and, if the "pardon do not paſs, the money to be repaid, "execept the party be, ſome other way, ſa-"tisfied." And, over-againſt this memorandum of the king's own hand, was written by him, in the margin, "Otherways ſatisfied." He was unwilling to pardon the man; and yet he could not think of reſtoring the five marks; which plainly ſhews, that he did not overlook inconſiderable profits.

The earl of Suffolk's conſpiracy. Hall. Bacon.

It may be naturally preſumed, that the conduct of the king and miniſtry created great diſcontent and murmurs, among the people; nay the nobility, meeting with no better quarter, than thoſe of the loweſt rank, groaned under the oppreſſion of Empſon and Dudley, two leaches, who ſpared neither friend, nor foe. The earl of Suffolk, whom the king had lately pardoned, imagined, that theſe diſcontents would raiſe, in the end, ſome violent ſtorm againſt the king, if the people were headed by a perſon of diſtinction; and, as he was of the houſe of York, by his mother, he believed, that they would not fail to declare for him; wherefore, he perſuaded ſeveral lords and gentlemen to promiſe to ſupport him, at a proper juncture, and then retired into Flanders,

1503. Flanders, from whence he made his friends expect a powerful aid, by means of the ducheſs of Burgundy.

Henry diſcovers his ſecrets. Bacon.

The king, ſurpriſed at the earl of Suffolk's retreat, did not doubt, that he had formed ſome plot, in England, before his departure, and had his accomplices; and, to be fully informed, he thought, that it was moſt adviſable to recur to the arts he had uſed, with reſpect to Perkin Warbeck; and, with this view, he ſent orders to Sir Robert Curſon, governor of the caſtle of Hammes near Calais, whom he knew to be fit for his purpoſe, and entirely devoted to his intereſt. Accordingly, Curſon, relinquiſhing his government, under the pretence of ſome affront deſignedly put upon him by the king, came to the earl of Suffolk, with offers of his ſervice; and he acted his part ſo well, that the earl imparted to him all his ſecrets; by which means, the king found that William Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, eſpouſed to Catharine, Edward IV's daughter, William de la Pole, brother to the earl of Suffolk, Sir James Tyrrel, Sir John Windham, and ſeveral other meaner perſons engaged in the conſpiracy. They were all apprehended in one day; but, probably, for want of ſufficient evidence againſt the two firſt, the king was ſatisfied with detaining them in priſon; which afforded occaſion to think, that they were innocent, and that the king made uſe of their pretended crime, as a handle to ſecure them, becauſe their relation to the houſe of York gave him uneaſineſs. As for Tyrrel, againſt whom the blood of Edward V. and the duke of York cried for vengeance, he was beheaded, with Windham, his accomplice; and the reſt of inferior condition were puniſhed, as traytors.

The king uſes an extraordinary method to deceive him. Hall.

In the interim, Henry, in order to be better informed of Suffolk's ſecrets, took care to preſerve Curſon's credit, by an extraordinary method; cauſing Innocent VIII's bull of excommunication to be publiſhed, at Paul's-croſs, againſt all perſons that ſhould moleſt him in the poſſeſſion of the throne, and particularly againſt the earl of Suffolk and Sir Robert Curſon. When he had learned all the earl's ſecrets, he returned into England, where he was graciouſly received by the king; but the people, viewing him with horror, loaded him with curſes. The earl of Suffolk, confounded by Curſon's flight, roved about, for ſome time, in Germany; and, at length, he returned into Flanders, where the archduke, notwithſtanding his treaties with Henry, took him into his protection.

A project of marriage between the princeſs of Wales and prince Henry.

The king being ſenſible that the earl had not, in England, a party able to ſupport him, ſeemed to be no longer uneaſy; but another affair did not a little perplex him; for he had now received 100,000 crowns of gold, in part of the portion of the princeſs of Wales, his daughter-in-law, Arthur's widow. As that prince died, without iſſue, he muſt either ſend back the widow to Spain, and, of courſe, return the 100,000 crowns; or, if he kept her, in England, give her the third part of the principality of Wales; which was ſettled upon her; but both were equally diſagreeable to a prince of Henry's temper. However, he could not diſpenſe with either, without breaking with Ferdinand, which did not ſuit with his preſent circumſtances; for, indeed, the deference paid him by all the other princes, and particularly by the French king, was properly the reſult of his ſtrict alliance with the Spaniſh monarch. In this perplexity, he thought of a very apt expedient to preſerve the friendſhip of Ferdinand, with the ſum already received, and procure him the other 100,000 crowns that remained due; namely, to marry Catharine to his ſon Henry, now prince of Wales, by the death of his elder brother. The propoſal being made to the king and queen of Spain, they conſented to it, provided the pope's diſpenſation was firſt obtained; and this was the ſubject of an agreement between the two crowns, the 23d of June, without a particular mention of the articles of the propoſed marriage; in which it muſt be remarked, it was alledged, as a neceſſary reaſon for demanding the diſpenſation, not only that Arthur and Henry were brothers, but alſo that Arthur's marriage with Catharine was ſolemniſed, and conſummated, in a proper manner. 1503.

Pope Julius's diſpenſation for the marriage.

Alexander VI. dying, in the interim, Pius III. ſucceeded him; but, as he did not outlive the 18th of October, it was to Julius II, elected, the 1ſt of November, that the two kings applied for the diſpenſation. The new pope granted a bull, for that purpoſe, wherein he ſaid, that, in the petition lately preſented to him, Henry and Catharine declared, that Catharine was married, per verba de Præſenti, to the late prince Arthur; and that the marriage was celebrated, in form, and "perhaps, conſummated;" but, as to the word, "perhaps," it muſt be obſerved, that, in this caſe, it cannot denote a doubt, ſince it is not his holineſs that ſpeaks, in the petition, but Catharine, who muſt know, whether the marriage was conſummated, or not; and it is only a term, which gives more ſtrength to the diſpenſation, as it obviates all objections. This manifeſtly appears from the ſequel of the bull, where the pope permits Henry and Catharine to continue in the matrimonial ſtate, tho' they were married before, publickly, or privately, and had, perhaps, conſummated their marriage, by carnal copulation; ſo that it is obvious, the word, perhaps, is inſerted, purely to ſtrengthen the diſpenſation, by preventing all caſes that might render it invalid; but it was requiſite to make theſe obſervations, on account of the important conſequences of this affair, in the ſucceeding reign.

The king of Scotland's marriage was conſummated, in September, purſuant to agreement, Henry having conducted the queen, his daughter, to York, from whence ſhe proceeded on her journey to Scotland.

The archduke returns to the Low-Countries. Mezerai.

The archduke Philip returned, this year, into Flanders, having ſtaid, about a year, in Spain; and, in his paſſage through France, he attempted to adjuſt a difference between

1503. king Ferdinand, his father-in-law, and Lewis XII, about the kingdom of Naples. He even concluded, in Ferdinand's name, a treaty which was afterwards diſclaimed; and, had he been concerned with a prince of leſs goodneſs and equity, than Lewis XII, that diſclaiming might have plunged him into great trouble; but Lewis was ſo generous, as not to take the advantage. The occaſion of the rupture between the two monarchs was briefly, as follows:

A rupture between Lewis XII. and Ferdinand.

They had, as was ſaid, divided the kingdom of Naples, after the conqueſt; and it was ſcarce poſſible, that theſe two princes ſhould long poſſeſs the portion fallen to each, without ſome occaſion of quarrel. Accordingly, a conteſt aroſe, concerning the province of Capitanata, which each of them claimed, as being in his diviſion; upon which, the French and Spaniards came to blows; and, at firſt, the French had the better, but afterwards loſt two battles, one near St. Severina, in Calabria, the 21ſt of April, and the other, on the 28th of that month, at Cerignoles, in which the duke of Nemours, their general, was ſlain. After theſe two victories, Gonzolvo, commander of Ferdinand's troops, became maſter of the whole kingdom of Naples; but Lewis, in order to repair his loſſes, ſent a numerous army into Italy, tho', by ſeveral unexpected accidents, it was rendered unſerviceable.

1504. A ſubſidy is given the king, for the marriage of his daughter. Hall.

The 16th of January, 1504, the king convened the parliament, pretending it was neceſſary to revive certain ſtatutes, and enact ſome new ones; but the real motive was to procure a ſubſidy, for the dowry of his eldeſt daughter; for the cuſtom of demanding money, on ſuch occaſions, was too beneficial to the king, to ſuffer it to be aboliſhed. The queen of Scotland's portion was only 30,000 nobles; but the ſum, granted by the parliament, may reaſonably be thought to be much more conſiderable, beſides a handſome preſent made him by the clergy. Thus, inſtead of emptying his coffers, by the marriage of his daughter, he filled them the fuller; but nothing more evidently ſhews the almoſt abſolute power of the king, than the choice of Dudley, for ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, who was the moſt generally deteſted perſon, in the kingdom, except Empſon, his aſſociate; and, doubtleſs, it was ſolely the fear of diſpleaſing the king, by rejecting the perſon he recommended, which determined the commons to make that choice.

Advantageous ſtatutes for the king. Bacon.

The ſubſidy was not the only thing, that Henry artfully turned to his advantage, in this parliament; for he found means to obtain acts, which ſeemed to tend entirely to the good of the publick, but, in reality, only to procure him money. For example, all patents of leaſe or grant were diſannulled to ſuch as came not, upon lawful ſummons, to ſerve the king, againſt the rebels; but, as the delinquents, in this reſpect, were very numerous, this act was a fertile ſource of treaſure to the king, becauſe they were obliged to renew their leaſes and grants, which could only be done upon very rigorous terms.

Another ſtatute made all ſorts of clipped or impaired ſilver coins not to be current, in payments, nor did they ſuffer them even to paſs, for the value of their weight; and, as there were ſcarce any other, in the kingdom, every one was conſtrained to bring in his ready money to the mint, in order to be new coined, which proved highly advantageous to king. 1504.

The ſtatute againſt giving liveries to any, except menial ſervants, was likewiſe revived; which gave Empſon and Dudley an opportunity to attack a great number of perſons.

Thus, the king, continually amaſſing, without being obliged to any extraordinary charge, at a time when his ordinary expences were very moderate, and husbanded with the utmoſt œconomy, muſt neceſſarily be extremely rich, in ready money; but then he doubly ruined his ſubjects; firſt, by draining their purſes; and, ſecondly, by preventing the coin, of which he had vaſt quantities, in his coffers, from circulating, in trade; whilſt, on the other hand, Empſon and Dudley continued their extortions, without the leaſt reſerve; and with a rigour unknown to the Engliſh, under any of the king's predeceſſors.

The king thinks of canonizing Henry VI, but drops it. Bacon.

About this time, Henry had thoughts of canonizing Henry VI, the laſt king of the houſe of Lancaſter; but there were two powerful obſtacles againſt it; for, firſt, the miracles aſcribed to that monarch, ſince his death, were not well atteſted, and the actions of his life, tho' oſtentatiouſly diſplayed, diſcovered rather his weakneſs than ſanctity; but the ſecond difficulty, viz. the neceſſary charges of this canonization, wholly defeated the project. As this is an act of grace, the pope uſually proportions the expences, not to the perſon of the ſaint, but to the riches of him that ſollicits the canonization; and the king even perceived, that the court of Rome's calling in queſtion Henry VI's ſanctity tended only to magnify the favour, and, of courſe, inhance the price; which was ſufficient to cauſe him to deſiſt from his intention. Such an avaricious prince could hardly reſolve to empty his coffers, for a thing ſo needleſs, and which, at moſt, would have procured him only the praiſes of the Lancaſtrians; wherefore, he was contented to obtain a bull, for the removal of Henry VI's body to Weſtminſter, among his anceſtors; for he was, at firſt, obſcurely buried, in Chertſey-monaſtery near London, from whence he was removed to Windſor.

A proclamation in favour of the ſubjects. Aug. 19. Act. Pub.

The 19th of Auguſt, Henry publiſhed a proclamation, to give notice that he had appointed commiſſioners, to whom his creditors, and ſuch as had any demands upon him, might apply, for the ſpace of two years, to commence, the 19th of Auguſt, and to continue, till Michaelmaſs come two years; but it is difficult to judge, whether, in this, he acted from a principle of equity, and with an intent to ſatisfy thoſe he had injured, or only deſigned to blind people's eyes, by this ſhow of juſtice. The firſt would be moſt probable, if, henceforward, he had put a ſtop to the exactions of

Empſon

1504. Empſon and Dudley; but it is ſcarce credible, that, whilſt he permitted theſe miniſters to oppreſs his ſubjects, he really intended to do juſtice to all the world.

The death of the queen of Caſtile.

Iſabella, queen of Caſtile, dying, the 26th of November, Ferdinand, her ſpouſe, wrote, the ſame day, to Henry to notify the ſame; telling him, in his letter, that the deceaſed queen had appointed him, in her will, adminiſtrator of the kingdom of Caſtile, for Jane, their daughter, wife to the archduke of Auſtria, who, upon the deceaſe of the queen, her mother, was become queen of Caſtile.

A diſpute between Ferdinand and the archduke, his ſon-in-law.

When the archduke firſt heard of Iſabella's death, he was employed in a war upon the duke of Gueldres; which hindering him from repairing into Spain, ſo ſoon as he could have wiſhed, he was forced to leave to king Ferdinand, his father-in-law, the government of Caſtile, tho', at the ſame time, he fully reſolved to reſume it, as ſoon as poſſible. On the other hand, Ferdinand, improving Iſabella's will, pretended to keep the adminiſtration of that kingdom, during his life; probably, becauſe the deceaſed queen had not limited the continuance.

It gives Henry uneaſineſs. Bacon.

This diſpute created ſome uneaſineſs in Henry, whoſe caſe was the ſame with Ferdinand's, in the opinion of many; for he was not inſenſible, that moſt of his ſubjects were perſuaded, that Eliſabeth, his ſpouſe, had been, of right, the true queen of England; and, conſequently, the crown fell, after her death, to Henry, her ſon and lawful ſucceſſor. Tho' he affected to hold for certain, that the houſe of York never had any juſt pretenſions to the crown; yet he was very uneaſy, becauſe, in general, the Engliſh entertained different ſentiments. Indeed, beſides his deſcent from the houſe of Lancaſter, he founded his right upon two other titles; namely, conqueſt, and the approbation of parliament; but he foreſaw, how weak both theſe foundations would prove, ſhould the houſe of York, by ſome revolution, gain the aſcendant. Upon this account, he was very attentive to what

1505. paſſed, in Spain, regarding the deciſion of this conteſt, as a precedent for, or againſt him; and, on the other hand, he was apprehenſive, that Philip, who had ſeemed, for ſome time, cloſely united with Lewis XII, would join in a league with that monarch and the emperor, to oblige Ferdinand to reſign him Caſtile; in which caſe he perceived, that he ſhould be conſtrained either to abandon Ferdinand to theſe three potent enemies, or enter into a war with them, to ſupport him; but both theſe equally oppoſed his intereſt. In fine, he had caſt his eyes upon the queen dowager of Naples, widow to king Ferdinand, for a wife, in order to enjoy the large dowry aſſigned her, in that kingdom; perhaps, expecting, by eſpouſing that queen, to render himſelf umpire of the differences between Lewis XII. and Ferdinand, about the kingdom of Naples.

To have a full account of the diſpoſition of the Caſtilians, and the qualities of the queen of Naples, he ſent three perſons into Italy and Spain, not as ambaſſadors, but as travellers, for their pleaſure; yet, to procure them acceſs 1505. to the queen of Naples and Ferdinand, he ſo managed, that the princeſs of Wales gave them letters, both for the king, her father, and the young queen. Theſe gentlemen's ſecret inſtructions, with reſpect to the queen, were very particular; for the king wanted an exact information of her age, complexion, ſtature, health, temper, inclinations, behaviour, and eſtate. This evidently ſhews, how cautious he was, in the preſent proceeding; but the project vaniſhed, when Henry heard from his envoys, that, tho', indeed, the queen's jointure was very conſiderable, it had been changed by Ferdinand, ſince he was poſſeſſed of the kingdom of Naples, into a penſion for life.

The affairs of Ferdinand and Philip.

When the gentlemen arrived, in Spain, the diſpute between Ferdinand and Philip, his ſon-in-law, was ſtill in the ſame ſituation; wherefore, they acquainted the king, that Ferdinand ſtill governed Caſtile, as adminiſtrator, and even hoped to perſuade Philip to leave him the adminiſtration, during life, by means of ſome of his council whom he had gained, and by threatening him to marry again, and ſo give an heir to the kingdom of Arragon; that, accordingly, there was a project of marriage between Ferdinand and Germaine de Foix, which would infallibly be accompliſhed, if Philip moleſted the king, his father-in-law; moreover, that Ferdinand's ſecretary had told them, as a great ſecret, that the marriage of prince Charles of Auſtria, with Claude of France, would not ſucceed, becauſe Lewis XII. was reſolved to give his daughter to Francis, duke of Angouleſme, his preſumptive heir; and that, then, provided Philip would remain in the Low-Countries, with his queen, Ferdinand deſigned to demand Mary, the king's ſecond daughter, for the young prince of Auſtria; but, theſe informations containing nothing certain, Henry could not take any meaſures, till he ſaw the courſe of the Spaniſh affairs.

Philip and Jane aſſume the title of king and queen of Caſtile.

Whilſt Ferdinand and Philip were in treaty, concerning their difference, Philip and Jane were proclaimed king and queen of Caſtile, at Bruſſels; from whence it appears, that they did not intend to reſign, for ever, the adminiſtration of Caſtile to Ferdinand, as he had flattered himſelf; tho', in the interim, by reaſon of the war of Gueldres, and queen Jane's being near her time, they could not execute their reſolution of going to Caſtile. However, they knew, that the Caſtilians were diſpleaſed with Ferdinand, and that, as ſoon as they appeared, all would declare for them; and, therefore, Ferdinand uſed all ſorts of artifices, to diſſuade them from this voyage.

The death of the duke of Savoy.

In the mean while, Margaret of Auſtria, Philip's ſiſter, loſt her husband, the duke of Savoy, who died, the 10th of September; and, ſome days after, the new queen of Caſtile was delivered of a princeſs, named Mary, who afterwards became queen of Hungary.

Henry's alliance with the duke of Saxony. Act. Pub.

This year was very barren of remarkable events, with reſpect to England; for, beſides what has been related, we only find a treaty of alliance between Henry and George, duke of Saxony, hereditary governor of Friſe, to whom

1505. whom he had ſent ambaſſadors, ever ſince February; which treaty was concluded, the 30th of December.

1506. Philip and Jane ſet out for Spain. Hall.

The war of Gueldres being over, and queen Jane in a condition to travel, Philip reſolved to carry her into Caſtile, as it was the only way to ſecure the government of that kingdom; and, tho' they deſigned to go, by ſea, they choſe the winter; probably, to ſurpriſe Ferdinand, who would not expect them, at that ſeaſon. They departed, the 10th of January, under a ſtrong convoy, prepared for that occaſion; but, before they got out of the channel, a terrible tempeſt diſperſed their fleet, and the ſhip, in which they were, ran into Weymouth, in England, having very narrowly eſcaped the danger; and the king and queen were ſo fatigued and ſick, that, contrary to the opinion of their council, they would land, to refreſh their ſpirits.

A ſtorm drives them into England.

In the interim, the inhabitants of the country, extremely alarmed at the ſight of a numerous fleet, immediately took up arms; and Sir Thomas Trenchard, at the head of ſome troops, marched to Weymouth, to concert meaſures, in caſe of an invaſion; but, when he found, that the king and queen of Caſtile were landed, he waited upon them, humbly inviting them to his houſe, till the king was informed of their arrival. Philip would have gladly re-embarqued; but he perceived he ſhould not be ſuffered, till the king's orders were received, to whom an expreſs was diſpatched; ſo that, without much ſollicitation, he conſented to ſtay, till that time.

Henry no ſooner had intelligence of the king and queen of Caſtile's arrival, than he ſent the earl of Arundel, with his compliments, and to inform them, that he would come and embrace them, with all poſſible expedition; and the earl alſo aſſured them, from the king, that they were as much at liberty, in his kingdom, as himſelf. Philip, finding that he could not avoid the king's viſit, to prevent the loſs of time, poſted to Windſor, whilſt his queen followed, by eaſy journies; and Henry received them, with all imaginable marks of friendſhip; yet he ruminated, all the while, how to reap ſome advantage from the accident, that had thrown them into his dominions*.

They go to the king at Windſor.

Some days after, he inſinuated to Philip, that, ſince his condition was altered, it would be requiſite to renew their treaty of commerce, to which Philip conſented, tho' the reaſon, alledged by Henry, was invalid; for Philip, by being king of Caſtile, was ſtill ſovereign of the Low-Countries, as much as before. However, Henry gained his point; and Philip evidently perceived, that, being in his hands, he ought carefully to avoid all occaſions of offending him, leſt he ſhould find ſome pretence to detain him, in England. He was no ſtranger to the ſtrict union between Henry and Ferdinand, and was afraid, that Henry would obſtruct his voyage, to oblige his father-in-law; nevertheleſs, the treaty was renewed,

The treaty of commerce is renewed, in favour of the Engliſh.

but with ſome alterations to the advantage of the Engliſh. Among other things, an article of the former treaty was ſuppreſſed, which allowed Philip's ſubjects to fiſh, on the coaſts of England; which led the inhabitants of the Low-Countries, to call it Intercurſus malus, or the bad Treaty. 1506.

This affair being over, Henry told Philip, that it was his intent to marry Margaret, his ſiſter, widow to the duke of Savoy; and Philip ſeemed extremely well pleaſed with the propoſal. Indeed, nothing could be more advantageous to him, than to make Henry his friend, by this alliance, leſt he ſhould openly eſpouſe the king of Arragon's quarrel; ſo that the marriage was concluded, at Windſor, the 20th of March; and, in the articles ſigned by both, Philip engaged to give the ducheſs, his ſiſter, 300,000 crowns of French gold, with an annual penſion of 3850. In the interim, Henry fearing that Philip would recede from his word, when he was out of his power, cauſed to be inſerted, in the treaty, that the principal lords of the Low-Countries ſhould ſwear, that they would do all that was poſſible to procure the accompliſhment of this marriage; and the oaths of ſeveral lords, purſuant to this article, are to be ſeen, in the Collection of the Publick Acts.

Henry's marriage with the ducheſs of Savoy is agreed upon.

Henry had one thing more to obtain of Philip, without which he could not think of diſmiſſing him, tho', in appearance, he continued to careſs him; namely, to deliver up to him the earl of Suffolk, who was then in Flanders; but, at the firſt overture, Philip expreſly told him, that he could not grant his requeſt, being bound, in honour, not to ſacrifice a lord, whom he had taken under his protection; that, beſides, it would be diſhonourable to himſelf, ſince the world would infallibly ſay, that he was treated, as a priſoner. Henry, regardleſs of the reproaches of the world, provided he accompliſhed his ends, anſwered, that he would take all the diſhonour upon himſelf; which threw Philip into great perplexity. He was unwilling to betray the earl of Suffolk, after his promiſe to protect him; but, on the other hand, he ſaw, that Henry reſolved to have that lord, at any rate, and had in his hands an infallible means, to obtain his deſire. Moreover, not being yet certain, whether he ſhould not be forced to go to war with his father-in-law, it was natural to foreſee, that he might ſtand in need of the king of England, and, conſequently, it would be very imprudent to diſoblige him; and, therefore, ſuddenly coming to a reſolution, with an air of confidence, he ſpoke, as follows: "Sir, ſince you are "pleaſed to give law to me, permit me to do "the ſame by you. I will deliver the earl; "but you ſhall give me your honour, not to "touch his life. Henry conſenting to this condition, Philip requeſted, that the thing might be done, in a manner honourable to both, and he added, "I will ſo order it, that "the earl ſhall come to England, of his own

He demands of Philip the earl of Suffolk. Bacon.

* Philip, at their firſt meeting, told Henry, "That he was now puniſhed, for his refuſing to come within his "walled town of Calais, when they met laſt." The king anſwered, "That walls and ſeas were nothing, where "hearts were open; and that he was here, only to be ſerved." Bacon.

"accord;

1506. "accord; by which it will appear, that I have "ſollicited and obtained his pardon, and that "you were very ready to grant it." Henry approving the expedient, the earl of Suffolk readily accepted the offer; yet, in the interim, Henry, deſirous of having the earl in his power, before Philip's departure, continued his entertainments and diverſions, under colour of doing honour to the king and queen of Caſtile, but, in reality, to gain time, till the earl's arrival. He admitted Philip to the order of the Garter; and Philip made the prince of Wales a knight of the Golden-Fleece. Henry, afterwards, carried his gueſts to London, where they were magnificently entertained; and, ſhortly after, the earl of Suffolk returned from Flanders, and was conveighed to the tower. Thus, Henry, under the pretence of doing Philip honour, kept him, in England, above three months, till he had obtained his deſires; and, in all probability, Philip clearly ſaw, through all the careſſes he received, that he could not depart, when he pleaſed; otherwiſe, it is unlikely, as he deſigned to ſail into Spain, in January, that he would have willingly remained, in England, till the end of April, or the beginning of May.

Ferdinand retires to Arragon. Pet. de Angl.

When Philip and Jane were in Caſtile, the people diſcovered ſo great affection for them, that Ferdinand evidently perceived, that his endeavours, to keep the government of the realm, would prove abortive; wherefore, without inſiſting any longer upon his adminiſtratorſhip, which could take place only, in the queen his daughter's abſence, he retired to his own kingdom of Arragon. After this, he went to Naples, where Gonzolvo, his general, made him uneaſy, by which means, Philip and Jane continued, tho' not long, in poſſeſſion of Caſtile; but, within a few months, Philip was ſeized with a diſtemper, of which he died, the 25th of September; leaving the guardianſhip of his ſon, Charles, to Lewis XII, who appointed the lord de Chievres, for his governor. This choice, which met with general approbation, and was a convincing proof of Lewis's diſintereſtedneſs and ſincerity, became fatal to France; becauſe the governor made his pupil more able than was neceſſary, for the good of the kingdom.

Philip's death. Bacon.

Jane loſes her ſenſes, and Ferdinand returns to Caſtile. Bacon.

The death of Philip ſo affected his queen, that, depriving her of her reaſon, it rendered her entirely incapable of governing the ſtate; upon which, Ferdinand, her father, reſumed the adminiſtration of affairs, which he had been forced to reſign, but five months before; and it is ſaid, that he took little care of the queen's cure, leſt, recovering her ſenſes, ſhe ſhould ſend him back again to Arragon.

The diſintereſtedneſs, Lewis XII. ſhewed, with reſpect to the young archduke, prince of Spain, was of a ſhort continuance; for, tho' he had promiſed to give him Claude, his eldeſt daughter, in marriage, he judged it more adviſable to marry her to Francis, duke of Angouleſme, his preſumptive ſucceſſor; and, beſides, being apprehenſive of a league againſt him, between the emperor, the archduke, and Ferdinand, and that the king of England might alſo join in it, he laboured to embroil young Charles's affairs, by exciting the duke of Gueldres to renew the war. 1506.

1507. Margaret, ducheſs of Savoy, governs the Low-Countries.

The archduke being too young to hold the reins of government, the Flemings intreated the emperor, his grandfather, to govern, in his grandſon's name; and Maximilian complied with their requeſt; but, till he could come himſelf, he ſent them Margaret, his daughter, widow to the duke of Savoy.

This princeſs, upon her arrival at Bruſſels, concluded with Henry a proviſional treaty of commerce, till ſome differences, occaſioned by the late treaty, between the merchants of both nations, could be adjuſted; which treaty was ſigned, at Bruges, the 5th of June.

A marriage agreed upon, between Mary, the king's daughter, and Charles of Auſtria. Bacon.

The ſame ambaſſadors, that were aſſembled, at Calais, ſpent there the remainder of the year, in negotiating the marriage of Charles, archduke of Auſtria, ſovereign of the Low-Countries, and prince of Caſtile, with Mary, Henry's ſecond daughter; but, at length, on the 21ſt of December, they ſigned a treaty, that Charles ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Mary, as ſoon as he was 14 years of age; and that her portion ſhould be 250,000 crowns of gold. The young prince run the riſque of loſing the kingdom of Arragon, Valencia, Granada, and the principality of Catalonia, his grandfather, Ferdinand, having married Germaine de Foix; but, fortunately for him, they had no iſſue.

Tho' Henry had filled his coffers, his avarice was ſtill as inſatiable, as ever; for, tho', as was obſerved, in 1504, the parliament granted a ſubſidy, for the marriage of the queen of Scotland, his daughter, before the expiration of that year, he iſſued out a proclamation to levy a benevolence, by his own authority, and, in all appearance, without the leaſt occaſion for it; but he was grown ſo abſolute, in his kingdom, that no man durſt oppoſe his will, or even murmur at his proceedings. In the interim, Empſon and Dudley continued their extortions and oppreſſions, with all imaginable rigour; and, this very year 1507, they ſharply proſecuted the mayor of London, for neglecting to bring to juſtice a coiner of falſe money, and, becauſe he was unwilling, or unable, to pay an exorbitant fine, ſent him to the tower. The ſheriffs, aldermen, and all, that had borne any office, in the city, were proſecuted with no leſs rigour, and compelled to pay to the king fines, not proportioned to their abilities, but to the rapaciouſneſs of the king and his miniſters *.

Empſon and Dudley continue their exactions.

The king is ſeized with the gout, which turns to a ptiſick.

Whilſt the king made it his whole ſtudy to accumulate riches, he was often ſeized with the gout; tho', at firſt, he diſregarded it, not

* Sir Thomas Kneſworth, mayor, in 1505, and both his ſheriffs were impriſoned, for abuſes committed in the diſcharge of their offices; and not releaſed, but upon the payment of 1400 l. Sir Laurence Aylmer, mayor, in 1507, and both his ſheriffs were fined, 1000 l. and Sir Laurence impriſoned, for refuſing to pay his fine. Alderman Hawis was put to trouble; but he died with vexation, before his affair was decided. Stow, Bacon.

1507. believing it dangerous; but, by degrees, the humour falling upon his lungs, it turned to a ptiſick, which convinced him, that he was near his end. However, he permitted his two miniſters to continue their exactions, without any reſpect of perſons; for he was ſo charmed to ſee his coffers full of gold and ſilver, that he could not reſolve to put a ſtop to theſe ſcandalous practices, which daily brought him in freſh ſums. It is ſaid, that he had amaſſed 1,800,000 l. ſterling; which ſum will appear prodigious, if it is conſidered, that money was, then, much ſcarcer, in Europe, than at preſent; and he laid up his treaſures under his own key and cuſtody, in ſecret places at Richmond.

1508. The marriage of Charles and Mary is ſolemniſed, by proxy.

As the marriage of the princeſs Mary with the archduke was, now, the only important affair Henry was employed in, he ſpent the whole year 1508, in projecting means, to ſecure its accompliſhment; and the acts of this year, in the Collection, ſcarce regard any other. At length, on the 17th of December, the marriage was performed, per verba de Præſenti, the lord de Berghes being the young prince's proxy; and, as ſuch, he eſpouſed the princeſs, gave her a ring, and ſaluted her publickly, in the name of the prince, her huſband.

About this time, the archduke pawned to the king a jewel, termed the rich Flower-deluce, for the ſum of 50,000 crowns; and the emperor, as Charles's grandfather and guardian, approved of the marriage and loan. In all probability, the money was borrowed for him; having occaſion for it, to make a figure in the league of Cambray, which he had concluded, this year, with his holineſs and the king of France, againſt the Venetians, which were become formidable to all Italy.

Henry thinks no more of his own marriage.

As to Henry's marriage with Margaret of Auſtria, tho' it was concluded, in 1506, it was entirely overlooked, when that monarch, fallen into a ptiſick, found it more proper for him to think of death, than a wife.

1509. The king, perceiving that his diſtemper daily increaſed, was pleaſed to prepare for death, by granting a general pardon; and he alſo diſcharged, with his own money, all priſoners about London that lay for fees, or debts, under 40 ſhillings. Then he made his will, ordering that his heir ſhould make reſtitution of whatever his officers and miniſters had unjuſtly taken from his ſubjects; but this remorſe came too late; for, ſince he could not reſolve to make this reſtitution, in his lifetime, the prince, his ſon, judged it improper to part with the money amaſſed by the king, his father. He died, at Richmond, the 22d of April, 1509, having lived 52 years, and reigned 23 and eight months. His death is obſerved to have happened, at a very ſeaſonable juncture; for, had he lived much longer, the prince, his ſon, now in his 17th year, might have been too impatient to wait, till his father's deceaſe put him in poſſeſſion of the crown; in which caſe, he might have ſupported himſelf with the queen his mother's title, heireſs of the houſe of York, and pretended, that the king, his father, reigned, only in right of his queen. This pretenſion, probably, would have revived the old quarrel, and rekindled a civil war, in the kingdom; but the king's death diſpelled the fears of the Engliſh. 1509.

Henry VII. had three ſons and four daughters; and Arthur, his eldeſt, as was ſaid, died, in his 17th year. Henry, his ſecond, was his ſucceſſor; and Edmund, his third, died, at the age of five years. Of his four daughters, two died, in their childhood; and the other two, Margaret and Mary, have already been ſufficiently deſcribed. His iſſue. Sandford.

If the Hiſtory of this reign be never ſo ſlightly peruſed, it will eaſily be ſeen, that Henry's views were only two; the firſt of which was to ſecure the crown, acquired by extraordinary good fortune, and, perhaps, not thought of, before he was invited into England by the duke of Buckingham; and the other, to accumulate riches. Henry's whole application centered upon a ſingle object, viz. upon thoroughly examining every thing that could, any way, promote the two ends he propoſed; for ambition, honour, glory, love, pleaſures, and all the other paſſions which generally diſquiet the hearts of princes, made very little impreſſion upon him, who, content with enjoying his throne, neither aſpired after new acquiſitions, nor the rendering his name illuſtrious by glorious actions. All his projects were confined to prevent, or defeat the deſigns of his domeſtick enemies, or to well fill his coffers; and he had a ſurpriſing ſagacity, to diſcover, in all occurrences, the ſide, from whence he might draw any advantage; which he manifeſtly ſhewed, in the affair of Bretagne, in his pretended wars with France and Scotland, and even in his domeſtick troubles, which, by his addreſs, he improved to his own intereſt. His character. Bacon.

Tho' he was ſometimes forced to take up arms, no prince ever was a greater lover of peace*; and, not having the leaſt ſparks of ambition, he perceived no advantage for him, in war. On the contrary, he conſidered, that all the events of a war, whether foreign, or domeſtick, were againſt him; for the former could, at moſt, only procure him ſome glory and acquiſitions abroad, of which he was not very deſirous, and he might be a great loſer by the latter. Moreover, a time of commotions afforded no opportunities to accumulate riches; wherefore, laying down this, as the fixed principle of his policy, not to engage in any war, without an abſolute neceſſity, he never deviated from it; and it is this that made him, unconcernedly, behold the loſs of Bretagne, and, without reſentment, ſuffer the inſults of the king of Scotland, becauſe it was not from the war that he deſigned to reap any advantage,

* The uſual preface to his treaties was, That, when Chriſt came into the world, peace was ſung; and, when he went out of the world, peace was bequeathed.

but

1509. but only from the preparations made to ſupport it. However, this policy would have been of dangerous conſequence, when he was attacked by domeſtick enemies, who intended to dethrone him; and, as his all was, then, at ſtake, he chearfully faced the danger, tho' with all imaginable precautions. He gained two victories over the rebels; one, at Stoke, and the other at Black-Heath; but, in both, he was very ſuperior, in number of troops, and fought againſt perſons ill armed and undiſciplined, in the art of war. It cannot, therefore, be affirmed what he would have done, had he been oppoſed with equal forces; and it is equally difficult to know, whether it was owing to his courage, that he headed his armies, in perſon, or to his diffience of thoſe in his ſervice. However this be, he was ever fortunate, in his domeſtick wars, by which he acquired ſo great a reputation, that all the princes of Europe ſtrenuouſly courted his alliance; and, on the other hand, the eſteem foreigners expreſſed for him greatly contributed to render him formidable, at home; I ſay formidable, for it is certain, that he never had the hearts of his ſubjects. In a word, his method of governing, which approached to arbitrary power, eſpecially towards the end of his reign; his inſatiable avarice, haughtineſs, pride, and ſhy and reſerved temper, were improper qualities to procure the affection of his people.

He never opened his mind to any man, unleſs, perhaps, to one or two of his miniſters; but, as to the reſt, tho' he employed them, they were ignorant of the motives of their own proceedings; and the world was ſo perſuaded, that he had always ſome ſecret deſign, even in his moſt indifferent actions, that the pure effects of chance were often aſcribed to his policy.

His ſpies, in foreign courts, gave him an extenſive knowledge of all that paſſed there; moreover, his ambaſſadors were always charged to inform themſelves, by all ſorts of ways, of the ſecrets of the princes to whom they were ſent; and very frequently this was the principal article of their inſtructions. By theſe means, he was enabled to convince the foreign miniſters, reſiding at his court, of his great inſight into their maſters affairs; from whence he reaped many conſiderable advantages, principally in that the princes of Europe, dreading his abilities, were very forward to live in amity with him. His ſtrict friendſhip with Ferdinand, king of Arragon, a prince of much the ſame character, was extremely advantageous to him; and, probably, it prevented the court of France from interpoſing more, in the affairs of England, and was one of the chief cauſes of his conſtant peace with his neighbours.

Inſtead of increaſing the credit of the nobility, he took all poſſible care to leſſen it; for his council almoſt entirely conſiſted of eccleſiaſticks and lawyers, who, being devoted to him, and ſolely conſulting his pleaſure, never oppoſed his will; which unlimited compliance of his council was the cauſe of his wholly addicting himſelf to his natural paſſion of accumulating money, ſince there was no perſon about him, that had either boldneſs, or conſcience, to give him wholſome advice, on that head. This conduct drew upon him the hatred of the Engliſh, which, at firſt, made him ſomewhat uneaſy; but, when he had ſurmounted all his troubles, regardleſs of it, he affected to rule, with an abſolute ſway; making of his council a court of juſtice in which all the pleas of the crown were decided, which had never been ſeen, before. 1509.

He has been extremely extolled, for the good laws made, in his reign, as if he, without the parliament, had been the ſole legiſlator; on which account, perhaps, he was ſtiled the Solomon of England, tho' he much more reſembled that glorious prince, in the heavy yoke he laid on his people; but, if theſe laws are ſtrictly examined, it will, doubtleſs, appear, that the king's intereſt was the real motive, tho' they ſeemed to be made, for the good of the people. Thus, William the Conqueror formerly acted; who was like Henry, in ſo many reſpects, that they may be very juſtly compared; and, in a word, Henry's moſt diſtinguiſhing character was, that he lived entirely for himſelf, regarding nothing, any farther than it tended to his own intereſt. Indeed, ſuch a diſpoſition is not uncommon among princes; but he had this peculiar to himſelf, that, whereas the intereſt of other princes is uſually divided into ſeveral parts, Henry's was, in a manner, contained in a ſingle branch; namely, to fill his coffers.

He was, to the laſt degree, ſuſpicious, as thoſe generally are who act, by ſecret methods, becauſe they believe all the world do the ſame; and the houſe of York's title, with the people's opinion concerning it, continually racked his mind with fears and ſuſpicions. It is true, he ſtudiouſly concealed his uneaſineſs; but his cautious conduct evidently demonſtrated, that his mind was diſturbed. This perpetual diffidence inceſſantly led him to ſeek means, to avoid the dangers, in which he was not always ſucceſsful; for inſtance, the report, he cauſed to be ſpread, that the duke of York was alive, had a quite contrary effect to what he expected. His genius was but mean; and he ſaw better near, than at a diſtance, his wiſdom diſcovering itſelf more, in extricating himſelf out of difficulties, than in finding means to prevent them. The principal troubles of his reign may be ſaid to happen, by his imprudence; yet he acquired qualities, which nature had denied him, by a long experience.

It is no wonder, that a prince, continually guarded againſt the rebellion of his ſubjects, and ever employed in accumulating money, ſhould have performed nothing glorious for himſelf, or the kingdom. Conquerors do not always make the greateſt monarchs; but, on the contrary, peace would have been very beneficial to the Engliſh, had it been attended with happineſs; but it was ſtill more fatal to them than war itſelf, ſince the king's inſatiable avarice,

1509. avarice, on all occaſions, prompted him to deviſe means to fill his coffers, which could only be done, at their expence. Some princes accumulate money, ſolely to diſperſe it; but Henry carefully hoarded it up, without any communication; for liberality was a virtue he did not pretend to, and, if he made any preſents, it was only to ſpies, or informers.

As for his religion and morals, nothing certain can be affirmed, on account of the contrarieties that met in the ſame perſon; for, if he was chaſte, temperate, an enemy to open and ſcandalous vices, conſtant in the exerciſes of devotion, and obſervant of ſtrict juſtice, where his intereſt was not concerned, on the other hand, his extreme avarice put him upon many unjuſt proceedings; and the fear of loſing his crown led him to conſider, as lawful, all means that could free him from that danger, how unlawful ſoever they might be, in other particulars. The earl of Warwick's death fixes an indelible ſtain on his memory; and his making a jeſt of religion, in ordering a ſolemn proceſſion to be made, on purpoſe to ſhew that prince to the people, and the excommunications he cauſed to be pronounced againſt his own ſpies, manifeſtly prove, that his religion was not proof againſt his intereſt.

In general, it muſt be confeſſed, that this prince had great abilities; but, as they ſolely centered in himſelf, they would have been more valuable, in a private perſon, than a ſovereign prince; and, tho' all his projects were crowned with ſucceſs, his reign cannot be termed happy, either for himſelf, or England. He lived under continual fears and ſuſpicions, and his ſubjects were always expoſed either to domeſtick troubles, or oppreſſion; but his reign was, in this reſpect, very remarkable, that, by Henry's abilities, the civil wars, which had ſo long afflicted England, were, at laſt, happily ended; I ſay, happily, ſince it was altogether indifferent, as to the welfare of the Engliſh, whether the nation was governed by a prince of the houſe of Lancaſter, or of that of York. 1509.

Henry VII. was of a ſerious and thoughtful temper, ever intent upon his affairs, without being diverted by his pleaſures, to which he was very little addicted; and he had a book, in which he marked down, with his own hand, the qualities and characters of the perſons he knew, in order to employ them, upon occaſion; but a monkey, that he kept in his chamber, having, one day, torn this note-book to pieces, he ſeemed to be grieved, as at a very conſiderable loſs.

He was of ſtature taller than the generality of men; and his face was long, thin, and lean, like the reſt of his body, but, at the ſame time, very grave, which made people ſpeak to him, with fear; yet he could be affable, on proper occaſions. He was rather ſtudious than learned; and what he read, at his leiſure hours, was generally in French, tho' he was acquainted with Latin too.

He founded a chapel, at Windſor, for which he obtained privileges and indulgences from the pope; and he converted into an hoſpital the palace of the Savoy, built by Peter, earl of Savoy, in the reign of Henry III. He alſo founded ſeveral convents of Dominicans and Franciſcans; but, of all the ſtructures, that which did, and ſtill does him the greateſt honour, is his chapel, in Weſtminſter-abbey, which equals, in any reſpect, the moſt ſtately chapels, in Chriſtendom. There he was buried; and there alſo are interred the bodies of his ſucceſſors *.

The STATE of the CHURCH of the XVth Century.

THE Chriſtian church had never been in ſo deplorable a condition, as in the XVth Century; for God's juſtice and mercy, and Chriſt's meritorious death, were ſcarce any longer the object of a Chriſtian's faith, the religion of the generality conſiſting in pilgrimages, and the worſhip of the bleſſed Virgin, ſaints, and reliques; and as for the clergy, their ſole care was to ſupport that exceſſive grandeur and power they had enjoyed, for ſeveral centuries, and to ſee that none preſumed to diſpute their immunities. Diſcipline was never more remiſs, than at preſent; for the eccleſiaſticks conſidered their ſpiritual power and juriſdiction, only as a means to prevent the violation of their temporal privileges; for, provided their rights were untouched, every man might do what ſeemed good, in his own eyes; and the authority of the church was become the capital article of religion.

The papal authority had ſurpriſingly increaſed, every century; for each pope made

* In the 5th year of the reign of Henry VII, it was ordained, that the mayors of London ſhall have conſervation of the river Thames, from Staines Bridge to the waters of Yeuſdale and Medway; and, in his 18th year, being himſelf a brother of the Taylors company, as were alſo his predeceſſors, Richard III, Edward IV, Henry VI, V, IV, and Richard II, beſides 11 dukes, 28 earls, and 48 lords, he gave them the name of Merchant-Taylors. Hollingſhead. In his 13th year, was the paſſage to the Eaſt-Indies, round the Cape of Good-Hope, diſcovered, by Vaſco de Gama, a Portugueſe; and, in his 10th year, the body of Alice Hackney is ſaid to be found, in the church of St. Mary-Hill, London, the skin being whole, and the joints of the arms pliable, after having been buried, 175 years. In this reign, John Collet, dean of St. Paul's, founded Paul's ſchool, in the church-yard; and the colleges, founded in the two Univerſities, in the ſame reign, were Chriſt's College and St. John's, in Cambridge, by Margaret, counteſs of Richmond, the king's mother; Jeſus College, in the ſaid Univerſity, by John Alcock, biſhop of Ely; Corpus Chriſti, in Oxford, by Richard Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter; and Brazen-Noſe College, by William Smith, biſhop of Lincoln. Rymer's Fœd.

it

it his buſineſs to enlarge it, as much as poſſible. They, at length, procured the diſpoſal of all the church-preferments, in Chriſtendom, and were the ſupreme judges, in all eccleſiaſtical cauſes; and national ſynods were entirely diſuſed; for, indeed, what occaſion was there for them, ſince the court of Rome claimed the cognizance of church affairs? In a word, the pope was, now, the center of religion; and the privileges of churches, as well as the prerogatives of ſovereigns, were all annulled by the Non-obſtante clauſe, commonly inſerted in every bull. But it was not only over ſpirituals that the popes had extended their authority; for they likewiſe pretended to ſtretch it over temporals, under the pretence that religion was concerned, in all matters; and monarchs themſelves were not out of their reach. The papal diſpenſation was neceſſary, in all the marriages of princes; and no peace, or truce, of any importance was concluded, without the pope's mediation or guaranty; nay, ſome popes carried their pretenſions ſo far, as to make peaces, or truces, without the conſent of the parties. In ſhort, it is extremely probable, that they would have altogether engroſſed the temporal power, as well as the ſpiritual, if, by the ſchiſms of the XVth century, they had not loſt ground; and ſtill more, by the revolutions of the following century. However this be, the popes were, in reality, ſovereigns, not only with regard to the power they had aſſumed, but alſo with reſpect to the immenſe riches, which, through numberleſs channels, flowed into the vaſt ocean of the apoſtolick chamber; for tenths, firſt-fruits, taxes for the ſervice of the chamber, diſpenſations for all caſes, as well contrary to the law of God, as to the canons of the church, ſubſidies exacted, from time to time, from the clergy, for the occaſions of the holy ſee; cruſades, benefices, which are rarely beſtowed, without a previous bargain with the apoſtolick chamber; and, in a word, ſimony publickly practiſed by many popes, ſome of whom were accuſed and convicted, were inexhauſtible fountains, which ſupported the affluence and luxury of the court of Rome. It was next to impoſſible, that purity of life and true religious principles ſhould be preſerved undefiled, amidſt ſo much wealth and grandeur; but, on the contrary, the popes were the more liable to abuſe their power, as moſt of them were not born for ſuch an exalted ſtation; and, accordingly, it appears from hiſtory, that Rome and Avignon were the center of pride, avarice, luxury, ſenſuality, and all the moſt ſcandalous vices. The popes were not either learned, or religious; for there was ſcarce one to be found that might paſs for an honeſt man, even according to the maxims of the world; and yet all the preambles of their bulls entirely conſiſted of expreſſions of their zeal, charity, humility, and juſtice; whilſt, for the moſt part, what they enjoined was an authentick proof of their pride and tyranny. This is no aggravation, for a great deal more has been ſaid, by the authors who wrote, before the reformation; nay, it has even been openly preached, before the councils.

It may be naturally preſumed, that ſuch popes took little care to fill, what they called, the ſacred college, with perſons of ſincere piety and devotion. Indeed, there were, in this century, cardinals of great repute, and eminent for their wit, eloquence, political virtues, and their capacity for temporal affairs; but yet theſe very men, for the moſt part, were governed by the maxims of the world, who conſidered religion, only as a means to eſtabliſh their fortune. The legates, ſent to the ſeveral ſtates of Chriſtendom, were ſo many incendiaries, who made it their ſole ſtudy to ſow diſcord and diviſion among princes, or excite them to ſhed the blood of their ſubjects; and, in a word, conſulting only the intereſt of their maſter and the Roman ſee, they did not ſcruple to violate all the rules of religion and equity, to accompliſh their deſigns.

The reſt of the clergy, in general, were no better; for moſt of the biſhops were promoted, purely for their zealous attachment to the court of Rome, or for their ſervices to princes, in their temporal concerns. They were perſons educated at court, and inſtructed in the maxims of the world; cruelty, injuſtice, and diſhoneſty were but too common among them; nay, they were looked upon, as ſo many virtues, when employed in the perſecution of ſuch as were termed Hereticks, eſpecially of thoſe that preſumed to conteſt any of the pope's or the clergy's pretended rights.

As to real learning, it was hardly ſo much as heard of, in this century; for ſchool-divinity, and the knowledge of the canon-law, conſtituted the whole merit of the eccleſiaſticks, ſince it was the only way to arrive at eccleſiaſtical dignities; and, on the other hand, the monks, having crept into moſt of the profeſſorſhips in the univerſities, overwhelmed divinity and philoſophy, with ſuch a heap of jargon, as only ſerved to give their diſciples falſe ideas of learning, and teach them to wrangle.

Such was, in general, the State of the Church, in this century; but, as for the civil affairs of Europe, they continued, in it and the following centuries, as in the preceding. The ſovereigns, divided among themſelves by their reſpective intereſts, ſtudied only to ſupplant one another, and make their neighbour's loſs turn to their own advantage; which occaſioned bloody wars, that rendered their people miſerable, and ſuffered neither princes, nor ſubjects, to attend to the breaches in the church, or think of means to repair them. Corruption was ſo great, in the world, and in the church, that God, in all appearance, had abandoned men to a reprobate ſenſe, ſuch was their blindneſs and inſenſibility; and we may add, for a farther repreſentation of the deplorable ſtate of the church, the great progreſs of the Turks, in Europe, during this unfortunate century. The entire deſtruction of the Greek empire, and the over-running of ſeveral other Chriſtian ſtates by the Infidels,

were evident proofs of the divine wrath againſt Chriſtians, to move them to inquire after the cauſe; but, inſtead of "ſeeking the "Lord," they perſecuted, with fire and ſword, thoſe that ſought God alone, and refuſed to pay divine worſhip to creatures.

To effect a reformation in the church, ſo extremely wanted, all, or, at leaſt, the chief princes of Europe ſhould have united their endeavours, to promote ſuch a work; but how was it poſſible, that ſo many ſovereigns, who had religion ſo little at heart, ſhould ſacrifice their paſſions to ſo great a good; or was it practicable to reconcile ſo many jarring intereſts? All Europe paſſionately wiſhed, that the church might be reformed; and ſeveral biſhops ſeemed to deſire the ſame. Nothing was talked of, in the councils, but the neceſſity of executing this noble deſign; nay, it appeared, that the councils of Conſtance and Baſil intended to ſet about it effectually; but the well affected had neither prudence, nor courage, ſufficient to oppoſe the artifices and violence of the contrary party. The ſequel will ſhew, that the popes, cardinals, and principal clergy exerted themſelves, to prevent the projected reformation, being ſenſible that it would prove prejudicial to their temporal intereſts; and, on the other hand, if it is conſidered, with what eagerneſs and animoſity they laboured to extirpate the pretended hereſies, which combated the temporal grandeur of the clergy, no other inference can be drawn, than that they themſelves ſaw the neceſſity of a reformation, tho' they would not admit it, and that the fountain of corruption was in the principal members of the clergy, from whence it had but too great an influence over the reſt.

To repreſent, in a true light, the State of the Church of the XVth century, it would be neceſſary to give a particular account of what paſſed, at the councils of Conſtance and Baſil; but this detail would carry me too far; and, beſides, the Hiſtory of the firſt of theſe councils is lately publiſhed, and written, with ſo much plainneſs, circumſpection, and impartiality, that there is no room to ſuſpect, that the author * was byaſſed, by paſſion, or prejudice. The Hiſtory of the council of Baſil, by the ſame hand, will alſo ſoon appear; wherefore, referring the reader to theſe two Hiſtories, I ſhall only briefly relate the moſt remarkable paſſages of theſe councils; which will be of uſe to underſtand the then ſtate of the church of England.

* Mr. L' Enfant, late miniſter at Berlin.

A brief account of the council of Conſtance. L' Enfant.

The ſchiſm, begun, in 1378, by Urban VI. and Clement VII, was continued, to the beginning of the XVth century, by Boniface IX. and Benedict XIII, their ſucceſſors; Boniface, ſucceeding Urban VI, reſided, at Rome; but Benedict, who ſucceeded Clement VII, remained, at Avignon, where he was kept by the king of France, leſt he ſhould eſcape, before the ſchiſm was ended.

The univerſity of Paris had propoſed an expedient to end the ſchiſm, viz. that the two popes ſhould reſign the pontificate, which was termed the method of ceſſion. Boniface IX. and Benedict XIII. pretended both to be willing to comply with this method, for reſtoring peace to the church; but, at the ſame time, they uſed ſo many evaſions, that it was manifeſt, that they were not ſincere; and, therefore, the king of France had thought fit to ſecure the perſon of Benedict. This monarch's indiſpoſition afterwards placing the duke of Orleans, his brother, at the head of affairs, the young prince was a great favourer of Benedict XIII, and, in 1404, permitted him to make his eſcape; and, Boniface IX. dying, this very year, the cardinals of his party elected Innocent VII, who behaved, like his predeceſſor, with reſpect to the ceſſion. To Innocent, who ſat in the pontifical chair, only two years, ſucceeded Angelo Corario, who aſſumed the name of Gregory, XII; and, thus, the ſchiſm ſtill ſubſiſted, between Gregory and Benedict. Theſe two popes, feigning an inclination to end it, by the method of ceſſion, long amuſed the world, with their artifices and diſſimulation; and, in a word, the ſchiſm having now laſted, 30 years, without any appearance that the two popes would perform their promiſe, Gregory XII. found himſelf deſerted, on a ſudden, by his cardinals, who retired to Piſa; for only four remained with him. On the other hand, France, the main ſupport of Benedict XIII, being tired with his evaſions, withdrew from his obedience; and the pope, upon the loſs of that protection, went and reſided in Spain; but his cardinals, refuſing to follow him, choſe to join thoſe of Gregory; and, preſently after, the cardinals of both parties unanimouſly called a general council, at Piſa, to which moſt of the princes of Europe ſent their ambaſſadors and prelates.

This council, held in 1409, depoſed both the popes, and impowered the cardinals to chooſe another, who aſſumed the name of Alexander V; but, Gregory and Benedict not thinking themſelves lawfully depoſed, it fell out, that, inſtead of the two popes before the council, there were now no leſs than three.

Alexander V. died, in 1410; and John XXIII. was choſen, in his room, who ſummoned a general council to meet, at Conſtance, in November, 1414; which found no better way to end the ſchiſm, than by removing the three popes. John XXIII. and Benedict XIII. were depoſed; and Gregory XII. voluntarily reſigned the pontificate. Then the council elected cardinal Odo Colonna, who aſſumed the name of Martin V; and John XXIII, who was committed to the cuſtody of the emperor Sigiſmund, having eſcaped, ſubmitted to Martin V, who made him a cardinal. As to Benedict XIII, he ſtill retained the title of pope; and, retiring to the caſtle of Reniſcola, belonging to the kingdom of Valencia, he was ſuffered by the king of Arragon to live there, without interruption. After his deceaſe, which did not hapen, till 1424, his cardinals elected a canon of Barcelona, who aſſumed the name of Clement VIII; but, in 1429, he quitted his dignity, in favour of Martin V; and,

and, thus, at length, ended the ſchiſm, after it had continued, 51 years.

This abſtract, tho' ſhort, will enable us to judge of the character of the popes, who governed the church, during theſe 50 years; who were men that ſacrificed the peace of the church to their own private intereſts, damned, without mercy, as far as lay in their power, all that were of a different party; and they would not have ſcrupeled to engage all Chriſtendom in a bloody war, for their intereſts, were it not for the wiſer conduct of the ſovereign princes. Doubtleſs, one cannot help forming a very melancholy idea of the State of the Church, in thoſe days, when it is conſidered, that the Chriſtians, of both ſides, owned, for Chriſt's vicars, popes whom they deteſted, and who, indeed, were ſo unworthy of their exalted ſtation, that ſeveral were depoſed, for hereſy, ſimony, and perjury.

But I have ſtill one important remark to make upon the conduct of the council of Conſtance, the motive of which is, at firſt, difficult to be conceived. If the council of Piſa was general and lawful, as was even acknowledged by that of Conſtance, why were her deciſions diſregarded? Why was Gregory XII's reſignation accepted, which ſuppoſed him ſtill to be pope, notwithſtanding his being depoſed? Why were terms propoſed to him, to induce him to quit the papal chair? Why was Benedict XIII, once more, depoſed, when he had been already depoſed by a general council? In a word, why was John XXIII. deprived of his dignity, for violating his promiſe to reſign the papacy, ſince it could not be doubted, that he was really pope, and his miſſion lawful? Was not the authority of the council of Piſa ſacrificed by theſe proceedings?

It will be in vain to object, that John XXIII. was not depoſed, for any defect in his miſſion, but for his crimes; for it is certain, when his promiſe to reſign the pontificate was required, it was purely with a view to put an end to the ſchiſm; and, had he reſigned, with a good grace, he would never have been accuſed, much leſs condemned, for the crime for which he was afterwards depoſed. It will, perhaps, be ſaid, that this inconvenience was not ſo great, as that of perpetuating the ſchiſm; but can the ſtriking at the authority of a general council be accounted a ſlight inconvenience? Did not the council of Conſtance give occaſion to have her own authority called in queſtion? No reaſon can be aſſigned, why the depoſing of Benedict XIII. and John XXIII, by the council of Conſtance, ſhould be more valid, than the depoſing the ſame Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII, by the council of Piſa.

However, we may diſcover, through all this intricacy, the motive of the proceedings of the council of Conſtance; for the ſchiſm evidently tended to the diſſolution of the papal dignity, which was the baſis and foundation of moſt of the clergy's privileges, and of the hierarchy itſelf. Caſtile, Arragon, Navarre, and Portugal had been neutral, ſome years, without owning any of the contending popes; France had withdrawn her obedience from Benedict XIII, without transferring it to Gregory XII; and, in a word, the whole world began to contemn their excommunications, which they ſo notoriouſly abuſed. There was, therefore, reaſon to fear, that, by degrees, a pope would be thought uſeleſs, which would undermine the foundation of the hierarchy, and, perhaps, introduce a new form of government into the church; and the intereſts of the cardinals and prelates, of whom the council of Conſtance conſiſted, were ſo nearly concerned, that their ſacrificing all, to prevent this inconvenience, is not, in the leaſt, ſurpriſing. This is the real reaſon of their conduct; but they took care to proceed very differently, with reſpect to the pretended hereticks, who, publickly, conteſted the privileges of the clergy. To extirpate a hereſy ſo prejudicial to them, they uſed fire and ſword, rather than ſacrifice, the leaſt of their intereſts; and this we ſhall preſently ſee, in the manner they went to work, in this particular.

All the world knows, that John Huſs and Jerome of Prague were burnt alive, at Conſtance; but every one has not taken the pains to examine, for what errors they ſuffered that rigorous puniſhment; for they were, then, and ſtill are, charged with maintaining impious, horrible, and damnable tenets. They were condemned, as ſeditious, obſtinate, and incorrigible followers and defenders of Wickliffe; obdurate, ſubtle, malicious, and convicted hereticks; and, had there been yet ſtronger terms, they would, doubtleſs, have been made uſe of, to expreſs the abhorrence of theſe hereſies. But, wherein conſiſted theſe hereſies? In their being diſciples of Wickliffe? If the authors, who relate their ſentence, be conſulted, ſcarce one will be found that ſays more; John Huſs and Jerome of Prague were followers of Wickliffe, and, conſequently, abominable wretches, deſerving to be burnt. In the opinions of Wickliffe, then, we muſt trace their errors; but there is an ambiguity, in this, which has been conſtantly improved, to juſtify the condemnation of both theſe doctors; and it is hardly to be doubted, that the council of Conſtance had this ambiguity in view, when ſhe cauſed the errors and memory of Wickliffe to be firſt ſtigmatized, before John Huſs and Jerome of Prague were brought upon their trial.

Wickliffe's opinions were of two ſorts; for ſome concerned the principal articles of faith; and others related to the hierarchy, the clergy, their juriſdiction, power, and riches. Wickliffe did not believe tranſubſtantiation; and he rejected the invocation of ſaints, the adoration of the croſs and images, pilgrimages, and reliques. On the other hand, he thought that the hierarchy had no foundation, in ſcripture; from whence he drew ſeveral inferences againſt the exorbitant authority uſurped by the popes, cardinals, and biſhops. Beſides, he charged the clergy with leading very immoral and diſſolute lives, and maintained, that the revenues of the church were greatly

greatly misapplied; and, from these principles, his enemies drew numberless consequences, some of which had, perhaps, never entered into his thoughts. There were, at last, discovered, in his writings, 260 capital errors; and his followers added many more which he had never taught, tho' the whole was imputed to him, as if he had maintained them all, in express terms.

However, John Huss embraced Wickliffe's opinion; but then it was only in what concerned the hierarchy and clergy; for, it is manifest, he believed transubstantiation, and died in that belief. As to images, his opinion was, that a man might honour them, kneel to them, and kiss them, because the intention referred that worship to the originals; so that it is certain, that he was not burnt, for maintaining errors, in the principal doctrines of faith, but for opinions which combated the excessive power and riches of the church, that is, of the clergy. All possible efforts were used to make him confess, that he did not believe transubstantiation; but he could never be brought to such a confession; and yet, by the advice of the cardinal of Florence, the council condemned him, upon the deposition of the witnesses, who accused him of rejecting that doctrine, without regarding his own positive declaration to the contrary. It is not extremely difficult to conceive the council's design, in causing that article to be inserted in Huss's sentence; for they foresaw that it must have appeared very surprising, that a person should be burnt, whose principles tended to a reformation, in the head and members of the church, which all Christendom required, and which was pretended to be necessary by the council itself. It was requisite, therefore, to justify the sentence, by rendering this man odious, as rejecting a fundamental article of faith; and, for this very reason, without distinguishing Wickliffe's errors, John Huss and Jerome of Prague were condemned, as followers of that arch-heretick; by which it was insinuated, that they embraced all the opinions of their master.

To prove by an incontestable testimony, that both these men were burnt, for their opinions concerning the clergy, I need only quote what Æneas Sylvius, alias pope Pius II, affirms, in his History of Bohemia; for, the deputies of the council having admonished the accused, to renounce their errors, and conform to the sentiments of the church, they replied, "That "they were, indeed, lovers of the holy gos- "pel, and true disciples of Christ; that the "church of Rome, and all the other churches "in the world, had greatly swerved from the "apostolical traditions; that the clergy "eagerly pursued pleasures and riches; that "they lorded it over the people, affected the "highest seats, at entertainments, and bred "horses and dogs; that the revenues of the "church, tho' they belonged to the poor "members of Christ, were consumed, in "vanity and wantonness; and that the "priests were ignorant of the commandments "of God, or, if they knew them, lightly "regarded them.

"The fathers of the council, (continues "the Historian) perceiving and knowing "the incorrigble obstinacy of these people, "jugded, that the corrupted members of "the church, when incurable, ought to be "cut off, lest they should infect the rest of "the body. Accordingly, sentence was pas- "sed upon them, all the fathers unanimously "agreeing, that persons, who rejected sound "doctrine, approved by the church, deserved "to be burnt."

This account most evidently shews, wherein consisted the heresy of John Huss and Jerome of Prague; viz. in their charging the clergy with corruption. It was, therefore, to destroy these enemies of the clergy, that the council made no conscience of violating the safe-conduct given by the emperor Sigismund to John Huss, or, at least, to allow him to violate it himself; moreover, the council did not perform the promise they publickly gave to Jerome of Prague, in order to draw him to Constance. Indeed, the council had inserted these words, in their engagement, "Without prejudice to justice, and as far as "the catholick faith requires it," a captious clause, if ever there was any; for was not the catholick faith the very point in dispute; and of what service could the council's promise be to Jerome of Prague, unless against justice? Did he run any risque, or stand in need of such a promise, if he had not maintained the tenets, of which he was accused.

Let us now proceed to the decree of this council, against communion, in both kinds; wherein we shall see, as well as in the preceding article, that the authority of the church, or the clergy, was the sole point in question; for, the fathers of Constance did not condemn communion, in both kinds, as sinful in itself. On the contrary, they owned, that it was practised, in the primitive church, and that the church might grant it to the laity, if she judged it expedient; but they anathematized such as asserted, that the church had no right to abolish this practice. What did they mean, then, by the church? Did they not intend the councils composed of the several members of the clergy? It is so true, that, in this decree, the council's sole view was to support the authority of the church representative, that, some years after, another general council did not scruple to permit the Hussites to communicate, in both kinds, without the least apprehension, that the faith was therein concerned, when they were willing to receive that liberty, as a favour from the church.

As to other opinions, that appeared, at the same time, as they did not attack the clergy, the council of Constance behaved, with an astonishing coldness. John Petit, advocate of the duke of Burgundy, maintained, that it was lawful for any private person to kill a tyrant, even by surprize; but, when this tenet was brought before the council, how did they proceed? After much solli-

tation, they declared it erroneous, without naming the author, or puniſhing his perſon; tho' they had ordered Wickliffe's bones to be dug up, 30 years after his burial. The ſect of the Scourgers * broached ſeveral capital errors; but the council was ſatisfied with the bare propoſal of finding ſome gentle means, to reſtore them to the unity of the church.

What reformation could be expected from a council, that ſo rigorouſly proſecuted ſuch as diſputed the privileges of the pope, cardinals, and clergy? This work muſt have begun, with the ſuppreſſion of moſt of theſe prerogatives. Indeed, before Martin V's election, the reforming of the court of Rome was diſcourſed of, in the council; and a liſt of the abuſes, to be redreſſed, was drawn up; but, by the artifices of ſome, and particularly of the cardinals, this noble deſign proved abortive; for a pope was elected, who found means to have this article deferred to a more convenient ſeaſon.

This is the ſum of the moſt remarkable tranſactions, in the council of Conſtance. A full account of theſe things will be found, in the fore-mentioned new Hiſtory, to which the reader is referred. Now let us ſee what the council of Baſil acted, with reſpect to the Huſſites, and the conteſt of pope Eugenius IV, with the ſame council; for nothing is more proper to ſhew the State of the Church of thoſe days.

The hiſtory of the council of Baſil.

The Bohemians, who, for the moſt part, had embraced the doctrines of John Huſs, highly reſented the uſage he had met with; and this ſeverity, ſerving only to confirm them in their opinions, the reſolved to maintain them, in ſpite of the council's decrees. The principal doctrine was, communion in both kinds. This occaſioned terrible commotions, in Bohemia, which Martin V. greatly inflamed, by his haughty treatment of the Huſſites. In the midſt of theſe troubles, Wenceſlaus, king of Bohemia, dying, the emperor Sigiſmund, his brother, pretended to the ſucceſſion; but the Bohemians rejected him, becauſe he would not conſent, that they ſhould live in the faith they profeſſed. Martin V. ſupporting Sigiſmund, publiſhed a Cruſade againſt the Huſſites, which obliged them to arm, in defence of their lives. It is needleſs to inquire here, whether Sigiſmund had any right to aſcend the throne of Bohemia, without the conſent of the ſtates; for this is a query, that would lead me too far. However that be, Ziska, a Bohemian, heading the Huſſites, defeated the emperor ſeveral times, and made him as well as the pope, deſpair of extirpating theſe pretended hereticks, by arms. This war laſted till the council of Baſil, without Sigiſmund's being able to take peaceable poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Bohemia.

The council of Baſil, which met, in 1431, finding that the arms of the emperor and the Croiſes, had not the ſucceſs that was expected, reſolved to make peace, with the Huſſites; probably, their view was to ſet Sigiſmund, at any rate, on the throne of Bohemia, to enable him the better to take proper meaſures to extirpate theſe people; for which purpoſe, they ſent deputies into Bohemia, to invite the Huſſites to come and produce their reaſons, before the council. They agreed to it, and their deputies being arrived, at Baſil, required theſe four articles, for which they offered to be reconciled to the church.

Firſt, That the communion ſhould be adminiſtered, in both kinds, to the Bohemian laity.

Secondly, That offenders ſhould be puniſhed, according to the law of God, and by thoſe whoſe proper buſineſs it was.

Thirdly, That the word of God ſhould be preached by able prieſts.

Fourthly, That the clergy ſhould have no temporal juriſdiction.

Theſe were the ſentiments of the Huſſites, for which ſo bloody a war had been made upon them, even to exciting all Europe againſt them; but it was not ſo much for their doctrines, that they were thus cruelly perſecuted, but for their obſtinate refuſal, to ſubmit to the deciſions of the church, and for their contempt of the clergy; for the council uſed all poſſible means to perſuade the Bohemian deputies, to an unconditional ſubmiſſion to the church; but, at laſt, perceiving, that they inſiſted upon the four articles, the council thought fit to grant them, on condition, that that they ſhould, firſt, be explained, becauſe, being couched, in general terms, they might give occaſion to freſh diſputes. The Huſſites conſenting, the council explained the four articles, as they judged convenient; after which, an agreement was drawn, conformable to the four articles, and their explication.

This affair being, thus, ſettled, Sigiſmund demanded to be received for king of Bohemia, and was ſo accordingly, after ſigning certain conditions; viz. the approbation of the agreement, and ſome others relating thereto. It ſeemed, that the perſecution againſt the Huſſites was thereby to ceaſe; but Sigiſmund was no ſooner on the throne of Bohemia, but he diſappointed them. On the other hand, the pope pretending, that they obſerved not the conditions, on which the four articles were granted, poſitively refuſed to approve of the agreement; which occaſioned, in Bohemia, freſh troubles, that were always fomented by the court of Rome, and which properly ended not, till the middle of the laſt century, in the utter ruin of the Huſſites.

Before we leave this ſubject, let us make one reflection. Let the Huſſites be inveighed againſt, as much as you pleaſe; let them be accuſed of holding impious and deteſtable errors; yet theſe ſame errors muſt be reduced to the

* This ſect firſt appeared, at Perouſa, in 1260, having for its author one Rainerus, a hermit. They carried a croſs, in their hands, wore a cowl, on their heads, and went naked, to the waſte; and, twice a day, and once in the night, they laſhed themſelves, with knotted cords ſtuck with points or pins, from whence they derived their name. They maintained, that their blood was ſo united to Chriſt's, that it had the ſame vertue; perſuading the people, that the goſpel had ceaſed, and ſuffered all ſort of perjuries.

four articles, exhibited by themſelves, to the the council of Baſil; for which, Cruſades were publiſhed againſt them, and John Huſs, and Jerome of Prague were burnt. But a general council, owned by all the world, when the agreement was granted them, judged, theſe articles might be ſuffered, without prejudice to the catholick faith; wherefore, it appears, that war was made upon them, ſolely, for the ſupport of the church's authority; which was the main point of religion. But, why were they perſecuted afterwards? Becauſe the popes would never ſtand to the agreement, tho' the Huſſites offered, frequently, to ſubmit to the church, upon that condition. It is, therefore, evident, that the war, from the beginning to the end, was wholly founded on this principle, that the church has a deſpotick power; and, that it is unlawful to bind her to any conditions. But what church is this, inveſted with ſo high a prerogative? It cannot be a general council, ſince ſuch a council has not judged that article unqueſtionable; wherefore, it is the pope alone, which muſt be meant by the church. Perhaps, it will be ſaid, that the authority of the council of Baſil, is not acknowledged by a great part of the church; but this will be groundleſs; for the agreement, with the Huſſites, was made before the council was removed to Ferrara, and the council of Baſil is owned by all the world, for lawful, before that removal.

We are going, now, to ſee a quarrel of another nature, not of the church, with her heretical enemies, but of the church with herſelf, of the members with the head; for, till the council of Baſil, the popes and the councils were very well agreed to improve the church's authority, and cauſe it to be abſolutely obeyed. By the help of the equivocal word church, an entire ſubmiſſion was required of Chriſtians, ſometimes to the pope, as the head, ſometimes to the councils, as repreſentatives of the body, according as occaſion offered to improve that term, for the benefit of either. As for the Chriſtian laity, they had been long excluded out of the meaning of the word church. However, tho', in confining the ſignification of the word church, to the clergy alone, there ſtill remained ſome ambiguity, it had not yet been removed, by deciding, whether the authority of the church was lodged in the body of the clergy, or in the pope, as head. The councils of Piſa and Conſtance had taken ſome ſteps towards aſſuming this authority, in depoſing the popes themſelves; but Martin V, after his election, had artfully evaded the deciſion of this important point, either by breaking up the council, or by confirming whatever was done, with regard to the doctrines, without meddling with any of the other articles; for he knew, it would be very prejudicial for him, if the queſtion was decided by the council, as it would be for the council the moment they broke up. At length, the council of Baſil had occaſion to take this queſtion into conſideration.

The council had been called, by Martin V, who had now appointed cardinal Julian Cæſarini, to preſide as legate; but Martin dying, in 1431, before the council was aſſembled, Eugenius IV. was choſen in his room. The new pope oppoſed not the opening of the council, but intended that it ſhould not continue long; for ſome time, the neceſſity of reforming the church, both in the head and members, had been every where talked of; and, as ſuch a reformation muſt have been made by a general council, ſuch a council could not but terrify a pope, who, as yet, had not time to taſte the ſweets of the pontificate. The council of Baſil was no ſooner aſſembled, but Eugenius ſought means to diſſolve it; for he found a pretence, in the council's invitation of the Huſſites to Baſil, during the firſt ſeſſion. He affirmed, that theſe hereticks being condemned, in the council of Conſtance, ought not to be allowed a re-hearing; and, upon this frivolous pretence, he publiſhed a bull, for diſſolving the council.

Inſtead of ſubmitting to the pope's pleaſure, the council reſolved to continue their ſeſſions; from which ſprung a quarrel, that produced a real ſchiſm, ſome maintaining the authority of the council, and others, that of the pope. The council made ſeveral decrees, which placed the authority of a general council above that of a pope, and the pope annulled theſe decrees, affirming, that the body could act but by the directions of the head; but the emperor, the king of France, and moſt of the other princes declaring, immediately, for the council, Eugenius ſaw himſelf, under a neceſſity, to approve the council, and conſent, that the ſeſſions ſhould be continued; and having ſent other legates to preſide, in his name, the council refuſed to receive them, as preſidents. This was a freſh occaſion of diſſenſion, for the pope threatened to diſſolve the council, and the council threatened to ſuſpend the pope; and, accordingly, they made ſome advances to accompliſh it; upon which, Eugenius finding himſelf the weakeſt, was obliged, once more, to approve and confirm the council.

The forced compliance of the pope, appeaſed the quarrel, for ſome time; but, in 1435, the council having ſhewn, that they would ſeriouſly endeavour a reformation of the church, in the head and members, and made, for that purpoſe, decrees to aboliſh the firſt-fruits, and ſettle the rights of the apoſtolick chamber; the pope ſaw himſelf ruined, unleſs he found ſome way to ſtop their proceedings. On the other hand, the cardinals eaſily perceived, that the pope being begun with, their turn would ſoon come; and, there were alſo biſhops, who were ſorry to ſee a reformation going forward, which would be to their prejudice, in many things, tho they might hope to be gainers by it, in ſome reſpects; which occaſioned the forming two oppoſite parties, in the council; but, however, the reformers had the majority. In the interim, the pope continued to gain ground, ſince the cardinals, and ſeveral biſhops, thought it their intereſt to ſupport him.

Another thing alſo helped to ſet the pope's affairs

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In the mean time, the council of Baſil, continuing their proceedings againſt Eugenius IV, came, at laſt, to depoſe him, and elect another pope, in his room, namely, Amedeus, duke of Savoy, who, reſigning the government of his dominions, had retired to the ſolitudes of Ripaille. The new pope aſſumed the name of Felix V. Hence was formed, in the church, a double ſchiſm, between two general councils, and two popes, who thundered their anathema's againſt each other, to the great ſcandal of Chriſtendom. It was no ſmall ambarraſſment to moſt people, to ſee, thus, two popes and two councils condemning one another, and each excommunicating the adherents of the other party, without ſparing even thoſe, who thought to eſcape, by being neuter.

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In the interim, Felix V, being diſpleaſed with the council of Baſil, for taking ſo much upon them, reſolved to withdraw to Lauſanne, under pretence, that Baſil Air did not agree with him; and, on the other hand, Eugenius tranſlated the council of Florence to Rome, in the church of St. John of Lateran, where they bgan their ſeſſions, in 1444.

At length, in 1446, the princes of Germany, aſſembled, at Francfort, unanimouſly agreed, that, if Eugenius would not redreſs the grievances complained of, they would all recognize pope Felix. Eugenius demurred at firſt, but the emperor, telling him, he muſt comply, or reſolve to loſe all Germany, he granted whatever the Germans deſired, whereupon an agreement was made.

This was a terrible blow to the council of Baſil, who had, now, loſt Italy, Arragon, and ſeveral other ſtates; and, as for France, they could not rely much upon her, ſince ſhe ſtill continued in obedience to pope Eugenius. England had likewiſe ſo far declared for that pope, that, we find, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, Henry VI. ſent an ambaſſy, to make a league with him.

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The council of Baſil loſing a great part of their authority, and Felix V, having but few friends, the king of France held a ſynod, at Lyons, to find means to put an end to the ſchiſm; and Felix V. ſending legates thither, it was reſolved, with his conſent, that, if Nicholas V. would grant him certain conditions, he would reſign the pontificate; which was the ſubject of a negotiation, that laſted the whole year 1448. In the mean while, the council of Baſil, finding themſelves forſaken, by almoſt all the world, and deſpairing of farther protection, at Baſil, ſince the emperor and Germany had declared for Eugenius, reſolved to remove to Lauſanne.

Felix having, at length, obtained moſt of his deſires, reſigned the papal dignity, in 1449; but it was with conſent of his council, who found means to preſerve ſome remains of authority. By their laſt decree, they approved

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four articles, exhibited by themſelves, to the the council of Baſil; for which, Cruſades were publiſhed againſt them, and John Huſs, and Jerome of Prague were burnt. But a general council, owned by all the world, when the agreement was granted them, judged, theſe articles might be ſuffered, without prejudice to the catholick faith; wherefore, it appears, that war was made upon them, ſolely, for the ſupport of the church's authority; which was the main point of religion. But, why were they perſecuted afterwards? Becauſe the popes would never ſtand to the agreement, tho' the Huſſites offered, frequently, to ſubmit to the church, upon that condition. It is, therefore, evident, that the war, from the beginning to the end, was wholly founded on this principle, that the church has a deſpotick power; and, that it is unlawful to bind her to any conditions. But what church is this, inveſted with ſo high a prerogative? It cannot be a general council, ſince ſuch a council has not judged that article unqueſtionable; wherefore, it is the pope alone, which muſt be meant by the church. Perhaps, it will be ſaid, that the authority of the council of Baſil, is not acknowledged by a great part of the church; but this will be groundleſs; for the agreement, with the Huſſites, was made before the council was removed to Ferrara, and the council of Baſil is owned by all the world, for lawful, before that removal.

We are going, now, to ſee a quarrel of another nature, not of the church, with her heretical enemies, but of the church with herſelf, of the members with the head; for, till the council of Baſil, the popes and the councils were very well agreed to improve the church's authority, and cauſe it to be abſolutely obeyed. By the help of the equivocal word church, an entire ſubmiſſion was required of Chriſtians, ſometimes to the pope, as the head, ſometimes to the councils, as repreſentatives of the body, according as occaſion offered to improve that term, for the benefit of either. As for the Chriſtian laity, they had been long excluded out of the meaning of the word church. However, tho', in confining the ſignification of the word church, to the clergy alone, there ſtill remained ſome ambiguity, it had not yet been removed, by deciding, whether the authority of the church was lodged in the body of the clergy, or in the pope, as head. The councils of Piſa and Conſtance had taken ſome ſteps towards aſſuming this authority, in depoſing the popes themſelves; but Martin V, after his election, had artfully evaded the deciſion of this important point, either by breaking up the council, or by confirming whatever was done, with regard to the doctrines, without meddling with any of the other articles; for he knew, it would be very prejudicial for him, if the queſtion was decided by the council, as it would be for the council the moment they broke up. At length, the council of Baſil had occaſion to take this queſtion into conſideration.

The council had been called, by Martin V, who had now appointed cardinal Julian Cæſarini, to preſide as legate; but Martin dying, in 1431, before the council was aſſembled, Eugenius IV. was choſen in his room. The new pope oppoſed not the opening of the council, but intended that it ſhould not continue long; for ſome time, the neceſſity of reforming the church, both in the head and members, had been every where talked of; and, as ſuch a reformation muſt have been made by a general council, ſuch a council could not but terrify a pope, who, as yet, had not time to taſte the ſweets of the pontificate. The council of Baſil was no ſooner aſſembled, but Eugenius ſought means to diſſolve it; for he found a pretence, in the council's invitation of the Huſſites to Baſil, during the firſt ſeſſion. He affirmed, that theſe hereticks being condemned, in the council of Conſtance, ought not to be allowed a re-hearing; and, upon this frivolous pretence, he publiſhed a bull, for diſſolving the council.

Inſtead of ſubmitting to the pope's pleaſure, the council reſolved to continue their ſeſſions; from which ſprung a quarrel, that produced a real ſchiſm, ſome maintaining the authority of the council, and others, that of the pope. The council made ſeveral decrees, which placed the authority of a general council above that of a pope, and the pope annulled theſe decrees, affirming, that the body could act but by the directions of the head; but the emperor, the king of France, and moſt of the other princes declaring, immediately, for the council, Eugenius ſaw himſelf, under a neceſſity, to approve the council, and conſent, that the ſeſſions ſhould be continued; and having ſent other legates to preſide, in his name, the council refuſed to receive them, as preſidents. This was a freſh occaſion of diſſenſion, for the pope threatened to diſſolve the council, and the council threatened to ſuſpend the pope; and, accordingly, they made ſome advances to accompliſh it; upon which, Eugenius finding himſelf the weakeſt, was obliged, once more, to approve and confirm the council.

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of Felix's reſignation, created him cardinal and Legate a latere, in Savoy and the Tarentaiſe, and allowed him to wear the papal habit all his life; and, Nicholas V. confirmed this decree, according to agreement. Thus ended, at length, the ſchiſm, in which there was a complication of three ſchiſms: Firſt, between Eugenius IV, and the council of Baſil; ſecondly, between two general councils; and, laſtly, between two popes. The firſt, may be ſaid, not to be yet ended, ſince the diſpute, which occaſioned it, ſtill ſubſiſts; for the court of Rome's adherents, perpetually inveigh againſt the council of Baſil, in decreeing, that a general council is above the pope. On the other hand, their oppoſers reſt upon the decrees of this council, to ſupport their opinion. Probably, this queſtion will remain long undecided.

I have enlarged, a little, on what paſſed in the two famous councils of Conſtance and Baſil, nothing, in my opinion, being more proper to diſcover the wretched ſtate of the church of thoſe days; for, from the cloſe of the laſt ſchiſm, to the end of the XVth century, the papal chair was filled with popes, cruelly reſolved on the deſtruction of the Huſſites, contrary to the faith of the agreement, or entirely employed in maintaining the exorbitant power uſurped by their predeceſſors, and, generally, to have an opportunity to ſatisfy their avarice.

1455. The characters of the popes of the xvth century. Calixtus III, ſucceſſor to Nicholas V, ſo oppreſſed the Germans, that they were, at length, forced to break the Concordat, made with Eugenius IV, plainly perceiving that it was entirely uſeleſs.

1458. Pius II, lately canonized, was ſo far from agreeing to a reformation, in the head of the church, that, by a bull, he excommunicated all perſons, that ſhould preſume to appeal from the pope to a general council.

1464. Paul II. was no ſooner choſen, than he broke the oath taken before his election, concerning the redreſs of certain abuſes, which himſelf, with the reſt of the cardinals, had deemed neceſſary. Never were the Gratiæ expectativæ, or bulls for church-preferments before they become void, more frequent, than whilſt he ſate in the papal chair. He ſpent the whole time of his pontificate, in endeavouring to aboliſh the pragmatick ſanction, in France, which deprived him of the liberty of doing, there, whatever he pleaſed.

1471. Sixtus IV, by one of his bulls, raiſed the hierarchy, to the higheſt degree it could be carried, at a time, when the exceſſive power uſurped by the clergy, was, generally, complained of.

1484. Innocent VIII, quarrelled with Ferdinand of Arragon, king of Naples; and, by his ſollicitations, inclined Charles VIII, to carry his arms, into Italy.

1492. Mezerai. Alexander VI, was one of the moſt corrupt men of his age; and it is of him a famous Roman catholick writer gives this fine character, that he would have been the wickedeſt man in the world, if his baſtard ſon *, had not been more wicked than himſelf.

* Cæſar Borgia.

I paſs over, in ſilence, the cruel diſpoſition of all theſe popes, to perſecute the Bohemians, contrary to the faith of their Concordat. The Cruſades againſt the Turks, in which they would have engaged all the princes of Europe, appeared very ſpecious; but ſovereigns were ſo well ſatisfied, that, in publiſhing Cruſades, the popes had only their own private intereſt in view, that they could never confide in them.

Such, in general, was the ſtate of the Chriſtian church, in the XVth century, on which I ſhall make but one ſingle remark, leaving my readers, at liberty, to add as many as they pleaſe. What I would obſerve is, that the abſtract I have given, plainly ſhews, how trifling their opinion is, who ſay, it is not the buſineſs of private perſons, to endeavour a reformation of the church, but it muſt be left to the care of the church herſelf. What then is this church, from which we are to expect this happy reformation? Doubtleſs, this is not what is meant, by the word church; for, it is the pope with his cardinals. But, theſe are the very men, who have always prevented it, and, very likely, will, to the utmoſt of their power, prevent it, for ever. Shall a general council undertake this reformation? But, what has, hitherto, paſſed, in theſe aſſemblies affords no room to expect ſo great a benefit; and, beſides, who ſhall call this general council? of whom ſhall it be compoſed? who ſhall preſide? Can the pope be perſuaded to convene a general council to reform the church? will he give the precedency to another, that himſelf and court may be, with more freedom, reformed? In a word, will it not be the pope, cardinal, and prelates, that will have the deliberative vote, in this council? but, theſe are ſo many perſons concerned to leave things as they are.

Will it be ſaid, with ſome, that the church has no need of a reformation; that ſhe is innocent and pure, without ſpot or wrinkle, or any thing like it; that all the prerogatives enjoyed by the popes, cardinals, and biſhops, belong to them by divine right; that the pope exerciſes only the power committed to him by Chriſt; that his deciſions are infallible, as well in point of fact, as of right; and the ſame obedience muſt be paid to his decrees, as to thoſe of God himſelf. But, if, purſuant to this principle, the pope ſhould unfortunately enlarge their phylacteries, and every day form new pretenſions, as it has too often happened, how ſhall they be ſtopped, if, it is confeſſed, that the church has no need of reformation, or left to reform herſelf?

The State of the Church of England. After viewing the State of the Church, in general, it is time to proceed to that of the church of England, in particular. England, with regard to religion, was in the ſame condition with the reſt of Europe. The people, paſſionately wiſhed for a reformation of ſeveral abuſes, crept into the church; but the eccleſiaſticks vigorouſly oppoſed it, as every change would be to their prejudice. As for the kings, they made religion ſubſervient to their intereſt; for, when they imagined that they wanted the clergy,

clergy, they found ways enough to evade the people's deſires; but when the parliament's favour was neceſſary, they aſſented to the ſtatutes, which reſtrained the incroachments of the pope and clergy.

In the beginning of the century, Henry IV, whoſe ſole view was to eſtabliſh himſelf in the throne, and, who thought he could not effect it, without the clergy, appeared, throughout his whole reign, to have a great reſpect for them; and, from hence, proceeded all the ſtatutes paſſed, in thoſe days, againſt the Lollards. Henry V, ſhewed, at firſt, a great inclination to ſtrip the clergy of their riches, purſuant to the parliament's deſire; but, afterwards, turning his thoughts to the conqueſt of France, carefully avoided, that religion ſhould cauſe any commotions, in his kingdom; for it was highly requiſite, in order, to execute his grand deſigns, that his ſubjects ſhould be ready to aſſiſt him with their purſes; and, on the other hand, he was no leſs concerned to live in a good underſtanding with the court of Rome, leaſt it ſhould prevent his enterpriſe; for he knew what ſhe was capable of, when ſhe thought herſelf injured; and, ſo, artfully managing, both the pope and his ſubjects, he hindered the firſt, from abuſing his power too much, without depriving him, however, of what he poſſeſſed. By this prudent conduct, he made his reign peaceable, with regard to religion; but, we muſt, however, except what he did, in the beginning, againſt the Lollards; for he had ſuffered himſelf to be prepoſſeſſed, that they had conſpired againſt his life; and, that belief made him, at firſt, a little ſevere; but, as he was endowed with an excellent judgment, he ſoon diſcerned the intereſts of the clergy, from thoſe of religion, and put a ſtop to the perſecutions of the unfortunate Lollards. Henry VI, was a weak man, ever ready to receive the impreſſions that were given him; and had he held the reins of the government himſelf, very probably, the clergy would have gained much ground, in his reign; but the directors of his affairs, as well during his minority, as after, were men of a very different character; beſides, the French war, the diſturbances, at court, after the king's marriage, and the civil wars, which quickly followed, gave thoſe, at the helm, no time to think much of religious affairs. For the ſame reaſon, the reign of Edward IV, was not diſturbed either by the Lollards, or their adverſaries. It is true, Edward ſhewed a great condeſcenſion for the clergy, in granting them a favour, conſtantly denied by the former kings; but his complaiſance, did not go ſo far, as to indulge perſecution. The reigns of Edward V, and Richard III, were entirely ſpent in domeſtick troubles, which had no influence upon the affairs of the church; and, as for Henry VII, he made it a rule, to keep the church upon the ſame foot he found it, when he aſcended the throne; for he, always avoided, as a rock, all innovations which might hinder the execution of his two ſole deſigns; viz. to ſecure the crown to himſelf and his heirs, and to accumulate riches. Such was, with reſpect to religion, the diſpoſition of the kings that reigned in England, during the XVth century.

As for the Engliſh nation, it is certain, it was, generally, Wickliffite, in ſome reſpects; for Wickliffe's opinions, manifeſtly tended to theſe two principal ends: Firſt, to reform the government of the church, and to ſet bounds to the power of the pope and clergy; ſecondly, to alter the church's creed, concerning ſome doctrines, long ſince received, and which he thought, contrary to ſcripture. Now, as he found it, almoſt impoſſible, that Chriſtians ſhould return to what he believed the antient faith of the church, becauſe the clergy were concerned to maintain the eſtabliſhed errors, he ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon the firſt point, as being abſolutely neceſſary to the attainment of the ſecond. It is certain, that, with regard to his general view, in the firſt of theſe two articles, not only his profeſſed followers, but all the reſt of the people did, as it were, join with him. For many ages the Engliſh had felt the oppreſſion wherein the pope and clergy had kept them; and, in all Chriſtendom, no nation had more experienced the rigour of this dominion; for the Hiſtory of England ſhews it, ſo manifeſtly, that a man would be blind not to ſee it; and, tho' the Hiſtory were ſuſpected, the ſtatutes of Proviſors and Præmunire, ſo often revived, leave no room to queſtion, that the Engliſh thought themſelves oppreſſed; ſo, that it may be ſaid, in general, the Engliſh nation was Wickliffite, as to the firſt point, tho' many believed, Wickliffe would have carried the reformation a little too far, and, to correct the abuſes of the hierarchy, had run into the contrary extreme; but the nation was not, generally, Wickliffite, with regard to the ſecond article; namely, the alteration of belief, concerning the doctrines. Indeed, Wickliffe had, in this reſpect, many followers, but they were not the majority. Thus, the name of Wickliffite, or Lollard, was an equivocal term, capable of being underſtood two different ways; for, ſome times, it ſignified a man, who, ſeparating himſelf from the church, embraced all Wickliffe's opinions; and, it might, alſo, be underſtood of one, who, remaining in the church, as it was then, and adhering to the received doctrines, was, however, of Wickliffe's opinion, concerning the temporal and ſpiritual juriſdiction of the clergy. In this laſt ſenſe, there were more Lollards, in England, than can be imagined; and, this diſtinction, may ſerve to account for divers proceedings of the parliaments, in the beginning of the XVth century, which ſeem to be contrary one to another. Some times they were ſeen to ſpeak and act like Lollards, requiring earneſtly, that the clergy ſhould be ſtript of their riches, and ſome times to condemn theſe ſame Lollards to the flames, when they conſidered them, in the firſt ſenſe beforementioned. The clergy knew how to take advantage of the ambiguity of that term; for when a man was ſo hardy as to ſhew, that it were to be wiſhed, ſome alteration were made in the government of the church, he was, infallibly, accuſed of being a Lollard, and charged

with all Wickliffe's opinions; by which he became odious, becauſe the true Lollards maintained doctrines repugnant to the faith of thoſe days. The firſt parliament, which petitioned Henry IV, to ſeize the church lands, could not eſcape that imputation, which made a deep impreſſion in the king's mind. Thus, it often happened, that the people did not dare, publickly, to approve Wickliffe's firſt opinions, for fear of being taxed, alſo, with holding the others, and expoſed to ſuffer, for tenets they never had received, as it happened to John Huſs and Jerome of Prague. It was not, without cauſe, that the clergy proſecuted the Lollards, with ſuch animoſity, ſince their principles tended to deprive them of all their prerogatives; and, at this very day, the Church of England, tho', embracing Wickliffe's opinions, concerning the doctrines, cannot forbear expreſſing very little eſteem for that doctor, becauſe he has combated the hierarchy, which ſhe has thought fit to retain.

The Lollards were perſecuted, ſome times more, or leſs, according to the character of the kings, archbiſhops, and the reſt of the prelates; but, chiefly, according to the circumſtances of affairs. In general, the beginning of the XVth century, was much more ſevere for them, than the middle, or the end; and the reaſon is evident; for, as their number continually increaſed, their enemies found much leſs ſupport, and themſelves more protection. In the beginning of the XVth century, which was the moſt troubleſome time for them, there were, however, but very few burnt; of which, three principal reaſons may be given: Firſt, as the ſtatutes did not enact, that all, in general, ſhould be burnt, who held the tenets of Wickliffe, but only ſuch as preached, or taught them openly, the number of the guilty was not very great; for theſe ſtatutes were not obſerved, after the manner of the inquiſitions, but agreeably to the liberties and privileges of the Engliſh nation. In the next place, the idea, which the clergy were pleaſed to give of the Lollards, was, that they entirely ſubverted religion; but, often, in the examination of the parties accuſed as ſuch, it appeared, they only believed, that the pope and clergy abuſed their power too much, which was the general opinion of the kingdom. It was well known, the parliament had not that in view, in their ſtatutes againſt the Lollards. Laſtly, the judges themſelves ſome times happened to be of the ſect; and this was the occaſion of the ſtatute in the reign of Henry V, obliging all magiſtrates, at their entrance into office, to ſwear to the execution of the laws, againſt the Lollards; but I do not know whether that ſtatute was ever ſtrictly obſerved. If we believe Walſingham, the monk, the judges, and ſeveral biſhops themſelves, were very remiſs in the proſecution of the Lollards; which he aſcribes to the general corruption, which reigned, in England; but this corruption was nothing elſe, but the inclination of the Engliſh, for Wickliffe's opinions; or, at leaſt, their ſcruple to put people to death on account of religion. The moſt remarkable thing in England, concerning the Lollards, is the trial and puniſhment of Sir John Oldcaſtle, otherwiſe called lord Cobham, of whom I have ſpoken in the reign of Henry V. We muſt now proceed to another ſubject; viz. the conteſts which England had, with the court of Rome, during the XVth century.

Diſputes between England and the popes.

Notwithſtanding the complaints continually carried to the court of Rome, concerning her frequent incroachments, and the precautions taken, by ſeveral parliaments, to ſcreen themſelves from the ſame, the popes did not abate their pretenſions; for the acts of parliament, were to them, but like thunders, without execution, which reached not their rights. Upon every occaſion, they made no ſcruple to act contrary to theſe ſtatutes, as if they had not been made; and aſſert their apoſtolick power, without troubling themſelves, whether they prejudiced the king or his ſubjects. The parliament, willing to remedy the abuſes, flowing from the continual diſpenſations, granted by the pope, without hearing the cauſe, paſſed, in 1400, an act, "That all "perſons, who purchaſed or executed any bulls "to be diſcharged from the payment of tythes, "ſhould incur the penalties contained in the "ſtatutes of Proviſors." It was enacted, by another ſtatute paſſed, at the ſame time, "That, if any perſon ſhould procure a pro- "viſion, to be exempt of the juriſdiction of "the biſhops, he ſhould incur the ſame pe- "nalties.

Theſe acts being chiefly made with a view to the monks, were not capable of producing the deſired effect, becauſe the pope, by the fulneſs of his apoſtolick authority, exempted the monks from the obſervance of theſe parliamentary ſtatutes. The biſhops, whom this affair chiefly concerned, not daring to diſpute the power uſurped by the pope, it was the parliament's buſineſs to defend their cauſe, as well as their own; and, to that purpoſe, the ſtatutes, upon this ſubject, were revived, with an additional clauſe, prohibiting the monks, in particular, to purchaſe, or execute any ſuch exemptions, on the penalty compriſed in the ſtatute of Præmunire.

This ſtatute, which I have mentioned, on ſeveral occaſions, was a terrible fence, againſt the court of Rome's uſurpations. Indeed, it did not directly attack the pope, ſince the parliament had no juriſdiction over him; but, as it hindered the Engliſh from applying to the court of Rome for things, contrary to the prerogatives of the crown, and the laws of the realm, it abridged the pope of good part of the advantages, which he pretended to reap from his apoſtolick power. Perhaps, it will be thought ſtrange, that the popes ſhould be ſilent, when, and long after, this ſtatute was paſſed; but it is eaſy to diſcover the reaſon; for the ſchiſm which began, in 1378, and, laſted, till 1409, hindered them from ſtirring; and the popes received by England, took care to give no offence, at ſuch a juncture. It is true, there was an interval of ſome years, during which Alexander V, and John XXIII, might have made

made ſome attempt againſt that law; but Alexander's pontificate, was very ſhort, and John was employed in affairs, as he thought, of more importance. Martin V, did not conſider this affair, with the ſame indifference; for, in 1426, he wrote a thundering letter to Chicheley, archbiſhop of Canterbury, upbraiding him for his remiſneſs, and enjoining him, to exert his utmoſt, that this ſtatute might be repealed. Henry VI, who then reigned, not being above five years old, the pope thought it a favourable juncture to compaſs his ends. It will not be, perhaps, unacceptable, to inſert part of this letter, which ſhews the pope's ſentiments concerning the pretended privileges of his ſee.

MARTIN,

SERVANT of the SERVANTS of GOD,

To his reverend brother, the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY, greeting, and apoſtolical benediction.

Martin V's letter to the archbiſhop of Canterbury. Burnet's Hiſt. Ref. T. I. Col. p. 95.

'HAD you conſidered, what a ſtrict account you muſt give to almighty God for the flock committed to your care; had you called to mind the obligations of your office, and, how much you are bound to maintain the rights and honour of the Roman church, of whom you hold your dignity; had you, I ſay, duly thought of theſe things, you would never have ſuffered your ſelf to be ſeized with ſuch a lethargy and negligence. No, you would have done your duty, long ſince; you would have endeavoured to ſet right the miſled, and oppoſed, with all your power, thoſe, who had ſacrilegiouſly invaded the privileges granted, by our Saviour, to the church. Was the authority of your character, beſtowed upon you, only to enrich your ſelf, and give you opportunity of "ſeeking your own, and not the things which are Jeſus Chriſt's?" If this be your opinion, you greatly miſtake the inſtructions of our bleſſed Saviour, who, when he committed his ſheep to St. Peter's care, only commanded him to "feed them;" neither received he his command, till he had given his maſter, repeated aſſurances of his love. Is this, then, your manner of ſhewing your love to Chriſt? Is this feeding and taking care of the flock? Will ſuch conduct as this, diſcharge your duty to the holy ſee? Alas! your flock are running down a precipice, before your eyes, and you are regardleſs of their danger, and make no attempt to ſave them: You ſuffer them to feed in dangerous paſtures, without warning them; and, which is horrible, you ſeem to put poiſon in their mouths, with your own hands; you ſee the wolves ſcatter and tear them to pieces, and like a dumb dog, vouchſafe not ſo much as to bark; and you can behold the authority of our bleſſed Saviour, and the holy ſee, deſpiſed and trampled on, without dropping one word of remonſtrance. One would have thought, you might, at leaſt, have whiſpered your diſlike, tho' you had been ſo very prudent, as not to have declared it openly. Are you not ſenſible, you muſt, one day, account, to the utmoſt farthing, for all omiſſions and prevarications of this kind? Do not you think, if any of your flock are loſt, by your neglect, (and, alas! there are a great many,) "their blood will be required at your hands? Conſider and tremble, what vengeance God denounces, by his prophet Ezekiel: "Son of man, I have ſet thee a watchman unto the houſe of Iſrael; if thou ſeeſt the ſword come, and doſt not blow the trumpet, and any perſon is taken away, his blood will I require at thy hands." Ezek. xxxiii. 6, 7.

To ſee this beginning, would not one think the point in queſtion, was ſome new hereſy, tending to ſubvert the foundations of religion? At leaſt, one ſhould believe, the pope had the Wickliffites in view. But it was not ſo; for we ſhall ſee, in the ſequel of the letter, what the affair was; namely, the ſtatute of Præmunire, which the archbiſhop had not cauſed to be repealed, the pope, groundleſsly, ſuppoſing, that it was in that prelate's power to annul the laws of the realm. He continued in this manner:

'I leave it to your ſelf, to conſider, what abominable violence has been committed upon your province. Pray read that royal law, if there is any thing in it, that is either law or royal; for, how can that be called a ſtatute, which repeals the laws of God and the church? Or, how can it deſerve the name of royal, when it deſtroys the antient cuſtoms of the kingdom; and ſo contrary to theſe words of ſcripture, "The king loveth judgment"? Tell me, then, reverend brother, whether you, who are a catholick biſhop, can think it reaſonable ſuch an act, as this, ſhould be in force, in a Chriſtian country?

'In the firſt place, under pretence of this execrable ſtatute, the king of England graſps at the ſpiritual juriſdiction, and governs ſo abſolutely, in eccleſiaſtical matters, as if our Saviour had appointed him his vicar. He makes laws for the church and clergy; for, in ſhort, he makes ſo many proviſions about clerks, benefices, and the concerns of the hierarchy, that one would think "the keys of the kingdom of Heaven" were put into his hands, and the ſuperintendency of theſe affairs, had been intruſted with him, and not with St. Peter.

'Beſides theſe monſterous uſurpations, he has enacted ſeveral penalties againſt the clergy; and, ſuch a rigour, is the more unjuſtifiable, as the Engliſh government does not treat Turks and Jews, with ſo great ſeverity. People of all countries and perſuaſions have the liberty of coming into England; and, only thoſe, who have cures beſtowed upon them, by Chriſt's vicar, are excluded: I ſay, only thoſe are baniſhed, ſeized, impriſoned, ſtripped of their fortunes? and, if any eccleſiaſtical perſon, charged with the execution of the mandates and cenſures of the holy ſee, happens to ſet foot on Engliſh ground, and proceed in the buſineſs of his

commiſſion,

'commiſſion, he is treated like an enemy, 'thrown out of the king's protection, and 'moreover, expoſed to greater hardſhips. 'Was ever ſuch iniquity, as this, paſſed into 'a law? Pray conſider, whether ſuch ſta-'tutes, as theſe, are for the honour of the 'kingdom; and whether it becomes you, to 'be ſilent under all this outrage. Is this an 'inſtance of filial obedience? Is this the 'Engliſh people's way of ſhewing their love, 'to their mother church and the holy ſee? 'Can that be called a catholick kingdom, 'where ſuch profane laws are practiſed; 'where application to Chriſt's vicar is prohi-'bited; where St. Peter's ſucceſſor, is not al-'lowed to execute our Saviour's commiſſion? 'Chriſt ſaid to St. Peter, and in him to his 'ſucceſſors, "feed my ſheep," but this ſtatute 'will not ſuffer him to feed them, but tranſ-'fers that office upon the king, and pretends, 'in ſeveral caſes, to give him apoſtolical 'authority. Chriſt built his church upon St. 'Peter; but this act of parliament hinders 'the effect of this diſpoſition, not permitting 'St. Peter's ſee to proceed in the functions of 'government, or to make proviſions ſuitable 'to the neceſſities of the church. Our Lord 'has ordered, that whatever his high-prieſt "ſhall bind or looſe in earth, ſhall be bound "or looſed in heaven;" but this ſtatute over-'rules the divine command; for, if, the im-'mediate repreſentative of our Saviour thinks 'fit to delegate any prieſt, to execute the 'power of the keys, contrary to the intent 'of the ſtatute, he is refuſed admittance, 'forced out of the kingdom, ſtript of his ef-'fects, and made liable to farther penalties. 'If any diſcipline, if any apoſtolick cenſure, 'appear againſt this uſage, it is puniſhed as 'a capital crime.

'And, what does your prudence think of 'all this? Is this a catholick ſtatute? Can it be 'ſuffered, without diſhonour to our Saviour, 'without a breach upon the laws of the goſ-'pel; and the ruin of people's ſouls? Why, 'therefore, did you not "cry aloud? Why Iſaih lviii. 1. "did you not lift up your voice like a trum-"pet? ſhew your people their tranſgreſſion, "and the houſe of Jacob their ſins, that their "blood may not be required at your hands?"

'If all perſons, who have the cure of ſouls, 'are bound to this duty, how much more are 'you, who have both the prieſts and people 'committed to your care, by the holy ſee, 'and, by whoſe favour, you enjoy the privi-'lege of primate and legate, for the church 'of England, and have the honour of being 'ſucceſſor to that glorious martyr, St. Thomas, 'who, to remove the oppreſſion of ſuch ſta-'tutes, ſcrupled not to ſacrifice himſelf for 'the intereſt of the church.

'Theſe things conſidered, you, who ought 'to have ſet up the church's ſtandard, been 'moſt forward in the defence of religion, and 'animated your fellow biſhops to a noble con-'teſt, are the firſt that turn your back, and 'decline the ſervice. Thus, either by your 'great cowardice, or, as it is, generally, be-'lieved, by your downright prevarication, 'you diſcourage thoſe, who offer to make a 'ſtand; wherefore, if the church complain 'of your conduct; if the whole be laid to 'your charge, be not ſurpriſed, but troubled 'at the imputation; and let this reproach 'ſerve to put you upon reforming your con-'duct, and make you boldly perform the du-'ties of your office; which, were you but in-'clined to make the moſt of your power, 'would not be very difficult; for which reaſon, 'exert your character among the laity, in-'form their underſtandings, in this point, 'and endeavour to reclaim them. Shew them, 'what a ſnare this ſtatute will prove, and 'how much guilt it will draw upon their con-'ſciences; and let your admonitions be preſ-'ſing and ſharp, and then," the crooked "will be made ſtrait, and the rough ways "ſmooth."

After ſo ſevere a reprimand, the pope continues to tell the archbiſhop, that he thought himſelf bound, in conſcience, to deal, thus, plainly, with him; and then, he charges him, upon pain of excommunication, to go, immediately, to the privy-council, and make what intereſt he could, for repealing the ſtatute of Præmunire; to apply to both houſes of parliament for the ſame purpoſe, and let them know, that thoſe, who obey that ſtatute, were under excommunication; moreover, he orders him to enjoin all the clergy, to preach publickly, and every-where, the ſame doctrine; to take with him two grave perſons to atteſt his diligence, and to ſatisfy him of the reſult of the affair.

Reaſons of the pope's conduct.

If it be inquired what made Mattin V, ſo very angry with Chicheley, who was not concerned in the ſtatute of Præmunire, paſſed long before he was archbiſhop, and who had not the power to procure a repeal, the reaſon is this. Chicheley had oppoſed, to his utmoſt, the papal exemptions; for, he had diſſuaded Henry V, from conſenting, that Henry Beaufort, his uncle, ſhould be made cardinal, legate a latere for life, and hold the biſhoprick of Wincheſter in commendam; moreover, he had ſaid, publickly, that all the pope's proceedings tended only to drain England continually.

The archbiſhop, willing to juſtify himſelf, did not do it to the pope's ſatisfaction; for, on the contrary, he drew upon himſelf a more thundering letter, and, after that, a third, directed to the two archbiſhops, wherein, to mortify Canterbury, York is named firſt. Chicheley fearing the pope's threats, got ſome biſhops to write in his behalf, but nothing was capable of pacifying him; and, at length, he ſent him a letter himſelf, telling him, he heard, by common report, that his holineſs had proceeded to a ſentence againſt him, which had never happened to any archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſince the days of St. Auguſtin; that, however, he was not certain of the thing, becauſe he was commanded, by the king, to bring all the inſtruments, received from Rome, with the ſeals whole, and lodge them in the paper-office, till the ſitting of the parliament.

In

In the interim, Martin V, reſolving to puſh this affair, wrote to the king and parliament, in a more imperious ſtrain, than had ever been uſed by any pope; for he admoniſhes, or rather commands them, to repeal the ſtatute of Præmunire, otherwiſe, he aſſures them, they cannot be ſaved.

The archbiſhop, at laſt, ſeeing the pope thus obſtinate, and not daring any longer to diſobey him, went, with ſeveral other biſhops, to the houſe of commons, where he made a long ſpeech, endeavouring to perſuade the houſe to repeal the ſtatute, and put them in mind of the danger of an interdict, on the whole kingdom; but neither his arguments nor menaces, were capable of inducing the commons to repeal, or even explain the act. On the contrary, they addreſſed the king, to take the archbiſhop into his protection, and to write to the pope, in his behalf.

Pope Martin's letter, and his extraordinary endeavours for repealing the ſtatute of Præmunire, afford matter for three remarks. The firſt is, this letter is a demonſtration, that the chief of religion, was then made to conſiſt, in the pope's prerogatives, and the clergy's immunities. Hence it alſo appears, how averſe Martin was, to conſent to the leaſt diminution of his pretended rights, and, conſequently, to a reformation, in the head and members of the church, demanded with ſo much earneſtneſs, at the council of Conſtance, where he was preſent himſelf.

The ſecond remark is, that, at all times, the popes, in their conteſts, with the ſeveral ſtates of Chriſtendom, have had, always, great advantages. Theſe advantages conſiſted, in that, by the threats of excommunication and interdict, they puſhed matters ſo far, that there was need of great reſolution, not to be over-awed, and loſe ground, either by agreement, or otherwiſe; but, if this reſolution was proof againſt all attempts, and the circumſtances of affairs were not favourable to the court of Rome, ſhe had the power to ſtop when ſhe pleaſed, in expectation of a better opportunity; for they, who had the misfortune to contend with her, always accounted it a great victory, not to be vanquiſhed, being ſatisfied, if ſhe would but ſuffer them to live in peace.

Conjecture upon this matter.

The third remark, is a conjecture, which I ſhall leave to the reader's judgment. Tho' Henry VI, was then but five years old, and his minority ſeemed to countenance the pope's deſign, it is, however, certain, England had never been in a more proſperous condition; for the Engliſh were quiet, and pleaſed with the government, and the victories of Crevant and Verneuil had put their affairs, in France, upon a very good foot; but, on the other hand, the affairs of Charles VII, were in ſuch confuſion, that there was no likelihood of their being ever reſtored; and, therefore, Martin V, could not think it a proper time for him; beſides, the king's two uncles, were not diſpoſed to ſuffer the prerogatives royal, and the people's rights, to be trampled upon, when their affairs were in ſo flouriſhing a condition; it is, therefore, ſomething probable, that Martin V, who was more inclined to France, than to England, made, then, all that noiſe, only to excite commotions, in England, which would be of ſervice to Charles, and give him time to breathe. If the archbiſhop had, punctually obeyed him, and the clergy every where preached againſt the ſtatute of Præmunire, according to the pope's expreſs orders, the parliament would have been obliged to ſupport their act, and puniſh the clergy's preſumption; and, then, the pope would have had a pretence to put the nation under an interdict, which would have greatly embarraſſed the affairs of the Engliſh, in France; but Chicheley's prudence, prevented the miſchief, which might have ſprung from Martin's haughty proceedings. In ſhort, Martin perceiving, that he was neither ſupported by the king's council, nor the clergy, nor people, dropped the affair, not thinking it proper to expoſe his authority, any farther. This conjecture is built upon Martin's continual partiality to France, whether out of inclination, or becauſe, indeed, it was not for the intereſt of the court of Rome, that France ſhould be ſubject to England.

Before I leave the Præmunire, it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that this ſtatute had two principal clauſes; the firſt, containing the ſtatute of Proviſors, made in the reign of Edward I, prohibiting to ſollicit and procure benefices from the court of Rome, by way of proviſion, contrary to the rights of the crown, or the patrons; and, the ſecond, forbid to carry to the court of Rome, or elſewhere, cauſes belonging to the king's courts. The clergy complained, that, by theſe words, or elſewhere, the king's judges pretended to deprive the eccleſiaſtical courts, of numberleſs cauſes, which, before, they had the cognizance of. They maintained, that theſe words, or elſewhere, inſerted in the act, had no relation to the eccleſiaſtical courts, but only to the ſeveral places where the pope might reſide; that, nevertheleſs, the judges underſtood them, in the firſt ſenſe; and, if, there was, in a proceſs, the leaſt point, belonging to the royal juriſdiction, they took occaſion from theſe two words, to remove it from the eccleſiaſtical court, as well as from the court of Rome. In 1439, the convocation complained to the king of the explanation of theſe terms by the lay judges, pretending, that it was contrary to the intent of the law, for ſeveral reaſons alledged in their addreſs; for, that time the clergy had no anſwer, or, if they had, it was not to their mind. But, in the reign of Edward IV, they obtained the king's charter, prohibiting his judges to meddle with criminal matters, where the clergy were concerned. I do not know whether Edward granted this charter, out of policy, to gain the clergy's protection, or was convinced, that the words, or elſewhere, were explained, contrary to the parliament's intention.

Beſides the conteſts, occaſioned by the ſtatute of Præmunire, between England and the

Other conteſts between the parliament and pope.

court of Rome, there were alſo others, which I ſhall but juſt mention. In 1403, in the reign of Henry IV, the parliament paſſed an act, forbidding all perſons that ſhould have proviſion of any benefice, to pay into the apoſtolick chamber, more than was paid in old time; and the penalty for offenders was, that they ſhould forfeit to the king, the ſame ſum they paid the pope. The occaſion of this ſtatute, was a grievance introduced, ſome time before, by the court of Rome; which was, that no perſon ſhould have proviſion of any benefice that was void, till he had compounded with the apoſtolick chamber, as well for the firſt-fruits, as for other leſſer ſervices, in that court, and paid, beforehand, the ſum agreed upon.

But the greateſt diſpute, between England and the popes, was concerning the collation of the biſhopricks. Tho' the popes, when the firſt Anglo-Saxons were converted, had ſent Italian, or other foreign biſhops, into England, it is certain, that, towards the latter-end of the Saxon monarchy, the biſhops were choſen by the chapters, and the ſame privilege was continued to them, after the Norman conqueſt, and confirmed by king John's charter. In the mean while, the popes, having, by degrees, extended their authority, aſſumed the power of beſtowing archbiſhopricks and biſhopricks, by way of proviſion, ſome times on one, ſome times on another pretence; and this is what I have had frequent occaſion to remark; for they would have, at once, eſtabliſhed this rule, that the diſpoſal of all the biſhopricks belonged to them by divine right; but, meeting with oppoſition, they thought of another expedient; and, that was, to get poſſeſſion, by degrees, in order, hereafter, to plead preſcription. Thus, being content, at firſt, with maintaining, that on certain occaſions, they had a power to fill the vacant ſees, they, afterwards, framed theſe occaſions, whenever they pleaſed; and, in ſhort, they multiplied them ſo very faſt, that ſcarcely was there a vacant biſhoprick, but what they filled, by way of proviſion; for time and favourable junctures, confirming them in this prerogative, there was no poſſibility to wreſt it from them; and, thus, the privilege of the chapters was entirely deſtroyed.

Arundel, archbiſhop of Canterbury, dying, in 1413, the monks of St. Auguſtin choſe Henry Chicheley, biſhop of St. David's. But pope John XXIII, annulled the election, declaring, that, for this turn, he had reſolevd to diſpoſe of the archbiſhoprick, by way of proviſion. However, to avoid diſputes, he made choice of the ſame Chicheley; thereby preſerving his pretended right, without detriment to the perſon elected.

But Martin V, dealt not ſo gently with England; for, he was no ſooner ſeated, in the papal chair, than he boldly diſpoſed of all the vacant ſees, without any regard to the privilege of the chapters; and, in two years only, he filled, by way of proviſion, 13 biſhopricks, in the province of Canterbury. It was not only with reſpect to the ſees that England had cauſe to complain of the pope; he diſpoſed, likewiſe, of all the other benefices of the kingdom, without troubling himſelf about the right of the patrons, or the inſtruction of the people; and the beſt preferments were generally conferred upon foreigners, who underſtood not a word of Engliſh, or reſided not in England, and ſome times, even upon children; for inſtance, he made Proſper Colonna, his nephew, who was but 14 years old, archdeacon of Canterbury. Henry V, a high-ſpirited prince, ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, to complain, both of theſe, and other grievances; but Martin V, delayed his anſwer ſo long, that the ambaſſadors told him, the king their maſter, purely out of reſpect to the holy ſee, had proceeded by way of requeſt, to which he was not obliged; but for the future, he would uſe his prerogative; that, accordingly, they had inſtructions to make a ſolemn proteſtation before himſelf and the conclave, if his holineſs would not give them immediate ſatisfaction. I know not what anſwer the pope returned; but not long after Martin having tranſlated the biſhop of Lincoln to the ſee of York, by way of proviſion, the chapter refuſed to admit him, and the pope was forced to revoke his bull.

In 1438, the univerſity of Oxford complained, that church-preferments were beſtowed, without any regard to learning or merit; that the colleges thereby were become empty, becauſe there was no need of ſtudy or learning, to be qualified for a benefice; whereupon, the convocation, to whom this complaint was addreſſed, paſſed a canon, that none but graduates, in the univerſities, ſhould be capable of benefices; but this was a weak fence againſt the papal power.

In the interim, tho' the court of Rome made the apoſtolick authority ſound very high, the popes now and then, met with mortifications; for example, in the reign of Henry IV, the parliament ordered, that the Peter-pence ſhould be depoſited in the king's hands, till the ſchiſm was cloſed.

In the reign of Henry V, the alien priories were ſuppreſſed, without asking the pope's conſent.

Under Henry VI, pope Nicholas V, demanding an extraordinary ſubſidy of the clergy of England, for the occaſion of the holy ſee, the king forbid the clergy to grant it.

The like demand, made ſome years after, by Vicentini, a nuncio, was, ſharply, denied by the clergy; for, the papal power, formerly ſo dreadful to the whole church, and, particularly to England, began to be leſs feared. The ſchiſms did the pope irreparable damage.

During the whole XVth century, it does not appear, that any national councils were held in England, only convocations of the clergy, in the two eccleſiaſtical provinces of Canterbury and York. The condemnation of the Lollards, was, almoſt, the ſole buſineſs of theſe convocations. As for national ſynods,

ſynods, they were become uſeleſs, ſince the popes had engroſſed the cognizance of all eccleſiaſtical affairs; beſides, the leaſt appeal to the pope, was ſufficient to annul, all the canons of a council. On the other hand, the popes had ſo managed, that no national ſynods could be held without their licence; and, as in theſe ſynods, there was frequent occaſion to inquire into the extent of the papal authority, they were grown ſo odious to the court of Rome, that the uſe of them was inſenſibly laid aſide. At this very day, in the ſtates which have not yet received the reformation, national councils are no more talked of, or, at leaſt, ſo very rarely, that it is plain, the popes allow them with reluctance, and very great difficulties. Of this, we have, in France, a late remarkable inſtance, in the tranſactions concerning the famous conſtitution Unigenitus of Clement XI; for king Lewis XIV, tho' powerful and formidable, could never obtain the pope's leave, to call a national council, except on ſuch terms, as rendered the thing impracticable, tho' that monarch's ſole view, was to cauſe the conſtitution to be approved.

The article of the eminent men, who flouriſhed, in the church of England, during this century, will not long detain us. There were, indeed, cardinals, archbiſhops, biſhops, and other clergymen, very famous, but it was neither for their piety or learning; for, their poſts, at court, ambaſſies, intrigues of the cabinet, and ſhare in the revolutions, in the court and kingdom, were the only things, by which they were diſtinguiſhed. Henry Chicheley, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was one of the beſt; for, which reaſon, he obtained not the honour of the cardinalate, laviſhly beſtowed on Henry Beaufort, biſhop of Wincheſter, Kemp, Bourchier, Moreton, who were leſs worthy of it, than he, if true merit had been regarded; but Chicheley wanted one indiſpenſable quality of a cardinal; namely, to be entirely devoted to the holy ſee.

If there were any learned men, beſides, they were ſo, with regard to the time they lived in, when true learning was not much in vogue; and, therefore, it would be very needleſs to ſpeak of each, in particular, ſince their fame hardly ſurvived them. Some were noted for their great animoſity againſt the Lollards, and, among the reſt, Arundel, archbiſhop of Canterbury; for, this prelate, in his funeral ſermon for Ann of Luxemburgh, Richard II's queen, highly commends her for ſpending her time, in reading the holy ſcriptures in the vulgar tongue; and yet, ſome years after, in the reign of Henry IV, he condemned, in convocation, the tranſlations of the bible, as very pernicious *.

* As there was a ſcarcity of perſons eminent in other parts of learning, in this rude and illiterate century, ſo was there likwiſe of hiſtorians. The moſt noted were;

Sir John Froiſſart, who wrote a general Hiſtory of the affairs of France, Spain, &c. but chiefly of England. He was a Frenchman born, but was brought up, in his youth, in the court of Edward III, and familiarly converſant, in that of Richard II. He wrote in his own tongue, which was then the court language of England. His account of matters, ſeems to be plain and honeſt; and, perhaps, none gives a better of the affairs of Edward III. and Richard II. Rapin has made good uſe of him.

Enguerrand de Monſtrelet, and Philip de Commines, may not improperly be called Froiſſart's continuators. They gave a faithful and compleat account of the affairs of England, as far as they are intermixed with, or have any relation to thoſe of France, Burgundy, &c.

Thomas Walſingham, a Benedictine monk of St. Albans. His Hiſtoria Brevis, or ſhort hiſtory, begins at the concluſion of Henry III's reign, where Matthew Paris ended his. The account he gives, is well enough; and we are indebted to him, for many things not taken notice of, by any other writer of thoſe times. His Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, as he calls it, gives an account of Normandy, from the time it came firſt into the hands of Rollo and his Danes, down to the ſixth year of Henry V, wherein the readers will find many occurrences not elſewhere to be met with. Both theſe works were publiſhed by archbiſhop Parker, in 1574, and reprinted at Francfort, in 1603.

John Harding comes next, a northern Engliſhman, and an inveterate enemy to the Scots. He collected whatever might tend to the proof of the antient vaſſalage of Scotland to the crown of England; and, hearing of an old record, in that kingdom, which put the matter paſt diſpute, he went in diſguiſe, and with much ado brought it away, and ſhewed it to Henry V, Henry VI, and Edward IV. To the laſt of theſe he dedicated his two books of Chronicles, in Engliſh rhime. Printed at London, 1543.

William Caxton was a menial ſervant for 30 years together, to Margaret, ducheſs of Burgundy, ſiſter to Edward IV, in Flanders. Finding, as he ſays, after his return to England, an imperfect Hiſtory, he continued it, in Engliſh, under the Latin title of Fructus Temperum. It begins with the firſt inhabiting of this iſland, and ends, the laſt year of Edward IV, 1483. Folio, printed 1515.

John Roſſe, or Rous, travelled over the greateſt part of England; and, having made large collections, out of the libraries where he came, he wrote the Hiſtory of our kings, which is ſtill extant in MS, in the Cottonian library. He died, in 1491.

THE

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK XV.

The Reign of HENRY VIII; containing 37 years and 9 months.

20. HENRY VIII.

1509. HENRY VIII. HENRY VIII, ſon and ſucceſſor to Henry VII, came to the crown, at the age of 18 years, wanting a few months. The lord Herbert, his hiſtorian, affirms, that the king, his father, deſigned him, at firſt, for the archbiſhoprick of Canterbury, becauſe, having an elder ſon, there was no likelihood that this would aſcend the throne; and, therefore, continues he, care was taken to inſtruct him, in all parts of learning, requiſite for a prince, that was, one day, to be a churchman. He would have ſpoken more juſtly, if he had only ſaid, that Henry VII, had ſuch a deſign, when he firſt put him upon his ſtudies; but, as the young prince became his heir apparent, at 11 years of age, it could not be with the ſame view, that he cauſed him to purſue the ſtudy of ſuch parts of learning, as were proper for a clergyman; for, it is more likely, that the king, his father, kept him to his ſtudies, for fear his active and fiery ſpirite ſhould carry him to more dangerous employments. He was only ſon of queen Eliſabeth, heireſs to the houſe of York; and, conſequently, he might have given the king, his father, ſome trouble, had he thought of aſſerting his right, as heir to his mother. However this be, Henry having taken a reliſh for learning, in his younger years, preſerved it ever after; for, he always delighted in peruſing good books, and converſing with the learned, even when the multitude of his affairs ſeemed to divert him from ſuch kind of employments. By this means he made advances, in the ſciences, very uncommon to great princes; for Francis I, his cotemporary, ſtiled by the French hiſtorians, the Father of the Muſes, was much his inferiour in learning. He ſpoke French and Latin very well, and readily; and, he was perfectly skilled, in muſick, as two entire maſſes, compoſed by himſelf, and often ſung in his chapel, do abundantly witneſs. He was exerciſed to the moſt abſtruſe points of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, which alone, was in vogue, in thoſe days; but he applied himſelf, chiefly, to the ſtudy of divinity, as it was then taught, in the univerſities, all ſtuffed with uſeleſs queſtions. Thomas Aquinas's Summary was his favourite book. 1509.

Henry has a good conceipt of himſelf. This knowledge, which was conſidered as a great accompliſhment, even in ordinary perſons, had an effect upon the young prince, which is not unuſual; for it gave him a good opinion of himſelf, which had but too much influence upon all the actions of his life; and, the exceſſive commendations beſtowed upon him, by all, helped to confirm him, in his conceipt. When he was, yet unexperienced, in the affairs of ſtate, he fancied himſelf very able; and, this preſumption, was the cauſe, of his being often the dupe of thoſe princes, with whom he was concerned, as will more plainly appear, in the ſequel of his reign.

His good qualities. But, in remarking, that this prince had a great deal of ſelf-conceipt, I do not pretend to rob him of, or any ways leſſen the noble qualities he had from nature, or education; for,

1509. for, in his youth, he was very handſome, and expert in all bodily exerciſes, as much, or more, than any prince of his time. Accordingly, he was paſſionately fond of thoſe diverſions, which gave him an opportunity to ſhew his activity. He was courageous, without oſtentation, of a free and open temper, an enemy to fraud and inſincerity, ſcorning to uſe indirect means to compaſs his ends; and, his liberality, perhaps, was as much too great, as the king his father's avarice; for, Henry VII, ſeemed to have been deſirous to heap up money, only to afford his ſon, the pleaſure to ſquander them away, without any diſcretion.

Henry's firſt counſellors. Herbert.

Henry VIII, when he aſcended the throne, being little experienced, in the affairs of the government, he made uſe, at firſt, of the king his father's miniſters and counſellors. The principal were William Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and lord chancellor of England, of whom honourable mention is made by Eraſmus, ſomewhere in his writings; Richard Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, ſecretary and lord privy-ſeal, who had been employed, in the late reign, in the niceſt affairs; Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, lord treaſurer of England, ſon to the duke of Norfolk, ſlain at Boſworth-field, fighting for Richard III; George Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, lord ſteward of the king's houſhold; Thomas Ruthal, doctor of law; Sir Edward Poynings, knight of the garter, comptroller, whoſe name is ſtill famous, for a ſtatute enacted, in Ireland, in the former reign, whilſt he had the government of that iſland; Sir Charles Somerſet, lord Herbert, of Gower, Chepſtow, and Ragland, lord chamberlain.

Henry VII's funeral. Hall.

Henry VII's funeral, was celebrated, with great magnificence, a few days after his deceaſe; and, his body was interred, at Weſtminſter, in the chapel, built by himſelf, for the adorning of which, he had ſpared no coſt. This chapel paſſed, then, for one of the ſtatelieſt, in Chriſtendom; for, Henry VII, covetous as he was, laid out 14000, ſome ſay, 20,000 l. ſterling; a very conſiderable ſum, in thoſe days, when money was much ſcarcer, in Europe, than at preſent.

While the obſequies were preparing, the new king, privately retired, from his palace of Richmond, to the tower of London, under pretence of withdrawing, on account of the king his father's death; but it was, rather, to ſettle, with his miniſters, ſome affairs, which would not admit of delay; for, whilſt he was thought in his retirement, to be employed, in devotion, he ordered Henry, lord Stafford, brother to the duke of Buckingham, to be apprehended, probably, upon ſome groundleſs ſuſpicion, which ſoon vaniſhed, ſince, ſhortly after, he was created earl of Wiltſhire.

The lord Stafford is ſent to the tower. Hall.

Ruthal is made biſhop of Durham. Act. Pub.

The ſee of Durham, vacant by the tranſlation of Chriſtopher Bambridge, to the archbiſhoprick of York, was conferred on Thomas Ruthal, doctor of law, and one of the privy-council.

A general pardon.

A few days after, the king confirmed his father's general pardon, granted before his deceaſe; but, all offenders, had not the benefit thereof; for, a proclamation, immediately, appeared, in which, the king ſaid, that being informed, his good ſubjects had been oppreſſed, under colour of preſerving the prerogatives of the crown, he gave them leave to bring their complaints, and promiſed them ſatisfaction. The deſign of this proclamation, was not to reſtore to his ſubjects the ſums, unjuſtly extorted, by the late king, but only to encourage them to exhibit their complaints, againſt Empſon and Dudley, the inſtruments made uſe of, by Henry VII, and to give them ſome ſort of ſatisfaction, by puniſhing theſe two miniſters. 1509.

When this proclamation was publiſhed, numberleſs petitions were preſented againſt them. This was what the court wanted, not only becauſe theſe men were odious to the whole nation, but, moreover, to ſhew the people, that the new king intended to rule, in a very different manner, from the king, his father. Upon all theſe petitions, Empſon and Dudley were called before the council, where they were briefly told the principal articles, alledged againſt them. Empſon anſwered for both, "That the accuſation was of a very "new and ſtrange nature; that, generally, "men were proſecuted for acting againſt the "laws, or diſobeying their ſovereign; but, "for their part, they were accuſed by the people, of executing the laws, of which, they "themſelves, were the authors; that, on the "other hand, the king called them to an ac-"count, for obeying his father's orders, un-"heard of crime, the puniſhment of which, "would be apt to throw all his ſubjects into "rebellion; that, if they muſt be puniſhed, "for ſuch offences, he deſired, it might not "be divulged to foreign nations, leſt they "ſhould infer, that the final diſſolution of the "Engliſh government was approaching." To this it was briefly anſwered, "That he had "ſpoke with great freedom; but his eloquence "was fruitleſs, and unſeaſonable; that they "were not accuſed of executing the laws, or "of obeying the king, but of ſtretching the "laws beyond their due bounds, and exceeding their ſovereign's commiſſion; which ac-"cuſations, they had reaſon to fear, were too "well proved." Then they were both committed to the tower. The king was reſolved to make them an example, in order to content the people, who were extremely incenſed againſt them. Thus, their condemnation was reſolved before their appearance, tho' it was not yet known, on what to ground their proceſs. In any other country, an act of ſovereignty to ſend theſe two men to the gallows, would have been ſeen with joy; but it is not the ſame, in England, where the greateſt offenders have privileges, of which they cannot be debarred, without giving the people occaſion to think, that the court is forming projects againſt liberty. It was, therefore, neceſſary, to ſearch for ſome expreſs law, to condemn them; but, upon examining the accuſation, already, brought againſt them, great difficulties occurred; for, it appeared, that tho' they were accuſed of numberleſs offences, nothing could be proved, but their mercileſs execution of the

Empſon and Dudley are called before the council. Empſon's defence. Hall.

They are ſent to the tower. Hall.

1509. laws; but, notwithſtanding, they had ſtretched theſe ſame laws, as far as the words would bare, it could not be charged to them, as a crime, ſince they had the king's warrant, in whom the execution of the laws is lodged. It is true, the late king, contrary to the cuſtom of his predeceſſors, had acted purſuant to the utmoſt rigour of the ſtatutes; but he might do it; and, if, the former kings, had done otherwiſe, it was more out of condeſcenſion than juſtice; wherefore, theſe two miniſters could not be tried for obeying him; and, beſides, to condemn them for executing their maſter's orders, was, openly, to diſhonour that prince's memory, and renew the remembrance of his ſeverities on his ſubjects; it was, therefore, reſolved, to put them to death, on a falſe accuſation, of intending to withdraw their allegiance from the king, ſince his acceſſion to the crown. It is evident, this accuſation was entirely groundleſs; for, how could two perſons, ſo obnoxious to the whole kingdom, and deprived of all credit, by the deceaſe of Henry VII, think of ſuch a project, and ſtill leſs, put it in execution. In the mean while, it was not ſcrupled to take away their lives, for a forged crime, becauſe they were believed worthy of death, tho' not condemned, by the letter of the law; for, upon this frivolous accuſation, they were brought before their proper judges, and found guilty; whether falſe witneſſes were ſuborned againſt them, or by a mental reſervation, hitherto, unknown, in England, in judgments of this nature. Dudley was tried at London, the 16th of July, but Empſon was not condemned, till the 14th of October, at Northampton; for Henry, either out of ſcruple, or ſome other motive, ſuſpended their execution, till the next year.

They are condemned to die.

A debate about the king's marriage with Catharine of Arragon. Herbert.

Whilſt means were contriving, to execute theſe two miniſters, the king and his council, had a more important affair, to take into conſideration. We have ſeen, in the late reign, prince Arthur's marriage, with Catharine of Arragon; that prince's death, without iſſue; the reaſons inducing Henry VII, to deſire, that prince Henry, become his heir apparent, ſhould marry his brother's widow; the conſent of Ferdinand and Iſabella, father and mother of the princeſs; and, pope Julius's diſpenſation, for the marriage. The true reaſon, why Henry VII. propoſed this match, was, his unwillingneſs to reſtore the 100,000 crowns, received, in part, of Catharine's dower; and he was alſo afraid of loſing the other half, which remained to be paid; for, in ſhort, he foreſaw, that, after the receipt of the whole, the princeſs, his daughter-in-law, would enjoy her ſettlement of the third part of the revenues of the principality of Wales, and the county of Cornwall; but, however, as it was not decent to urge ſuch a motive to the pope, to obtain a diſpenſation, for ſo ſtrange a marriage, which could not but be deemed ſcandalous, it was pretended, to be expedient, to preſerve the peace between Henry VII, and the king and queen of Spain. This was the motive alledged to the pope, which he readily conſidered, as ſufficient, tho' there was too much reaſon to queſtion, whether it was the true one. 1509.

In conſequence of the pope's diſpenſation, Henry and Catharine, were, ſolemnly affianced; however, whether Henry VII, intended only to deceive Ferdinand, and get the remaining 100,000 crowns, or was moved by the remonſtrances of Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, concerning this marriage, he ſo ordered it, that the prince, his ſon, on the very day he was 14 years of age, made in the preſence of certain witneſſes, a proteſtation, in form, againſt the conſent he had given; but this proteſtation was kept ſo ſecret, that it came not to the knowledge of the publick, till it was requiſite, many years after, to divulge it. Upon the news of Henry VII's deceaſe, Ferdinand ſent to the earl of Fuenſalida, his ambaſſador, in England, a very ample power to renew the treaty of alliance, made with the deceaſed king; ordering him, alſo, to demand the confirmation and execution of that which was concluded, for Catharine's ſecond marriage, with prince Henry, now become king of England.

Difficulties about the marriage. Burnet.

The Spaniſh ambaſſador having preſented a memorial, on this occaſion, it was deliberated, in council, whether the king ſhould conſummate his marriage with Catharine. This affair was debated with grear attention. Againſt the marriage, it was alledged, that for a man to marry his brother's widow, was a thing unheard of among Chriſtians; that ſuch a marriage, was contrary to the law of God, and, therefore, it was a queſtion, whether the pope had power to diſpenſe with it. This was the archbiſhop of Canterbury's opinion, who could not forbear conſidering the marriage as really inceſtuous; but Richard Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, was of another mind; for he ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon the pope's diſpenſation, and the unlimited power of Chriſt's vicar, affirming, "That the pope's granting a diſ- "penſation, was a certain proof, that he had "the power, and was ſufficient to ſatisfy the "king's conſcience; that no perſon, on earth, "could limit, or ſo much as inquire into the pa- "pal authority; and, tho' ſuch a power ſhould "be aſcribed to a general council, at leaſt, the "council of England could not pretend to it." To theſe arguments, concerning conſcience, the biſhop added others, drawn from reaſons of ſtate, and the king's particular intereſt; for he ſaid, "That, probably, the king would "have, during the courſe of his reign, many "diſputes with France, England's old enemy, "and whether he would attack, or only de- "fend, the alliance, with Spain, was abſo- "lutely neceſſary; that, in ſending back the "the princeſs Catharine, after having affian- "ced her, he would affront Ferdinand, which "he would certainly revenge, by leaguing "with France, and ſuch a league would en- "danger England, or, at leaſt, be extremely "expenſive, to the kingdom; moreover, that, "if the king refuſed to conſummate his mar- "riage, with Catharine, he muſt reſolve, ei- "ther to reſtore her dower, or ſuffer her to "enjoy

Reaſons for and againſt it.

1509. " enjoy her ſettlement; but by marrying her, " he would ſave the 100,000 crowns, received " by the king, his father, gain another " 100,000, which the king of Arragon was to " pay, and avoid the great charge he ſhould " be at, in marrying another princeſs, and " conducting her, into England. In fine, " he enlarged upon the ſweet and virtuous " temper of the princeſs of Wales, capable " of making a husband entirely happy." Adding, " there was no room to doubt, that " the princeſs was ſtill a virgin, ſince ſhe her- " ſelf affirmed it, offering even to be tried by " matrons, to ſhew, that ſhe ſpoke the truth."

Henry reſolves to marry Catharine.

All theſe arguments, except the firſt, concerning the diſpenſation, were very ſtrong. As to that, it was ſo dangerous for a churchman to diſpute the pope's authority, eſpecially ſuch a pope as Julius II, who was ſtill in his vigour, that the archbiſhop of Canterbury, durſt not perſiſt, openly, in his opinion; ſo, the king cloſing with the biſhop of Wincheſter's and almoſt the whole council's ſentiments, it was reſolved, he ſhould conſummate his marriage. But, firſt, he demanded of the princeſs, that ſhe ſhould renounce, by a ſolemn act, her dower, of 200,000 crowns, and agree, that the ſum ſhould belong to the king, her husband, to be claimed again, neither by her ſelf nor heirs, nor by king Ferdinand, nor queen Joan, her ſiſter, nor any perſon living, on any pretence, whatſoever. Two days after, the earl of Fuenſalida, made the like renunciation, in the name of Ferdinand and Joan. Catharine's letters patent, wherein ſhe ſtiles herſelf, only princeſs of Wales, dated the 7th of June, it is evident, that the king did not marry her on the third of that month, as hiſtorians affirm, nor ſooner than the day theſe letters were ſigned. Their coronation was ſolemnized on the 24th of the ſame month, and five days after, died, Margaret, counteſs of Richmond and Derby, the king's grandmother.

Act. Pub.

The death of the counteſs of Richmond. Hall.

In the beginning of his reign, Henry, willingly, left to his council and miniſters, the care and management of his affairs; and, as he was, in peace, with all his neighbours, what paſſed in the kingdom, could not keep him much employed; he, therefore, thought only of ſuch pleaſures and diverſions, as were more ſuitable to his years, than application to buſineſs; and, as he was naturally liberal, his entertainments, at court, were very expenſive. The antient biſhop of Wincheſter, Henry VII's old miniſter, could not help murmuring, to ſee the money laviſhed away, without any neceſſity, which his deceaſed maſter had amaſſed, with ſo much care, pains, and injuſtice, in which he had himſelf been employed. He threw all the blame upon the earl of Surrey, lord treaſurer, who was his rival, in favour, under the late king, and continued to be ſo ſtill, under the preſent, by gaining the affection of his new maſter, by a blind compliance to his will. During Henry VII's life he was more cloſe, and harder to part with money, than the king himſelf. How expreſs ſoever the orders were for payments, he always found difficulties, and by that means made his court admirably to his maſter; but being continued in his poſt, in the preſent reign, he became quite another man; for, he not only paid, without examination, whatever was ordered, but alſo put the king upon ſpending extravagantly; which gained him the favour of the young prince, who was, naturally, addicted to prodigality. The biſhop of Wincheſter openly blamed this conduct, as highly prejudicial to the king's intereſt; but he was little regarded, in a court, where every one was ſtriving to make an advantage of the monarch's liberal temper. In the mean while, his diſcourſes exaſperated more and more, the earl of Surrey, and the young courtiers, againſt him, who never ceaſed to do him ill offices with the king. Thus, the biſhop, who was in ſo great credit, in the late reign, by degrees, loſt it in this. His diſgrace, which ſate heavy upon his mind, threw him upon deviſing means to ſupplant his rival, by introducing, at court, Thomas Wolſey, whoſe qualifications he was no ſtranger to. Wolſey was a clergyman, already, eminent for his merit, tho' he was but a butcher's ſon of Ipſwich. The biſhop of Wincheſter eaſily foreſaw, the king would be in want of perſons about him, fit and able to eaſe him; and as he knew Wolſey's genius, did not queſtion, that, when he was at court, he would render himſelf neceſſary to the king; to which end, he procured him the place of almoner. We ſhall ſee, preſently, that the biſhop was not miſtaken, in his judgment, or, rather, that his foreſight, was far ſhort of Wolſey's fortune,

Wolſey is introduced at court.

1509.

Hall. Henry gives himſelf up to his pleaſures. Stow.

About the middle of the year, the treaties, concluded between Henry VII. and the king of Scotland, were confirmed, or renewed, by the biſhop of Murray, who was ſent into England, to congratulate Henry, upon his acceſſion to the throne.

A confirmation of the treaties with Scotland,

The emperor Maximilian ſent, likewiſe, an ambaſſy to Henry, to congratulate him, and confirm the treaties made with Henry VII, in the year 1502.

and with the emperor. Act. Pub.

Chriſtopher Bambridge, archbiſhop of York, being at Rome, where he was gone to have his election confirmed, received a commiſſion, from the new king, to act as his ambaſſador. We ſhall ſee preſently the reaſon, why the pope wanted to have an Engliſh ambaſſador reſide at his court, and why the king was deſirous to be particularly informed of what paſſed in Rome, and, in all Italy.

Bambridge, archbiſhop of York, ambaſſador at Rome. Act. Pub.

The neceſſity of knowing the affairs of Italy.

Theſe were the moſt remarkable tranſactions in England, during the firſt eight months of the reign of Henry VIII. They were for the moſt part domeſtick affairs of little importance, except the king's marriage, which was attended with very great conſequences; but there paſſed abroad matters, of great importance, that became, as it were, the ſource of the troubles, with which almoſt all Chriſtendom was affliſted, for above 50 years, and, wherein England was but too much engaged. For ſome time, the affairs of Europe had begun

1509. gun to have a new face, and what happened, this year, in Italy, put them on ſuch a foot, as obliged almoſt every monarch to be concerned therein. Henry VIII. unhappily entangled himſelf, in the troubles of that country, which ſeem to have had no relation to him; which makes the knowledge of the affairs of Italy, ſo abſolutely neceſſary, that without it, neither the events of this reign can be underſtood, nor the king's character fully known. It will, therefore, be neceſſary to enlarge upon this ſubject, which concerns, not only the Hiſtory of England, but alſo thoſe of France, Spain, Germany, Switzerland; the principal events whereof, for a long time, flowed, properly, from the affairs of Italy. It is true, moſt of the authors who have wrote the hiſtories of theſe ſtates, ſuppoſed their readers to be acquainted with what paſſed, in Italy, at the ſame time. They have, thereby, much ſhortened their works; but withal, rendered them very obſcure to thoſe, who were not ſo fully inſtructed, as they have ſuppoſed. For my part I intend another courſe. Since the affairs of Italy, are the foundation of moſt of the occurrences, in Europe, and, particularly, in England, during almoſt one half of the ſixteenth century, I think they ought to be ſpoken of ſomething largely, which, alone, can clear the particular hiſtories, proceeding from thence; but to avoid tedious digreſſions, which would be indiſpenſible, in the ſequel, it is neceſſary to give, firſt, a diſtinct idea of the ſtate of Italy, as well as of the character and intereſts of the ſeveral princes.

The ſtate of Italy, Milan, and Naples.

I have, already, related, in the preceding reign, how Lewis XII, aſſiſted by the Venetians, conquered the duchy of Milan upon Ludovico Sforza, pretending a right to it, as grandſon to Valentina Viſconti, daughter to John Galeazzo I, duke of Milan; and I have, likewiſe, had occaſion to ſpeak of the conqueſt of Naples, by the united arms of Lewis XII. and Ferdinand, and of the means uſed, by the laſt, to remain ſole maſter of that kingdom; it will ſuffice, therefore, to add here, that, tho' Lewis XII. loſt his portion of that conqueſt, he deſiſted not from his pretenſions, but waited for a favourable juncture, to aſſert them. I muſt, now, briefly ſpeak of the other ſtates of Italy; and, firſt, of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate.

The eccleſiaſtical ſtate.

Before the kings of France and Spain had ſet foot in Italy, the popes were as ſovereign arbiters of that country; but it was not ſo much by their temporal arms as their ſpiritual, of which they made frequent uſe. For ſome centuries paſt they had loſt great part of the demeſnes formerly belonging to the church; for about the end of the reign of Otho I, the eccleſiaſtical ſtate conſiſted of the city of Rome and its territory, with Tuſcany, the Marquiſate of Ancona, the duchy of Spoleto, Ravenna, all La Romagna, and the whole country, in general, comprized, formerly, under the Exarchate; but, afterwards, during the wars of the Guelphs and Gibelins, the the emperors wreſted, from the popes, all Tuſcany, and ſeveral towns, in other parts. 1509. Some of theſe towns had thought fit to withdraw their obedience from the church, and the popes themſelves, had been forced to grant others in fee, to lords who ſerved them, or from whom they expected aſſiſtance; at length, the emperor Rodolphus I, having ſold liberty to as many cities of Italy as would purchaſe it, there were ſeveral, formerly, belonging to the church, that embraced the opportunity, to ſhake off, at the ſame time, both the emperor's and the pope's yoke. Hence, there were, quickly, in Italy, almoſt as many ſovereignties as cities. The ſtrongeſt ſubdued the weakeſt, and fell, at laſt, themſelves, under the dominion, or rather the tyranny, of ſome of their own citizens, who found means to ſeize the whole power. In this manner, were formed, in Italy, ſeveral petty ſtates, out of the ruins of what the antient kings of Italy, the emperors, and the popes had formerly poſſeſſed.

In the pontificate of Alexander VI, the eccleſiaſtical ſtate was reduced within narrower bounds, than before, tho' the popes had preſerved the ſovereignty of ſeveral cities, of which they were no longer proprietors; of which number were Ravenna, Bologna, Ferrara, Urbino, Faenza, Rimini, Pezzaro, Imola, Ceſena, Peruſa. Notwithſtanding, all theſe loſſes, they were ſtill very powerful; becauſe their ſpiritual arms, gave them great advantages over their neighbours; moreover, beſides the revenues of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, they had very conſiderable incomes, from all Chriſtendom.

But, when Lewis XII, took poſſeſſion of the duchy of Milan, and Ferdinand of the kingdom of Naples, the affairs of Italy had quite another face; for, then, the temporal power of the popes, was nothing, in compariſon of that of theſe two monarchs, who, beſides their dominions, in Italy, had, moreover, at their command, the forces of two large kingdoms. On the other hand, the Roman pontiffs met with much more oppoſition, when they had a mind to brandiſh their ſpiritual weapons, whoſe force was, in proportion, to the weakneſs of thoſe againſt whom they were darted; for which reaſon, they ſought all ſorts of means to drive the foreigners out of Italy; but, as they could not, by their own ſtrength, execute ſuch a deſign, they were obliged to make uſe of one of theſe kings, to deſtroy the other, in which their policy was frequently deceived; for, they could not humble one, without giving the other a ſuperiority, more deſtructive of their intereſts, than the equality that was between them before. This was the occaſion of all the popes intrigues, for many years, and, likewiſe, an incumbrance, they could never get clear of; for, ſome times, they joined with one, to pull down the other; ſome times, ſetting them at variance, they remained bare ſpectators of the battle; and, ſome times, they called in foreigners, to make the balance incline to the ſide they intended to favour; but, whatever was the ſucceſs of theſe wars, the conqueror was ever formidable

to

1509. to the pope, and all Italy; wherefore, it is certain, that the conqueſts of Naples and Milan, gave a mortal wound to the temporal power of the popes, and were, alſo, very prejudicial to their ſpiritual authority. As the popes, from this time, had frequent occaſions of quarrel, with the kings of France, now become their neighbours, they ſome times made uſe of their ſpiritual arms, but not with the ſame ſucceſs, as formerly, againſt the ſovereigns of Italy. As they had to deal with princes, who did not eaſily bend, they only gave them occaſion to examine the grounds of the papal authority; and this inquiry was not to the advantage of the popes.

Beſides the intereſt of their ſee, the Roman pontiffs had, alſo, that of their family, of which they were no leſs mindful; every one of them, ſeeking to raiſe his nephews or other relations; all the cities, formerly belonging to the church, being ſo many objects that inflamed their deſires. Alexander VI, who, of all the popes, his predeceſſors, was the leaſt ſcrupulous, had formed the project of making Cæſar Borgia, his baſtard, a great prince, by erecting him a ſtate out of ſeveral cities, or ſtates of la Romagna, which ſtill owned the pope's ſovereignty, and were under his protection. To execute this deſign, it was, that Cæſar Borgia, either by fraud or force, became maſter of Peruſa, Urbino, Imola, Faenza, Rimini, Pezzaro, Ceſena, under pretence that the poſſeſſors had not been punctual in paying the tribute, or annual relief, to the holy ſee; but Alexander VI. dying, before his ſon was well ſettled in his conqueſts, it happened, during the ſhort pontificate of Pius III, and the interval between his death, and the election of Julius II, that the former owners of theſe cities found means to recover them. This was, chiefly, by the aſſiſtance of the Venetians, who, for their pains, kept Faenza and Rimini.

The character and deſign of Julius II. Guicciard.

Julius II, who ſucceeded Pius III, formed for the houſe of la Rovere, of which he was, the ſame deſigns as Alexander VI. had formed for that of Borgia; for, he was no ſooner, in the papal chair, than he began the execution of his projects, with haughtily acquainting the Venetians, that his intention was to re-annex to the church, whatever had been alienated, and, therefore, they muſt reſtore Faenza and Rimini; and, upon their refuſal, he demanded aid of the emperor Maximilian. This was, properly, the firſt riſe of the league of Cambray, mentioned in the preceding reign, and of which, I ſhall be obliged to ſpeak more fully hereafter.

The republick of Venice. Bembo.

The ſenate of Venice, had long paſſed for the wiſeſt and moſt politick aſſembly, in the world; for, by their prudence and abilities, they had, by degrees, formed, in Terra Firma, a ſtate, which, being ſupported by a very ſtrong naval force, was inferior to none, in Italy. This ſtate conſiſted of Friuli, Treviſo, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Bergamo, Breſcia, Crema, Cremona, Rovigo, and the whole Poleſin, Ravenna, Faenza, Rimini. Moſt of theſe cities, with their territories were formerly part of the kingdom of Italy. After that, they fell under the dominion of the German emperors, who governed them, by their vicars. At length, theſe vicars either became ſovereigns, or, being expelled, the cities had recovered their liberty, to fall again, afterwards, under the tyranny of ſome private perſons, who had uſurped an abſolute power. Of theſe the Venetians had required them, either by money or force of arms; but, however, it be, when they had made theſe acquiſitions, it is certain, the authority of the emperors was ſeldom acknowledged; but, in the interim, the emperors ſtill preſerved their pretenſions to all theſe cities, as having been formerly parts of the empire, or rather the kingdom of Italy, enjoyed by ſome of their predeceſſors. Friuli was conquered upon the church of Aquileia, to whom it was preſented by Otho I; Ravenna, Faenza, Rimini, formerly belonged to the ſee of Rome; Rovigo and the Poleſin, were conquered on the duke of Ferrara; Cremona and Gietradadda, appertained to the duchy of Milan, having been reſigned by Lewis XII; Breſcia was taken from the dukes of Milan, and Crema freely given up by duke Francis Sforza. They had alſo, in the kingdom of Naples, five maritime places, mortgaged to them, by one of the kings. 1509.

Bologna. Alberti.

Bologna was a rich and powerful city, yet, not ſo conſiderable as formerly; for civil diſcords, had, at length, obliged her, on certain terms, to ſubmit to the church; after which, the city was governed by the pope's legates, ſent thither, from time to time; but their dominion ſuffered frequent interruptions; for the legates, oppreſſing the people, forced them, often, to ſhake off their yoke, and expel them the city; but, it was only to fall again, under the tyranny of the heads of faction, who, by their oppreſſions, obliged them, to have recourſe to the pope, and receive his legates again; which was very often the caſe. In the year 1440, Hannibal Bentivoglio, became ſo powerful, that he was little leſs than a ſovereign; for, from that time, to 1506, ſome one of the family of Bentivoglio, held the government, tho' the pope's legates, were, ſtill admitted, and honoured, yet, without having any real power. At laſt, Julius II, not content with this ſhadow of authority, demanded, in 1506, aid of Lewis XII, to make himſelf maſter of Bologna. Tho' France had, hitherto, protected the Bentivoglio's, Lewis, however, ordered the governor of Milan, to ſend the pope troops; whereupon, John Bentivoglio, head of that houſe, ſeeing himſelf forſaken by the king of France, quitted Bologna, with all his family, and retired to Milan, leaving the city to the pope.

Ferrara. Sardi.

The duchy of Ferrara was a fief of the church, long poſſeſſed by the family of Eſte, who were inveſted, by the pope, and paid an annual relief, in money. This petty ſtate, bordering on the pope and the Venetians, being very convenient for both, preſerved itſelf by their mutual jealouſy; yet, however, the Venetians had taken from them Rovigo, and

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the Poleſin; but Julius II. had greater views, thinking, ſeriouſly, of annexing the whole duchy, to the church.

Modena and Reggio.
G. Batt. Pigna.

Modena and Reggio were, likewiſe, under the dominion of the family of Eſte, not, as belonging to the duchy of Ferrara, but as a diſtinct ſtate, acquired, by that family, after being poſſeſſed of Ferrara. Julius II, had alſo pretenſions to theſe two cities, as having been formerly given to the church by Charlemaign, and, perhaps, on the ſole pretence, that they belonged to the duke of Ferrara, his vaſſal.

Urbino.
Cimarelli.

Urbino had formerly been of the church's demean; but, the popes, had not, for many, years, challenged more, than the right of ſovereignty. Cæſar Borgia had ſeized this city, and expelled duke Guidobaldi Ubaldini, who recovered it, after the deceaſe of Alexander VI. As Guidobaldi had no children, Julius II. perſuaded him, to adopt Francis Maria de la Rovere, nephew to both, ſon of the pope's brother and the duke's ſiſter; and, ſoon after, la Rorere became duke of Urbino, by the death of Guidobaldi, his adoptive father.

Parma and Placentia.
Alberti.

Parma and Placentia had been under the dominion of ſeveral lords, or tyrants, till, at laſt, they became ſubject to the dukes of Milan. Lewis XII. took poſſeſſion of them, after his conqueſt of the Milaneſe.

Florence.
Machiavel.

Florence, a very potent city, and the chief of Tuſcany, was fallen, at length, under the dominion of the family of Medicis; but, afterwards, an oppoſite faction prevailing, they were driven from thence, and were, now, in exile, attempting, however, from time to time, to be reſtored to their country.

Piſa.
Alberti.

Piſa had been, formerly, a very conſiderable city, on account of her naval forces; but, at length, becoming ſubject to the dukes of Milan, a baſtard of that family, to whom it was given, ſold it to the Florentines. The Piſani were againſt the ſale, and would have recovered their liberty, but were overcome. After that, Charles VIII, in his way to Naples, reſtored Piſa to her liberty; but, as ſoon as the Florentines had nothing more to fear from him, they beſieged Piſa, tho' aſſiſted by the Venetians, and the ſiege was, ſtill, carrying on, at the time of the league of Cambray.

Genoa.
Pizarro.

The city of Genoa, after ſundry revolutions, cauſed by the factions of the Fregoſa's, and the Adorno's, was, at length, fallen into the hands of the French, in the reign of Charles VII; after which, Lewis XI. reſigned it, to the duke of Milan; but, Lewis XII. ſeized it, after his conqueſt of the Milaneſe.

Motives of the league of Cambray againſt the Venetians.

This ſurvey of the ſtates of Italy ſhews, that it was, then, divided between ſix powers, viz. pope Julius II, Lewis XII, king of France and duke of Milan, Ferdinand, king of Arragon and Naples, the republicks of Venice and Florence, and the duke of Ferrara. To theſe ſix, may be added, the emperor Maximilian, who without poſſeſſing a foot of land, in Italy, had, however, pretenſions to whatever was, formerly, enjoyed by the emperors, and particularly to the firm Land State of the Venetians, whoſe ruin the other ſix were equally concerned to procure. The emperor pretended, that all the Venetian dominions, belonged to the empire. He paſſionately deſired to wreſt ſome place from them, that would give him entrance, into Italy, and an opportunity to reeſtabliſh the imperial power, in that country. Julius II, as I ſaid, had formed a deſign to annex, to the church, whatever had been alienated, and, eſpecially, the duchy of Ferrara, and the towns of la Romagna. This project could be effected only, by the deſtruction of the Venetians, ever attentive to oppoſe the growth of their neighbours; and, beſides, the pope had a mind to begin with them, and wreſt from them Ravenna, Faenza, and Rimina. Lewis XII, repenting of yielding to them Cremona and Gierradadda, wanted to diſpoſſeſs them, and, under that pretence, to get poſſeſſion, alſo, of Crema, Bergamo, and Breſcia, and, in general, of whatever had belonged to the dukes of Milan. Ferdinand was deſirous to recover, without money, the five maritime towns of the kingdom of Naples, which had been mortgaged to them; moreover, his intereſt required, that there ſhould be, always, commotions, in Italy, to hinder Lewis XII, from thinking of the conqueſt of Naples. The duke of Ferrara wiſhed to recover Rovigo, and the Poleſin. And, laſtly, the Florentines, obſtinately reſolved on the ſiege of Piſa, protected and defended, by the Venetians, could deſire nothing more advantageous, than to ſee that republick unable to aſſiſt the Piſani.

1509.
Hiſt. della legha di Cambray.

League of Cambray.

Such were the motives of the league, formed againſt Venice, of which the pope, emperor, and king of France, were the chief promoters; and, for the greater ſecrecy, they ſpread a report, that the emperor, as guardian to Charles of Auſtria, his grandſon, had agreed, that his differences with the duke of Gueldres, ſhould be amicably adjuſted; to which purpoſe, the city of Cambray was appointed for the place of congreſs, thereby to intimate, that the affairs of Flanders would only be conſidered. Here the famous league againſt the republick of Venice was concluded; and the better, to deceive the ſpies, was ſigned, at firſt, a treaty of perpetual peace between the pope, emperor, Lewis XII, and Ferdinand, which was, indeed, made publick; but a ſecond treaty, which care was taken not to divulge, contained a league offenſive and defenſive, againſt the Venetians; the principal articles whereof, were as follows:

The treaties of the allies againſt Venice.
Bembo.

In the firſt place, it was ſet forth, in the preamble, that the Turks having begun to make great progreſs, in Europe, it was abſolutely neceſſary, for the Chriſtian princes, to join their forces againſt them, but, the Venetians, by their continual incroachments, greatly hindered this union; from which, it was concluded, that they were to be diſpoſſeſſed of what they had uſurped. This was the pious motive of the league. And, therefore, it was agreed, that of their ſpoils, the pope ſhould have Ravenna, Faenza, and Rimini; the emperor, as ſuch, Verona, Vicenza, and

1509. and Padua, and as duke of Auſtria, Treviſo, and Friuli; Lewis XII, as duke of Milan, Cremona, Gierradadda, Breſcia, Crema, and Bergamo; the king of Arragon, Manfredonia, Trani, Monopili, Brindiſi, and Otranto, in the kingdom of Naples; and, that the dukes of Ferrara and Savoy, and the marqueſs of Mantua, ſhould be admitted into the league, if they deſired it; the firſt, to recover Rovigo, and the Poleſin; the ſecond, to get the kingdom of Cyprus out of the hands of the Venetians; and the third, to obtain ſatisfaction, concerning certain pretenſions he had upon Venice. Laſtly, that all, who had any claim upon the Venetians, ſhould be received into the league, as principals, if they declared themſelves, within three months. Thus, in order to wage war againſt the Turks, no other means were found, than to ſtrip the Venetians of all their firm Land State, and leave them only the city of Venice.

The projects of the allies. Mezerai.

To accompliſh this deſign, it was agreed, that the king of France, in perſon, ſhould enter the territories of the Venetians, the firſt of April, in the year 1509, with an army of 40,000 men; that the pope ſhould ſend an army into la Romagna; and Ferdinand have one in Lombardy, with a fleet in the gulph; and the emperor attack the Venetians from the ſide of Germany. But, as he had, lately, made a three years truce with them, an admirable expedient was deviſed, to furniſh him with a pretence to break it, which was, that the pope ſhould ſummon him, as the church's advocate, to come and defend the patrimony. In fine, Julius II. engaged to thunder out all the eccleſiaſtical cenſures againſt Venice. This league was ſigned, at Cambray, the 10th of December, 1508.

The campaign of the year 1509. Bembo.

The time of executing the projects of the league, being come, Lewis XII, departed from Milan, the beginning of April 1509, with 40,000 men, whilſt the pope's army entered la Romagna, under the conduct of Francis Maria de la Rovere, duke of Urbino; and Raymond of Cardona, threw himſelf into Lombardy, with the king of Arragon's troops; and, at the ſame time, the duke of Ferrara took the field, in the Poleſin; but the emperor contented himſelf, with keeping, at Trent, and ſeeing the reſt of the allies act, in order to be ready to reap the fruit of their labours. In the interim, the Venetians, having, firſt, provided their towns, with ammunition, raiſed an army, under the command of count Pitigliano, their general, whoſe lieutenant was Bartholomew d' Alviano.

The battle of Agnadel. Bembo.

The van of the French army, commanded by Chaumont, paſſed the Adda, the 15th of April, and, at the ſame time, the pope excommunicated the Venetians, and put the city of Venice under an interdict. On the 14th of May, was fought, the battle of Gierradadda or Agnadel, between the French and Venetians, contrary to the opinion of count Pitigliano, tho' general, in chief, of the Venetians, and to all reaſon; for the Venetians having no refuge but their army, it was, by no means, proper, to hazard a battle. But the heat of Bartholomew d' Alviano prevailed over his general's prudence. The Venetian army was entirely defeated, and Alviano taken priſoner. Whereupon, the Venetians, being no longer able to reſiſt their enemies, Lewis, in leſs than a fortnight, became maſter of Cremona, Peſchiera, Crema, Breſcia, Bergamo, and of all the places, in general, formerly belonging to the Milaneſe; moreover, Vicenza, Verona, and Padua, ſent him their keys; but, as by the treaty of Cambray, theſe places were in the emperor's diviſion, he ſent their deputies to him. Maximilian was then, at Trent, expecting the ſucceſs of the confederate army; and, upon the arrival of the deputies, ordered his troops to advance towards the ſtate of Venice, and, as theſe cities freely opened their gates, he had only to garriſon them. Treviſo, alone, refuſed him admittance, remaining firm to the Venetians, tho' reduced to the laſt extremity. Friuli, and the towns of Iſtria, followed the ſtream, and ſubmitted to the emperor. On the other hand, the duke of Urbino, with the pope's army, took Ravenna, Cervia, Faenza, Rimini, whilſt the duke of Ferrara became maſter of Rovigo, and the marqueſs of Mantua of ſome caſtles that were convenient for him. Thus, in a moment, the Venetians ſaw all their dominions reduced to the city of Venice, with five places, in Naples, which could not be of great ſervice to them; however, they were not entirely diſcouraged amidſt ſo many misfortunes, tho' the ſenate and people, were under the greateſt conſternation; for their chief care, was, to draw together, their ſcattered troops, and uſe their utmoſt, to diſſolve ſo deſtructive a league.

1509. The Venetians loſe all their ſtate of Terra-firma.

Piſa ſurrenders. Guicciard.

The misfortune, befallen the Venetians, occaſioned the loſs of Piſa; for this city, deſpairing of being relieved by Venice, or the king of France, who had deſerted her, at laſt, ſubmitted to the Florentines, after having endured a long ſiege.

Lewis XII. returns to France. Guicciard.

Lewis XII, having obtained his ends, returned into France, after he had detached a body of troops, commanded by la Paliſſe, to join the emperor, who, probably, had not men enough to ſupply his garriſons, and, to keep an army, in the field, againſt the Venetians, who were drawing together again. Upon the king of France's departure, affairs began to have a new face; for the Venetians took Padua, by ſurpriſe, and kept it ever after; moreover, they found means to ſend, into Friuli, an army, which employed the greateſt part of Maximilian's troops; in ſhort, they appeaſed the pope, by their humble ſubmiſſion, and obtained his poſitive promiſe, to give them abſolution, and take off the interdict, upon certan conditions, which they could not refuſe him. On the other hand, Ferdinand, who had not yet reaped any benefit, by the league, was eaſily gained, by the offer of the five cities, held by the Venetians, in the kingdom of Naples.

The emperor beſieges Padua, in vain.

Whilſt the ſenate was endeavouring to draw off the pope and king of Arragon, from the league, the emperor, with his own and la Paliſſe's forces, laid ſiege to Padua; but, after an

1509. an unſucceſsful aſſault, raiſed it, and retired into Germany; and, at the ſame time, the French general, alſo, returned to Milan; by which means, the Venetians had ſome time to breathe, and continue negotiations, with the pope, which made them hope, that the iſſue of the war would not be ſo fatal, as they had, hitherto, imagined.

The pope's uneaſineſs. Mezerai.

The union of the king of France, with the emperor, made Julius II. extremely uneaſy; for he beheld the French king ſo firmly ſettled, in the duchy of Milan, that it ſeemed impoſſible to diſlodge him; and, on the other hand, the emperor could not but be formidable to him, ſince he had an entrance into Italy, by means of Verona and Vicenza; beſides, he did not know what to think of the powerful aid lent that prince, by Lewis XII, to compleat the ruin of the Venetians; and, he was not without fear, that theſe two monarchs had made a private treaty together, to ſhare all Italy. In the mean while, he hardly ſaw, how theſe two powerful princes could be withſtood; for Venice was come to nothing; the Florentines were drained by the long Piſan war; and, as for Ferdinand, it was, almoſt impoſſible to treat with him, without being liable to be deceived; for he knew how to improve all the treaties, and ſcrupled not to forſake his allies, when it was for his intereſt. Notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, the pope formed the deſign of putting the affairs of Italy on another foot, in order to execute his firſt projects; he, therefore, reſolved to agree and league with the Venetians; to take off the king of Arragon from the league of Cambray, by inveſting him with Naples; to uſe his endeavours to ſet the emperor and Lewis at variance; to bring a Swiſs army, into the Milaneſe; and, in a word, to perſuade the new king of England, to make a diverſion, in France. Theſe were the pope's deſigns, the ſucceſs of which, we ſhall ſee hereafter. He began with making peace with the Venetians, upon three conditions; firſt, that they ſhould relinquiſh all their pretenſions to the cities of la Romagna, lately taken from them; ſecondly, that they ſhould renounce the right of placing, in Ferrara, a certain magiſtrate called Biſdomina; thirdly, that they ſhould leave the navigation of the gulph free to all the ſubjects of the church. In the preſent circumſtances of Venice, there were no other conditions to be impoſed upon her.

He makes peace with the Venetians. Bembo.

After ſo long a digreſſion, concerning the affairs of Italy, which, however, is not uſeleſs, as will appear in the ſequel, we muſt return to the affairs of England.

1510. The parliament meets. Herbert.

The parliament being aſſembled, the 21ſt of January, 1510, the commons repreſented to the king, that certain ſtatutes, made in the former parliaments, had given occaſion to the king his father's miniſters, to oppreſs the people, by putting forced interpretations upon them, contrary to the natural meaning of the words; that, therefore, it was neceſſary, to ſoften, or ſo explain them, as to prevent ſuch abuſes, for the future. Henry readily agreed to what was propoſed by the commons, not only becauſe the thing was juſt, in itſelf, but, chiefly, becauſe it naturally led to his deſign of having Empſon and Dudley attainted, by the parliament; and, tho' theſe men had been already condemned by their proper judges, the king had deferred the execution of the ſentence; for he could not help having ſome ſcruple, in cauſing them to be accuſed of a crime, of which he knew them not to be guilty; nevertheleſs, he wanted to ſacrifice them to the people, without incurring the imputation of a falſe accuſation, and, likewiſe, to vindicate his father's memory, by intimating, that they had exceeded his orders To reconcile theſe two things, he ſo managed it, that the parliament paſſed an act of attainder againſt them; that is, they were condemned to die, by the authority of the king and parliament, without any particular mention of the crimes they had incurred, or of the proofs on which their ſentence was founded. This method, which, till then, had ſeldom been practiſed, was but too frequently uſed in the ſequel of this reign; ſo dangerous is it to eſtabliſh ſuch precedents. However, Henry having ſtill ſome difficulty, to overcome his ſcruples, delayed their execution, till the following Auguſt. 1510.

An act of attainder againſt Empſon and Dudley. Hall.

Whilſt the parliament was, thus employed, Lewis ſent ambaſſadors to England, to renew, with the king, the treaties made with the late king. As by the peace of Eſtaples, after the death of one of the two kings of France or England, his ſucceſſor was to ſignify to the ſurvivor, whether he would continue the alliance, it was Henry's buſineſs to inform Lewis XII, of his intention; but he had done nothing towards it. However, as he was a lively young prince, and abounding in riches, Lewis thought, doubtleſs, it would be proper to prevent him, for fear he might engage, in deſigns, deſtructive of the welfare of France; therefore, his ambaſſadors concluded, with Henry, a new treaty of alliance, wherein the former treaties were not mentioned; by which it was agreed, that the peace between the two kings, ſhould laſt till the deceaſe of the ſhorteſt liver; that it ſhould be confirmed by the ſtates-general of France, and the parliament of England; and, that each of the two kings ſhould take care to obtain the pope's approbation, with a previous ſentence of excommunication, againſt the firſt violator.

A new treaty of alliance between Lewis XII. and Henry VIII. Act. Pub.

There was nothing ſaid, in this new treaty, of the 745000 crowns, that Charles VIII. had promiſed to pay to Henry VII, or his ſucceſſors, and for which Lewis XII. himſelf was engaged, by a ſubſequent treaty, becauſe the buſineſs was only to renew the peace between the two preſent kings; however, Henry did not forget to ſecure the debt, by demanding of Lewis letters patent, wherein he promiſed to pay the arrears, by means of 25000 livres every ſix months, till the whole was diſcharged; after which, the peace was ratified and ſworn to, by both the kings.

Julius II, was meditating great projects againſt Lewis XII. The ſucceſs of the league of

1510. of Cambray, tho' he had turned it to his advantage, made him very uneasy; for he saw the French more firmly settled, in Italy, than ever, and Lewis XII. better able to protect the duke of Ferrara. To accomplish his design against France, he, doubtless, wanted assistance; and, to that end, tried to excite all the states of Europe against that kingdom, as will be seen presently. To insinuate himself into the king of England's favour, he sent him, this year, the Golden Rose, which the popes, after solemnly consecrating it, were wont to present to some prince. Probably, also, the king of Arragon, in concert with the pope, began, now, to take measures to engage Henry, his son-in-law, in a league against France.

The pope sends Henry a consecrated rose.

Ferdinand falls off from the league.

The success of the last campaign, made Ferdinand no less uneasy, than the pope; for he was sensible, that Lewis never loved him, nor had any reason to love him, and saw this enemy, since the ruin of the Venetians, in a condition to disturb him, in the possession of Naples. On the other hand, the league of Cambray could not procure him any farther advantages, whereas the offers made him to leave it, were very considerable; for the Venetians agreed to restore him the cities, they possessed, in the kingdom of Naples, and the pope was willing to depart from his claim of 40,000 crowns, and give him the investiture of that kingdom, for a Spanish genet only. This was sufficient to induce him to break his engagements, at Cambray. In all appearance, ever since the end of the last year, he had taken measures with the pope, to form a new league, against France; but, as he never acted publickly, he desired these measures to be kept private, in order to attack Lewis the more irresistibly. To that purpose, on the 6th of January, this year 1510, he commissioned Lewis de Caroz of Villaragud, his ambassador, at London, to treat with Henry VIII, about a stronger alliance, than had, yet, been concluded, between the crowns of England and Spain.

A new treaty of alliance between Henry and Ferdinand. Act. Pub.

Whether Henry could not so soon resolve to conclude this new alliance, with Ferdinand, or was willing, first, to finish his affairs with Lewis XII, it was not till the 24th of May, that the new treaty was signed. It was only a defensive alliance, between the two kings, with a promise of mutual aid, upon occasion; but, Ferdinand, who had his views, caused these words to be inserted; that in case one of the two kings was attacked, by any prince, whatsoever, the other should be obliged to proclaim and wage war against the aggressor, tho' he should be his ally; that, if, one was attacked, by the king of France, the other should be obliged to go against him, in person, with a powerful army. This treaty, secured to Ferdinand, the kingdom of Naples, because, if, Lewis XII, had intended to undertake the conquest, the diversion, he would have been threatened with, from England, would have infallibly kept him from his purpose. But it is hard to conceive, what advantage Henry could reap from such a treaty, since it was not likely, Lewis designed to attack him; so that all the advantage was on Ferdinand's side. It must be either, that Henry's ministers were not very clear-sighted, or he, from a motive of generosity, for a father-in-law, whom he did not, yet, sufficiently know, was imprudently persuaded to this proceeding, the more strange, as he had lately renewed the peace, with France. 1510.

Henry minds only his diversions. Herbert. Hall.

But it must not be thought, that Henry was then a compleat politician; for, he was, yet, young, and minded his diversions more than the publick affairs; there being nothing every day but turnaments, balls, entertainments, consorts of musick, which consumed, by degrees, the 1,800,000 l. sterling, found in the king his father's coffers. He used, likewise, to play, at tennis and dice, with certain strangers, who cheated him of his money, which he discovered, at last, and, tho' a little too late, shamefully chased them from court. He was so passionately fond of musick, that it devoured great part of his time; which, added to the hours he spent, in his studies, and other diversions, left him but little leisure to apply himself to the affairs of the government, the management of which, he willingly left to his ministers, and, therefore, it may be affirmed, that in matter of policy, never prince committed grosser faults, or was more imposed on, than himself, especially, in the first years of his reign.

Wolsey rises at court.

Whilst Henry was wholly addicted to his pleasures, there was a person, gradually, rising, at court, who was, one day, to have an absolute power over him, and to manage all his affairs, as well foreign as domestick; I mean Thomas Wolsey, who was made the king's almoner, last year, and, in the beginning of this, dean of Lincoln. It appears in the Collection of the Publick Acts, that on the 30th January, the king gave him a house, in London, formerly Empson's, no inconsiderable present, since the patent mentions 13 gardens belonging thereto. We must now return to the affairs of Italy, which will afford us farther matter, for several years.

The pope's designs.

Julius II, had two grand designs, in his head; the first was, to seize the duchy of Ferrara; the second, to expel the French and Germans out of Italy. His forces alone not being capable to execute these projects, it was necessary to use the assistance of some other princes, and try to engage them in his designs. His scheme was to league with the Venetians; to take off Ferdinand and Maximilian from the interests of France; to break the league of Cambray; to persuade the king of England to make a diversion, in France; and excite the Switzers to invade the duchy of Milan. He executed all these projects, but not without encountering such difficulties, as would have discouraged any man, less resolute than himself; for, first, he made a private league, with the Venetians, after which, he solemnly gave them absolution, the 24th of January; and then, he secretly agreed, with Ferdinand, by promising him the investiture of Naples. That done, he quarrelled with Lewis XII,

He absolves and leagues with the Venetians.

1510. by filling a biſhoprick in Provence, without asking his conſent, contrary to his own promiſe. Lewis complained of it; the pope denied he had promiſed any ſuch thing; and, in ſhort, they came, at laſt, to give one another the lie, in form. This was, preciſely, what the pope wanted, in order to have occaſion to break with him.

He quarrels with Lewis XII, Bembo.

His league with the Venetians, being publickly known, he imperiouſly commanded the duke of Ferrara to renounce the league of Cambray, and join his arms with thoſe of the church. The duke not believing, his being vaſſal to the holy ſee required him to be, thus, blindly devoted to the pope's humours, refuſed to break his alliance with France, and, ſo gave his holineſs the pretence he had long been ſeeking; for, when the duke offered to pay him the tribute, due to the church, for the fief of Ferrara, the pope refuſed it, plainly intimating by that refuſal, he intended to confiſcate the duchy.

and with the duke of Ferrara. Sardi. Mezerai.

In the interim, Ferdinand was ſecretly acting with Henry VIII, his ſon-in-law, to draw him into the pope's intereſts, which were become his own, in conſequence of the deſigns they had formed, in common; but his practices were ſo ſecret, that Lewis XII. never miſtruſted him; for, on the contrary, he wholly confided in the aſſurances, given him, by his ambaſſador, that his deſign was to continue firmly attached, to the league of Cambray.

Ferdinand acts underhand to gain Henry. Herbert.

On the other hand, Julius II, gained the biſhop of Sion, who, having great credit, among th Switzers, found means to ſet them at variance, with France, by perſuading them to require an augmentation of their penſions. Their alliance with that crown being about to expire, they demanded to renew it, that their penſions ſhould be increaſed. Lewis refuſing it, the biſhop of Sion effectually uſed that refuſal, to ſtir them up againſt France, to which the king himſelf, alſo, contributed, by making an alliance with the Griſons. He thereby, ſo provoked the Switzers, that in a diet, at Lucern, they declared for the pope, and reſolved to ſend an army into the duchy of Milan.

The pope ſets the Switzers at variance with France. Guicciard. Mezerai.

In fine, the pope forgot nothing that he thought capable of perſuading the Venetians, to agree with the emperor, at any rate, even to the adviſing them to deliver him Treviſo and Padua. He intimated to them, that the moſt effectual means to drive the French out of the Milaneſe, was to diſengage the emperor from their intereſts; and when once they were out of Italy, it would be eaſy to wreſt from the emperor, not only Treviſo and Padua, but all his other conqueſts; but the Venetians would not run ſuch a riſque.

He tries to reconcile the Venetians to the emperor. Guicciard. Mezerai.

Such were the vaſt projects of the pope. He was ſo private, in his negotiations, that Lewis XII, imagining he had no other deſign, than to ſeize Ferrara, contented himſelf, with ordering Chaumont, governor of Milan, to aid the duke, in caſe he was attacked; but ſoon after, a Ventian fleet and papal army, commanded by Fabricius Colonna, attempting, tho' unſucceſsfully, to ſurpriſe Genoa, Lewis had too much reaſon to ſuſpect, there was ſome grand project formed againſt him; and, therefore, ſent Chaumont orders, to have an eye to his holineſs's proceedings. 1510.

Lewis XII. begins to ſuſpect the pope. Mezerai.

Theſe orders came to Milan, very forunately. Julius II really intended to beſiege Ferrara, and, for that purpoſe, was come to Bologna, till an army, preparing, on ſome pretence, by Raymond of Cardona, at Naples, was ready to join his and the Venetian troops. But Chaumont did not allow him time to execute his deſigns; for, hearing the pope was arrived, at Bologna, he departed from Milan, at the head of an army, and made ſuch ſpeed, that he would have ſurpriſed him there, had he not ſuffered himſelf, to be amuſed with parlies. Whilſt he was treating with the pope's envoys, ſome Venetian troops, in the neighbourhood, entering the city, ſecured it from the danger of being inſulted; whereupon, Chaumont, being not prepared, for ſo important a ſiege, was obliged to retire.

Julius II. is like to be ſurpriſed at Bologna.

Julius II. made great noiſe, at this inſult of the French, and filled all Europe, and, particularly, the court of England, with his complaints. He excommunicated all the generals of the French army, and, preſently after, his and the Venetian gallies, made a ſecond attempt upon Genoa, but with no better ſucceſs than before.

He excommunicates the French generals, and tries to ſurpriſe Genoa. Bizarro.

At the ſame time, 12000 Switzers began their march, in order to enter the Milaneſe, under the command of the biſhop of Sion; but he found the paſſages ſo well guarded, that they deſpaired of ſucceeding in their deſign; ſo, beſides, not receiving from the pope, the money promiſed them, they returned, into their own country.

The Switzers cannot enter the Milaneſe.

War being, thus, proclaimed, between Lewis XII. and the pope, Lewis thought himſelf under no farther reſtraint. He had done his utmoſt to be reconciled with him, even to the offering to abandon the duke of Ferara; but the pope, depending upon Ferdinand, and expecting great aſſiſtance from England, had evaded all his propoſals; wherefore, to ſtop the fury of this impetuous old man, Lewis made a new league with the emperor, promiſing to put him in poſſeſſion of all Italy, except Genoa and Florence. Maximilian had the good fortune, that, in all his leagues, he had ever great advantages, tho' he contributed the leaſt. On this occaſion, Lewis XII. could hardly proceed without him, becauſe it was highly neceſſary to continue the war, in the ſtate of Venice, otherwiſe the Venetians would have been able to give the pope too great an aſſiſtance. The league being concluded at Blois, in Auguſt, Lewis called a ſynod, at Tours, to conſult how he ought to behave to the pope. The ſynod were of opinion, that the king ſhould, once more, offer the pope a reaſonable agreement; and, in caſe of refuſal, might with a ſafe conſcience, wage even an offenſive war with him. Lewis wanted no more to juſtify his intended proceedings; for, ſoon after, he concluded, with Maximilian, a new treaty, whereby they agreed to cauſe a general council to be ſummoned

Lewis XII. joins in a league with the emperor.

1510. moned to Piſa, to depoſe Julius II. To that end, they gained nine cardinals, who readily undertook to call the council, in their own name. Some of theſe cardinals were now with the pope, but found means to leave him, under divers pretences; and, when he would have recalled them, refuſed to obey.

Such was the ſituation of the affairs of Italy, during the year 1510. I have ſaid nothing of the events of the war, which laſted all this while, between the emperor, aſſiſted by the French king and the Venetians, becauſe theſe particulars are of little ſervice to the Hiſtory; it will, therefore, ſuffice to obſerve, that Chaumont, ſeeing Genoa and Milan in danger, had withdrawn the French troops from the emperor's army, to keep them at Milan. The departure of theſe troops, gave the Venetians ſome reſpite, who, thereby, were enabled to repair ſome loſſes ſuſtained in the beginning of the campaign, and to aſſiſt the pope, who, ſtill, deſigned to beſiege Ferrara.

The pope's forces and Spaniards join.

Chaumont's attempt to ſurpriſe the pope, in Bologna, afforded Raymond of Cardona, viceroy of Naples, a pretence to march to the relief of his holineſs. The pope's troops and the Venetians were, in December, joined by the Spaniſh army, near Modena, which Fabricius Colonna, had taken, in his return from his Genoa expedition. Tho' the ſeaſon was not very proper to enter upon action, the pope was fully reſolved to beſiege Mirandola. This town belonged to the heirs of Joannes Picus of Miranda, with whom he had no conteſt; but, as it lay convenient to favour the ſiege of Ferrara, he would not leave it in his rear, but ordered it to be vigorouſly attacked; and, in ſpite of his age, and the rigour of the ſeaſon, he came himſelf to the ſiege, to animate the troops, by his preſence; and, the town ſurrendering, at laſt, on the 20th of January, he was pleaſed to enter through the breach.

Lewis complained to Ferdinand of his aſſiſting the pope; but Ferdinand calling that a triſle, anſwered, that, as vaſſal of the holy ſee, he could not help defending his holineſs's perſon and ſtate; that, beſides, he was not concerned, in the quarrels of the pope and the king of France, but his intention was to keep to the articles of the league of Cambray.

Henry, hitherto, does not ſeem to be concerned with the affairs of Italy, tho' the pope, Ferdinand, and the Venetians, had formed a deſign to engage him therein. He peaceably led a life of pleaſure, without much regarding what paſſed abroad. On the 1ſt of January, 1511, he had the ſatisfaction to ſee his queen delivered of a prince, at whoſe birth, there was great rejoicing over all the kingdom; but the joy laſted not long, ſince the young prince died, before the end of February.

1511. The birth of a prince; and his death. Hall.

The deſigns of Ferdinand.

In the interim, Ferdinand was ſeeking means to engage Henry, in the league he intended to make with the pope, againſt France; for Henry was rich and powerful, and, conſequently, his junction to the league, would be of great ſervice, and, extremely incommode France; and, on the other hand, his youth and ſmall experience, made his father-in-law hope, it would not be impoſſible to engage him, by degrees, into projects, with which a king of England ought not to concern himſelf. It is certain, that Ferdinand was, now, in agreement, with the pope; for, all his proceedings, and the ſeveral circumſtances of Hiſtory, renders it ſo plain, that it cannot be doubted. However, he uſed a profound diſſimulation, in this reſpect; for he feigned, to intend only the peace of Europe, that all the princes of Chriſtendom might join together, in a war, againſt the Infidels. But, as he wanted an army and fleet, to execute his deſigns, he pretended, to have very much at heart, the continuance of the war he had undertaken, againſt the Moors; for he had ſent, laſt year, on the coaſts of Africa, a fleet, under the conduct of Peter of Navarre; and, ſhortly after, he reinforced it, with ſome troops, commanded by a ſon of the duke of Alva, who, endeavouring to land at Gelves, was ſlain, and all his men cut in pieces. Ferdinand made uſe of this ill ſucceſs, to cover his preparations againſt France; for, under pretence of being revenged on the Moors, he aſſembled an army, and equipped a fleet, which he pretended to ſend, into Africa, but was, however, deſigned for Italy; and, as it was not, yet, time to diſcover his intentions, he carried his diſſimulation ſo far, as to demand of Henry, his ſon-in-law, 1000 Engliſh archers, to ſerve in his pretended expedition. Weak aid! to be ſent for ſo far, and at ſo great charge, if he had really intended to uſe them. Henry, not perceiving his deſigns, readily complied with his requeſt, and appointed Sir Thomas Darcy, on whom, at the ſame time, he conferred the title of baron, to command that ſmall body; and, we find, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, Ferdinand's letter of thanks to Henry, for this aid, and, for his advice, not to hazard his perſon, in the undertaking; advice, continued he, that he could not follow, becauſe religion was concerned; and yet, it ſoon appeared, he had never intended any ſuch thing, ſince he employed, againſt France, the very forces, which ſeemed to be deſigned againſt the Moors. 1511.

They try to get Henry into the league againſt France.

Nothing more was wanting, to conclude the projected league, againſt Lewis XII, but to gain the king of England, which was ſtrenuouſly endeavoured, during the beginning of the year 1511; for, the Venetians ſent him an ambaſſador, under pretence of thanking him for his care, to reconcile them to the pope, deſiring him, likewiſe, in their credentials, dated the 2d of March, to give credit to what their ambaſſador ſhould impart to him, which could relate only to the intended league; and, about the ſame time, it was, that the pope conferred the dignity of cardinal on Chriſtopher Bambridge, archbiſhop of York, and ambaſſador, at Rome, in a promotion the 11th of March, at Ravenna. All the hiſtorians unanimouſly affirm, that Bambridge was made cardinal, purely, for endeavouring to ſet Henry at variance, with France; and Matthew Skinner, biſhop of Sion, was promoted

Bambridge is made cardinal.

1511. moted to the ſame honour, for his paſt and future ſervices, of the like nature; for, in thoſe days, it was neither learning nor virtue that raiſed clergymen to the cardinalate, but ſolely their abilities in temporal affairs, joined to an entire ſubmiſſion to the pope.

Henry engages with the allies.

The methods that were uſed to engage Henry, in the Italian league, had, at length, the deſired ſucceſs. In all appearance, it was repreſented to him, that he was highly concerned to oppoſe the progreſs of the king of France, who was, already, become too powerful, by the conqueſt of the duchy of Milan, and the ruin of the Venetians. However this be, it appears, that, about the middle of the year, Henry was now determined to follow the ſuggeſtions of the pope and Ferdinand; for, in June, he appointed commiſſioners, to take care, that the militia of the kingdom were provided with good arms, and ready to ſerve, on the firſt notice, which it was cuſtomary to order, only when a war was foreſeen; and the reaſon, alledged by the king, for theſe orders, plainly ſhew what was his deſign; for, he ſaid, tho' the nation was in perfect tranquillity, nevertheleſs, as the arms were commonly ſuffered to ruſt, in time of peace, he wiſhed that his ſubjects would be in a readineſs to ſerve him, as well againſt invaſions, if any were intended, as in defence of his allies. Theſe laſt words could regard only the pope, the king of Arragon, and the Venetians; from whence it may be inferred, that the king had now given his word. But the ſequel will ſhew it more clearly.

He guards againſt Scotland.

The antient and ſtrict union, between France and Scotland, gave Henry juſt cauſe to fear, that as ſoon as the war with France was begun, the king of Scotland, as ally of Lewis XII, would interpoſe in the quarrel; and, therefore, to remove all pretence of rupture, he took care to appoint commiſſioners, with power, to repair all the outrages committed, ſince the late peace; but his precautions proved ineffectual; for, an accident, this year, afforded the king of Scotland, afterwards, that pretence of breach, which Henry would have prevented.

The cauſe of a quarrel between England and Scotland. Hall.

Andrew Breton, a Scotch merchant, complaining to the king of Scotland, that the Portugueſe had killed his father, and ſeized his ſhip, the king gave him letters of mark, after having, in vain, ſought redreſs from the court of Portugal; whereupon, Breton equipped two ſtout ſhips, and found means to make himſelf amends for his loſſes, by falling upon all the Portugal ſhips, trading to Flanders and England. The Portugal ambaſſador, reſiding at London, complained to the council, and repreſented, that ſince the king of England pretended to the ſovereignty of the narrow ſeas, it was but reaſonable he ſhould protect the foreign ſhips that came into the channel; upon which complaint, the king equipped two large men of war, and gave the command of them to the two ſons of the earl of Surrey, with orders to take the Scotch pyrate. Theſe two lords watched him ſo narrowly, that they met with him, at laſt, as he was returning from Flanders to Scotland. Breton fought deſperately, but was killed in the fight, and his two ſhips taken and brought into England. The king of Scotland hearing of this, ſent and demanded the two ſhips, with ſpeedy reparation of the outrage committed againſt the peace; but the ambaſſadors were told, that pyrates were not included in the peace, and that, to puniſh ſuch people, according to their deſerts, was no breach of treaty. Probably, Breton had made himſelf more than amends, for the damage he had ſuſtained, as it too frequently happens, on ſuch occaſions; but, however, king James, not being able to obtain any thing from the court of England, proteſted againſt the injuſtice, being determined to reſent it, the firſt opportunity. 1511.

The pope rejects Lewis's offers. P. Daniel.

I left Julius II, after the taking of Mirandola, reſolved on the ſiege of Ferrara, and only waited the return of good weather. Tho' Lewis XII. was in good meaſure ignorant of what paſſed in Spain and England, he knew, however, enough, not to doubt, that the pope was endeavouring to raiſe him enemies, on all ſides; for he was even ſatisfied, that, tho' he ſeemed to have no other deſign, than to become maſter of Ferrara, yet that was only the firſt ſtep to ſome greater project. In the mean while, he was very much embarraſſed; for he had, properly, nothing to gain upon the pope, unleſs he would ſeize the church's patrimony; but he had a great deal to loſe, beſides the troubles which the obſtinate and haughty temper of the pope might create him; wherefore, he reſolved to try all poſſible ways to be reconciled with him; and, to that end, whilſt the pope was employed, in the ſiege of Mirandola, he made him ſome overtures, by Chaumont; but the pope would hearken to nothing, and continued the ſiege, till he forced the town to capitulate. At laſt, Lewis ſeeing there was no proſpect of a reconciliation, ordered Chaumont to regard him no longer, and, at any rate, ſupport the duke of Ferrara. Chaumont receiving theſe orders, takes the field, in the midſt of winter. His army, joined by the duke of Ferrara, was not ſo numerous as the forces of the pope, Ferdinand, and the Venetians, but, compoſed of ſo good troops, that the allies durſt never venture a battle, tho' it was offered them more than once. In the interim, the pope was greatly embarraſſed; for, inſtead of quietly preparing for the ſiege of Ferrara, he was forced to keep the field, during the winter, without knowing, even, how to ſave Modena, which was in danger of a ſiege. Ferdinand, who foreſaw what trouble that place would give the pope, had adviſed him to reſign it to the emperor; nay, that affair had been negotiated, but without ſucceſs, becauſe Maximilian would receive it only as a place held of the empire, to which the pope would not conſent; but, at laſt, on Chaumont's approach to beſiege it, the pope was willing to deliver it, as the emperor deſired, becauſe it was not to be ſaved, without hazarding

1511. ing a battle. The terms of this bargain, are not, preciſely, known; but, from thenceforward, all the emperor's proceedings, gave occaſion to ſuſpect, Modena was acquired upon conditions, very prejudicial to the king of France, his ally. 1511.

Ferdinand's diſſimulation.

The king of Arragon pretending to be, in alliance with France, he would not declare againſt her, till he had ſecured the king of England, with whom he was privately negotiating a treaty, which required a long diſcuſſion. Indeed, his troops, that were to ſerve the pope but three months, according to the terms of the inveſtiture of Naples, were, ſtill, joined with thoſe of the allies; but he pretended, that the viceroy of Naples acted contrary to his orders, in remaining in the pope's army longer than he was commanded. In the mean while, the army was preſſed by Chaumont and the duke of Ferrara, who followed them cloſe, and endeavoured to provoke them to a battle; ſo, that to gain time, Ferdinand, who, would, ſtill, paſs for a neutral prince, and well affected to the repoſe of Italy, propoſed a congreſs, at Mantua, for a peace. The pope, immediately, accepted the overture. The emperor agreed to it, likewiſe; and, Lewis XII. durſt not reject it, leaſt he ſhould be charged with being the ſole author of the troubles of Italy. It is certain, if, at this juncture, inſtead of ſuffering himſelf to be amuſed, by a negotiation, the ſole aim of which, was to rob him of the opportunity of puſhing his enemies, had ordered his troops to advance, he would have over-run the whole eccleſiaſtical ſtate; with ſo great terror had his arms inſpired the allies; but he had to manage his ſubjects, as well as his queen, who conſidered a war, with the head of the church, as a crime, tho' there was but too much provocation. He had himſelf, likewiſe, ſcruples, on that account, which he could not eaſily ſurmount; but, however, he was willing to try once more, whether the propoſed congreſs of Mantua, would produce ſome good effect; he hoped, at leaſt, that the breaking off the negotiation, in caſe it was not ſucceſsful, would fully juſtify him. The congreſs produced the effect, expected by the allies, that is, it cauſed the French to loſe a great deal of time, to no purpoſe.

The emperor ſides, privately, with the pope. Guicciard.

A few days before the congreſs of Mantua, the biſhop of Gurck, who was to be there, from the emperor, had a conference, at Bologna, with the pope, after which, they pretended to part, in great diſcontent; but what followed, plainly ſhewed the contrary, ſince the emperor never after did any thing agreeable to his alliance with Lewis XII; however, he conſented that the council of Piſa ſhould be called, in his name, and the ſummons ſet up, at Modena, and ſeveral other places belonging to him, becauſe it was not yet time, to declare himſelf. The ſummons ran, that Julius II, having refuſed to call a council, according to the decree of Conſtance, the cardinals were empowered, by the ſame decree, to ſummon a council, in their own name; and, therefore, with the conſent of the emperor and the king of France, they ordered the council to meet the 1ſt of September, in the city of Piſa, to endeavour the reformation of the church, in the head and members.

Lewis ſuſpects the emperor and king of Arragon.

The biſhop of Gurck's conference, with the pope, and the breaking up of the congreſs of Mantua, made the king of France greatly ſuſpect the emperor; and, on the other hand, he could not help fearing the king of Arragon, knowing, by experience, what was to be expected from him; for, he ſaw him making great preparations, under colour of the Aſrican war, and knew, alſo, that, notwithſtanding his daily aſſurances, that he would not concern himſelf, with the troubles of Italy, he was uſing his utmoſt endeavours to procure a peace, between the emperor and the Venetians; that is, properly ſpeaking, he was labouring to diſengage Maximilian from the intereſt of France. In ſhort, Ferdinand ſent him brotherly admonitions, to make his peace, with the pope, and not draw on himſelf the juſt reproach of waging an unnatural war, with the common father of Chriſtians. Lewis could not but conſider theſe remonſtrances, as a ſort of proteſtation to aſſiſt the pope, in caſe of need; yet, at the ſame time, he could not believe he would engage in ſuch an undertaking, without being ſecure of the emperor. Theſe things made him uneaſy, being apprehenſive, that he ſhould, at laſt, be the dupe of the pope, emperor, and Ferdinand; ſo, for fear of being prevented, he gave expreſs orders to Triulzi, who commanded his army, in the room of Chaumont, lately deceaſed, to take all the advantages of the allies that lay in his power.

Triulzi takes Concordia.

Triulzi, upon this order, aſſaulted and took Concordia, in the beginning of May, at the time of the calling of the council of Piſa was every where poſted up. Then he endeavoured, by ſeveral marches, to oblige the allies to a battle, without being able to ſucceed; and, at laſt, he reſolved to approach Bologna; not that he believed himſelf in a condition to beſiege the city, but to draw the allies from their advantageous poſts, and give the Bolonnois opportunity to riſe, in favour of the Bentivoglio's, whom he brought with him. The pope had, now, done his utmoſt, to perſuade the generals of the allies to hazard a battle, without being able to prevail, ſo much did they dread engaging with the French; wherefore, knowing how the army ſtood diſpoſed, and diſtruſting the Bolonnois, who loved him not, he retired to Ravenna, leaving, in Bologna, the cardinal of Pavia, his prime miniſter. He was no ſooner gone, but a tumult aroſe in the city, during which, the citizens called in their old maſters, the Bentivoglio's, and put them in poſſeſſion of the government. The cardinal of Pavia had taken to flight, the moment he perceived their reſolution. On the other hand, the army of the allies, advancing to one of the gates of Bologna, and hearing the Bentivoglio's were admitted, and the legate withdrawn, ran away in confuſion, leaving, in the camp, their artillery, baggage, and ammunition; upon which, the inhabitants

1511. sallying out, and joining with the peasants, compleatly stripped the scattered army, and rendered it entirely unserviceable, for several months. The duke of Ferrara improving this opportunity, very easily recovered the places, lately taken from him, by the allies.

The cardinal of Pavia stabbed by the duke of Urbino. Guicciard.

Amidst all these mortfications, the pope, still, met with another, which sensibly touched him; for the cardinal of Pavia, was stabbed, by the duke of Urbino, who taxed him with being the cause of the loss of Bologna; and the pope's concern was the greater, as he durst not punish, in the person of his nephew, a crime he would have thought worthy of the severest treatment, had it been committed by any other hand. His army being dispersed, and his designs on Ferrara vanished, he quitted Ravenna, and retired to Rome; and, in his way, he had the frequent mortification, to see the papers posted up, for the calling of the council of Pisa, wherein he was himself summoned to appear, in person.

Lewis orders his army to retire to Milan. Guicciard.

It was universally expected, that Lewis XII. would pursue his successes; and, certainly, in the then situation of Italy, it was his own fault, that he was not master of Rome; for the pope had no remedy, speedy enough, to free himself from his sad condition, Ferdinand being too remote; the Venetians, likewise, were unable to lend him a sufficient assistance; and the emperor was not powerful enough, to save him, had he been willing to attempt it; also Genoa, Bologna, Florence, Milan, were in the hands of his enemies; but Lewis, either through scruple, or some other motive, instead of pushing his point, ordered Triulzi to retire to Milan, with the army, and, even disband part of the troops. Probably, he was willing to deprive the pope of the pretence of exciting all Christendom against him, and publishing, that he intended to seize Rome, and all Italy. He was very justly apprehensive of this, from the pope, since it was, in effect, the foundation, or rather the pretence of the league formed, some months after, against France. Triulzi was no sooner, at Milan, than Ferdinand's fleet arrived, at Naples, with about 3000 men, who were soon to be followed, by a more considerable body.

Julius II. offers to agree with Lewis XII.

It was not difficult to perceive, that the king of Arragon had sent his fleet to Naples, to support the pope's interests, and give jealousy to the king of France. Julius II, who was better informed than any man, revived at the news, and the rather, as he well judged, that Ferdinand would not have been altogether assured of the king of England. Since the loss of Bologna, and the rout of his army, he had seemed willing to consent to an agreement, with France, and, tho' he had made overtures more like a conqueror, than one conquered, Lewis had accepted them, on condition, they were approved by the emperor; but when the pope found, the Spanish fleet was at Naples, and Ferdinand began to declare himself, he added new terms, to those he had already proposed, and plainly shewed, that he was no longer for peace. This conduct put Lewis XII. beyond all patience; so, despairing to agree with so obstinate an enemy, 1511. he ordered Triulzi, to send supplies to Bentivoglio, to guard Bologna, and, some time after, took Bologna and the Bentivoglio's under his protection. On the other hand, tho' he was not obliged to assist the emperor, unless he came into Italy, in person, he added, however, to the German troops, in the state of Venice, a strong reinforcement under, the conduct of la Palisse. Mean while, the pope having certain advice of the good inclination of the kings of Arragon and England, in his favour, resolved to summon a general council, in opposition to that of Pisa; and, to that end, he published a bull, wherein, having first excused the neglect the schismatick cardinals laid to his charge, and inveighed against their insolence, he called a council to be held, at the Lateran, in Rome, the 19th of April, 1512.

The doubtful behaviour of the emperor.

Since the bishop of Gurck's conference, with the pope, Maximilian's conduct was so doubtful, that it was difficult to judge, certainly, of it. He had agreed to the calling of the council of Pisa, which was done with his express consent; but he had not yet, appointed ambassadors, neither was it known, that any German bishop was preparing to go thither; moreover, he had promised to command, in person, in Italy, and lead thither, a strong reinforcement; but he remained immoveable, continuing at Inspruck, yet, without shewing any thoughts, either of the council of Pisa, or the war with Italy. In the interim, the conquests that were expected to be made upon the Venetians, were to be all his. Thus in the present posture of the affairs of Italy, Lewis XII. saw the burden of the war laid upon him alone, without his daring, almost, to complain to the emperor, for fear he should join with his enemies. Indeed, Maximilian was strongly solicited by the pope, the king of Arragon, and the Venetians themselves, who offered him a good sum, to induce him to desist from his pretensions, to their dominions; but, probably, he was not, yet, resolved, and knowing the league that was forming against France, was willing, according to custom, to let the two parties proceed, in order to take, afterwards, that side which best suited with his interest; which, doubtless, was the cause of his preserving a good understanding, with Lewis XII, in consenting to the calling of the council of Pisa, and, also, of reserving a means to be reconciled to the pope, in sending neither bishops, or ambassadors to the council; and, thus, remaining, almost, equally suspected, by both parties, he waited till the success of the war, or the offers from both sides, should engage him to declare for one or other.

Uncertainty of the affairs of Italy.

In the interim, affairs continuing, still, in the same situation, the pope and the Venetians were, alone, in open war, with France. The emperor seemed to float between both sides. The king of Arragon had, hitherto, done nothing more, than afforded hopes, that he would join the league, when concluded. But, it was not so yet, every one fearing to engage

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1511. in it, unſeaſonably; for Julius II. and Ferdinand, knew one another too well, to confide in each other, each endeavouring to make the other ſubſervient to his deſigns, and was afraid, at the ſame time, of being deceived. Ferdinand had, ſtill, in France, an ambaſſador, who endeavoured to perſuade the king, that the preparations, in Spain, concerned only the Moors; and, on the other hand, the pope had not ſo quarrelled, with Lewis XII, but that he had ſtill left him ſome hopes, and continued a ſort of negotiation with him, by means of the biſhop of Murray, the Scotch ambaſſador, who did the office of mediator. Ferdinand was afraid, in caſe the pope made a ſeparate peace with France, the kingdom of Naples would be in danger; and, the pope, had no leſs reaſon to fear, that Ferdinand, to ſecure the quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Naples, would forſake the intereſts of the church, and leave him expoſed to the mercy of the king of France; in which caſe, the pope would have nothing to expect from England. Thus, affairs were come to that paſs, that it was neceſſary either, that each ſhould quickly make a ſeparate treaty, or both, jointly, declare themſelves, not to remain in this ſtate of uncertainty; and, therefore, Ferdinand began, at laſt, to pull off the mask, a little more, by ſending to Naples, the troops he pretended to deſign for Africa, in order to hinder the pope from thinking of a ſeparate agreement with France.

Ferdinand ſends an army to Naples.

The opening of the council of Piſa. Guicciard.

Whilſt the pope and Ferdinand were, thus, ſounding each other, the cardinals, who had ſummoned the council to Piſa, and were come to Milan, thought fit to open it by commiſſioners; but this was only for form's ſake, to keep to the day appointed. Never was general council ſo thin; for the biſhops of France were not yet arrived, and there was no likelihood of any from Germany. The pope was ſo enraged, when he heard the council was opened at Piſa, that, in his paſſion with the Florentines, for ſuffering the council to meet, in one of their towns, he excommunicated them, as well as the Piſans, and put both the cities under an interdict; but the Florentines forced the prieſts to celebrate divine ſervice, leaving to private perſons, the liberty to obſerve or reject the interdict.

The pope puts Piſa and Florence under an interdict. Guicciard.

The Florentines make a jeſt of it.

Henry promiſes to enter into the league. Herbert. Pol. Virg.

It was difficult for Julius II. and Ferdinand, to continue long, in their preſent ſituation, without cauſing mutual ſuſpicions, capable of changing the face of affairs. The reaſon, which had, hitherto, with-held Ferdinand, viz. his uncertainty, with regard to the king of England, was now vaniſhed; for Henry, after long ſuſpenſe, had, at laſt, poſitively promiſed, to enter into the league againſt France; upon which, the negotiation of the league advanced more in one month, than in a whole year before. It was a conſtant rule with Ferdinand, to cover all his projects with the cloke of religion, little caring, that after the execution, his artifices were diſcovered; for, the fleet and army, he had prepared, in Spain, had for pretence, a war with the Infidels; and when he was going to declare publickly againſt France, he failed not to uſe the pretence of protecting the church, againſt the outrages of Lewis; for, as ſoon as he had gained the king of England, they jointly ſent ambaſſadors to Lewis, to require him to leave the pope unmoleſted, intimating, that, as Chriſtian princes, they could not diſpenſe with protecting the church, diſturbed by his ambition. Lewis ſaw, plainly, that their meaſures being now taken, it would be too late to juſtify his conduct; and, therefore, choſe to return a haughty anſwer, which was, preciſely, what his enemies wanted.

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Henry's and Ferdinand's ambaſſy to Lewis XII.

Soon after, on the 4th of October, the pope, Ferdinand, and Venetians, concluded a league, at Rome, leaving a place for the king of England, who had ſhewn his deſire to be included. Indeed, cardinal Bambridge was concerned in the negotiation as ambaſſador of England; but he was ordered not to ſign the treaty, becauſe Henry expected to make a private one, more agreeable to the intereſts of England, than that which concerned Italy only. By this treaty, the pope promiſed to find, for the ſervice of the league, 600 men at arms, 500 light horſe, 6000 foot, and 20,000 ducats a month; the Venetians 800 men at arms, 1000 light horſe, 8000 foot, and to pay monthly 20,000 ducats; and, Ferdinand 1200 men at arms, 1000 light horſe, 10,000 foot, and 20,000 ducats a month. It is true, neither the king of France, or the duke of Ferrara, were named, in the treaty, as enemies of the allies; but it was eaſy to perceive it, ſince the intent of the league was to reſtore to the pope, the city of Bologna, and whatever belonged to the holy ſee, and to make war on all perſons, that ſhould offer to hinder it. A place was left for the emperor, in caſe he would enter into it; and Raymond of Cardona, viceroy of Naples, was declared general of the league.

The league againſt France concluded at Rome. Guicciard.

Whilſt the world was in expectation of the effect of this league, the council of Piſa was ſolemnly opened, in that city, by the cardinals, who had convened it, and ſome biſhops of France and Milan. The firſt ſeſſion was held the 4th of November, tho' the pope had excommunicated the cardinals, and deprived them of their dignity; and the ſecond was held the 11th of the ſame month; but becauſe there was a commotion, that day, in the city, the cardinals and biſhops were ſo terrified, that on the morrow, they removed the council to Milan, where they expected to be more out of danger. Indeed, the inhabitants of Piſa could not look, on a council, with a good eye, which expoſed them to an excommunication and interdict, tho' it was not in their power to oppoſe the orders of the Florentines, their ſovereigns.

A more ſolemn opening of the council of Piſa. Guicciard.

I obſerved, that the Switzers were at variance, with Lewis XII, by the practices of the cardinal of Sion, or rather of the pope himſelf, who ſet him to work. Their firſt attempt to enter the Milaneſe proving unſucceſsful, they reſolved, this year, to levy 16000 men, the cardinal of Sion having poſitively promiſed them money, at their entrance into Italy, and that the army of the allies would employ the French, in la Romagna; and, as this levy could not be ready, till the beginning of the winter,

The Switzers march into the Milaneſe. Guicciard.

1511. winter, they began their march, in November, and penetrated as far as Vareſe. Gaſton de Foix, nephew of Lewis XII, governor of Milan, was ſo deſtitute of troops, that he knew not how to oppoſe their paſſage; however, with the few men he had, he took the field, to annoy them and obſtruct, their march; but it was not poſſible for him to hinder them from coming to the very gates of Milan. The French had now began to furniſh the caſtle, with ammunition, in order to quit the city, when, ſuddenly, the Switzers hearing no news of the pope, or the army of the allies, which they thought to be aſſembled, in la Romagna, retired to their own country, after burning ſome villages. If the pope had not diſappointed them of the money he had promiſed them; and, if the army of the allies had acted, in la Romagna, Milan, Bologna, and Ferrara, would have been in great danger, ſince the French were, at that time, very weak, in thoſe parts, la Paliſſe being then, in the emperor's army, with a large body of the king's beſt troops.

False policy of Henry VIII. to meddle with the affairs of Italy.

Nothing could be more advantageous to England, than to ſee the forces of France turned againſt Italy. The conqueſt of the duchy of Milan was leſs beneficial to Lewis XII. than to England; for, it procured England, a ſettled tranquillity, whereas it expoſed France to perpetual troubles, and an immenſe expence; wherefore it was policy, in Henry, to ſuffer the French, Germans, Italians, and Spaniards, to battle it, in Italy, without involving himſelf in a war, which could never procure him any advantage. To the time I am ſpeaking of, the kings of England had taken care not to meddle with the affairs of Italy, if we except Henry III, who, being unfortunately deſirous of making his ſecond ſon, king of Sicily, ruined his own kingdom, to execute that extravagant project. But he was not a prince to be imitated, by his ſucceſſors. The advantages of this policy, were ſo manifeſt to all the Engliſh, that it required no leſs than a Ferdinand, the ableſt and moſt ſubtle prince of his age, to make them ſwerve from it.

This prince had joined with the pope, ever ſince the beginning of the year 1510, or, perhaps, the end of the preceding, and yet had been near two years, without declaring himſelf. This delay, proceeded only from his deſire to ſecure England firſt, that Henry might make a diverſion, in France, which would oblige Lewis to neglect the affairs of Italy; and, this diverſion muſt have been advantageous to Ferdinand, ſince it would remove from Italy, or, at leaſt, weaken, a very formidable rival. But it is hard to conceive wherein it could be ſerviceable to England; for, on the contrary, there ſeemed to be ſeveral very ſtrong reaſons to divert Henry from ſuch a deſign, without mentioning the peace he had lately renewed with France, and confirmed by a ſolemn oath; which, probably, was the cauſe of his ſo long deferring the concluſion of the league I ſhall ſpeak of hereafter. Indeed, it was not poſſible, but that ſome of the king's council were clear-ſighted enough to ſee, that this league was no ways advantageous to England, whatſoever colour was given thereto. 1511.

The pope excommunicates all the adherents of the council of Piſa.

Whilſt this negotiation languiſhed, in England, new occurrences put Ferdinand upon taking freſh meaſures, and contriving all ſorts of ways to ſucceed with Henry. Lewis XII. perſiſted in his deſign to hold the council of Piſa, as was ſaid, and that cauſed Julius II. to convene another, at the Lateran, and excommunicate by the ſame bull, all princes and others, who adhered to the firſt. Among theſe princes, was John d' Albret, king of Navarre, who being allied to Lewis XII, blindly followed the directions of the court of France. The king of Navarre had no ſooner declared for the council of Piſa, than Ferdinand, on that pretence, formed the deſign to ſeize his whole kingdom, and make Henry, his ſon-in-law, the inſtrument to execute it; and, to that end he gave Henry to underſtand, that a fair opportunity offered to recover Guienne, taken, by France, from one of his predeceſſors, ſince the league that was going to be concluded, in Italy, would find Lewis XII ſo much employment, that, probably, he would not be able to defend his own country. But, as the diſtance of Guienne might deter Henry from attempting this conqueſt, Ferdinand, out of affection, very willingly promiſed to ſupply him with troops, tranſport-ſhips, artillery, proviſions, ammunition, without requiring any thing for himſelf, but the ſole pleaſure of procuring his ſon-in-law, ſo great an advantage. This offer opened the eyes of Henry and his council *. The acquiſition of Guienne ſeemed to them a thing ſo advantageous, and, alſo, ſo glorious, in the beginning of this reign, that the king, without any farther difficulty, entered into the league propoſed by the pope, Ferdinand, and the Venetians. Such was the real motive that induced the court of England to break the peace, lately renewed with France, without alledging any other reaſon, than the protection granted, by Lewis, to the Bentivoglio's, and the calling of the unlawful aſſembly of Piſa; as if England was concerned to help the pope to Bologna, and oppoſe, with arms, a council, conſiſting of 20 French biſhops, without power and credit, even in the very place where they were aſſembled. But, we ſhall ſee, preſently, how Henry was the dupe of his affectionate father-in-law, and, how Ferdinand politickly made uſe of him, to ſerve his own ends, without giving himſelf the leaſt trouble about his ſon-in-law's affairs.

When Ferdinand had gained Henry, he concluded, at Rome, with the pope and the Venetians, the fore-mentioned league. In this treaty of Rome, it was expreſly ſaid, that all

* The lord Herbert affirms, that ſome of the council, who more ſeriouſly weighed the buſineſs, were againſt a war with France, and more particularly, for a reaſon that England ſhould never forget: "Let us, therefore, ſays one "of the council, leave off our attempts againſt the Terra-firma; for the natural ſituation of iſlands, ſeems not to ſort "with conqueſts, of that kind. England alone is a juſt empire. Or, when we would enlarge ourſelves, let it be "that way we can, and to which it ſeems the eternal Providence hath deſtined us; and, that is, by ſea.".

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1511. the articles were negotiated and ſettled, with the king of England's knowledge, the cardinal of York acting for him, and daily expecting orders to ſign it; but that, for certain reaſons, the concluſion of it could be no longer delayed.

A league between Henry and Ferdinand, for the conqueſt of Guienne. Act. Pub.

About ſix weeks after, Henry and Ferdinand concluded, at London, a private league, for the conqueſt of Guienne. This was a conſequence of the firſt, on the ſuppoſition, that the depriving the king of France of that province, was a good means to ſerve and protect the church of God, the great and principal aim of the allies. If ever God's holy name was openly and ſhameleſly taken in vain, it is in the preambles of theſe two treaties; for, in the firſt, the pope proteſted, that his ſole aim, in deſiring Bologna, and the other ſtates which belonged to the church, was to reſtore Italy to her former tranquillity, that all Chriſtians might join their forces againſt the Infidels, as he had ever wiſhed, and ſtill did wiſh, with all his heart. Thus, to make war upon the Infidels, it was neceſſary, that Italy ſhould be free from troubles, which could not be hoped till the pope had executed his ambitious projects.

The articles of the league of London, between Henry and Ferdinand.

In the ſecond treaty, Henry and Ferdinand ſet forth, "That they had made alliances "with all Chriſtian princes, ſolely to be enabled to wage war with the enemies of "Chriſt; and, for that purpoſe, were now employed, in preparing powerful armies by "land and ſea; but, ſuddenly, when they "they leaſt expected it, they were told, that "the king of France's troops were beſieging "Bologna, where the pope, old and infirm, "lay ſeized with a grievous diſtemper, and "attended by all his cardinals; that being "extremely afflicted at this news, they had "beſought the king of France, by letters and "ambaſſadors, to give over his deſign; that "the pope had offered him the pardon of all "his ſins, provided only, that he would abſtain from the patrimony of the church, "ceaſe to inflame the ſchiſm, and adhere to "the council of Lateran; but that all this, had "been to no purpoſe. On the contrary, he "had made himſelf maſter of Bologna, by "the treachery of ſome of the inhabitants; "twice routed the army of the holy church of "Rome, and, in contempt of the holy ſee, "called a council, after having bribed ſome "of the cardinals. That ſince, the pope had "ſent a legate to him, to demand only, that "he would forbear to attack the church; that "the legate not prevailing, the two kings of "England and Spain had ſent ambaſſadors, to "adviſe him, amicably, to deſiſt from his attempts, and be reconciled with the pope, or "elſe they could do no leſs than undertake "the protection of the church; but that their "advice had been ſlighted. That upon all "theſe conſiderations, the two kings perfectly knowing how detrimental ſuch an ambition might prove to the catholick faith, the "church of God, and the welfare of Chriſtendom, had thought proper to agree on the "following articles, to the praiſe and glory of "almighty God, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and "the whole triumphant court of heaven, for "the defence, exaltation, increaſe of the catholick faith, the Chriſtian religion, the holy Roman church, which was unjuſtly oppreſſed, and on the frequent inſtances, exhortations, and admonitions of the pope, "the head thereof." The ſubſtance of this pious treaty was as follows: 1511.

I. The two kings took upon them, the defence and protection of the holy Roman church, againſt all perſons that ſhould attack her.

II. Ferdinand, as catholick king, and to diſcharge his duty to God and the church, promiſed to take arms in her defence, in Italy.

In the IIId article, it was ſaid, that the pope and the ſacred college had judged, that, in order, to deliver the church from the oppreſſion ſhe groaned under, it was neceſſary to wage war upon the king of France, not only in Italy, but in ſuch of his provinces alſo, as bordered upon the two allies; and, therefore, it was agreed, that they ſhould carry their arms into Guienne, and conquer that province for the crown of England, and that Henry, in aſſiſting the church, might, at the ſame time, recover what belonged to him; and, to that purpoſe, as ſoon as Ferdinand ſhould have actually declared againſt the kingdom of France, and taken arms, in defence of the church, Henry, at a proper ſeaſon, ſhould proclaim war againſt the ſame prince, in defence of the ſame church.

To perform this article, Henry promiſed to ſend into Guienne, ſome time in April, 1512, a body of 6000 foot, under the conduct of a good general; to maintain them at his own expence, and not recall them, without the conſent of Ferdinand. The king of Arragon, on his part, bound himſelf to find 500 men at arms, 1500 light-horſe, 4000 foot, on the ſame terms; moreover, he engaged to furniſh the Engliſh troops, with proviſions and ammunition, at a moderate price; and, it was farther agreed, that each of the two kings ſhould ſend a fleet to ſea, with 3000 good ſoldiers, for ſix months, beſides the mariners; and that neither ſhould recall his fleet, without the other's conſent.

IV. That Ferdinand ſhould find 40 ſhips, at a reaſonable rate, to tranſport the Engliſh forces.

V. That, in caſe the allies ſhould take any places, in Guienne and elſewhere, they ſhould be delivered to him of the two kings, who had a prior title to the ſame.

VI. That, if either of the two kings ſhould be attacked, out of Guienne, they ſhould, jointly, take care of the defence of the country of him, who wanted aſſiſtance, ſincerely, and with all their power.

VII. That the two kings conſidering, that the pope had called a council, at Rome, which all Chriſtian princes ought to obey, and ſend ambaſſadors to, and it was ſaid, that the king of France perſiſted in his deſign to continue the council ſummoned to Piſa, they agreed to adhere to whatever ſhould be decreed by the council of Lateran, and oppoſe that of Piſa, with all its favourers and adherents.

1511. VIII. That neither of the two kings ſhould make peace or truce, without a mutual conſent.

IX. That by this, the former treaties ſhould not be deemed void, but, on the contrary, remain in full force.

X. That it ſhould be ratified within four months, by Henry, and Ferdinand, in his own and the name of queen Jane, his daughter.

Imprudence of Henry and his council.

Henry and his council thought, doubtleſs, that they had made a very advantageous treaty, ſince it was to procure them the duchy of Guienne, and Ferdinand demanded nothing for himſelf, as if he had acted, purely, from a motive of religion, and out of affection to his ſon-in-law, tho', in reality, he had conſulted only his own intereſt; and, as for the pope's affairs, about which, both kings ſeemed to be ſo greatly concerned, it may be affirmed, they did not ſo much as think of them, as it afterwards appeared; but they wanted that pretence to dazzle the eyes of the publick, tho' in all appearance, the world was not ſo blind, as to imagine, that two great kings ſhould take arms, on account, to diſſolve a council, which called itſelf general, compoſed of a few biſhops, of one nation only, and ſo little regarded, that even, at Milan, where it was removed, the government was obliged to make uſe of their whole authority, to procure its reception.

Lewis's ſuſpicions of the emperor. Guicciard.

During theſe tranſactions, the emperor gave the king of France ſo much cauſe to ſuſpect his ſincerity, that only neceſſity obliged him to feign any farther confidence in him; for there was no German biſhop come to the council; and when the emperor was preſſed on that ſubject, he anſwered, it was neceſſary, firſt, to have the approbation of the diet of the empire, which he did not doubt of obtaining; that tho' he ſhould ſend biſhops from his hereditary dominions, to Piſa, it would be more prejudicial than advantageous to the council, ſince it would give occaſion to imagine, he deſpaired to obtain the diet's conſent. On the other hand, inſtead of commanding, in perſon, his army, in the ſtate of Venice, as he had promiſed, he left all to the French troops, who were come to his aid; and, in ſhort, whilſt he liſtened to the offers of the pope, Ferdinand, and the Venetians, he told the French ambaſſador, that he was ready to march to Rome, at the head of an army, provided his maſter would ſend him a ſtrong re-inforcement, and a ſum of money, proportionable to the greatneſs of the undertaking. In the midſt of all theſe uncertainties, Lewis knew not what to truſt to; for he could look on Maximilian, but as an ally, ready to abandon him, if he found it more for his intereſt to join with his enemies; in which caſe, all the emperor's conqueſts upon the Venetians, would be ſo many loſſes to France. In the interim, the ſupplies he lent him, were very expenſive, and yet, he durſt not afford him a pretence to change ſides. Thus, Lewis ſaw himſelf upon the point of being attacked, by all the forces of the pope, the king of Spain, and the Venetians, without any hope of aſſiſtance from the emperor; and, as for England, tho' he was yet ignorant of the treaty of London, and Henry's ambaſſador poſitively denied, that his maſter intended to be concerned, all Henry's proceedings were plain indications, that he would ſoon declare againſt him. 1511.

The king of Arragon's army joins the pope and Venetians. Guicciard.

In the interim, the pope, who had ever in view, the taking of Bologna and Ferrara, was very preſſing with the viceroy of Naples, to advance with his troops, and take the command of the confederate army; but, notwithſtanding all his ſollicitations, the junction could not be, till the middle of December; and, even then, the Naples artillery, being not yet arrived, the army could only be employed in ſome trifling expeditions, in la Romagna, with which, ended the year 1511. It is time, now, to return to the affairs of England.

Tho' Henry had not, yet, proclaimed war with France, Lewis XII. knew what he was to expect; for he had good intelligence, by means of one Buonviſo, a merchant of Lucca, who being a bankrupt, was retired into England, where he had obtained ſo much favour from the pope, as to be made a kind of agent. This man, being corrupted by France, diſcovered to Lewis the ſecrets, the pope was ſometmes obliged to truſt him with; and hence it was, that the court of France was informed of many things, which the Engliſh would have concealed from them; and, it was, probably, by this means, that the king of France had the firſt notice of the league concluded, at London, tho' it was made a great ſecret; but ſoon after, he had no more occaſion for ſpies, to know Henry's intentions.

1512. Henry acquaints the parliament with his deſign, and obtains an aid of money. Herbert. Hall.

The parliament being met, the fourth of February, Henry communicated his deſign of making war upon France, proteſting, his ſole aim was, to free the pope from the king of France's oppreſſion, and, eſpecially, to cauſe the ſchiſmatical council of Piſa, now removed to Milan, to be diſſolved. Tho' this war, undertaken, as the king himſelf ſaid, ſolely to oblige the pope, was little agreeable to the intereſt of England, the parliament, however, gave the king a large ſubſidy. In all appearance, the leading members of the houſe of commons, being informed of the true reaſons, ſo ordered it, that the reſt came into their opinion; for, otherwiſe, it would have been difficult to make them to perceive the neceſſity of England's engaging in a war with France, to reſtore Bologna to the pope, and diſſolve a council, ſo inconſiderable as that of Piſa. Before the parliament broke up, the king was pleaſed to reſtore John Dudley, ſon to Edmund Dudley, to the rank and honours his family had been deprived of, by the father's attainder; from which time, he had, always, an affection for him, and, at length, towards the end of his reign, made him lord admiral of England.

Henry ſends ambaſſadors to the council of Lateran. Act. Pub.

The war Henry intended to undertake againſt France, having for pretence, the diſſolving of the council of Piſa, he could not diſpenſe with acknowledging that of Lateran, and

1512. and ſending thither ambaſſadors; he, therefore, made choice of Silveſter, biſhop of Worceſter, with Sir Robert Wingfield, and commiſſioned them to agree, in his name, to whatever ſhould be judged neceſſary for the reformation of the church, as well in the head, as in the members. This clauſe was only to caſt a miſt before people's eyes, ſince nothing, certainly, was farther from the pope's thoughts, than to endeavour, in this council, either his own, or the church's reformation.

The marqueſs of Dorſet leads an army into Spain. Act. Pub.

The time being come, to execute the deſigns, agreed by Henry and Ferdinand, in the treaty of London, Henry gave the command of his fleet, to Sir Edward Howard, ſon and heir to the earl of Surrey, and of his army, which was to act on land, to Thomas Grey, marqueſs of Dorſet. All the troops that were to ſerve in the Guienne expedition, being embarqued, about the end of May, in Spaniſh veſſels, arrived the 8th of June, at Paſſage, in the province of Guipuſcoa, where the marqueſs of Dorſet landed thoſe he was to command. The lord Herbert ſays, theſe troops conſiſted of 10,000 men, but, probably, he included, in that number, the 3000 that were to ſerve, at ſea, purſuant to the treaty,

The admiral having convoyed the marqueſs of Dorſet to Spain, put to ſea again, and arriving on the coaſt of Bretagne, landed ſome troops, and plundered the country. Henry hearing, the king of France was preparing a great naval armament, ſent a reinforcement to his admiral, which enabled him to make head againſt the French; and, the two fleets meeting, the 10th of Auguſt, came to a furious engagement, which ended in great loſs on both ſides. The Regent, a firſt rate ſhip, and the Cordeliere, commanded by Primauget, being grappled, were both blown up, with loſs of all their men. This accident happened by the deſperate courage of Primauget, who finding he could not ſave his ſhip, ſet fire to the powder.

Ferdinand's private deſign to conquer Navarre.

The treaty of league, concluded at London, ſeemed to be made only to pave the way for Henry, to the conqueſt of Guienne; but Ferdinand had never any ſuch thought; for his ſole aim was to conquer Navarre for himſelf, and employ to that end, the Engliſh troops he had ſent for into Spain; but, as it was by no means proper to inform Henry of ſuch a deſign, he had been obliged to allure him with the hopes of recovering Guienne, in order to induce him to ſend his troops. This is the true reaſon why Ferdinand ſhewed, in the treaty, ſo much diſintereſtedneſs, that all the advantage ſeemed to be on the ſide of England; but the performance was very far from anſwering the engagement.

His many artifices to compaſs his ends. Hall.

The marqueſs of Dorſet, being arrived in Guipuſcoa, found a commiſſioner of the king, who paid him great reſpect, and told him, the duke d' Alva was taking the field, in order to join him; and, indeed, the duke, immediately, put himſelf at the head of the Spaniſh army; but inſtead of joining the Engliſh, who were encamped near Fontarabia, with a deſign to beſiege with him, the city of Bayonne, as was reſolved, he kept, at Logrogno, on the borders of Navarre. He intimated to the Engliſh general, that the king of Navarre, being in alliance with France, it would be very dangerous to attack Bayonne, with Navarre behind them; that whilſt they ſhould be employed in the ſiege, the king of Navarre might introduce the French into his dominions, join with them, and by encamping between the mountains of Navarre and the ſea, cut off the proviſions, which ſhould be brought to the camp before Bayonne, without being obliged to give battle, if he thought proper; that, therefore, it was neceſſary, before they engaged, in the ſiege, to try to gain the king of Navarre, to the intereſt of their maſters.

Theſe reaſons were ſo plauſible, that the marqueſs of Dorſet was eaſily perſuaded, to ſend an Engliſh officer to the king of Navarre, to require him to join with the allies; and, Ferdinand ſummoned him, likewiſe, but more haughtily, to forſake the king of France, and come into the league. The king of Navarre anſwered, he was reſolved to ſtand neutral; but the Engliſh and Spaniards, not being ſatisfied with this anſwer, jointly preſſed him to declare himſelf, or deliver four of his towns for their ſecurity, which that prince would not grant. During theſe negotiations, a French army, commanded by the duke of Longueville, approached the frontiers of Bearn; whereupon the marqueſs of Dorſet complained to Ferdinand, that the time loſt in ſoliciting the king of Navarre, had ſerved only to give the French opportunity, to come and defend their borders, and likewiſe preſſed him to declare, whether he would attack Guienne, according to the treaty of London. Ferdinand replied, prudence would not ſuffer him to ſend his army to Fontarabia, to beſiege Bayonne, and leave his dominions expoſed to the invaſions of the French and Navarrois; that it was much more convenient, to paſs through Navarre, and ſecure three or four places, in order to hinder his enemies from making uſe of that kingdom againſt him; that, therefore, he wiſhed the Engliſh would join the duke of Alva, and his army ſhould make the vanguard, to be expoſed to the firſt dangers; that, however, the ſiege of Bayonne would not be retarded, becauſe there was no queſtion, that the king of Navarre would be glad to be ſomething preſſed, in order to juſtify himſelf to the king of France, when he ſhould enter into the league. The marqueſs of Dorſet, who did not, yet, ſee, into his deſigns, having held a council of war, anſwered, that by his inſtructions, he could undertake nothing againſt the king of Navarre; but, if, the duke of Alva would paſs through that kingdom, he might if he pleaſed; but for his part, being already near Bayonne, he could not think of taking ſo great a compaſs to join him.

The duke of Alva beſieges Pampeluna. Guicciard. Hall.

Ferdinand was not content with this anſwer; for he ſtrongly inſiſted on what he had propoſed, that the Engliſh troops ſhould come, and join

1512. join his army, and, in the mean while, gave orders to the duke of Alva, to beſiege Pampeluna, metropolis of Navarre. During the ſiege, he continually amuſed the marqueſs of Dorſet with poſitive promiſes, that, immediately, after the taking of Pampeluna, the duke of Alva ſhould join him, to beſiege Bayonne. In the interim, the king of Navarre, being unable to defend himſelf, was retired into France, where he made a treaty with Lewis XII, for their common defence; but it coſt him the town of Salvatierra, and all Bearn, which he was forced to deliver to the French.

Pampeluna taken.

Pampeluna having ſurrendered, by capitulation, the 25th of July, Ferdinand, purſuant to his promiſe, ſhould have ordered the duke of Alva to join the Engliſh; but the reſt of the fortified towns, in Navarre, ſerved him, for pretence, to delay the junction; ſo the duke of Alva continued his conqueſts, whilſt the Engliſh troops, tho' without ſtirring from their camp, ſerved as a countenance to his deſigns. And, indeed, tho' the French, who daily received freſh ſupplies, ſaw themſelves ſufficiently ſtrong to withſtand the duke of Alva, they never dared to enter Navarre, for fear of coming between the Engliſh and Spaniards; wherefore, being contented to remain encamped between Bayonne and Salvatierra, they gave the duke of Alva all the leiſure he wanted, to ſubdue almoſt all Navarre.

The marqueſs of Dorſet perceives Ferdinand's artifices.

Then it was, that the marqueſs of Dorſet plainly perceived, that Ferdinand acted with inſincerity, and that his deſign, from the very firſt, was not to invade Guienne, but conquer Navarre. Ferdinand was very ſenſible, his artifice would, at laſt, be diſcovered; ſo, to prevent the complaints, the Engliſh general might make, to the king, his maſter, he ſends an expreſs to England, to give Henry an account, after his manner, of the affairs of that country, and to deſire him to order his general, to act in concert with him. Henry, who had received nothing to the contrary, from the marqueſs, readily ſent Windſor herald, with the deſired orders to the general.

Whilſt the herald was on his journey, the duke of Alva became maſter of St. Juan de Pie del Puerto; and, preſently after the taking of that place, Ferdinand acquainted the marqueſs of Dorſet, that his army was ready to march into Guienne, and deſired him to join the duke of Alva, without delay. But the marqueſs was no longer willing to be deceived; for he knew, that the French army was intrenched, between Bayonne and Salvatierra, with the river Bidaſſoa, in front, which muſt be paſſed within view; and, beſides, Bayonne was ſo well provided, that there was no probability of beſieging it. What Ferdinand, therefore, propoſed, was impracticable, and only a continuation of his artifices. From St. Juan de Pie del Puerto, the right-hand road led into Bearn, and the left to Bayonne; ſo the duke of Alva's intent, was to engage the Engliſh to enter Bearn, with him, under pretence, that there was no other way to draw the enemies from their advantageous poſt, or, at leaſt, to beſiege Salvatierra; but the Engliſh general having no orders to make war upon the king of Navarre, either in Bearn or elſewhere, refuſed to join the Spaniards. Ferdinand reaped this advantage from his refuſal, that he caſt the whole blame upon him, of their not invading Guienne, purſuant to the treaty. After that, the duke of Alva turning back, laid ſiege to Eſtella, the only place that remained to the king of Navarre. 1512.

He prepares to return to England. Hall.

The marqueſs of Dorſet, full of indignation, at theſe proceedings, and conſidering, that his army was daily weakened, by ſickneſs and want of proviſions, which were grown ſcarce, ſince the war, in Navarre, deſired Ferdinand to furniſh him with ſhips, for his return; and, it was, with great difficulty, that he obtained his requeſt, Ferdinand ſtill proteſting againſt his departure, as directly contrary to the treaty; however, he was not ſorry for it, ſince the Engliſh were almoſt become uſeleſs, after the conqueſt of Navarre. In the interim, the marqueſs of Dorſet falling ſick, the lord Thomas Howard took the command of the army; and, at the ſame time, as the troops were a going to embarque, the herald arrived from England, with poſitive orders to the general, to obey the commands of king Ferdinand; but the army mutinying, it was impoſſible to detain the ſoldiers any longer, in Spain, and the embarquation being made, they arrived, in England, in November. Henry was, at firſt, very angry with his general; but being informed of all particulars, during the campaign, plainly ſaw, that Ferdinand had deceived him, and his affected diſintereſtedneſs, in the treaty of league, was only to draw him more eaſily into the ſnare; however, he thought proper to diſſemble, for fear of giving Ferdinand a pretence, to join with France, and leave him, in ſtraits.

Henry perceives he had been impoſed upon.

Before the year was expired, Ferdinand ſaw himſelf in full poſſeſſion of Navarre, tho' the king of France had uſed ſome means to wreſt that conqueſt out of his hands. In December, the king of Navarre, and Francis, duke of Angouleſme, beſieged Pampeluna; but not being able to take the place, were forced to abandon the reſt of the kingdom, to the Spaniards. After Ferdinand was in poſſeſſion of Navarre, he ſought pretences to keep it; but found no better, than a bull of pope Julius II, who excommunicated John d' Albret, king of Navarre, and gave his kingdom, in prey, to the conqueror. Mezerai ſays, that this bull never appeared; but the lord Herbert affirms, it was dated March 1, 1512.

Ferdinand keeps Navarre.

Affairs of Italy. Bembo.

We muſt, now, ſee what paſſed, in Italy, whilſt Ferdinand was conquering Navarre. The confederate army of the pope, king of Arragon, and Venetians, commanded by the viceroy of Naples, taking the field, in December, the pope cauſed the viceroy to be continually preſſed by cardinal John de Medici, his legate, to beſiege Bologna; and, at length, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the viceroy, and the Venetian general, who foreſaw great difficulties

1512. difficulties in the execution of that deſign, the pope's inſtances were to be complied with, and the ſiege of Bologna being reſolved, the army of the allies appeared before the city; but Gaſton de Foix, duke of Namours, and governor of Milan, coming to its relief, compelled the allies to raiſe the ſiege; and, ſome days after he defeated a Venetian army, at Breſcia, and ſlew 8000 men; at laſt, on the 11th of April, finding means to give the allies battle, near Ravenna, he put them to rout, and took the legate priſoner; but was himſelf ſlain, after the battle, in too warmly purſuing a body of Spaniards, who were retreating, in good order. After that prince's death, la Paliſſe took the command of the army, and the next day became maſter of Ravenna; whereupon all the towns of la Romagna, taken by the pope, after the battle of Agnadel, voluntarily ſurrendered to the cardinal of St. Severin, who was in the French army, as legate of the council of Piſa, transferred to Milan.

Gaſton de Foix routs the allies, but is killed himſelf.

The conſternation, at Rome, was ſo great, that the cardinals went in a body, to petition the pope, to make peace with France. But Julius II. had reſſources unknown, perhaps, to the cardinals; ſo, all they could obtain, was to engage him to make ſome feigned advances, in order to gain time, and hinder the French from marching to Rome, as they might eaſily have done, without fear of meeting any obſtacle.

Lewis's affairs decline. Guicciard.

Whilſt Lewis's affairs ſeemed to be in the moſt flouriſhing condition, they were, in reality, going to decay. The Switzers, encouraged by the cardinal of Sion, preparing to exert their utmoſt, to invade the duchy of Milan, la Paliſſe thought it more proper for his maſter's intereſt, to relieve that country, which was deſtitute of troops, than make conqueſts, in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; ſo leaving the cardinal of St. Severin, in la Romagna, with 5 or 6000 men, he haſtily marched into Milan. The retreat of the French, when it lay in their power to march to Rome, inſpired Julius II, with freſh courage. From thenceforward, he would no more hear of peace, tho' Lewis XII. offered him the ſame terms, as before his victory. At this juncture it was, that the council of Lateran was opened, the 3d of May, which had been delayed, by reaſon of the battle of Ravenna.

The opening of the council of Lateran.

Lewis XII. is excommunicated. Bembo. Guicciard.

All hopes of peace vaniſhing, the pope excommunicated Lewis XII, and put France under an interdict *. He uſed for pretence, the captivity of his legate, who was detained, at Milan, where, tho' a priſoner, he performed, however, the functions of the pope's legate, the inhabitants of Milan refuſing to own the authority of the council, held in their city. It was a great mortification to Lewis, to ſee his council contemned by his own ſubjects; but this was only a ſmall part of the misfortunes to which he was expoſed, this ſame year. After la Paliſſe had quited la Romagna, all the towns of that country ſubmitted to the pope. At the ſame time, Ferdinand became maſter of Navarre, and Lewis was forced to ſend an army into Bearn, to hinder the Engliſh and Spaniards from invading Guienne. On the other hand, the emperor concluded a truce with Venice, and ſecretly promiſed to withdraw from the French army, a body of German troops, lent the king, for the defence of the Milaneſe; and yet, on the aſſurance of this aid it was, that Lewis recalled from Milan, part of his own troops, not doubting, that, with thoſe he left there, and the Germans ſent him, by the emperor, he ſhould be able to reſiſt his enemies. Thus, the French finding themſelves weak, in the duchy of Milan, la Paliſſe was obliged to recall the cardinal of St. Severin, with his troops, which was the cauſe of the loſs of la Romagna. 1512.

The emperor lets the Switzers paſs thro' Trent. Guicciard.

Mean while, the Switzers, to the number of 16000, began their march about the end of Auguſt, or the beginning of September; but, inſtead of taking the direct road to the Milaneſe, the paſſes whereof, they did not queſtion, were ſtrongly guarded, they marched to Trent, with Maximilian's permiſſion. Tho' this, if any, was an enemy's act, he was ſtill deſirous to hide his intentions, by telling the French ambaſſador, that his alliance with the Switzers, ſuffered him not to refuſe them a paſſage through his dominions; as if his treaty with Lewis XII, was to be leſs obſerved. The Switzers having paſſed unmoleſted, through Trent, proceeded to Verona, and joining the Venetians, they marched together towards Milan; whereupon the French entirely diſconcerted, and not having above 10,000 men, reſolved to retire into the fortified towns, in order to waſte the enemy's army, by ſieges, till the king ſent them ſupplies, or the approaching winter ſtopped the progreſs of the allies; but they were ſoon deprived of this refuge, by the emperor's orders for his troops to retire, immediately. Theſe orders being punctually obeyed, la Paliſſe found himſelf too weak, that deſpairing to ſave the Milaneſe, he reſolved to repaſs the mountains, and return into France. The prelates of the council, ſeeing Milan was going to be abandoned, by a ſudden decree, removed the council to Lyons, and followed the French troops; and, they would have carried the cardinal de Medici with them; but went away in ſuch confuſion, that his friends found means to ſecure him. After the French were retired, all the towns of the duchy, readily ſurrendered to the Switzers and Venetians, except Parma, Placentia, and Reggio, which ſubmitted to the pope. On the other hand, Alexander Bentivoglio, not thinking himſelf ſafe in Bologna, departed from thence, with all his family, leaving the city to the pope's mercy. Thus, Julius II, who, about a month before, ſaw himſelf in a very ill ſituation, was arrived at the height of his wiſhes, by this ſurpriſing revolution, which reſtored him Ravenna, Bologna, all la Romagna, and drove the French out of Italy.

Cardinal de Medici makes his eſcape.

* It is affirmed, that Lewis cauſed ſeveral medals to be coined, with this inſcription, Perdam Babylonem, I will deſtroy Babylon.

1512.

The duke of Ferrara goes to Rome, and eſcapes. Guicciard.

There remained four things, ſtill, to do, to complete the pope's happineſs, viz. to diſpoſſeſs the duke of Ferrara, to reſtore the Sforza's to Milan, and the Medici to Florence; and, laſtly, to expel the Germans and Spaniards out of Italy. As for the duke of Ferrara, he voluntarily delivered himſelf to the pope, on the faith of a ſafe-conduct; an imprudence that would have coſt him dear, had he not been freed by Fabricius Colonna, his friend, who forced the guard ſet, at the gates of Rome, to hinder his departure.

The congreſs of Mantua.

The French were no ſooner out of Italy, than the allies began to diſcover their different ends, in acting againſt France. Upon this occaſion, they judged it proper to meet, at Mantua, where they could agree only on two articles, viz. that Maximilian Sforza, eldeſt ſon to Lodovico the Moor, ſhould be reſtored to Milan, and the houſe of de Medici to Florence. In conſequence of this laſt reſolution, the army of the allies approaching Florence, compelled the Florentines to conſent to a treaty, whereby the Medici were reſtored to their country, as citizens only, and not as governors; but the cardinal de Medici entering the city, by vertue of the treaty, whilſt the army of the allies was at the gates, found means to introduce many officers and ſoldiers, and raiſe a ſedition, that made him maſter of the city; upon which, the government was ſettled upon the ſame foot, it was before the baniſhment of the Medici.

Another congreſs at Rome. Guicciard.

It was a great ſtep for the pope, to have reſtored the Medici to Florence, and Sforza to Milan; but this did not content him. The duke of Ferrara was ſtill maſter of his duchy, and the council of Piſa ſitting at Lyons; therefore, the allies muſt be brought to turn their arms againſt Ferrara, and procure a peace between the emperor and the Venetians, that the emperor might, without difficulty, abandon his council. To that purpoſe, the pope obtained a ſecond meeting, at Rome, where he could gain nothing with regard to Ferrara, becauſe the duke was protected by Ferdinand; beſides, the Venetians could not agree to find men and money, to render the pope maſter of that duchy; and, as for the peace between the emperor and Veniſe, he found ſtill greater difficulties, tho' he paſſionately wiſhed to accompliſh that project, for fear one or other of the two powers ſhould recall the French into Italy; but the extravagant terms propoſed by the emperor to the Venetians, hindered him from ſucceeding. In ſhort, the pope ſeeing his labour was in vain, and deſiring, at any rate, to diſſolve the council of Piſa, and prevent the return of the French into Italy, concluded, with the emperor, a league offenſive and defenſive againſt Venice. By this treaty, the emperor engaged to become a principal party in the league of Rome, and agreed, that the pope ſhould keep Parma, Placentia, and Reggio, however, ſaving the rights of the empire; he promiſed, likewiſe, to renounce the council of Piſa, and forſake the duke of Ferrara, and the Bentivoglio's; and, the pope engaged, on his part, to aid the emperor with all his power, thunder his cenſures againſt the Venetians, declare them excluded out of the league of Rome, and drop the proſecution of the Colonna's, for aiding the duke of Ferrara to make his eſcape. The treaty being ſigned and ratified, the biſhop of Gurck, as the emperor's lieutenant, renounced, in the next ſeſſion of the council of Lateran, the aſſembly of Piſa, and revoked whatever had been done by the emperor, towards the calling and ſupporting it.

1512.

Sforza is put in poſſeſſion of Milan.

About the end of December, Maximilian Sforza, eldeſt ſon to Lodovico the Moor, was put in poſſeſſion of the duchy of Milan, according to the agreement of the allies, at Mantua.

Remarks on the year 1512.

I have now ran over the tranſactions of the year 1512, a year very remarkable for the ſeveral revolutions in the affairs of Italy, and ſtill more, for the conduct of the princes concerned, which diſcovers their different characters. Lewis XII. was the dupe of his ſcruples, which made him loſe the opportunity of diſabling the pope to hurt him, and, in the end, occaſioned the loſs of the Milaneſe. Julius II. made religion ſubſervient to his immoderate ambition, by uſing the glory of God and the good of the church, for a cloak to gratify his paſſions; for, having formed a league, to reſtore the Venetians to their dominions, to the glory of God and exaltation of the Chriſtian faith, he concluded another, on the ſame pretence, to diſpoſſeſs them of all they had recovered. Ferdinand drew Henry VIII. into a war, for the pope's defence, and to procure Guienne for the crown of England; but artfully made it ſubſervient to the conqueſt of Navarre, for himſelf. The emperor Maximilian acted with no more ſincerity. His conduct was the more extraordinary, as he was ſolely indebted to Lewis XII, for all he had conquered in Italy, after the league of Cambray; nay, the preſervation of his conqueſts was wholly owing to that prince's continual ſupplies; and yet, he no ſooner ſaw him upon the decline, than he moſt ungratefully helped to hurl him down the precipice. It is affirmed, that he had a book, in which he marked, in red letters, the injuries received from the king of France; but I do not know in what colour Lewis ſhould have wrote, in his book, the wrong done him, by the emperor. As for Henry VIII, he was, certainly, the dupe of Ferdinand and the pope. But what is more ſtrange, after the king of Arragon and Julius II, by their artifices, had engaged that prince, in a league againſt France, as ſoon as affairs had taken ſuch a turn, that they no longer wanted his aſſiſtance, they thought no more of him, than if there had been no ſuch perſon in the world. In all the negotiations, between the allies, whether at Mantua, or Rome, after the retreat of the French, cardinal Bambridge was never called to them, neither was there any mention of the king of England. The pope and Ferdinand, ſatisfied with expelling the French, forſook Henry, without troubling themſelves about his concerns. It even appears, that he was not informed of theſe negotiations; for, we

ſee,

1512. see, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, that the 10th of November, he ſtill gave full powers to his ambaſſadors, at ſeveral courts, to treat of a league, in favour of the pope, at the very time, the pope was entirely neglecting the intereſts of England. About the ſame time, Henry ſigned letters patent, declaring, that he entered into the league, concluded at Rome, a year before, tho', ſince that, Julius II. was in poſſeſſion of Ravenna, all la Romagna, Parma, Placentia, Reggio, and his deſires had been accompliſhed, by Lewis's loſs of Genoa and Milan, and by the emperor's renouncing the aſſembly of Piſa. Thus, he was evidently the dupe of all theſe intrigues. He lent, without knowing it, his troops to Ferdinand to conquer Navarre. On the other hand, the terror of his arms was greatly ſubſervient to the pope's deſigns, as it hindered Lewis XII, from keeping, in Italy, troops, which he judged neceſſary for the defence of his kingdom, againſt the Engliſh. This was the real view of Julius and Ferdinand; and Henry was ſo blind as to engage, without neceſſity, in a war with France for their intereſt, imagining that he was acting for his own.

Henry ſuffers himſelf to be farther impoſed upon.

Who would not have thought, that Henry's experience ſhould have rendered him wiſer and more circumſpect? And yet, he was farther amuſed by theſe very princes, who told him, that having nothing more to fear, in Italy, they were going to join all their forces to invade France; and if he would act, likewiſe, he might eaſily recover Guienne and Normandy. Henry, being perſuaded of their ſincerity, immediately, ſent ambaſſadors to Bruſſels, to conclude a league againſt France, with the pope, Maximilian, Ferdinand, Charles of Auſtria, ſovereign of the Low-Countries, and Margaret, ducheſs dowager of Savoy, his aunt, who governed his dominions, during his minority. Henry expected, that the execution of the treaty would, immediately, follow the concluſion; but, hereafter, it will be ſeen, that if they concluded the league, it was only to draw money from him, and leave him to make war all alone. He was young and unexperienced, and alſo ſo ſelf-conceipted, as to think himſelf wiſer than his council; and, beſides, he had plenty of ready money in his coffers. What could perſons, ſo ſubtle as the pope, emperor, and king of Arragon, deſire better, than to have to deal with ſuch a prince as Henry? We have ſeen already, this year, 1512, how artfully they improved ſo favourable a diſpoſition; and, in the ſucceeding years, we ſhall ſee, how very little he himſelf profited, by what he might have learnt by experience, during the courſe of the preſent. However this be, being reſolved to carry war into France, he aſſembled a parliament the 4th of November, to demand and aid of money; and ſoon after, the commons, without examining cloſely the reaſons which induced him to take arms, granted him a ſubſidy, and a poll-tax on all his ſubjects, for the expences of the war.

A bull in favour of the king. Act. Pub.

During the ſeſſion of the parliament, Henry received a bull from the pope, who, to encourage him to puſh the war vigorouſly againſt France, granted a plenary indulgence to all his ſubjects, that ſhould aſſiſt him with their perſon or purſes. This was all the aid he had from the pope for a war, the ſole motive whereof, as it was pretended, was the defence of the church. 1512.

Nothing more remains to finiſh the account of the tranſactions of this year, but briefly to mention the meaſures taken by Henry, with reſpect to Scotland.

Henry tries, in vain, to prevent a rupture with Scotland. Herbert.

Whilſt Henry determined to carry war into France, he uſed his utmoſt efforts to preſerve a good underſtanding with the king of Scotland; but it was almoſt impoſſible, that England ſhould be in war with France, and Scotland not interpoſe. Henry, however, imagined, that by the aſſurances he gave the king of Scotland, of his intention to obſerve, punctually, the treaty of peace, he ſhould prevent him from being concerned in the quarrel. James ſuffered him to think as he pleaſed, and, in the mean time, was preparing to aſſiſt France, by a powerful diverſion, in caſe that kingdom was attacked. Upon the firſt report, that Henry was going to quarrel with Lewis, James took care to be provided with pretences to break with him. The affair of Breton furniſhed him with one, and he, moreover, ſought others; but the true reaſon of his acting was, that, for ſome ages paſt, the kings of England were grown ſo powerful, and had ſhewn ſo great a deſire to unite all Great-Britain under their dominion, that the Scots could little expect to reſiſt them, but by the aſſiſtance of France, which had ever protected them; therefore, it was more neceſſary than juſt, for Scotland to continue firm to the intereſts of France, and not ſuffer that crown to be diſabled to aſſiſt her allies. So, not to ſwerve from this maxim, James IV, who had reſolved to go to Jeruſalem, laid aſide his deſign, when he heard there was like to be a rupture between France and England. He equipped a fleet, which he intended to ſend into France, under pretence of preſenting it to queen Ann, wife to Lewis XII; but this fleet, in which was the largeſt ſhip that had yet been ſeen on the ſea, was loſt, or diſabled, by a ſtorm and the admiral's ill conduct.

James concludes a league with Lewis XII.

Henry having, at laſt, proclaimed war with Lewis, James concluded a league againſt him with France, the 22d of May this year; and, ſoon after, he prepared an army, but, without divulging for what it was deſigned. His intent was to make an inroad into England, as ſoon as Henry had ſent his forces into France. Henry having notice of this armament, ſent two ambaſſadors into Scotland, under colour of adjuſting ſome little differences, but, in reality to ſound the king's intentions; and the ambaſſadors acquainting king James, that their maſter was ſomething jealous of this armament, as if it was made in favour of France, he anſwered, that being equally an ally of both crowns, his deſign was to obſerve an exact neutrality. The ambaſſadors prayed him to give that anſwer in writing; but he refuſed, on pretence, that it would breed a ſuſpicion in the king of France. Soon after, Henry learnt,

1512. learnt, by his ſpies, that a league was concluded between France and Scotland, and he even procured a copy of the treaty; ſo, perceiving that a war with Scotland, was unavoidable, he ſent the earl of Surrey into the northern parts, with power to levy an army, and act againſt Scotland, in caſe of neceſſity.

1513. The views and intereſts of the princes.

The tranſactions of the year 1512, made great alterations in the intereſts of the princes concerned, and conſequently in their deſigns and meaſures.

Of Julius.

Julius II, pleaſed with having expelled the French out of Italy, and ſo greatly increaſed his power, by the acquiſition of ſo many places, was thinking, however, of ſeizing Ferrara. After that, he hoped, with the aſſiſtance of the Venetians and Florentines, to be able to drive the emperor out of Venice, tho' he had lately leagued with him; and, as for the reſt, he had no thought of making conqueſts in France, his ſole view being to find Lewis employment at home, and to diſſolve entirely the remains of the council of Piſa, which, however, was not very formidable to him, ſince the emperor's diſengagement.

Of Ferdinand.

Ferdinand's ſole view was, to preſerve his late conqueſt of Navarre. To enjoy it in peace, the only way was to keep the king of France employed elſewhere, or prevail with him, not to diſturb him; and, to that purpoſe, it was neceſſary to uſe the terror of the arms of the allies, and, particularly, of the king of England, that Lewis being attacked from ſeveral quarters, might be induced of himſelf to deſire a peace, and leave him in poſſeſſion of Navarre. Ferdinand would not have ſcrupled to abandon his allies, provided he could obtain, at that rate, ſuch a peace as he wanted.

Of the emperor.

Maximilian ſought only to draw money, both from his friends and enemies; for he was very ſenſible, that with his own forces alone, it would be difficult to make conqueſts upon the Venetians; and that the pope, tho' his ally, did not wiſh it; but he was extremely reſerved to them, to procure the larger ſums in making a peace. On the other hand, he endeavoured to embroil matters as much as poſſible, and make new leagues, becauſe, in all the treaties of that kind, money was ſtill given him to maintain imaginary troops, which he never raiſed, at leaſt, not ſo many as he promiſed.

Of the Venetians.

The Venetians were very deſirous to end a deſtructive war, by which they were drained; for their ſole view was, to induce the emperor to be ſatisfied with a good ſum of money, for the reſtitution of their towns, and thereby put their ſtate upon the ſame foot it was before the league of Cambray. But as the emperor could not think of depriving himſelf of an entrance into Italy, by the reſtitution of theſe places, it was their buſineſs to compel him, in ſome meaſure, by new leagues, which might make him apprehenſive of loſing them without any advantage. But as this was the ſenate's ſole view, they were always ready to break all their engagements, as ſoon as the emperor would hearken to reaſon.

Of the Switzers.

The Switzers thought only of ſupporting Sforza, at Milan, to have always, in that duchey, a prince, who ſhould rely on their aſſiſtance. Conſequently, it was their intereſt to keep the king of France at a diſtance, and oppoſe all his attempts to recover it. 1513.

Of Lewis.

Lewis XII, extremely mortified at the good ſucceſs of his enemies, in Italy, ardently deſired to recover Genoa and Milan; and, to ſucceed, the aid of the Venetians, the emperor, or the Switzers was neceſſary; it was alſo requiſite ſo to haſten the concluſion with one or other of the two laſt powers, that the expedition of the Milaneſe might be made in the ſpring, for fear it ſhould be prevented by the war, the king of England was preparing againſt him in Picardy.

Of Henry VIII.

Of all Lewis's enemies, Henry was the only one, who thought of making conqueſts, in France, prepoſterouſly imagining, his allies would make diverſions in ſeveral places, to faciliate the execution of his deſigns. But he did not yet ſufficiently know them. The Venetians had been excluded out of the late league. The pope and Ferdinand had no deſire to attack France, but only to create Lewis troubles, that might hinder him from thinking of Italy; and, it was ſolely with this view, that they feigned a willingneſs to ſecond the king of England. As for the emperor, Henry and his council muſt have voluntarily deceived themſelves, to hope for any aſſiſtance from him.

Of the king of Scotland.

James IV, king of Scotland, ſeeing France on the point of being attacked by Henry, was preparing to aſſiſt her, deeming his own and that kingdom's intereſts, to be inſeparable. He eaſily perceived, that the king of England courted him only to prevent his interpoſing in the quarrel, and was willing to feed him with hopes of ſucceeding in his deſign; but, however, he was determined to break the peace, rather than leave a nation in danger, from which alone he could expect a ſpeedy and powerful protection, in caſe of neceſſity. It is true, he had made a peace with Henry VII, and renewed it with Henry VIII; but it was, when theſe monarchs had no conteſt with France, his antient and conſtant ally; and, in his opinion, Henry, by wantonly attacking France, on trifling pretences, violated, indirectly, the treaty made with Scotland; at leaſt, James pretended, that in ſigning a peace with England, he was not bound to forſake France, whenever the king of England ſhould think of attacking her.

Such were the diſpoſitions of all theſe potentates, in the beginning of the year 1513. We muſt now ſee, by what methods each endeavoured to attain his ends; for this new ſcene will diſcover to us no leſs variety, artful managements, devices, and artifices, than the preceding, ſince the actors and perſonages will ſtill be the ſame.

Whilſt Henry was ſeriouſly preparing for war, his pretended allies were taking care of their own affairs, without regarding his intereſts. Since he had entered into the league of Rome, the allies, it ſeemed, ſhould have done nothing without his knowledge; and yet, Julius

1513. lius II. had leagued with the emperor, and excluded the Venetians, without informing him of it.

The emperor offers a league to Lewis, in order to deceive him. Guicciard.

In the beginning of the year 1513, Maximilian had no farther regard for his new allies, ſince he ſent and propoſed a freſh league to Lewis XII, on new terms; for he offered to aid him in recovering the Milaneſe, provided Lewis, in return, would aſſiſt him againſt the Venetians; and, moreover, he demanded Renee, Lewis's ſecond daughter, for Charles of Auſtria, his grandſon, and that, for her dower, Lewis ſhould aſſign him all his pretenſions to Milan and the kingdom of Naples. But that the performance of the treaty might not entirely depend on the faith of Lewis, he required that the princeſs ſhould, immediately, be ſent to him, and Cremona, and all Gierradadda delivered to him as ſoon as the duchy of Milan was recovered. Certainly, one cannot but admire the emperor's aſſurance in making theſe propoſals. He had not, hitherto, been able to continue the war againſt Venice, without the aſſiſtance of Lewis XII; nay, he thought he ſtill wanted it, and yet made him an offer of aid to recover the Milaneſe. But, on what terms? Why, after Lewis ſhould have been at a vaſt expence to recover that duchy, he was to reſign it to the emperor's grandſon, with his pretenſions to Naples. This is called, uſing people like true dupes. But after the ill turn Maximilian had lately ſerved Lewis, it is not very likely, that he believed his propoſals would be accepted. Probably, he made them only to hinder Lewis from joining with the Venetians. At the ſame time he intended to inſpire theſe laſt with jealouſy, and a fear of his uniting with France, that this fear might induce them to offer him more advantageous conditions.

Lewis tries in vain, to win the Switzers.

Lewis XII. hearkened to theſe propoſals, as if he had ſome deſign to accept them, becauſe he thereby hoped to create ſuſpicions in the Switzers and Venetians, and incline them the ſooner to join with him. As for the Venetians, they deſired nothing more than a ſtrict union with France; and if any thing retarded the negotiation, it was only the hope of an agreement with the emperor, in which caſe they would have gladly renounced all ſorts of leagues. As for the Switzers, it was not poſſible for Lewis XII. to gain them to his ſide, tho' he offered them more than, at firſt, was demanded. Beſides their hatred of him, the face of their affairs was altered, ſince the reſtoration of Sforza to Milan; for whilſt that prince was in exile, it was doubtful, whether, in good policy, they ought to engage in a war with France, for his ſake; but, ſince he was, by their aſſiſtance, in poſſeſſion of the duchy, their honour and intereſt required their utmoſt endeavours to ſupport him. However this be, Lewis's negotiation with the Switzers, not ſucceeding, he was under a neceſſity to join in a league, either with the emperor, or with Venice, otherwiſe he could little expect to recover Milan.

In the interim, the Venetians ſent and propoſed a league to him, on the ſame terms with that of the year 1498, viz. that they would aid him to recover the Milaneſe, provided he would reſign Cremona and Gierradadda. Lewis readily liſtened to their offers; but the Venetians themſelves did not haſten the concluſion, by reaſon of their circumſtances preſently after. 1513.

Propoſals of the Venetians to Lewis.

Ferdinand having good intelligence of what paſſed between Lewis XII. and the Venetians, informed Maximilian, and adviſed him to offer Verona to the Venetians for a ſum of money. This was the ſubject of a long, tho' fruitleſs negotiation.

Whilſt the affairs of Italy were in this ſtate of uncertainty, Julius II, who was preparing to beſiege Ferrara, in the beginning of the ſpring, died, the 21ſt of February, having kindled a flame, which his death was not capable of extinguiſhing *. As ſoon as the news reached the viceroy of Naples, who was ſtill with his army, in Lombardy, he approached Placentia, and entering without oppoſition, reſtored that place to the duke of Milan. Parma quickly followed the example of Placentia, and was likewiſe delivered to the ſame prince. No one was in haſte to ſend aſſiſtance to the future pope to preſerve theſe places for him. On the contrary, the princes of Italy could not ſee without uneaſineſs, that the popes had footing in Lombardy, under a pretence, which might, on occaſion, be uſed againſt moſt of them.

The death of Julius II. Guicciard.

On the 11th of March, cardinal John de Medici, who 11 months before, was taken priſoner at the battle of Ravenna, was elected pope and aſſumed the name of Leo X. He was only 37 years old, yet, however, had great experience, having been employed in divers important affairs, in the late pontificate. He was neither ſo hot nor haughty as Julius II, his predeceſſor, but was much more artful and politick. I ſhall have occaſion, hereafter, to add to his portraiture ſome ſtrokes, which will more fully ſhew his genius and character.

Leo X, pope. Act. Pub.

Before the death of Julius II, Ferdinand was employed in framing a plot, perfectly anſwering the name he had in the world. The beginning of the year, he had ſent two monks into France, to make ſome overtures to Lewis, by means of queen Ann, to whom they had acceſs. But, as Lewis perceived it was not poſſible to make a peace, or even a truce with Ferdinand, without leaving him in poſſeſſion of Navarre, he had appeared, at firſt, very cold; but, at length, conſidering, that he could hardly expect to recover the duchy of Milan, whilſt Ferdinand was his enemy, becauſe it was he that excited Henry, his ſon-in-law, he determined, tho' unwillingly, to conclude with him a truce, for a year, on condition Henry was included, and Italy excepted. He reckoned, that during this truce, he ſhould, with eaſe, be able to re-conquer the duchy of Milan, after which, he ſhould be

A truce for one year, between Lewis and Ferdinand.

* He took the name of Julius from his inclination to war, in memory of Julius Cæſar. He commanded his army, in perſon, againſt the French; and, it is ſaid, as he marched over a bridge on the Tiber, he threw St. Peter's keys into the river, and called for St. Paul's ſword.

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Ferdinand complains of the allies. Guicciard.

As ſoon as the treaty was ſigned, Ferdinand took care to publiſh his complaints, that he had been very ill-uſed, by the allies of the league; that the pope and the Venetians had acquired ſeveral places; but, for his part, he had gained nothing at all, and yet the allies refuſed to continue the ſupply, to which they were bound, tho' the king of France ſtill poſſeſſed many towns, in Italy, and the Spaniſh army was, yet, in the ſervice of the league; but this was only to prepare people to ſee with leſs ſurpriſe and indignation, the private truce he had juſt made with France, without the participation of his allies.

The eyes of the publick were fixed on the new pope, to ſee what courſe he would take; but he did not long leave the politicians in ſuſpence. Tho' he did not wholly approve of Julius II's conduct, when a cardinal, he, however, purſued his plan, as ſoon as he was in his place; for he was doubly concerned to keep the French out of Italy; firſt, as pope, ſince neighbours ſo powerful could not but be formidable to him; ſecondly, as head of the houſe of the Medici, he had cauſe to fear, that if Lewis XII. recovered the Milaneſe, he would endeavour to reſtore the Florentines to their liberty; in a word, he deſired to put an end to the council of Piſa, which could be done only by engaging Lewis in wars, which ſhould compel him to make his peace with the church. Ferdinand had, alſo, the ſame views, to keep the king of France at a diſtance from Navarre, Rouſſillon, and the kingdom of Naples. And, as for the emperor, it was his intereſt to diſable France to aſſiſt the Venetians. But they had, none of them, any deſire to carry war into France, but only ſo to manage, that this diverſion might be made at another's expence. 1513.

The allies try to engage Henry in a war with France.

To that purpoſe, they, unanimouſly, caſt their eyes on Henry VIII, as a prince extremely proper to execute their projects; for he had ready money, warlike ſubjects, and could with eaſe tranſport troops into ſome part of France, remote from the borders of Spain and Italy; and, in a word, he was exceeding deſirous to ſignalize himſelf by illuſtrious actions, and ſcrupled not to ſhew it publickly. So, each of them laboured with all his power, to confirm him in his deſign, to wage war with France, by putting him in hopes of being vigorouſly ſupported, tho' nothing was farther from their thoughts. Leo X. was no ſooner in the papal chair, but under colour of notifying his promotion, ſent him a letter, aſſuring him, that he was fully reſolved to adhere to the league formed by Julius II, his predeceſſor, and even to conclude a new one with England; but, at the ſame time, he preſſed the emperor, to make a peace with Venice, and negotiated with the Venetians, to prevent their union with France, promiſing to uſe all his intereſt with the emperor, to procure them an honourable and advantageous peace. All theſe practices could not be managed ſo privately, but the king of France had ſome intelligence of them; ſo, that he ſoon grew very jealous of the new pope.

A league concluded at Mechlin, between the allies and Henry.

Henry did not want much ſollicitation to carry his arms into France; for his thoughts was already bent upon a war; ſo, finding, the pope, emperor, and king of Arragon, promiſed him to act vigorouſly, he did not doubt the favourableneſs of the opportunity, to recover good part of what his predeceſſors had formerly loſt; and, therefore, he readily agreed to form a new league with them, not for the affairs of Italy, with which he was, probably, diſguſted, but to attack France from ſeveral quarters. And, that the league might be the more ſecret, it was agreed, that it ſhould be negotiated, at Mechlin, between Margaret of Auſtria, governeſs of the Low-Countries, authorized by the emperor, her father, and the ambaſſadors of England, and that, afterwards, it ſhould be approved and ratified by the pope, Maximilian, and Ferdinand. This was another ſnare laid for Henry, which he perceived not, till it was too late to avoid it. Tho' the king of Arragon was then on the point of concluding the truce with Lewis XII, he made himſelf, however, one of the principal parties in this league, as repugnant as it was to the truce. The ſubſtance of the new league concluded at Mechlin, the 5th of April, about the ſame time the truce was ſigned, at Orthez, was as follows.

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The terms of the league.

That within 30 days, after the date of this treaty, each of the confederates ſhould proclaim war with Lewis, and within two months invade him, viz. the pope in Provence or Dauphine; the emperor in ſome place out of Italy; the king of Arragon in Bearn, Guienne, or Languedoc; the king of England in Guienne, Normandy, or Picardy; and that their armies ſhould be ſtrong and well provided with all things.

That the emperor (if he had not yet done it) ſhould revoke all his proceedings, in favour of the council of Piſa. This ſhews, how little Henry, or his plenipotentiaries knew of what paſſed at Rome, ſince it was now three months, or more, that the emperor had abandoned that council.

That the pope ſhould thunder his cenſures, againſt all the oppoſers of this league and abbettors of the contrary party.

That towards the expences of the war, the king of England ſhould give the emperor 100,000 crowns of gold, at three payments; 35000 preſently after the declaration of the war, as much more when the war was began, and 30,000 within three months after.

That the emperor meant not to enter into this league, as guardian to Charles, his grandſon.

That the emperor and king of England ſhould ratify the treaty within a month, and the pope and king of Arragon within two months; with this expreſs declaration, that, in caſe the pope and king of Arragon ſhould not ratify the treaty by the time appointed, it ſhould, however, be in force between the emperor and the king of England.

Laſtly, The confederates renounced all exceptions whatever, and, particularly, that which might be made to another's ſtipulating for them.

Never, perhaps, was ſeen more inſincerity, than in this whole negotiation, ſince of all the confederates Henry alone intended to keep his word. Leo X. ratified not the treaty; Ferdinand, as will be ſeen, preſently, diſowned his ambaſſador; and, as for the emperor, he received the money from the king, without troubling himſelf to perform his engagements. Thus, Henry was the conſtant dupe of theſe princes, who were a little too politick for him.

Ferdinand's ambaſſador, at London, ratifies and ſwears to the league of Mechlin. Act. Pub.

The treaty being brought to London, Lewis Carroz de Villaragud, Ferdinand's ambaſſador, approved and ratified it by letters patent of April 18th. He declared in theſe letters, that, tho' he had a ſufficient power from the king, his maſter, to conclude the league with the plenipotentiaries of the confederate princes, he had not been able, for certain weighty reaſons, to be preſent at the ſigning, at Mechlin; but being very ſure, the treaty contained only what was agreeable to the king, his maſter, who deſired nothing more earneſtly, than its execution, he approved and ratified, in the ſaid king's name, all the articles of the treaty. And to remove all occaſion of diſputing the validity of his ratification, he incerted the treaty verbatim, in his letters of ratification, and concluded it again, with the earl of Surrey, Henry's commiſſioner, by vertue of a full power, received for that power. Afterwards, the 25th of the ſame month, he ſwore to the obſervance of the articles, on the ſouls of Ferdinand, king of Arragon, and Jane, queen of Caſtile. It is not certain, whether the ambaſſador was himſelf deceived, or, whether knowing it, voluntarily helped to impoſe on Henry. All that can be ſaid, is, that the great precautions taken to hinder his being ſuſpected of inſincerity, are not very common with thoſe who intend to act fairly.

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Henry is impoſed upon.

It muſt, doubtleſs, be thought ſtrange, that a pope, an emperor, and a king of Spain ſhould, thus, join, to lay ſuch a ſnare for a young prince of 21 years of age, and who was even ſon-in-law to one of them; and, yet it is ſcarce to be doubted, that the league concluded at Mechlin, in the abſence of the pope's and Ferdinand's ambaſſador's, was, thus, projected, to entangle Henry, under pretence of keeping it the more ſecret. They ſucceeded ſo well, that Henry depending on the diverſions, his pretended allies would make in Guienne, Bearn, Provence, Dauphine, Burgundy, flattered himſelf that he might eaſily extend his conqueſts, in Picardy. To that end, he made extraordinary preparations by ſea and land, which put him to a vaſt expence. But whilſt we leave him employed in preparing for the next campaign, it will be neceſſary to relate what paſſed, in Italy.

A league between Lewis XII. and the Venetians. Mezerai.

The Venetians not being able to obtain a peace from the emperor, who pretended to ſubject them to very unreaſonable terms, ſollicited afreſh the negotiation they had began with France. On the other hand, Lewis, to whom time was precious, readily accepted their propoſals. Thus, the league, between that monarch and the Venetians, was quickly concluded, on the ſame foot as that of the year 1498. This was tranſacted by Andrew Gritti, who being then priſoner, in France, was commiſſioned to conclude it in the ſenate's name. Preſently after, he was releaſed, as well as Alviano, who returned to Venice, was made general of the forces of the republick.

Lewis ſends Trimouille into Italy, with an army. P. Daniel.

When Lewis XII. had concluded his treaty with the Venetians, he ordered his troops to march into Italy, where they arrived in June. As, by the treaty of truce, concluded at Orthez, Henry was allowed two months to ſend his pretended ratifications, and, as that term was not yet expired, very probably Lewis ſtill flattered himſelf, that Henry would perform what Ferdinand had promiſed for him; otherwiſe he would not, doubtleſs, have ſent his beſt troops, into Italy. In the interim, the preparations, which were continuing in England, and the hoſtilities, already began at ſea, ſince April, between the French and Engliſh, ſhould have convinced him, that Ferdinand had deceived him. However this be, the French army, under the conduct of la Trimouille, being arrived on the borders of the Milaneſe, Maximilian Sforza quitted his capital, and retired among the Switzers, who were to the number of 7 or 8000 men, at Como and

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and Novarra, where they expected ſupplies from their own country.

Ferdinand's general goes from Milan.

Upon the approach of the French, Raymond de Cardona, who was ſtill in Lombardy, with the Spaniſh army, retired, without making the leaſt motion to aſſiſt the duke of Milan, tho' Italy was not included in the truce of Orthez. Very likely, Ferdinand was not diſpleaſed, that the French ſhould make ſome progreſs in the Milaneſe, to keep them employed there, whilſt Henry carried war into Picardy; at leaſt, any other reaſon of his general's conduct, can ſcarce be imagined. The duke of Milan having no other forces, but the Switzers, to oppoſe the French, Milan, and the reſt of the towns of the duchy, except Como and Novarra, ſubmitted to la Trimouille, without offering to reſiſt, whilſt the Switzers, who were not ſtrong enough to take the field, remained immured within the walls of theſe two places. Whilſt the French were making theſe conqueſts, Alviano took, for the Venetians, Peſchiera, Breſcia, Valeggio, and, at laſt, Cremona, after a fruitleſs attempt to become maſter of Verona, by intelligence.

Genoa is reſtored to France. Guicciard.

About this time, the faction of the Adorno's, who in Genoa, ſided with France, found means to become ſuperior, and put the city again, under the dominion of the king.

La Trimouille is repulſed by the Switzers at Novarra.

Lewis XII, was now in poſſeſſion of the whole Milaneſe, except Como and Novarra. La Trimouille knowing, the Switzers expected a ſtrong reinforcement from their own country thought he ſhould make haſte, and beſiege Novarra, before the arrival of theſe troops. He, therefore, marched to the town, and in the expectation of taking it, immediatly, furiouſly ſtormed it; but, whatever bravery the French ſhewed, on this occaſion, they were repulſed, with a very great loſs, which even obliged the general to retire to Riotta, a village about two miles from Novarra. In the mean while, the Switzers, proud of repulſing ſo terrible an aſſault, and beginning to deſpiſe the French, before whom, they had not yet dared to appear, in the field, ſuddenly reſolved to ſally out of Novarra, and attack the enemy in their camp. This reſolution, was, immediatly, executed, to the great aſtoniſhment of the French, who, not being able to reſiſt this unexpected attack, were entirely routed. But that was not all, for their conſternation, after the defeat, was ſo great, that they thought it their only ſafety to repaſs the mountains, and with all poſſible diligence, return into France; and, the news of their flight, reaching Genoa, the Adorno's quitted the city, to the Fregoſa's their enemies, who choſe for doge, Octavian Fregoſa, head of their family and faction. Thus, within the ſpace of a month, Lewis XII. got and loſt Genoa and Milan, and Maximilian Sforza, who had been expelled out of his duchy, took poſſeſſion again; but it was the latter end of the year, before he recovered the caſtles of Milan and Cremona, kept by the French and Venetians.

Alviano retires. Guicciard.

The revolution, in the king of France's affairs, occaſioned much the ſame to thoſe of the Venetians; for Alviano, their general, no ſooner heard of the French army's misfortune, but he haſtily retired into the territories of Venice, and beſieged Verona; but Raymond de Cardona, who had affected a ſort of neutrality, whilſt the French were in the Milaneſe, knowing they were out of Italy, turned his forces againſt Alviano; and, he not only forced him to raiſe the ſiege of Verona, but even purſuing him, from place to place, obtained over him, a ſignal victory, which obliged the Venetians to refer their differences to the pope, tho' he had declared againſt them, by aſſiſting the emperor; the neceſſity of their affairs obliging them to take that ſtep, in order to gain time; for they had loſt all their towns, in the Milaneſe, and their own country had been horribly ravaged by the Spaniſh troops, even within ſight of Venice.

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Whilſt theſe things were acting, in Italy, Henry was preparing to paſs into France, with a numerous army. But, before I ſpeak of the ſucceſs of his firſt campaign, it will be neceſſary, briefly, to mention what paſſed at his own court, and which it will be worth while to inſiſt on a moment. Thomas Wolſey had been introduced to court, by the biſhop of Wincheſter. Soon after, he was made privy-counſellor, and as ſuch, had opportunity to make himſelf better known to the king, and gain his eſteem, as well by his own qualifications, as by the intereſt of the biſhop, his benefactor, who ceaſed not to cauſe the king to admire the ſtrength of his genius, and obſerve, how fit he was for the greateſt affairs. Wolſey, on his part, did not neglect what he thought capable of increaſing Henry's opinion of him; for, to an indefatigable application, and extreme diligence, in all the affairs he was charged with, he added, a blind condeſcenſion for all his maſter's paſſions. The king was highly pleaſed, to ſee, in his court and council, a churchman, leſs rigid and ſcrupulous than the archbiſhop of Canterbury, or the old biſhop of Wincheſter; for Wolſey danced, ſung, laughed, and played with the young courtiers, who were moſt in favour; and, if Polidore Virgil is to be credited, who loved him not, neither had reaſon to love him, he carried his complaiſance ſo far, as to lend the king his houſe, for his moſt ſecret pleaſures. However this be, his condeſenſion, joined to his talents for buſineſs, and a pretty extenſive knowledge, in divinity, which he had acquired, as well as the king, by reading the works of Thomas Aquinas, ſoon gave him the advantage over all the other courtiers; and, when he ſaw himſelf well fixed, he made it his particular buſineſs, to ſhew the king his errors, ſince his acceſſion to the throne, and how his youth had been abuſed. By this method, he inſinuated to him, by degrees, that he was ill ſerved, and wanted an able miniſter, capable of eaſing him, in the adminiſtration of the moſt important affairs, and, of ſhewing him the conſequences; in ſhort, he ſo managed, that he became himſelf, that miniſter, which he adviſed the king to

Thomas Wolſey becomes prime miniſter. Burnet.

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Before Henry was ready to paſs into France, the war was already began, at ſea; for, in April, admiral Howard putting to ſea, with 32 ſhips of war, whilſt the French fleet remained, at Breſt, expecting ſix gallies that Pregent was to bring from Marſeilles, approached Breſt, reſolving to attack the French ſhips, as they lay, at anchor, but, on notice, that Pregent was arrrived, at Conquet, he ſailed that way, to endeavour to take the ſix gallies, and attacked them, indeed, with great bravery; and, during the fight, his ſhip being grappled with Pregent's galley, he entered it, ſword in hand, which, at firſt, cauſed great diſorder; but, unfortunately, the galley being, afterwards, diſengaged, he was left in the hands of his enemies, with a few attendants; and, being unknown, was knocked over-board, with a half-pike. The loſs of the admiral, cauſed ſuch a conſternation, in the Engliſh fleet, that they durſt not continue the fight. The news being carried to court, the king conferred the office of lord admiral, on Thomas Howard, brother to the deceaſed. In the interim, as the French fleet, by receiving a ſtrong reinforcement, was become ſuperior to the Engliſh, the laſt returned to ſome port, in England, expecting the arrival of the new admiral; and, the French, encouraged by the retreat of the Engliſh, ſailed to the coaſt of England, and, even made a deſcent, in Suſſex, and carried away ſome booty.

A ſea fight, wherein admiral Howard is loſt.

In the interim, Henry was preparing to carry war into France, tho' none of his pretended allies, had yet, made the leaſt ſtep towards performing the treaty of Mechlin; for, Leo X, had not ratified the treaty, and nothing was farther from his thoughts, than the ſending of an army, into Provence, or Dauphine; the emperor began, to ſeek excuſes, not to enter Burgundy, with an army, tho' he had poſitively promiſed it; and, as for Ferdinand, he had not only concealed from Henry, his one year's truce with France, but was even trying to amuſe him with hopes, that he was directly going to make a powerful diverſion, in Guienne, and he ſo artfully acted his part, that it was June, before Henry was fully informed of the truce of Orthez. Henry, incenſed, at ſuch a fraud, diſpatched an ambaſſador, to the king, his father-in-law, to upbraid him with breach of faith, and ſummon him to execute the treaty of Mechlin, or rather, that ſigned by his ambaſſador, in his name, at London. Whereupon Ferdinand, ſeeing he could no longer wear the mask, diſowned his ambaſſador, and ſaid, he had exceeded his inſtructions; however, he confeſſed, that he had concluded a truce for a year, with Lewis XII, being obliged by the neceſſity of his affairs, but promiſed to do wonders, when it was expired, and adviſed his ſon-in-law, to accept of the truce, that they might, afterwards, unite their forces, and jointly invade the common enemy. But Henry could no longer rely on ſuch promiſes. Thus, by the artifice of the pope, emperor, and Ferdinand, he ſaw himſelf engaged to carry war, alone, into the enemy's country, which was to have been attacked in four ſeveral quarters. He was not convinced of their inſincerity, till it was, almoſt, too late to recede, the greateſt part of his army having already paſſed the ſea, and juſt entering on action. Happily for him, Lewis XII, deceived by the treaty of truce, concluded, at Orthez, had, now, ſent his beſt troops into Italy, imagining Henry would accept of the truce, purſuant to Ferdinand's engagement.

Henry prepares to paſs into France. Hall.

Soon after, Henry received a letter from the emperor, with many excuſes, that it was impoſſible for him, this year, to lead an army into Burgundy, but he would punctually perform his engagement next year; however, to ſhew, he meant not to forſake him, he ſaid, he would come and ſerve as a volunteer, in his army. Thus, of the four allies, who were to act, at once, againſt France, Henry, alone, was charged with the burden of the war. Edward IV, his grandfather, had been, formerly, in much the ſame caſe, and thought it no diſhonour to make a ſpeedy peace, with Lewis XI, when diſappointed by his allies. If Henry had followed his example, he would have terribly embarraſſed thoſe, by whom he was deceived; but being greedy of glory, would ſhew he had no occaſion for them. He had ſo relied on the ſincerity of his allies, that tho' the treaty of Mechlin was not to be ratified by the pope and the king of Arragon, till the 5th of June, he had cauſed the beſt part of his army to paſs over to Calais, in the middle of May. It is evident, the ratification of the treaty of Mechlin, had been ſo long retarded, only to engage Henry beyond a poſſibility of receding.

The emperor breaks his word with Henry. Herbert.

Before the departure of the firſt troops, Henry had beheaded the earl of Suffolk, priſoner in the tower, ever ſince the reign of Henry VII, who gave Philip I, king of Caſtile, a

The earl of Suffolk is beheaded. Hall.

1513. positive promiſe, to ſpare that lord's life; but, probably, he gave the prince, his ſon, orders, like thoſe given by king David to Solomon, his ſucceſſor, with reſpect to Joab. The hiſtorians have endeavoured to diſcover Henry's inducement, at ſuch a juncture, to put the earl of Suffolk to death, who was not in a condition to hurt him; but they have ſaid nothing ſatisfactory.

The Engliſh beſiege Terouenne. Act. Pub.

The two bodies of troops, tranſported to Calais, departed thence the 17th of June, under the conduct of the earl of Shrewsbury, and the lord Herbert, in order to march to Teroeunne, to which they laid ſiege; but the king departed not from England, till the 30th of the ſame month, having conſtituted queen Catharine, regent. He arrived the ſame day, at Calais, being attended by Thomas Wolſey, his prime miniſter, Charles Brandon, another favourite, lately made viſcount l'Iſle, with many other lords. Whilſt the troops continued the ſiege of Terouenne, he remained at Calais, with a body of 9000 men, ready to march on the firſt occaſion; but, at laſt, having certain advice, that the duke of Longueville was approaching to relieve the town, he haſtened from Calais, to the ſiege, where he arrived the 4th of Auguſt. On the 9th, the emperor came, and conferred with him, between Aire and Teroeunne, and three days after, repaired to the camp, and ſerved as a volunteer, under the king, making no ſcruple to receive 100 crowns a day for his pay. By this mark of eſteem, and the imaginary honour he did the king, he meant to make amends for his breach of faith, and the 100,000 crowns received for an expedition, which he had never intended to make.

The battle of Spurs. Herbert.

In the interim, the duke of Longueville, who commanded the French army, approaching Teroeunne, Henry paſſed the Lys, with the greateſt part of his troops, in order to meet him. The two armies engaged, but not long; for the fight was hardly began, when the French, by what accident is unknown, ran away, in confuſion, without any poſſibility of their being rallied; but the principal officers choſe rather to be taken priſoners, than follow ſo diſhonourable an example. The duke of Longueville was of the number, with chevalier Bayard, la Fayette, Buſſi d' Amboiſe, and ſome others of the greateſt diſtinction. This battle, if ſuch a rout may be ſo termed, was called, the battle of Guinegaſte, and by ſome, the battle of Spurs, the French making more uſe of their ſpurs, than their ſwords. Whilſt the two armies were in view, before the engagement, a body of French attempted to introduce a convoy of proviſions into the town, but were repulſed by the lord Herbert, who was left to guard the trenches. After the battle, the beſieged deſpairing of relief, ſurrendered the city the 22d of Auguſt, and the king, in company with the emperor, entered on the 24th.

Terounne ſurrenders. Hall.

Henry gives the place to the emperor, who razes it.

It ſeemed to be Henry's deſtiny, to be always the emperor's dupe; for, after the taking of Terouenne, Maximilian, who had only ſerved, at the ſiege, as a volunteer, found means to have the place delivered to him, and, immediately, ordered it to be demoliſhed. It is hard to conceive, what induced Henry to this condeſcenſion; and, all that can be conjectured is, that there was, perhaps, in the capitulation, ſome article againſt the razing of the place; but that altering his mind, he was willing to ſave his honour, by delivering it to the emperor. Tho' this were the caſe, there would be no leſs reaſon to be ſurpriſed at his management. It is eaſy to perceive it was very advantageous to Charles of Auſtria, grandſon to Maximilian, that Teroeunne belonged neither to the French nor the Engliſh; but what intereſt could Henry have to loſe ſo many men, and ſo much time, to take a place, in order to have it razed, in favour of Maximilian, who had not merited ſuch a condeſcenſion? 1513.

The ſeaſon being not far advanced, Henry reſolved, before the end of the campaign, to beſiege Tournay; whether he heard the place was ill provided, or the emperor's intrigues had again influenced his council, for the conqueſt of Tournay, which lies at ſome diſtance from Calais, was much leſs advantageous to Henry, than to the archduke Charles, whoſe dominions it ſecured; whereas Boulogne would have been, without doubt, much more convenient for the king, by reaſon of the neighbourhood of Calais. However, the ſiege of Tournay was reſolved, probably, becauſe the emperor hoped the king would give him that place as he had done Terouenne; but he found againſt him, intereſts ſtronger than thoſe of the king himſelf, which oppoſed his deſigns.

The ſiege of Tournay. Mezerai.

Whilſt preparations were making for the ſiege, Henry paid a viſit to Margaret, governeſs of the Low-Countries, who was at Liſle, and ſtaid three days with her. Then he returned to his army, which was marching to Tournay, but the emperor left the king, on ſome diſguſt, the reaſon whereof is not known; The next day, the 15th of September, the army arrived before Tournay, which held out but ſeven or eight days. Henry entered the city on the 24th, a month after his entry into Terouenne. By the capitulation, the inhabitants were to have their antient privileges, on paying to Henry, a ſmall annual acknowledgment of 4000 livres Tournois, for 10 years only.

Tournay taken. Act. Pub.

After the taking of Tournay, the king calling a council of war, it was debated, whether it was proper to keep the place, which ſeemed to be difficult, on account of its diſtance from Calais; but, after a long debate, it was reſolved to keep it, and leave Sir Edward Poynings for governor, with a ſtrong garriſon. The contrariety of the two reſolutions, with regard to Terouenne and Tournay, will, perhaps, appear ſtrange. The firſt of theſe places, which was neareſt Calais, and ſecured the road from Calais to Tournay, was demoliſhed; and the ſecond, which could not without great difficulty be relieved, was deemed neceſſary to be kept. This contrariety could only proceed from Wolſey's intereſt, who influenced the council, as he pleaſed; for he had caſt his eyes on the biſhoprick of Tournay, as a thing very

Henry keeps Tournay.

1513. very convenient for him, whereas that of Terouenne was nothing in compariſon; and, accordingly, he, afterwards, found means to obtain the adminiſtration of this ſee, under pretence, that the biſhop refuſed to ſwear fealty to the king. This is the true reaſon, why it was reſolved to keep Tournay, and, perhaps, of undertaking the ſiege.

Margaret and Charles come and ſee Henry at Tournay. Herbert. Hall.

The next day, after the king's entry into Tournay, the princeſs Margaret, ducheſs dowager of Savoy, and the archduke Charles, her nephew, came to congratulate him on his new conqueſt. The fortnight they ſtaid with him, he took care to entertain them, with all ſorts of diverſions, as juſts, turnaments, running at the ring, balls, maſquerades, and the like; and, in the interim, amidſt all theſe diverſions, the miniſters of the two courts, began a treaty, which was concluded a few days after.

Henry returns their viſit. New treaty at Liſle. Act. Pub. Herbert.

Margaret and Charles being returned to Liſle, Henry repaid their viſit, and was received with all imaginable reſpect and civility; and, ſome days after, on the 15th of October, they ſigned a treaty, importing, that tho' Henry had bound himſelf not to repaſs into England till the war was ended, he ſhould, however, have liberty to return thither, with his army.

That, during the winter, the emperor ſhould keep, in Artois and Hainault, a body of 4000 horſe, and 6000 foot, for the defence as well of Tournay and the Tournaiſis, as of the archduke's dominions.

That, for the maintenance of theſe troops, Henry ſhould pay the emperor 200,000 crowns, at ſeveral payments.

That, before the 1ſt of June, next year, Henry ſhould carry war into Guienne, Normandy, or Picardy, and the emperor into ſome other province of France.

That, before the 15th of May, the emperor, the ducheſs Margaret, the archduke Charles, the king of England, queen Catharine, and the princeſs Mary, ſhould meet all together, at Calais, to celebrate the archduke's marriage with the princeſs Mary, according to the treaty concluded, between the emperor and the late king Henry VII.

Remarks on the treaty.

Whatever was to be done, Henry muſt always find money. The emperor had already received 100,000 crowns of gold, without having executed any of his engagements entered into, by the treaty of Mechlin, and found means to procure 200,000 more by the preſent treaty, beſides the advantage of razing Terouenne, which very much annoyed his grandſon, the archduke's dominions; nay, it is very probable, the diſguſt, which made him quit the king's army, proceeded from his not being able to perſuade him to promiſe him Tournay, alſo, when taken; which manifeſtly ſhews, that he looked upon Henry, as a novice, eaſily to be enſnared. Certainly, Henry's many falſe ſteps, in the beginning of his reign, can only be excuſed, by his little knowledge of the character of the princes, with whom he treated.

Doubtleſs, Ferdinand was of the ſame opinion, concerning Henry, his ſon-in-law, for, notwithſtanding, the ill turn he had ſerved him laſt year, he had, ſtill, the aſſurance to ſend him an ambaſſador, at Liſle, to propoſe a new league, as if his word had been more to be relied on, than ſome months before; but it does not appear, that Henry was, then, inclined to truſt to his promiſes.

1513. Ferdinand propoſes a new league to Henry.

Henry departed from Liſle the 17th of October, and on the 24th arrived, at his palace, at Richmond, after a glorious campaign. I call it glorious, if the ſucceſs of his arms be only conſidered; but, in another reſpect, it was not very honourable, ſince he had been the dupe of the pope, Maximilian, and Ferdinand, who had thrown upon him the whole burden of the war, which ſhould have been common to all the four. It is true, he had taken Terouenne and Tournay; but the firſt of theſe places being given to the emperor, and razed, was to him of no benefit; and, as for Tournay, he never reaped any conſiderable advantage from it, by reaſon of its diſtance from Calais. Wolſey was the only gainer by it, the biſhoprick of that city, which he obtained in the end, together with the abbey of St. Amand, being of a much greater revenue, than what the king himſelf received from Tournay, and its territory.

Henry returns to England. Herbert. Hall. Stow.

The ill ſucceſs of the Italian campaign, had put Lewis XII's affairs, in a bad condition, and the loſs of the battle of Guinegatte, with the taking of Terouenne and Tournay, had entirely diſordered them; but this was a trifle, in compariſon of the danger France was in, by a Swiſs invaſion, after the French were driven out of the Milaneſe; for, the warlike Switzers, excited againſt Lewis, by the pope and the emperor, not being ſatisfied with their advantages over him in Italy, reſolved to attack him in his own kingdom. The opportunity was favourable, by reaſon of the ſeveral forementioned junctures; therefore, to improve this opportunity, the Switzers levied 15000 men, to whom the emperor joined all the nobility of Franche-Comte, and ſome German horſe, under the conduct of Ulrick, duke of Wirtemberg. This army entering the duchy of Burgundy, encamped before Dijon, where la Trimouille, lately returned from Italy, had ſhut himſelf up with ſome troops; but that place was ſo weak, that there was no likelihood of keeping it; he, however, defended it ſix weeks; but, at laſt, ſeeing that by the loſs of Dijon, not only Burgundy, but all the reſt of France would be in great danger, he thought he ſhould hinder it, without waiting Lewis's orders, which might come too late, by a capitulation with the Switzers, wherein he bound himſelf to pay them 400,000 crowns, of which he paid down 20,000, and promiſed, in the king's name, that he would deſiſt from all his pretenſions to the duchy of Milan. The Switzers, pleaſed with their expedition, retired into their own country, carrying with them four hoſtages, who found means to eſcape, when they knew the king refuſed to ratify the capitulation.

The Switzers enter Burgundy. Mezerai. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

They beſiege Dijon.

Lewis makes a peace with the pope. Guicciard. Mezerai. and Herbert.

Lewis XII, finding himſelf attacked, in ſo many places, and not doubting, that the pope

1513. and the king of Arragon created him all theſe troubles, reſolved, at laſt, to be reconciled with the pope. This agreement was the more eaſy, as Leo X, had not, like Julius II, a perſonal enmity againſt him; for, ſince the French were out of Italy, he had nothing to demand of the king, but the diſſolving of the council of Piſa, without which, indeed, he could not conſent to a peace; and, the council was grown ſo thin, that Lewis, in forſaking it, made no great ſacrifice to the pope. It is true, the ſubmitting in a point he had, hitherto, openly, maintained, ſeemed to be ſomething diſhonourable; but, as the council of Piſa had been properly ſummoned againſt Julius II, he thought he might, without reproach, yield to another pope. However, Lewis perceiving, that by his reconciliation with Leo X, he ſhould take from the kings of England and Arragon the pretence they uſed to make war upon him, was, at length, induced to renounce his council, and acknowledge that of Lateran. This renunciation was ſolemnly made in the tenth ſeſſion, held about the end of December.

The pope exhorts Henry to peace. Act. Pub. March 16. Guicciard.

Leo X, in the beginning of his pontificate, wrote to Henry, as to all the reſt of the princes, earneſtly exhorting him to peace; for, in this manner, he was to talk, in order to diſcharge the duty of the common father of Chriſtians. Henry, who ſaw, plainly, and was, afterwards, ſtill, more fully convinced, that this was only grimace, anſwered, he could not make peace without his allies, and, that a ſeparate peace would be directly contrary to all his engagements. This reply diſpleaſed not the pope, who then ſought only to raiſe enemies to France; but when he was ſure of his agreement with Lewis, he took occaſion to ſend another Letter to Henry, telling him, he never intended to perſuade him to make a ſeparate peace, but as he had taken arms ſolely for the defence of the church, and the holy ſee, and had, by his late victories, attained the end he had propoſed, it was reaſonable he ſhould lay them down, ſince the prince, who oppreſſed the church, was returned to his obedience. This letter was dated December the 17th, about the time of the tenth ſeſſion of the council of Lateran, wherein the French ambaſſadors made a ſolemn ſubmiſſion in their maſter's name.

Henry ſees he is abuſed.

Nothing contributed more to open Henry's eyes, than this ſecond letter; for, he imagined, when he proteſted, that he took arms in defence of the church, his allies knew, he did not mean, for all that, to neglect his own intereſt, that language being, properly, only to amuſe the publick. He had the more reaſon to believe it, as, even in the treaty of league, each of the allies had evidently propoſed to himſelf, temporal advantages; and yet, he ſaw, the pope had no ſooner obtained his deſire, but he took the words of the preamble of the treaty, in the literal ſenſe, as, if there had been, indeed, no other deſign, than to labour for the church, and, under that colour, pretended to diſſolve a league formed, by himſelf. This convinced him, that the pope, in drawing him into a war with France, had only his own intereſt in view. On the other hand, he was not better pleaſed with the king of Arragon, nor had reaſon to be ſo; and, as for the emperor, he had performed nothing of what he had promiſed. All theſe conſiderations having, at laſt, opened his eyes, produced a peace with France, which was concluded the next year. But before we cloſe this, it will be neceſſary to relate what paſſed, during the campaign, between the Engliſh and Scots. 1513.

War between England and Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert.

James IV, ſeeing Henry ready to carry war into France, called his parliament, and repreſented to them the indignities Scotland had ſuffered from the Engliſh, ſince the laſt peace Breton's affair was not forgot in this enumeration. But the beſt reaſon, he alledged to induce the Scots to a war, was, that France, the ancient and faithful ally of Scotland, being about to be attacked by the king of England, he could not diſpenſe with aſſiſting her. This reaſon, tho' very plauſible, was not, however univerſally approved; for, many thought it ſtrange, that the king ſhould, thus, wantonly, and without a preſſing neceſſity, break a peace advantageous to Scotland, ſolemnly ſworn to, and even, lately, renewed. But the king's creatures and the penſioners of France, whom Lamothe, the French ambaſſador, had now prepared to ſerve the king, his maſter, on this occaſion, carried it, by a great majority; ſo that war was determined.

James IV. enters England He ſends a defiance to Henry. Act. Pub. Hall.

Henry was in France, when James aſſembled his army, to invade England, according to the preceding reſolution; but to keep ſome ſort of formality, James wrote him a letter, and ſent it by a herald, who found him at the ſiege of Terouenne. This letter, dated the 26th of July, contained the grievances, James believed to have cauſe to complain of, and a declaration of war, in caſe he deſiſted not from his invaſion of France. Henry could not ſend his anſwer, till the 12th of Auguſt, the ſubſtance whereof was, "That he was

Henry's anſwer.

" not at all ſurpriſed to ſee him break the
" peace, on trifling pretences, ſince he, there-
" in, only imitated the inſincerity of his an-
" ceſtors and progenitors. Then he upbraid-
" ed him, that whilſt he knew him to be in
" England, he never ſhewed, either by letter
" or ambaſſador, that he intended to eſpouſe
" the king of France's quarrel, but waited
" for his departure, to execute his unjuſt de-
" ſigns; adding, that knowing him perfectly,
" he had foreſeen his breach of faith, and for
" that reaſon, before he paſſed into France,
" had taken ſuch a courſe, and ſo well pro-
" vided for the defence of his kingdom, that
" he did not queſtion, by God's help, to fru-
" ſtrate all the endeavours of ſchiſmaticks,
" excommunicated by the pope and council of
" Lateran; that, beſides, he hoped to have
" it very ſoon in his power, to requite him,
" and, in the mean time, would not fail to
" take the moſt effectual methods, to deprive
" him and his poſterity of all hope, of ever
" inheriting the kingdom, he was going ſo
" perfidiouſly to invade. After that, he ſet
" before his eyes the example of the king of
" Navarre,

1513. "Navarre, who for taking part with France, "was diſpoſſeſſed of his kingdom, without "hopes of being ever reſtored. As for the "pretended grievances, alledged in his letter, "he ſaid, they had been ſo often anſwered, "that all farther mention of them was entire-"ly needleſs. But for the king of Scotland's "ſummoning him to deſiſt from the war with "France, he told him, he did not acknow-"ledge him for a competent judge in his af-"fairs with Lewis XII; and, notwithſtand-"ing, his menaces, would continue the war. "He concluded, with ſaying, that he might "be aſſured he would omit no opportunity to "be revenged, wherein he hoped to ſucceed, "with the help of God and St. George."

James takes Norham. Herbert, &c.

James ſtayed not for an anſwer to his letter, to take the field; for, on the 22d of Auguſt, he entered Northumberland, and took ſeveral places, particularly Norham-caſtle. The Engliſh writers affirm, his army to be 60,000 ſtrong; nay, ſome mount the number to 100,000, which is hardly credible; however, it cannot be doubted it was very numerous, conſidering the care Buchanan takes to ſhew, it was extremely leſſened by deſertions, and by being kept unemployed for ſome time. The earl of Surrey was then in Yorkſhire, with 20,000 men; but, at the firſt news of the Scots entering England, he marched, immediately, towards them, and the 4th of September, came near enough to ſend and offer them battle, by a herald, who reported, that the king of Scotland accepted it for the Friday following. James was then encamped on the edge of mount Cheviot, where it was difficult to attack him; and, therefore, the earl of Surrey, ſeeing the Scots would fight only in ſo advantageous a poſt, reſolved to ſtay till they deſcended on the plain. The Engliſh not appearing on the day appointed, an old Scotch lord took occaſion to repreſent to the king, that he had done enough to ſave his honour; that it was not prudent to fight the Engliſh in their own country; but the beſt way would be to retire with his booty into Scotland, where it would be in his power to fight, or avoid a battle, as he pleaſed. That as he had taken arms only to make a diverſion, in favour of France, he no leſs employed the Engliſh forces, without fighting, than by hazarding a battle; that, on this occaſion, he ought not to liſten to the intereſted councils of the French ambaſſador, who only wanted to hazard ſome great action, at another's expence, in order to free the king his maſter from his preſent ſtraights; but in ſerving France, Scotland was, likewiſe to be regarded. This advice ſeemed too cautious to the king; for, as he had reſolved to give battle, he fiercely replied, he would fight the Engliſh, were they 100,000. In the interim, the earl of Surrey, to draw him from his poſt, marched along a river which parted the two armies, as if he intended to enter Scotland, through Carliſle, the road to which place he ſeemed to take. James having notice of it, ſet fire to his camp, and marched along the ſame river on the oppoſite ſide; but, unfortunately, for him, the ſmoak of his own camp hindered him from ſeeing the Engliſh, who forded the river unperceived. Then James halting about Flodden, drew up his army. Here it was the earl of Surrey attacked him, having paſſed, with difficulty, a ſort of moraſs, between the two armies. The particulars of this battle, are ſo variouſly related by the hiſtorians of both nations, that the one cannot be followed, without departing from the other. But as to the ſucceſs, it is not the ſame; for, they all agree, the Scots loſt the day, after valiantly fighting till night, which parted the combatants. The two armies retiring, the Engliſh knew not they were victorious, tilll the morning, when they ſaw, their enemies had quitted the field of battle, with all their artillery. The Engliſh own, they loſt 5000 men, in this battle, which was fought the 9th of September; but they ſay the Scots loſt 10,000. The Scots pretend, there were only 5000 ſlain, on each ſide, but confeſs their loſs was very conſiderable, by the great number of lords and officers of their nation, killed in the battle; whereas the Engliſh loſt not one perſon of diſtinction. King James was neeer more ſeen after the battle. The Engliſh imagined, they found his body wounded in two places, on a heap of dead, and orderad it to be put into a leaden coffin, without, however, daring to bury it, becauſe he died excommunicate. But the Scots ſaid, it was not the body of their king; for, they affirmed, that before the battle, he had cauſed five men, of his own ſtature, to wear the ſame arms with himſelf, and that the body which the Engliſh took for the king's, was one Elphinſton's, who greatly reſembled him; however, they could not tell what was become of the king. One ſaid, indeed, he ſaw him ride over the Tweed, after the battle. But as the fight laſted till night, this evidence is not much to be depended on. It was, however, the foundation of the report of his not being dead. Some ſuſpected, he was killed, in retiring out of the battle, by the lord Alexander Humes, or his vaſſals; but this fact was never well proved. However this be, it was never known, for certain, whether the body found by the Engliſh, on the field of battle, was the king's or nor. In the interim, Henry ſuppoſing it to be the very corpſe of James IV, wrote to the pope for a diſpenſation to inter it in St. Paul's church. Leo X, replied, by a brief, ſignifying, "That it was ſet forth to him, "from the king of England, that, in a trea-"ty, concluded, between the late king of "Scotland and Henry VII, and renewed by "Henry VIII, the firſt had ſubmitted to an "excommunication, in caſe he acted in "breach of it, and yet had broken the peace; "that, therefore, he had been pronounced "excommunicate, by the cardinal archbiſhop "of York, by vertue of a power granted by "Julius II; that he died in a battle, withou-"having been abſolved; but in conſideration "of his royal dignity and nearneſs of blood, "the king of England deſired permiſſion to "bury him, in conſecrated ground. Upon "theſe

1513. Battle of Floddon, where James is defeated and ſlain. Buchanan. Herbert.

The earl of Surrey marches towards him, and offers him battle. Hall. Stow. Herbert.

The Engliſh believe they have found his body. Buchanan. Hall.

Henry deſires the pope's leave to bury the corpſe. The pope's anſwer.

1513. "these accounts, the pope was pleased to "grant his request, considering, as he was "told, and ought to believe, James, in his "last moments, shewed some signs of repent-"ance, such as his circumstances would admit; "that, therefore, he appointed the bishop of "London, or any other bishop the king should "please to nominate, to inquire into the mat-"ter; and if it was found, James had shewn "any signs of contrition, before his death, "he gave him power to absolve him, that, "however, the absolution should serve for no "other purpose, than his interment, in holy "ground; moreover, he ordered the bishop "to enjoin the king of England, to undergo "some convenient or suitable penance, in the "name of the deceased king."

Remarks upon this brief.

Among many remarks, that might be made on this brief, I shall confine my self to this one. There was no declaration of war, between James and Henry, before James's letter, dated the 16th of July, and received the 12th of August, nor any hostility committed before the 22d of August, when James entered England. So the king of Scotland cannot be said to have violated the truce till that time. Now, he died the 9th of September, excommunicated by the cardinal of York, who was then ambassador, at Rome. Hence, I think, it may be infered, that the cardinal had excommunicated James, without knowing the cause, or hearing his reasons, and, probably, upon a bare letter sent him, by Henry, that the king of Scotland intended to break the peace; since, I say, he only intended to break the peace, since there is no likelihood, that from the 22d of August, when James entered England, to the 9th of September, the day of his death, the cardinal, who was at Rome, could have been informed of the actual rupture, and proceeded to an excommunication. I say nothing of the supposition that James, slain on the spot, shewed any signs of repentance, especially, as it was even, uncertain, whether the body they would have interred, was the king of Scotland's. I pass over, likewise, the limitation set to the absolution, that it should serve only for interring the dead prince, in holy ground, and the penance enjoined a living person, in the name of a dead one. Every reader may make what reflections he thinks proper on these things,

1514. Interests and views of the princes of Europe.

Such being the situation of the affairs of Europe, at the end of the year 1513, it is not surprising, that the projects and interests of the princes should be different from what they were in the beginning of the same year; wherefore, it is necessary, before we enter on the recital of the events of the year 1514, to mention how the chief sovereigns stood affected.

Lewis XII.

Lewis XII. burned with desire to recover Genoa and Milan; but, he perceived, that to succeed, in that design, the allies must be divided, otherwise there was not even a possibility of undertaking it. The pope, emperor, Ferdinand, and Switzers, were equally concerned to oppose it; and yet, as they had also their separate interests, he thought it would not be impossible to divide them, by offering to each apart, or, at least, to some of them, advantages as great as those they could naturally expect from their union; besides, he hoped, in treating with each, in particular, to breed jealousies and suspicions among them, which would induce them to make haste and treat with him, for fear of being deserted. He had the more hopes of succeeding this way, as most of the princes with whom he was in war, were not over scrupulous, but rather, very ready to sacrifice their allies to their own private interest. To this artifice, therefore, Lewis recurred, to free himself from his present embarassment; for, at the beginning of the year 1514, he took care to renew the negotiation, concerning the marriage of the princess Renee, his second daughter, with Charles, archduke of Austria, knowing, Maximilian and Ferdinand were equally desirous of it, especially, on the terms proposed by themselves; however, he started difficulties capable of continuing the negotiation, without entirely breaking it off. The pope could not look upon this project, without uneasiness, being as much afraid of Milan's being in the hands of a grandson of the emperor and king of Arragon, as of seeing the French king restored; for his interest required, that Milan should remain in the family of the Sforza's. The Switzers passionately wished it, also. The Venetians too, would have therein found a great advantage, if another interest had not prevailed; and that was, to oblige the emperor to make peace with them on reasonable terms; but this they could not hope, without the assistance of France; and this assistance could not be obtained without aiding Lewis XII, to recover the Milanese.

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Maximilian.

The emperor found his account, in his war with Venice, because it cost him little. Since the league of Cambray, he had always been powerfully assisted by France, or Spain, or rather, had never made war only at another's expence. His allies were necessarily obliged to find him men, or money, otherwise they might be sure he would quickly change sides; for, since he had left France, the Spanish troops had done all, in the war with Venice, and Ferdinand, with all his policy, was not able to dispense with acting for him; wherefore, it is not surprising, that he was so difficult, when a peace was on foot, or used his endeavours to inflame the divisions among the princes.

The king of Arragon.

As for king Ferdinand, since he was become master of Navarre, it was his interest to embroil affairs, and cherish in Italy, the hopes and fears of the several parties, to make himself necessary, and that a peace might not be concluded without him. He thereby tried to hinder Lewis from thinking of Navarre, and hoped, at last, to come to a treaty, which should leave him in quiet possession of his conquest; and, for that reason, he acted all sorts of parts, in order to attain his ends. One while, he assisted the emperor against the Venetians, another while, he solicited him in their favour. Sometimes he excited the pope and Switzers not to suffer the king of

1514. France to become maſter of Milan; and ſometimes he offered to aſſiſt the ſame prince to conquer that duchy. This was only deceit and artifice to preſerve a diſſention ſo advantageous to him. His policy, however, began to fail him; for he had ſo forfeited his reputation, with regard to ſincerity, that he was no longer truſted; and, it was merely neceſſity, or from a deſire to breed ſuſpicion in their enemies, that the reſt of the ſovereigns made any treaties with him, which they were ſenſible, they could not depend on.

Henry VIII. Henry had, with glory, got clear of his firſt campaign, but, plainly, ſaw himſelf indebted, for his good ſucceſs, to Lewis's paſſion, who had neglected the defence of his own kingdom, by ſending his beſt troops to recover Milan. The truth is, Henry, depending on the treaty of Mechlin, and the diverſions, his allies were to make, in ſeveral provinces of France, had led into that kingdom, not above 25000 men; too weak an army, to give him hopes of great advantages, had he been to deal with all the forces of his enemy. Forſaken as he was, by the pope, Maximilian, and Ferdinand, how would he have diſengaged himſelf, if Lewis XII. had reſolved to defer his Milan expedition to another time, and marched all his troops into Picardy? Thus, Henry ſhould have conſidered, and, in effect, did conſider, that he was more indebted for the victory of Guinegaſte, and the taking of Terouenne and Tournay, to the circumſtances of the time, than to his prudence or valour; wherefore, he was inclined to get clear of an affair, he had indiſcreetly embarqued in, without flattering himſelf, any longer, with the imaginary aſſiſtance of his allies. It was neceſſary, however, to conceal his inclination, in order to draw from France, advantageous conditions, in a treaty. Such was the poſture of affairs in the beginning of the year 1514. But before I ſpeak of thoſe of England, in particular, it is neceſſary to ſhew what ſteps were taken, by the princes concerned in the troubles of Italy, becauſe that was, then, the chief point, on which all the other affairs did depend.

The affairs of Italy. Guicciard.

Leo X. tries to reconcile the French and Switzers. Leo X, being alarmed at the negotiation, Lewis had renewed with the emperor, concerning the marriage of Renee, his ſecond daughter, uſed all poſſible means to reconcile the Switzers to France, that Lewis might be the leſs inclined to treat with the emperor and Ferdinand; but he wiſhed, that Lewis would ratify the capitulation of Dijon, as to what concerned the duchy of Milan; and, on the other hand, exhorted the Switzers to be ſatisfied with a leſs ſum, than was promiſed, by la Trimouille. This was the plan, he had formed for that reconciliation; and, in ſhort, he had ſo far gained his point, that the king of France had offered a truce for three years, without, however, departing from his pretenſions to Milan, and many of the principal Switzers were ſatisfied with it. But it was not poſſible to perſuade that people, to abate any thing of the capitulation of Dijon; for they even debated, whether they ſhould make a ſecond incurſion into France, to revenge the breach of that treaty. Thus, the pope's pains were fruitleſs, and the Switzers ſtill remained mortal enemies to France.

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Ferdinand prolongs the truce with Lewis XII. Act. Pub. Ferdinand having advice of what was tranſacting in Switzerland, was afraid of being deſerted, whether Lewis gave up his claim to Milan, or the Switzers accepted the truce he offered them; ſo, without communicating any thing to his allies, he ſpeedily ſent Quintana, his ſecretary, to Paris, who renewed, for a year, the truce with France, on the ſame foot with the former; only, by a ſecret article, Lewis promiſed not to invade the Milaneſe, this year. In the publication of the truce in France, there was no mention of Milan; but Ferdinand publiſhed it, in Spain, with that article; ſo that the world was at a loſs, to know what to think of the matter. Lewis made no ſcruple to prolong the truce, becauſe he could not undertake to invade Milan and Navarre, before he had made a peace with England; and, beſides, he was very glad the world ſhould think, that the truce he had prolonged with the king of Arragon, would be followed by a peace.

The pope ſtrives to make peace between the emperor and Venetians. This was a very natural conſequence, and, probably, it inclined Henry, ſeriouſly, to think of a peace; but, on the other hand, Lewis was going to receive a great prejudice by it, in that the pope, to break his meaſures with regard to Milan, laboured with all his power, to procure a peace between the emperor and the Venetians. He deſired, above all things, for the good of his ſee, of all Italy, and of himſelf, that the French ſhould never more ſet foot in Italy; for whilſt the French were in poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe, Italy had never been free from troubles, the popes had been leſs regarded than before, and the Florentines had preſerved their liberty. Theſe were ſufficient reaſons to make the pope wiſh, they might never return; and, beſides, he had formed projects, for raiſing his family, which their neighbourhood might obſtruct. One great means to attain his ends, was, to deprive Lewis XII, of the aſſiſtance of the Venetians, which would infallibly happen, if it was poſſible to find ſome expedient to make their peace with the emperor. Laſt year the Venetians, preſſed, by the Spaniſh army, had agreed to make the pope umpire, and the emperor had accepted him; but the affair had lain dormant ever ſince. Soon after Ferdinand's renewing of the truce, with Lewis XII, the pope fearing a peace would be concluded, between the two kings, at the expence of the duchy of Milan, ſtrove to renew the negotiation between the emperor and the Venetians; for, he knew, if it ſucceeded, Lewis would, in vain, expect the aſſiſtance of the republick, to conquer Milan. In ſhort, with much ſollicitation, he obtained, from both parties, an engagement, to ſtand to his arbitration, and to give him power to ſettle the terms of the peace, as he ſhould think fit; but, however, by a writing under his own hand, he promiſed not to pronounce ſentence, without both their conſents.

It was very difficult to make this peace, becauſe

1514. The difficulties of the peace.

cauſe the war ſtill continuing, in the ſtate of Venice and Friuli, the leaſt ſucceſs was ſufficient to cauſe the parties to riſe or fall in their demands; for, when the Venetians found themſelves preſſed, they very willingly agreed, that the emperor ſhould keep Verona; but, then Maximilian would have alſo Vicenza, Padua, and Treviſo; and, when his affairs were not fortunate, he was ready to leave them theſe three places, but then they could not think of making peace without Verona. Thus, the pope, finding the various ſucceſs of the war, was a perpetual obſtacle to his projected agreement, paſſed a proviſional ſentence, ordering, that both parties ſhould lay down their arms; that the emperor ſhould depoſite, in his hands, Vicenza, and whatever was poſſeſſed by the Spaniards, in the territories of Padua, and Treviſo; that the Venetians ſhould do the like, with regard to Crema, and pay down to the emperor, 50,000 ducats. But that this proviſional agreement ſhould be deemed void, if the two parties ſhould not think proper to ratify it; and, in caſe they approved of it, he promiſed to pronounce a definitive ſentence, within a year. The Venetians did not think proper to ratify the ſentence, being perſuaded, that, in their preſent circumſtances, a truce was much more prejudicial, than the continuation of the war. Thus, the pope's endeavours were ineffectual. Such was the ſituation of the affairs of Italy, during the year 1514. We muſt ſee, now, what paſſed in England.

A parliament in England. Herbert.

Henry, at his return from his glorious campaign, thought only of mirth and diverſions. However, the parliament met, the 3d of January, but there was nothing done of any moment, with regard to the publick affairs. Before the end of the ſeſſion, the king gave the earl of Surrey, the title of duke of Norfolk, which his father had enjoyed, and loſt, with his life, at Boſworth-field, fighting for Richard III; and, by this change, Thomas Howard, ſon and heir of the new duke, became earl of Surrey. Charles Brandon, viſcount Liſle, one of the king's favourites, was alſo created duke of Suffolk; and Charles Somerſet, earl of Worceſter. Margaret of York, daughter to the duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV, obtained, likewiſe, the title of counteſs of Sarum, as heir to the earl of Warwick, her brother, beheaded by Henry VII.

Thomas Wolſey is made biſhop of Lincoln.

Thomas Wolſey had, now, been ſome months prime miniſter, without receiving other particular marks of his maſter's favour. But Wolſey was not forgetful of himſelf; for the biſhoprick of Lincoln, being vacant, he ſo ordered, that the king demanded it for him, of the pope, who had engroſſed the collations of all the ſees, by anticipated reſervations; and, ſoon after, Lewis Guillard, biſhop of Tournay, neglecting to repair to his biſhoprick, ſince the city was in the hands of the king of England, the pope readily ſuppoſed, that he had quitted his ſee, and gave the adminiſtration thereof to Thomas Wolſey, both in temporals and ſpirituals. This was ſuddenly and, almoſt, at once, a great addition, to the new favourite's income. Leo X, not expecting much, either from the empeor, or Ferdinand, eaſily perceived, he might want the king of England; and, in order, to gain his protection, he had diſpoſed of the ſees of Lincoln and Tournay, in favour of Wolſey, to win him to his intereſt, by preſents which coſt him nothing; but after, having ſatisfied the favourite, he muſt teſtify, by ſome mark of diſtinction, his eſteem for the maſter; and, to that purpoſe, he ſent him a ſword and a hat, conſecrated on Chriſtmas-day, which the popes were wont to preſent to princes or generals, who had obtained ſome ſignal victory over the enemies of the church. 1514.

Lewis XII. makes an offer of peace to Henry.

Whilſt the pope, Maximilian and Ferdinand, were labouring to accompliſh their projects, Lewis XII, was not neglectful of his own affairs. Among all his enemies, none gave him ſo much uneaſineſs, as the king of England, chiefly for two reaſons; firſt, Henry was young, greedy of glory, rich in ready money, and, moreover, always ſure of ſupplies from his parliament, eſpecially, in caſe of a war with France; ſecondly, the diverſion he could, and did make in Picardy, by means of Calais, rendered all Lewis's future projects, in Italy, abortive. He thereby kept the forces of France ſo divided, that it was, almoſt, impoſſible to aſſiſt one another, in caſe of accident. Thus, it was the king of France's great intereſt, to remove this thorn, from his ſide, otherwiſe he could not undertake to recover Genoa and Milan. Accordingly, he had been very ſeriouſly endeavouring it, ever ſince the end of the laſt campaign, by the miniſtry of Lewis of Orleans, duke of Longueville, taken priſoner at the battle of Guinegaſte. It was this private ambaſſador, who, in his frequent converſations, with Henry, laboured, by degrees, to open his eyes, by ſhewing him, how little he could depend on his allies, and clearly diſcovering their artifices, to draw him into their ſnares. Henry was convinced, but, in all appearance, was told many things which he knew not before. However this be, theſe converſations, had ſuch an effect, that Henry told the duke, he was inclined to a peace, provided it was on reaſonable terms. Lewis XII, having notice thereof, ordered the duke of Longueville, privately, to negotiate the affair, and try to diſcover the king of England's real intentions. Henry, probably, inſiſted, ſome time, on his claim to the whole kingdom of France, and, particularly, to Guienne and Normandy, which made the duke apprehenſive, his negotiation would not be ſucceſsful. However, to induce Henry to abate ſomething of his pretenſions, the duke had orders to demand the princeſs Mary, his ſiſter, for the king, his maſter, who had loſt Ann of Bretagne, his queen, the beginning of the year. This private negotiation, to which only Thomas Wolſey, biſhop of Lincoln, was admitted, continued ſome time, without making great progreſs, by reaſon of Henry's exceſſive demands; but, at laſt, at a ſecret conference, which the king himſelf had with the duke of Longue-

ville

1514. ville, he ſuddenly deſiſted from the hardeſt of his demands, and plainly told him, on what conditions the peace might be concluded, adding, he was fully reſolved not to take leſs. Here is a letter, from the king to Wolſey, under his own hand, after the conference, wherein appears, what was his laſt reſolution*.

The king's letter to Wolſey about the peace. Act. Pub. June.

" MY lorde of Lynkecolne, I recommande me unto yow. And lette yow wyte " that I have ſpokyne with the duke; whyche " in the begynnynge was as yll afrayde as e- " ver he was in his lyffe, leſt no good effecte " ſhulde comme to pas. Nevertheles, in far- " ther communyng, we wente more rondly " to oure matters; in ſo moche that I ſayde " to hym, ſeinge that the kyng yowr maſter " hathe ſoght ſo gentely unto us for bothe a- " myte and maryage, I aſſwre yow (oure " honour ſavyd) we colde be well content to " gyffe herkyne thereto, and yff the offers " wer reſonable agre upon thos ſame; but " thes be nott reſonable, exceptte the amyte " ſhulde no longer contynw then the payment " off money: and yett natt ſo, exceptte ther " wer a reſonable ſumme of mony to be payd " in hande by and by:

" Yff hys maſter wyll have the maryage, I " can natt ſee how itt can be convenyently, " exceptte the amyte be made duryng our " lyffes and on yer affter, to the intente that " all ſuſpycyon off bothe ſydes may be ſett a- " part.

" Whyche maryage and amyte your maſter " may have wnder thys maner; that is to ſay, " paynge yerly on hundred thouſand crownes " and att hys requeſt I natt to ſtyke for no re- " dy mony in hande, but I to ſtande con- " tente therwith for recompenſe off all thyngs.

" Whyche, yff your maſter conſidere what " herytaunce he holdyth from me, and what " good my amyte may do to helpe forth hys " mater in Italy, I thynke he wyll natt gretty " ſtyke at:

" Thys forther more I ſayde to the duke, " ſurly I can natt ſee how the amyte made for " yers can any longer indure then the pay- " ment, whyche expyryde ſhulde be occaſion " off new breche and demans, wherby noder " he nor we ſhulde lyff quiettly, whyche, yff " ther fall alyance, I wolde be lothe to ſee; " wherfor I ſee no way to eſchewe all dan- " gers and parraylles, and to recompenſe " me for withholdyng off myne inheritance " (whyche yff I wolde be ſlake in, my ſub- " jectes wolde murmure att) but to make thys " amyte duryng oure lyffys and on yer after, " paynge yerly as above reherſed; whyche a- " myte wons grantyd the alyance ſhulde natt " be refuſyde, nor non other thyng whyche " with my honour ſavyd I might do:

" Saying forther more to hyme that, yff I " myght demande with my honour any leſſe, " or take any leſſe offere (ſeyng hys maſter is " ſo well mynded to the forſayd alyance and " amyte) I wolde be glad to do thât att hys " requeſt, but leſs then thys hit can natt ſtonde " with my honour, nor my ſubjectes wyll natt " be content that I ſhulde take.

" My lorde, I ſhuyd him forther more that, " yff he thoght we myght truſt to have thys " ende, I wolde be content that yow and " they ſhulde commune on all other artycylles, " concernyng the amyte and maryage, tyll " we myght have abſolute aſſurance in that " behalfe for lyſyng off time.

" To whyche he anſwarde, that he colde " natt aſſure me theroff; but that he truſtyde, " ſeyng my demans wer ſo reſonable, that " hys maſter wolde agre therto,

" On truſt hereon we woll that yow be- " gyne to penne the reſydue off the artycylles " as ſoone as yow can;

" And thus fare yow well.

Wryttyn with the hande off your lovying maſter,

HENRY R.

Tho' this letter has no date, it may, by ſeveral circumſtances, be conjectured, to be written, in June, 1514.

Lewis is not pleaſed with Henry's propoſals.

Lewis XII, being informed of the king of England's laſt reſolution, entertained great hopes of a peace. There were, however, two articles, which troubled him. The firſt, was to pay, yearly, 100,000 crowns, as a compenſation, for Henry's claim to the kingdom of France. This was, in ſome meaſure, to own the juſtice of his title, and pay him a ſort of tribute, which he could not reſolve. The other article related to Tournay, which he deſired to recover, and, which, however, was not mentioned, in the king's propoſals. But, as to this article, there was an obſtacle, which was not eaſily to be ſurmounted; and that was, Wolſey was concerned. It was not ſufficient to gain Henry by flatteries, or by giving him a ſum of money, in lieu of Tournay; the favourite muſt, alſo, be made amends for the loſs of a ſee, which brought him a conſiderable revenue. To endeavour, therefore, to agree on theſe two articles, Lewis ſent ambaſſadors to England. He choſe for this purpoſe, Lewis d'Orleans, duke of Longueville, John de Selve, firſt preſident of Roan; and Thomas Bohier, to whom Du Bellai gives the title of general of Normandy, and the king, in his commiſſion, that of chevalier general of France. In the interim, the two monarchs agreed on a ceſſation of arms, during the treaty.

He ſends ambaſſadors to England. Act. Pub. July 29.

A truce agreed on.

Henry refuſes to reſtore Tournay.

It was eaſier for the French ambaſſadors, to cauſe Henry to alter his laſt reſolution, concerning the firſt article, than to obtain the reſtitution of Tournay. The reaſon is evident. In the firſt article, the king, alone, was concerned; whereas in the ſecond, the miniſter's intereſt was, properly, in queſtion. However, ſince Henry was reſolved to make

* The tranſlator has thought fit to inſert the original letter, in the very words of king Henry, as it is to be found in Rymer's Fœdera; and intends to do the ſame by all the original papers, which Rapin hath tranſlated word for word, as he hath done this.

1514. peace with France, Tournay could be of no farther uſe, and a ſum of money would have been, doubtleſs, more advantageous, than the preſervation of that place; but Wolſey perceived, when Tournay ſhould be in the hands of the king of France, he would, infallibly, loſe the adminiſtration of the ſee; ſo the negotiation of the ambaſſadors, on that article, was wholly fruitleſs. It was not the ſame, with regard to the penſion of the 100,000 crowns, demanded by Henry. They found means to perſuade him, to be ſatisfied with 1,000,000 of crowns, in which were included the 745,000, contained in the treaty of Eſtaples; but whereof, indeed, an inconſiderable part had been paid. The Spaniſh ambaſſador reſiding, at London, uſed all poſſible endeavours to intervene in the negotiation; but Henry would never ſuffer him, well knowing, he only intended to obſtruct it. The commiſſioners of the two kings having ſettled all the articles, the treaties were ſigned the 7th of Auguſt.

Three ſeveral treaties ſigned at London. Act. Pub.

There were three ſeparate treaties; the firſt, concerned only the renewing of the alliance, between France and England; the ſecond, was about the marriage of the princeſs Mary with Lewis XII; the third, related to the payment of 1,000,000 of crowns. As theſe treaties ſerved for a foundation, to many others, hereafter, concluded, it is neceſſary to inſert the ſubſtance, at leaſt, of the moſt material articles.

I. TREATY,

Of peace and amity, between LEWIS XII, and HENRY VIII, concluded, at London, Auguſt 7, 1514.

THAT the amity, between the two kings, ſhould laſt, till a year after the deceaſe of the ſhorteſt liver.

That the ſucceſſor of him that died firſt, ſhould give notice, within the year, to the other, whether he would prolong this, or make a new treaty.

That all impoſitions laid, within 52 years laſt paſt, by one king on the ſubjects of the other, ſhould be aboliſhed.

That the peace ſhould not be deemed violated, by the outrages committed on either ſide.

That neither of the two kings ſhuld afford protection or refuge, to the rebels of the other.

By the 14th, 15th, and 16th articles, the two kings bound themſelves to mutual aſſiſtance, in three caſes. 1. For defence of one another's dominions. 2. For recovery of the territories with-held by other princes. 3. In caſe one of the two kings ſhould be attacked on account of the preſent treaty, and ſaid, upon his honour, it was for that cauſe. In each of theſe caſes the conditions were different. But in the laſt, they promiſed mutual aſſiſtance, tho' the aſſailant ſhould be relation, friend, or ally, of one only, or of both. 1514.

Lewis included, in the treaty, as his allies, the pope, and Switzers, and king of Scotland; and, on Henry's part, were named, the pope, Bologna, all the towns of St. Peter's patrimony, archduke of Auſtria, and Switzers.

Scotland was included, in the treaty, but, on condition, that the Scots ſhould commit no hoſtilities againſt England, after the 25th of November.

That the treaty ſhould be ratified and ſworn, by the two kings, and confirmed by the parliament of England, and the ſtates-general of France.

That each of the two kings ſhould endeavour to obtain of the pope, a ſentence of excommunication againſt the violater of the peace.

II. TREATY,

Concerning the marriage of LEWIS XII, with the princeſs MARY.

THAT matrimony ſhould be contracted by proxies, and per verba de præſenti, within 10 days, after the date of this treaty.

That the king of England, within two months after the contract, ſhould conveigh, at his own charge, the princeſs, his ſiſter, to Abbeville, where, within four days after her arrival, the king of France ſhould ſolemnly marry her.

That Mary ſhould have, in dower, 400,000 crowns, 200,000 whereof ſhould be reckoned for jewels, &c. and in caſe of recovery, Lewis ſhould be obliged to reſtore only the jewels, &c. which ſhould be valued, at the ſum of 200,000 crowns.

That the other half, amounting to 200,000 crowns, Henry ſhould pay, by deducting the ſum out of the 1,000,000 the king of France was bound to pay, by a late treaty.

That the future queen's jointure ſhould be as great, as that aſſigned to Ann of Bretagne, or any other queen of France.

That in caſe of Lewis's death, Mary ſhould enjoy her dower and jointure, during Life, whether ſhe reſided in France or England.

III. TREATY,

For the payment of 1,000,000 of crowns.

BY this treaty, Lewis XII. acknowledged, that by the treaty of Eſtaples, Charles VIII. was bound to pay Henry VII, or his ſucceſſors, the ſum of 745000 crowns, and that himſelf was obliged to pay the arrears of the ſame.

Moreover, that Charles, duke of Orleans, his father, by an obligation, dated March the 7th, 1444, had owned himſelf debter, in a certain ſum to Margaret of Somerſet, grandmother of Henry VIII.

That

1514.

That theſe two ſums not being yet paid, Lewis bound himſelf to pay to the king of England, or his ſucceſſors, 1,000,000 of crowns, "as well for the arrears of the ſaid two ſums, "as on account of the good affection he bore "him, and to the end their amity might be "the more laſting."

That this 1,000,000 ſhould be paid by Lewis, to the king of England, by half-yearly payments of 50,000 livres Tournois, till the whole was diſcharged.

Thus, the war, which had been undertaken, on pretence of religion, and for the glory of God, ended in a treaty, which mentions neither religion, pope, or church.

The princeſs Mary proteſts againſt her contract with Charles of Auſtria. Act. Pub. July 30. Herbert.

On the other hand, tho' the princeſs Mary had been ſolemnly affianced, to Charles of Auſtria, Lewis XII, and Henry VIII, made no difficulty concerning this ſecond marriage, neither did they ſo much as vouchſafe to demand the pope's diſpenſation, to abſolve Mary from her firſt contract; only, a few days before the ſigning of the treaty, Mary declared, in the preſence of a notary publick, and other witneſſes, that ſhe had been forced to plight her faith, to the prince of Caſtile, archduke of Auſtria; that, moreover, the archduke, having promiſed to eſpouſe her, by proxy, and per verba de præſenti, as ſoon as he was 14 years of age, had broken his word; and, ſhe added farther, that ſhe was credibly informed, the counſellors and confidents of the prince of Caſtile, were inſtilling into him, to the utmoſt of their power, an averſion for the king of England, her brother. Upon theſe allegations, the two kings making themſelves judges, in a cauſe, which, doubtleſs, belonged to the pope's cognizance, thought fit the marriage ſhould be conſummated.

Remark on the third treaty.

I have ſtill to remark on the third treaty, that, tho' Henry had declared to the duke of Longueville, as appears in his letter to Wolſey, that he could not make peace, unleſs the king of France would pay him a yearly penſion of 100,000 crowns, as a compenſation for the inheritance he with-held from him, an expedient was found to ſatisfy him with much leſs; for, the whole was reduced to Lewis's bond, to pay him 1,000,000 of crowns, two thirds, of which, were, already, due, before the treaty. Beſides, that this bond might not be conſidered, as a compenſation of the king of England's title to France, purſuant to Henry's intentions, it was expreſly ſaid, in the treaty, to be in payment of the arrears of the 745000 crowns, due to the king of England, by the treaty of Eſtaples, of another ſum, due from the duke of Orleans, to Margaret, the king's grandmother, and laſtly, for Lewis's good affection to Henry. Hereby was cauſed to vaniſh, the principal foundation, on which Henry had built his demand, of a penſion of 100,000 crowns; a demand, conſidered by him, at firſt, as the baſis of the treaty, according to his letter to Wolſey. It may, therefore, be affirmed, that Henry was no leſs over-reached, by the king of France, in the treaty of peace, than he had been by the pope, emperor, and Ferdinand, in that which had engaged him in the war. This proceeded not from his miſunderſtanding his own intereſts, ſince it appears in his letter, that he was very ſenſible of the conſequence of his demand. To what then can his eaſineſs be aſcribed, but to the inſinuations of his prime miniſter, who certainly erred not, out of ignorance? Lewis, probably, found means to make Wolſey his friend. We ſhall ſee ſtill more plainly, hereafter, that this miniſter was much more mindful of his own, than his maſter's advantages, when they came in competition, and that he loſt no opportunity of inriching himſelf.

1514.

The death of cardinal Bambridge. Herbert. Act. Pub.

Whilſt Wolſey was employed with the French ambaſſadors, in negotiating the peace, cardinal Bambridge, archbiſhop of York, died, at Rome, the 14th of July. The ſame day, cardinal Julius de Medici, afterwards pope, by the name of Clement VII, ſent the king notice, acquainting him, likewiſe, that he had prevailed with the pope, not to diſpoſe of the ſee of York, before his pleaſure was known; upon which, the king demanded the archbiſhoprick, for Thomas Wolſey, which was, immediately, granted. This miniſter was then, in ſo great favour, that he abſolutely directed all the king's affairs, who had for him a very great eſteem and affection. It may be preſumed, that he was, now, doing Lewis XII, ſome good ſervices, ſince there are, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, ſeveral letters from that monarch to him, beginning with theſe kind words, "My lord of York, and very "good friend.

Wolſey is made archbiſhop of York.

Lewis's marriage with Mary conſummated. Hall. Stow.

Auguſt and September were ſpent in preparations for the new queen of France's journey, in the celebration of the marriage by proxies, in France and England, and in the ratifications of the treaties; after which, Mary was conducted to Abbeville, with a numerous train of lords and ladies, where the marriage was conſummated the 9th of October.

Leo X. propoſes a new league to the king of France. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

Whilſt the peace, between France and England, was treating, at London, the pope, emperor, and Ferdinand, omitted nothing, that they imagined would obſtruct it; for, they plainly perceived, it could not but turn to their prejudice, and, that the burden of the war would fall upon them, being even afraid, that Henry would join againſt them, with France. Leo X. had ſent to Henry, to perſuade him to a peace, and yet, when he ſaw it on the point of concluſion, would have been glad, his exhortations had not been regarded; ſo, to croſs the negotiation at London, as much as he could, he propoſed a new league with the king of France, imagining it would be a means to abate his eagerneſs for a peace with England; but as Lewis took a fortnight to give him his anſwer, he was afraid of being left alone, and for that reaſon, made haſte and concluded a defenſive league, with the king of Arragon, for a year only.

On the other hand, Ferdinand fearing Lewis, after making a peace with England, would invade Navarre, offered him his aſſiſtance to conquer Milan; but Lewis knew him too

1514.

Fruitleſs endeavours of the emperor and Ferdinand, to hinder the peace between Lewis and Henry. Guicciard.

too well, to put any confidence in him. In ſhort, the emperor and Ferdinand, deſiring, at any rate, to hinder him from concluding with England, ſent him their conſent in form, for the marriage of Renee, his ſecond daughter, with Charles of Auſtria, their grandſon; and, at the ſame time, Maximilian ratified the one year's truce, made by Ferdinand with France. But all would not do; for, they had even the mortification to hear, that they were neither of them included in the treaty of London; a clear evidence how little Henry valued their friendſhip; yet, notwithſtanding all this, they, both feigned to be extremely pleaſed with the peace, tho', in their hearts, they were exceedingly vexed.

The pope tries to amuſe Lewis XII. Guicciard.

It was expected, that the king of France, being freed from the war with England, would infallibly recover Genoa and Milan; and the pope was ſo perſuaded, of it, that he wrote to exhort him to that expidition, tho', at the ſame time, he uſed all his endeavours to break his meaſures, by an agreement between the emperor and the Venetians. He even diſpatched to Venice, Peter Bembo, afterwards cardinal, to incline the Venetians to peace. But theſe fearing the pope was laying a ſnare for them, to take off the king from their alliance, gave him immediate information, and thereby rendered him very jealous of his holineſs,

He forms vaſt projects for his houſe. Guicciard.

Leo X. was forming, at that time, grand projects, in favour of Julian de Medici, his brother. His deſign was to become maſter of Ferrara and Urbino, and to join theſe two ſtates to Parma, Placentia, Reggio, and the city of Modena, lately purchaſed of the emperor, in order to caſt them into one ſtate, for this brother, of whom he had a mind to make a great prince; nay, it is affirmed, he intended to add the kingdom of Naples; and to make that conqueſt, had joined in a league with the Venetians; but, as he ſaw the king of France would quickly invade the Milaneſe, he ſhewed great regard for him, leſt he ſhould make an enemy of a prince, who, if he came to be poſſeſſed of Milan, would have it in his power to obſtruct his deſigns. In the interim, Lewis not being pleaſed with the pope, preſſed him to declare himſelf, reſolving to know for certain, whether he was to conſider him as a friend, or an enemy. Leo, who perceived his intent, amuſed him with fair words, however, without being determined, becauſe his purpoſe was to regulate his conduct, by the events of the war, he foreſaw. This did not hinder Lewis from vigorouſly continuing the neceſſary preparations, for his expedition into Italy, where he intended to go, in perſon, the next ſpring; but whilſt he was thinking of means to relieve the Lanthorn-Tower, which he ſtill held at Genoa, and by the help whereof, hoped to become maſter of the city, he received the news, that it was ſurrendered by capitulation, and, immediately, razed, by the Genoeſe. However, this was not capable to deter him from his deſigns upon Italy,

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

Before I cloſe the year 1514, it will be neceſſary, briefly, to relate what paſſed in Scotland, this year. James IV. left two ſons, of whom the eldeſt, called after his own name, was not yet full two years old. By a will, made before he took the field, he left the regency of the kingdom, after his death, to his queen, ſiſter to Henry VIII, during her widowhood. The ſtates being met, the beginning of the year 1514, immediately, acknowledged for king, James V, ſon and heir to the deceaſed; and, as for the regency, there would, doubtleſs, have been great debates, if the loſs of the battle of Floddon had not made the Scots apprehenſive, that the king of England would improve the advantage he had over them. There had never been, in Scotland, a queen-regent, and that would have been ſufficient to reject the clauſe of the late king's will; but it was hoped, the queen would prevail with the king, her brother, to leave, in peace, a country whereof ſhe had the government. This expectation was not diſappointed; for the queen being declared regent, and writing to the king, her brother, to entreat him not to diſturb the minority of the young king, his nephew, Henry generouſly anſwered, he was equally inclined to peace, or war, and left it to the Scots, to chuſe which they pleaſed.

1514.

The queen dowager marries, and loſes the regency.

After this declaration, probably, Scotland would have remained in quiet, under the regency of the queen, if that princeſs had not married again, ſome months after. She choſe for her conſort, Archibald Douglaſs, earl of Angus, one of the greateſt lords, in Scotland, and by this ſecond marriage filled the kingdom with confuſion and trouble. As by the late king's will, ſhe was to be regent only during her widowhood, the queſtion was, to appoint another in her room. Douglaſs, her husband, uſed all his endeavours to have her continued in the regency, affirming, that there was no other way to preſerve peace with England; and beſides, Henry would be obliged to ſupport the queen, his ſiſter, in caſe any one ſhould pretend to diſturb her. But this laſt conſideration had a quite contrary effect, to what the earl expected, on thoſe who dreaded his too great advancement; for, they knew, that being husband to the regent, he would always be countenanced by the king of England, and by his aſſiſtance, enabled to engroſs more authority, than they wiſhed him. Alexander Hume, governor of all the country north of the Frith, was the head of thoſe that oppoſed the queen's regency. He was a proud and haughty man, who could not indure a ſuperior. During the late king's life, he had been preſident of the Marches, bordering on England, where he ha dcommitted ſuch outrages, that, as ſome ſay, for fear of being called to an account, he killed, or cauſed to be killed, James IV, when he was retiring out of the battle of Floddon. However this be, Hume uſed all his intereſt to break Douglaſs's and the queen's meaſures, and propoſed John Stewart, duke of Albany, for regent. This duke was ſon to Alexander, duke of Albany, brother to king James III, who, to avoid the perſecutions of the king, his brother, was forced to fly into France,

1514. France, where he died. He left there this ſon, who being married, and adhering to the ſervice of Lewis XII*, had received many favours from that monarch, and acquired great reputation. Tho' he had never been in Scotland, he was, however, the young king's neareſt relation, and Hume had intereſt enough to have him declared regent; upon which, the ſtates ſent deputies to offer him the regency, and to pray him to come inſtantly, and govern the realm, in the king's name. Lewis XII, dying, whilſt theſe things were in agitation, Francis I, his ſucceſſor, having great reaſons not to diſpleaſe the king of England, would not ſuffer the duke of Albany to depart, till he had finiſhed his affairs with Henry; and, for this cauſe, the regent did not arrive in Scotland, before May, 1515. During this interval, Scotland being without a governor, the diſſenſions among the great men much increaſed, every one having time to form his cabals againſt the regent's arrival.

1515. The death of Lewis XII. Francis I. king of France. Mezerai.

The firſt day of the year 1515, was the laſt of Lewis XII's life. But the death of that prince made no alteration in the ſituation of the affairs of the kingdom; for the duke of Valois, who ſucceeded him, by the name of Francis I, plainly diſcovered, by adding the title of duke of Milan to that of king of France, that he intended to purſue his predeceſſor's deſigns; but, in the interim, he did not think fit, openly, to declare his intentions, till he had ſettled his affairs, both abroad and at home.

The queen dowager of Lewis XII, marries the duke of Suffolk. Hall.

By the death of Lewis XII, queen Mary, his widow, was at liberty to diſpoſe of herſelf, and to follow her own inclinations, rather than the politick views of the king, her brother. Before her marriage, ſhe had conceived an affection for Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, a moſt accompliſhed lord; and, it is even ſaid, that the king had promiſed to marry her to him; but Lewis XII, coming in the way, and her marriage with that prince, being to make the ſeal of the peace between France and England, ſhe was under a neceſſity to ſacrifice her love, to the good of the two kingdoms. However, the duke of Suffolk waited on her, into France, tho' he was not of the number of thoſe who were appointed to conduct her; and, Mezerai affirms, that the duke of Valois, preſumptive heir to the crown of France, cauſed him to be narrowly watched, for fear he ſhould give the king a ſucceſſor; which ſhews, that the queen's inclination was no ſecret. The death of Lewis XII. happening, within three months after his marriage, the queen dowager was not willing to run a ſecond riſque, of being given to another husband, not of her own chuſing. Henry ſuſpecting her deſign, wrote to her, the beginning of February, deſiring her not to marry again, without his participation. But, the queen believed it would be eaſier to obtain the king's pardon, when the thing was done, than his permiſſion to do it; ſo in March, about two months after the the death of Lewis XII, ſhe was privately married to the duke of Suffolk; and the next day, ſhe ſent word of it, in a letter to the king, her brother, and taking the whole blame upon herſelf, intimated to him, that ſhe had, in ſum meaſure, forced the duke to this raſh action. Henry ſeemed, at firſt, very angry, but his anger was ſoon over. Their peace being made, they returned to Henry, and were very well received. 1515.

Parliament in England.

The parliament was then ſitting, and as England was in profound tranquillity, the houſes was only employed in domeſtick affairs, which are of little or no conſequence to foreigners. However, there were three ſtatutes paſſed this ſeſſion, which deſerve notice. It was provided by the firſt, that unwrought wooll ſhould not be exported out of the kingdom, for the encouragement of the woollen manufacture. This act has been often revived, by reaſon of its importance, and yet, even, now, an effectual means is wanting to prevent the clandeſtine exportation of wooll. The ſecond ſtatute declared all the king's ſecond letters patents to be void, unleſs mention was made of the firſt. This was to prevent the king from being ſurpriſed. The third was no leſs neceſſary. It frequently happened, that towards the end of a ſeſſion, ſeveral members went home, imagining, there was nothing more of moment to be done; then the factious took advantage of their abſence, to propoſe and paſs ſuch bills, as, probably, would have been thrown out, had the houſe been more numerous; wherefore, it was enacted, that the members who abſented themſelves before the end of the ſeſſion, without the ſpeaker's and commons leave, to be entered in the clerk of the parliament's book, ſhould loſe their wages. I muſt, now, interrupt, for ſome time, the recital of domeſtick, to ſpeak of foreign affairs, which are to ſerve for a foundation to what will, hereafter, be ſaid with regard to England.

The alliance between France and England renewed. Act. Pub.

Francis I. was too much concerned, to renew the alliance between France and England, to fail of performing the article of the treaty, whereby the ſucceſſor of him that died firſt, was to acquaint the other, whether he deſigned to prolong the time of the alliance; for, as he intended to paſs into Italy, to recover the duchy of Milan, it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſecure the king of England; and, to that purpoſe, about the middle of March, he ſent to the firſt preſident of Roan, his ambaſſador at London, a commiſſion to renew the alliance with Henry, as well as the bond for the payment of 1,000,000, to which Lewis XII. was obliged. This was done by a new treaty, ſigned the 5th of April, and exactly like the former.

Ferdinand ſeeks Henry's friendſhip.

After all the frauds uſed by the king of Aragon to Henry, there was no room to hope for a perfect friendſhip between them; but, however, Ferdinand, who was not eaſily diſcouraged, ſent to the king, his ſon-in-law, a new ambaſſador, to propoſe the renewing of their alliance. It is likely, he did not believe, Henry had ſo ſoon forgot his deceits, but it was for his intereſt, that he ſhould be known

* Lewis, when duke of Orleans, killed the duke, his father, at a tournament. Rapin.

1515. to have an ambaſſador in England. This ambaſſador arrived in May, but was ſuffered to wait, in vain, till October, without being diſpatched; nay, very probably, he would never have ſucceeded in his negotiation, if Wolſey's intereſts had not cauſed the king to alter his reſolution, never to have any thing to do with the king, his father-in-law. I ſhall ſpeak more fully of this affair, in another place.

Henry tries to be reconciled with Charles, the archduke.

Whilſt the Spaniſh ambaſſador was waiting, in vain, at London, Henry had two, at Bruſſels, who made no greater progreſs. He had not dealt very generouſly with the young archduke, in giving the princeſs, his bride, to Lewis XII, without any ceremony. Charles Indeed, had not repaired to Calais, the 5th of May, laſt year, as he was bound by the treaty of Liſle; but it could not thence be inferred, that he had renounced his marriage, at leaſt, before he was asked, whether he intended to conſummate it. Therefore, Henry was afraid, the archduke, having lately aſſumed the government of the Low-Countries, and made a treaty with Francre, would think of revenging the affront put upon him; ſo, in order to ſound him, or prevent the effects of his reſentment, he ſent two ambaſſadors, to propoſe the renewing of the former alliance, between Henry VII. and Philip I, their fathers; but theſe ambaſſadors were ſuffered to wait a good while, at Bruſſels, without being much regarded, or receiving any anſwer.

Francis I. prepares to recover Milan. Guicciard.

The affairs of Europe were, then, in a ſituation, which would not allow the young archduke to engage in any party. It was neceſſary, in order to take juſt meaſures, to wait the ſucceſs of the war, Francis I. was preparing to carry into Italy; for, in all appearance, it would produce events, capable of altering the intereſts and projects of moſt of the ſovereigns. Since Francis's acceſſion to the crown, he had ſufficiently ſhewn, that he intended not to ſuffer Maximilian Sforza, peaceably, to enjoy the duchy of Milan. On the other hand, the king of Arragon was under apprehenſions for Naples and Navarre. Francis I, was a young prince, full of courage and ambition, and it could not be doubted, that he had formed great projects; ſo, that the eyes of all were upon him, to ſee in what manner he would begin his reign. He was making preparations, which diſcovered he had ſome great deſign in his thoughts, and did not take much pains to conceal, that he had Milan in view. In the interim, he uſed for pretence of his armament, the invaſion Burgundy was threatened with, by the Switzers. But the league he had lately renewed, with Venice, and his offer to Ferdinand to prolong the truce, provided the ſecret article, concerning the Milaneſe, was annulled, were plain indications of his deſigns.

Ferdinand forms a league againſt France. Guicciard.

All this was not ſufficient to make Ferdinand perfectly eaſy; for he was afraid of being deceived by Francis, and that his preparations were intended for Navarre. To prevent this danger, he rejected Francis's offer, and made uſe of it, likewiſe, to induce the emperor and Switzers, to join with him for the defence of the Milaneſe, intimating there was no room to queſtion, that the king of France would turn his arms that way. As for the emperor, he did not want much ſollicitation; for he readily entered into all ſorts of leagues, becauſe he ever found means to thrive at another's expence. There was more difficulty, with reſpect to the Switzers, becauſe Francis had among them adherents, who endeavoured to diſſuade them from the league; but his enemies prevailed in the end, and the league was concluded between the emperor, king of Arragon, duke of Milan, and the Switzers. Ferdinand played one of his uſual artifices on this occaſion. He perſuaded the Switzers, that to defend the Milaneſe, the ſhorteſt way was to attack the king of France, in his own kingdom; and, for that purpoſe, he engaged to make a powerful diverſion on the ſide of Fontarabia, whilſt the Switzers ſhould invade Burgundy, and the emperor, by continuing the war in the ſtate of Venice, hinder the Venetians from aſſiſting the common enemy. His chief view was to defend Navarre, in caſe Francis I, had thoughts of turning his arms that way, and then to hinder that prince from becoming maſter of the duchy of Milan. His league with the Switzers, was equally ſubſervient to both theſe ends; for, if Francis I, invaded Navarre, the Switzers would divert him from his purpoſe, by making an inroad into Burgundy; but it he really intended to conquer Milan, the Switzers, as next neighbours, and moſt concerned, could not diſpenſe with aſſiſting that duchy. What Ferdinand had foreſeen, came to paſs; for Francis, having ordered his forces to file off towards the Alps, the Switzers ſent their troops into Italy, where they ſeized the two paſſes, through which only, it was thought poſſible to enter the Milaneſe. When Ferdinand was aſſured, that the king of France was marching towards Milan, he disbanded the army, levied for the defence of Navarre, leaving the Milaneſe to be taken care of, by the Switzers. The very army Ferdinand had in Italy, under the comand of the viceroy of Naples, made no motion to join them; the emperor remained, without acting, at Inſpruck; and Leo X, who had alſo entered into the league, gave them no ſort of aſſiſtance. Thus the whole burden of the war fell upon the Switzers, without even the other allies ſending a penny of the money that was promiſed them. But this was not ſtrange. The Switzers were no more exempted, than the king of England, and ſo many other princes, whom Maximilian and Ferdinand had ſerved in the ſame manner.

Guicciard.

In the interim, Francis I, having found means to march his army through a place, which ſeemed impracticable, the Switzers, who gaurded the paſſes, retired to Milan, and Francis advanced, alſo, towards the ſame city. When he approached, he offered the Switzers a ſum of money to return home. This negotiation was, now, in great forwardneſs, when they received a ſupply of 15000 men of their nation; and this aid rendered them more ſtout, they reſolved, by the ſuggeſtions

of

1515. of the cardinal of Sion, immediately, to attack Francis, who lay encamped, at Marignano, little expecting their coming; but they were defeated, and 10,000 ſlain on the ſpot; after which, they retired into their country, leaving Francis maſter of all the Milaneſe. Maximilian Sforza, who had ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of Milan, ſurrendered it, by capitulation, and was ſent into France, to live as a private perſon.

Francis gains the battle of Marignano.

Before Francis I, began his expedition, Octavian Fregoſa had brought Genoa under the dominion of France, and inſtead of doge, ſtiled himſelf governor for the king.

Genoa is ſubjected to France. Guicciard.

Leo X, had been in hopes, that Francis would never be able to enter Italy. He had joined in the league againſt him, but ſo privately, that Francis knew nothing of it, till he came to Verceil. During the time between the king's arrival in Italy, and the battle of Marignano, the pope was under great perplexities. He had ſent an army into Lombardy, to ſupport the duke of Milan; but when he heard that Francis had ſurmounted the difficulties of the paſſage, he ſent orders to Lorenzo de Medici, who commanded his army, to commit no hoſtilities againſt the French; and, at the ſame time, he told the king, his army was there only to guard Parma and Placentia. In the interim, as the affair of Milan was not yet decided, he durſt not make too many advances to the king, for fear of diſpleaſing the allies, who would have it in their power to be revenged, if the king happened to be vanquiſhed; but, after the battle of Marignano, he was, immediately, reconciled with him, and tho' he had grievouſly offended him, obtained, however, advantages, which he could ſcarce have expected, had he taken his part from the beginning. The popes make leagues, and undertake wars, as temporal princes, and when their affairs do not proſper, diſintangle themſelves, as heads of the church, and vicars of Jeſus Chriſt. Tho' Leo X's behaviour to Francis was ſuch, that he deſerved no favour from that victorious prince, he obtained, however, whatever he pleaſed, and among other things, the abolition of the pragmatick ſanction, which the popes, his predeceſſors, had, hitherto, in vain, demanded of the king of France.

Leo X. makes his peace with Francis.

Tho' Henry had not been able, entirely, to avoid the ſnares laid by the pope, emperor, and Ferdinand, he had happily got clear, but with a firm reſolution never more to be, thus, over-reached; for, his affecting not to mention them, in his treaty with France, plainly ſhewed, that he did not much value their friendſhip; but, he was not ſo fortunate, as to perſiſt in this reſolution, ſince it was his own fault that he engaged in a freſh war with France, not ſo much for his own, as the inter-

Henry is engaged in new troubles.

of others. His change may be aſcribed to three ſeveral cauſes; the firſt is, his jealouſy of the glorious ſucceſs of Francis's arms in Italy; the ſecond, to prevent the growing power of that neighbour; the third and principal, Wolſey his favourite's intereſt, who thinking to have reaſon to complain of the king of France, would be revenged. The two firſt need no explanation; for, it is well known, that princes are ſubject to paſſions, like other men, and that jealouſy may induce them to run counter to their intereſt; it is known, likewiſe, that policy is as it were the hinge, on which almoſt all their actions turn. But on this occaſion, Henry proceeded upon a very wrong policy, ſince nothing was more capable of ſecuring the peace of England, than the king of France's acquiſitions in Italy. The third cauſe requires a more particular explanation. 1515.

Thomas Wolſey, archbiſhop of York, was prime Miniſter, and chief favourite; but this does not fully expreſs the thing; for it muſt be added, that he ſo abſolutely governed the king, that he turned him which way he pleaſed; but he managed ſo artfully, that the king always fancied he took his own courſe, when he only followed the ſuggeſtions of his miniſter. Wolſey had great talents, for a perſon of his birth; but he had alſo great failings, being exceſſively revengeful, greedy of poſſeſſions and honours, and intolerably proud; for he no ſooner ſaw himſelf fixed, in his maſter's favour, but he ſought means to remove from court, all thoſe that gave him any jealouſy, by the king's eſteem for them. Richard Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, who had been moſt in favour, received ſo many mortifications from this imperious prelate, that, at length, they quitted the court, not to be expoſed to his inſults. Fox withdrew to his dioceſe, the beginning of this year*; the two dukes quickly followed, and Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, retired, alſo, at the end of the ſame year. Theſe old miniſters being thus removed, Wolſey became ſtill more abſolute over the king, who had only him to adviſe with, in his moſt important affairs; and, the reſt of the privy-council were all the favourite's creatures. The hiſtorians unanimouſly agree, that Wolſey's intereſt was the ſole rule of the counſels he gave the king, and, as this intereſt anſwered his reigning paſſions, revenge, greedineſs, ambition, and pride, the reader muſt not be ſurpriſed, when he ſees him, hereafter, inducing the king to make ſo many falſe ſteps.

Wolſey's great credit. Pol. Virg.

Ever ſince Francis I. came to the crown, he had been thinking of recovering Tournay, out of the hands of the Engliſh; for there had even paſſed, in the beginning of the year, a treaty on that ſubject, but to no purpoſe, becauſe Henry demanded, in exchange of Tournay, ſome places in the neighbourhood of Calais, which Francis did not think proper to grant him; but the greateſt difficulty came from Wolſey, who was far from adviſing the king, his maſter, to reſign Tour-

Francis I. wants to recover Tournay. Pol. Virg. Herbert. P. Daniel.

* Upon his going away, he deſired this only of the king, "That he would not ſuffer the ſervant to be greater "than the maſter." To which the king anſwered, "That it ſhould be his care, that thoſe who were his ſubjects "ſhould obey, and not command." Herbert.

nay,

1515. nay, becauſe himſelf would have loſt the adminiſtration of that biſhoprick and the abbey of St. Amand, which brought him a great revenue. On the contrary, he had been very urgent with Francis I, to beſtow ſome good benefice on Lewis Guillard, biſhop of Tournay, that he might ſuffer him peaceably to enjoy his adminiſtration. Francis had promiſed him, but without intending to keep his word; for, inſtead of aſſiſting him, to keep the adminiſtration, he ſecretly perſuaded the biſhop, to ſue to the pope for his reſtoration, and ſeconded his petition, to the utmoſt of his power, being of opinion, that when Wolſey ceaſed to be adminiſtrator, the reſtitution of Tournay would become much eaſier.

The pope reſtores the biſhop of Tournay. Herbert.

Whilſt Francis was ſtill in France, employed in preparing for his Italian expedition, the pope, yet uncertain of the ſucceſs of that enterpriſe, did not much regard the biſhop's ſollicitations; but when he ſaw that prince maſter of Genoa, and entered the Milaneſe, at the head of a powerful army, he readily granted a bull to Guillard, reſtoring him to his biſhoprick, and even allowing him to make uſe of the ſecular arm to obtain poſſeſſion. This bull, which ſacrificed the king of England's and his miniſter's intereſt, to thoſe of the French king, and the biſhop of Tournay, would ſeem very ſtrange, if the conſideration of the time and circumſtances, did not make the wonder ceaſe. Leo X. had given juſt cauſe to Francis, to complain of his conduct, and ſaw that monarch ready to take poſſeſſion again of the Milaneſe, and conclude a treaty with the Switzers, in order to ſend them back into their own country; it was, therefore, his intereſt to appeaſe him, by granting a favour, he ſo eagerly deſired. In the interim, Henry was extremely offended, at this bull, which reſtored to the biſhoprick of Tournay, a prelate, who refuſed to ſwear fealty to him, and on which the king of France, and the biſhop of Tournay, might proceed to raiſe a ſedition in the city; he, therefore, gave orders to his ambaſſador, at Rome, to expoſtulate with the pope, and repreſent to him the conſequences of his partiality. Leo X. could not help owning it; but, at that very time, Francis gaining the battle of Marignano, and preparing to make him feel the effects of his reſentment, it was no proper ſeaſon to incenſe him farther, by revoking the bull. This convinced Wolſey, that Francis was the real author of the biſhop's reſtoration. However, the pope being embarraſſed, choſe, on the king of England's oppoſition, to leave the affair undecided, by referring it to the examination of two cardinals, who, probably, were ordered not to haſten the concluſion. In the mean time, Wolſey was uncertain, whether he ſhould keep the biſhoprick of Tournay; and that was, preciſely, what the king of France wanted, that this uncertainty might induce the ſelfiſh miniſter, to find ſome expedient to make himſelf amends, after which it was apparent, he would no longer oppoſe the reſtitution of Tournay; but, at the ſame time, to preſerve his friendſhip, which was very neceſſary, by reaſon of his credit with the king, his maſter, he promiſed to aſſiſt him in procuring a cardinal's cap. Wolſey was extremely ambitious of that dignity. After the death of cardinal Bambridge, he was in hopes of ſucceeding him in the cardinalate, as well as in the archbiſhoprick of York; for he had even employed to ſollicit it, in his name, cardinal Adrian de Corneto, the pope's collector in England, under whom Polydore Virgil ſerved as ſub-collector; but cardinal Adrian, inſtead of ſerving him as he had promiſed, had done him ill offices. Wolſey being informed of it, was ſo incenſed, that on ſome ſlight pretence, he committed Polydore to the tower; then he cauſed the king to write to the pope with his own hand, to deſire him to appoint another collector in cardinal Adrian's room. The king's letter was ſo ſtrong and paſſionate, that the pope thought fit to comply with his requeſt; but, however, in his brief of advice, he told him, he knew very well his anger againſt cardinal Adrian, was inſtilled into him, by Wolſey. In the mean while, Polydore Virgil continued in the tower, till, at length, cardinal Julius de Medici, and the pope himſelf, interceded for him, by letters of Auguſt the 30th, and September the 3d. As this was, at the very time that Francis was ſolliciting a cardinal's cap for Wolſey, Wolſey did not think proper to refuſe the pope a thing of ſo little conſequence; ſo Polydore came out of the tower, where he had been about a year. This ill treatment was, doubtleſs, one of the reaſons that induced him to remember all the ill qualities of cardinal Wolſey, in his Hiſtory of England.

1515. Francis promiſes to help to make Wolſey a cardinal. Herbert.

Cardinal Adrian betrays Wolſey, who ſeeks revenge, and ſends Polydore Virgil to the tower.

Wolſey having, at length, obtained a cardinal's cap, was tranſported with joy when he received the news, by an expreſs, ſent by the king of France; but tho' he was highly obliged to that monarch, this favour begat in his breaſt much leſs gratitude, than the injury he imagined to have received, in the affair of Tournay, had cauſed reſentment; he reſolved, therefore, in order to be revenged, to endeavour to ſet the king, his maſter, at variance with Francis, and cauſe him to enter into a new league againſt France. In this he gratified three of his predominant paſſions; his pride, in letting Europe ſee, that ſovereigns themſelves offended him not with impunity; his revenge, in creating Francis great troubles; and his own intereſt, in ſecuring the adminiſtration of the biſhoprick of Tournay. Indeed, a rupture between the two kings was an effectual means to hinder Guillard's reſtoration to his ſee. This is obſerved by hiſtorians, as the principal cauſe of the alteration we are going to behold in Henry's conduct. Jealouſy and policy may have had ſome influence too, but leſs as true cauſes, than as motives uſed by Wolſey, to inflame the king's mind. Probably, under colour, that his honour was concerned, he repreſented to him the neceſſity of humbling the pride of the French king, and inſinuated, how dangerous it was for England, that France ſhould grow too powerful. When he had prepared Henry, he

Wolſey is made a cardinal. Hall. Herbert.

1515. he privately ſent word to the emperor, that it would not be impoſſible to diſengage the king, his maſter, from the intereſts of France. It may eaſily be gueſſed, Maximilian received this overture with joy; beſides, that, being without aid and allies, he ſaw himſelf little able to preſerve his conqueſts in Italy, he knew, which way ſoever he was treated with, he ſhould always be furniſhed with money. Whilſt Wolſey was projecting to negotiate with the emperor, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, who had heavily paſſed ſome months at London, was looked upon at court with a much more favourable eye; nay, a treaty was began with him, about renewing the alliance between England and Spain, which being ended the 19th of October, contained, however, only a confirmation of the antient treaties of amity.

An ambaſſy of Francis Sforza to Henry. Pol. Virg.

In the interim, the emperor, willing to improve the preſent opportunity, ſent to the king a Milaneſe ambaſſador, to deſire aid, in the name of Franciſco Sforza, who was in Germany, and had aſſumed the title of duke of Milan, ever ſince Maximilian, his brother, had reſigned his right to the king of France. Tho' Wolſey had taken care to diſpoſe Henry to a rupture with France, he was not, it ſeems, fully reſolved; for, Franciſco Sforza's requeſt, or rather the emperor's, ſeemed to him ſo important, that he deſired to have the opinions of the biſhop of Wincheſter, and the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, who, to that intent, were ſent for to court. The council being met to debate on this affair, cardinal Wolſey ſpeaking firſt, made a long ſpeech, full of reſentment againſt France, labouring to demonſtrate, how much it was for the intereſt of England, to oppoſe her growing power. The biſhop of Durham, and all the new counſellors, ſtrenuouſly ſupported the cardinal's opinion; but the old ones endeavoured to diſſuade the king from breaking the peace, lately concluded with France, ſince the new king had given him no cauſe, and adviſed him, rather to turn his arms againſt Scotland. Henry, who was already prepoſſeſſed, took a middle way, inſinuated, doubtleſs, by his miniſter; and that was, privately to aſſiſt the emperor and Franciſco Sforza. Whereupon, he ſent orders to Pace, his ambaſſador to Maximilian, to treat with them, and, to promote the treaty, returned him large ſums of money. Thus, was he gradually engaged, without foreſeeing, that theſe ſteps muſt neceſſarily end in an open war, as Wolſey deſired.

The duke of Milan's promiſe to Wolſey. Act. Pub.

There is, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, a paper, ſhewing, that the cardinal did not forget himſelf in his negotiations. It is a promiſe from the duke of Milan's ſecretary, who, by vertue of an expreſs power from the duke, his maſter, engaged to pay the cardinal an annual penſion of 10,000 ducats, to commence from the day of his maſter's reſtoration. It is true, this paper being neither dated nor ſigned, may be conſidered only as a draught of the contract; but it is, however, a proof of the cardinal's ſelfiſh temper. The emperor no ſooner heard, that Henry was inclined to aſſiſt him, againſt France, than he diſpatched to England, Matthew Skinner, cardinal of Sion, to negotiate a league with him. This is the ſame prelate, who, a little before, had encouraged the Switzers to give battle to Francis I. 1515.

A parliament meets. Herbert.

The parliament met again the 12th of November; but as it was not yet time, to lay before the houſes the king's reſolution, with regard to France, there was no mention of war, or any foreign affair. The clergy, in a ſynod, held, at the ſame time, returned an anſwer to the pope, concerning his demand of an extraordinary ſubſidy, on pretence of an apparent war with the Turks, alledging, that they were ſo exhauſted by the late war with France, undertaken at the inſtance of Julius II, for the defence of the church, that they were not in condition to grant a new ſubſidy; that, beſides, by a decree of the council of Conſtance, the pope could lay no impoſition on the clergy, without the conſent of a general council.

Cardinal Wolſey's pride. Herbert. Hall.

Whilſt the Engliſh were, thus, endeavouring to ſkreen themſelves from the oppreſſions of the court of Rome, they beheld one riſing in their own body, like a new pope, whom they foreſaw, it would be more difficult to reſiſt, than him at Rome, becauſe he was ſupported by the king; I mean Wolſey. Since that prelate was promoted to the cardinalate, he was grown more vain, proud, and imperious than ever; for he never ſtirred without a prince's retinue, always attended by a crowd of domeſticks, cauſing the cardinal's hat to be carried before him, like a ſort of trophy, and having it placed on the altar, when he went to the king's chapel *. He was the firſt clergyman, in England, that wore ſilk in his veſtments, and uſed gold in his ſaddles; and, in ſhort, he deviſed all ſorts of ways to diſtinguiſh himſelf. Every one took ſuch offence at his pride, that it was inceſſantly talked of with indignation; but no man durſt open his mouth before the king, ſince the old biſhop of Wincheſter, for only glancing upon it, was ſo ill received, that ſoon after, he withdrew to his dioceſe. The archbiſhop of Canterbury was no leſs offended than the reſt, to ſee the archbiſhop of York affect, thus, ſo great a diſtinction; but what gave him moſt offence, was, to ſee the croſs of York carried before the cardinal, tho' he was in the province of Canterbury. I have ſpoken elſewhere of this conteſt, between the two archbiſhops, which, after having cauſed violent quarrels, could be decided only by the king's expreſs commands to the archbiſhops of York, not to have the croſs carried before them, in the other province; but Wolſey, who thought himſelf much above his predeceſſors, prepared to revive the conteſt, in contempt of theſe prohibitions. Warham, who was of a peaceable temper, eaſily perceived, that tho' he ſhould attempt to hinder it, he ſhould not ſucceed, becauſe Wolſey had an abſolute ſway over the king; ſo, not to have this object continually before his eyes, he deſired the king's leave to reſign the chancellorſhip, and retire to his palace.

* Cavendiſh affirms, that he kept 800 ſervants, among whom were 9 or 10 lords, 15 knights, and 40 ſquires.

1515. His requeſt, was, immediately, granted; and the ſame day the king gave the ſeals to cardinal Wolſey. In all appearance, he had created Warham ſo many mortifications, only to oblige him to quit his office, with which he deſired to be inveſted himſelf. To ſupport the ſplendour of his dignity with more ſtate, than any other before him, the king loaded him, every day, with freſh favours, prebends, wardſhips, and the like, which continually increaſed his revenues; for, beſides the archbiſhoprick of York and the chancellorſhip, he had, in farm, on eaſy terms, the biſhopricks of Bath and Wells, and Hereford, held by Italians reſiding at Rome; but this was not ſufficient to ſatisfy him. I muſt now, before I cloſe the year 1515, briefly mention the affairs of Scotland; the knowledge whereof, is requiſite for the better underſtanding the events related hereafter.

He is made lord chancellor. Act. Pub.

The affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

Alexander, duke of Albany, who had been declared regent, in 1513, arrived not in Scotland, till May, 1515. He found the kingdom full of factions and diviſions, which made him ſenſible, the adminiſtration, committed to him, would prove very troubleſome; but what gave him moſt uneaſineſs, was, that the king of England was but too much concerned in what paſſed in Scotland, and fomented theſe diſſenſions to the utmoſt of his power. Under pretence, that Scotland had been ſome time without a regent, Henry VIII, as uncle of the young king, had taken the title of protector of Scotland, and by vertue thereof, his ambaſſadors, at Rome, demanded of the pope, the eccleſiaſtical preferments of that kingdom, which he beſtowed on his creatures; but as ſoon as the duke of Albany was arrived, he wrote to the pope, in the young king's name, ſharply complaining of the king of England's incroachments, and the court of Rome's condeſcenſion; and he even threatened the pope, in his letter, not to apply to him, for the future, on any account whatſoever, if this grievance were not ſpeedily redreſſed.

The duke of Albany, tho' of Scotch extraction, was a ſtranger to Scotland, from whence the duke, his father, had retired, in 1483; and, as he deſired, in the beginning of his regency, to be informed of the ſtate of the kingdom, he unhappily applied to Hepburne, biſhop of Murray, a hot and revengeful man, who took this occaſion to be revenged on his enemies. The biſhop, being prior of St. Andrew's, had been elected archbiſhop of that church, in the beginning of the preſent reign, but he was forced to reſign the archbiſhoprick to Forman, biſhop of Murray, who was armed with the pope's bull. However, Forman would never have ventured to make uſe of this bull, had he not been ſupported by Alexander Hume, a potent lord, before-mentioned; for by his credit and authority, Forman was inſtalled in St. Andrews, having reſigned the biſhoprick of Murray to Hepburne, and promiſed to pay him a certain penſion. Hepburne finding he had a fair opportunity to be revenged, gave the regent ſuch a character of Hume, that when he came to court, he was looked upon, with a very ill eye. Hume being naturally very proud and high-ſpirited, reſolving to let the regent ſee, no man ſhould ſlight him with impunity, went over to the queen dowager, and perſuading her, that the young king, her ſon, was in danger, adviſed her to carry him into England; but the regent hearing of this plot, ſuddenly went to Sterling-caſtle, and ſecured the young king's perſon; and to hinder his enemies from putting an ill conſtruction on this action, he renewed his oath of allegiance to the king, and committed the care of his education, to three perſons of great credit. 1515.

Alexander Hume and his brother William, ſeeing their plot was diſcovered, fled, immediately, into England, and were quickly followed by the queen and her ſpouſe, the earl of Angus. Whereupon, the regent ſent ambaſſadors to Henry, to juſtify his conduct, and at the ſame time, ſo artfully treated with the fugitives, that he prevailed with them to return into Scotland; but the queen, being big with child, was forced to ſtay at Harbottle-caſtle, in Northumberland, where ſhe was delivered of a daughter, called Margaret. The ſequel of this affair ſhall be related in another place. Act. Pub.

1516. The death of king Ferdinand, in February, 1516, broke the meaſures taken by cardinal Wolſey, to engage all Europe, in a war with France. Thus, notwithſtanding the cardinal's projects, Henry was forced to remain in peace, becauſe the intereſts of the reſt of the princes were not agreeable, to his, or, rather to the paſſions of his miniſter; but, tho' Europe was peaceable for ſome time, it will be, however, requiſite to relate in each year of this peace, the ſituation of the affairs of the principal ſtates, in order to ſhew the occaſion of the following wars.

Ferdinand king of Aragon's death. Herbert.

Nothing remarkable paſſed, in England, in the beginning of the year 1516, except the birth of a princeſs, whom the queen brought into the world, the 18th of February, and called Mary. Cardinal Wolſey, commonly called the cardinal of York, ever mindful of what could procure him any advantage, cauſed thoſe who had managed the king's money, to be called to a ſtrict account. However, the moſt part were ſpared; but thoſe were ſeverely puniſhed, who had not the addreſs to make the miniſter their friend.

The birth of Mary Henry's daughter. Hall.

After Ferdinand's deceaſe, the kingdom of Arragon came of courſe to Johanna, his eldeſt daughter, already queen of Caſtile. But that princeſs was incapable of governing her dominions, by reaſon of her defect of underſtanding, which had obliged the king, her father, to keep her confined; ſo the adminiſtration of theſe two kingdoms, with all their dependencies, could not be diſputed with Charles of Auſtria, Johanna's eldeſt ſon, and ſovereign of the Low-Countries. But, as that prince lived in Flanders, Ferdinand had left, by his will, the regency of Arragon to Alphonſo, his natural ſon, biſhop of Saragoſſa, and that of Caſtile to cardinal Ximenes, till Charles ſhould come himſelf and aſſume the government.

Charles of Auſtria ſucceeds Ferdinand. Mezerai.

In

1516. In the interim, when Ximenes would have taken poſſeſſion of the regency of Caſtile, Adrian Florentio, doctor in divinity, who managed the prince of Auſtria's affairs in Spain, produced letters patent from his maſter, conſtituting him regent of that kingdom; but Ximenes refuſed to acknowledge him as ſuch, pretending, that Charles had not power to appoint a regent, before he was received for governor. However, the conteſt was adjuſted, by this expedient, that the orders ſhould be ſigned by both; but the cardinal left the doctor, the bare name of regent only, and diſcharged all the functions himſelf. In the interim, Charles took the title of king of Caſtile, with the conſent of the ſtates of that realm; but the Arragonians, more jealous of their privileges than the Caſtilians, refuſed to give him the title of king of Arragon, whilſt his mother Johanna was alive; nay, there was a party in the kingdom, who maintained, that Johanna herſelf, could not pretend to the crown of Arragon, becauſe the daughters were excluded by the laws of the realm, and, therefore, Charles could not derive from his mother, a right ſhe never had; but others affirmed, that the excluſion of the females extended not to their male heirs. This was much the ſame caſe, as happened formerly, in France, in the diſpute between Edward III, and Philip of Valois. I ſhall enter no farther into the affairs of Spain; for what I have ſaid, is ſufficient to ſhew, the neceſſity Charles was under, of going thither, and how dangerous it would have been for him, to engage in a war againſt France, in the beginning of ſo unſettled a reign; and, accordingly, he neglected nothing to renew the treaties of peace and alliance, as well with France as England, but with liberty to take other meaſures, when his affairs ſhould be in another ſituation. Juſt before Ferdinand's deceaſe, he had, as ſovereign of the Low-Countries, renewed the alliance with England, by a new treaty, concluded, at Bruſſels, the 24th of February, this year. About a month after, Henry, who was contriving to form a league againſt France, ordered his ambaſſador to treat with Charles, on that head; but Ferdinand's death ſo changed the face of affairs, that Henry was forced to be ſatisfied with a bare defenſive league, which I ſhall preſently mention, having firſt related the ſucceſs of an expedition made, by the emperor, into Italy.

The emperor's expedition againſt Milan. Guicciard.

It was not without reaſon, that Maximilian had readily embraced the opportunity offered him, by cardinal Wolſey, of making war on France. There was no more likelihood of his being able to keep his conqueſts in the ſtate of Venice, ſince Francis I. was become maſter of the Milaneſe, and had joined forces with the Venetians; beſides, he could expect no farther aſſiſtance from the pope, who had lately agreed with Francis; and, as for the Spaniſh army, which was retired to Naples, it was not eaſy to cauſe them to return, ſince they were neceſſarily to march through the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. On the other hand, Ferdinand's death had changed the poſture of affairs, and quite deſtroyed the emperor's hopes; for the new king of Caſtile was ſo far from having any thoughts of a war with France, that it highly concerned him to keep peace with that kingdom, in order to have time to ſettle his affairs in Spain. Thus, the emperor, contrary to his uſual method, was forced to act alone, during this year, in the expectation of ſo embroiling affairs, that other potentates ſhould, at length, be conſtrained to join with him. He had already received ſome of the king of England's money, and, cardinal Wolſey put him in hopes of ſtill larger ſums; and, with this aid, he aſſembled an army of about 20,000 men, Germans and Switzers, and, in March, entered the ſtate of Venice, whilſt the Venetians, aſſiſted by a body of French troops under the conduct of Lautrec, were beſieging Breſcia. Upon his approach, the French and Venetians raiſed the ſiege, and after making a ſhew of oppoſing his paſſages of the rivers, retired to Milan to avoid a battle. Thus, the emperor approached Milan, without much difficulty. 1516.

The French were in ſo great a conſternation, that they were like to abandon both the city and duchy, and retire into France. If Maximilian had made all the haſte he could, he would have, doubtleſs, conſtrained them to execute that reſolution; but having ſpent two or three days to no purpoſe, by the time he came before Milan, the French had received news, that 10,000 Switzers of the cantons, in alliance with France, were coming to their aſſiſtance, and were within a day's march.

The arrival of the 10,000 Switzers, at Milan, threw both ſides into an equal conſternation. The French, who conſidered theſe troops, as a ſure aid, were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, when they heard, that they abſolutely refuſed to fight againſt the Switzers, in the emperor's army. Theſe laſt, on their part, demanded their pay with ſuch boldneſs, that Maximilian was afraid, it was a pretence not to join battle with their countrymen, newly arrived, at Milan. He had no money for them, and was apprehenſive, that the French had only too much to corrupt them; ſo, when it was leaſt expected, he ſuddenly retired, after which, having no money to pay them, the army disbanded of themſelves.

The emperor makes as if he would reſign the empire to Henry. Herbert.

Thus, having miſſed his aim, the emperor was forced, upon new trials, to engage the pope, the king of England, the young king of Caſtile, his grandſon, in a league againſt France. But this project was not eaſy to be executed; for the pope had his private views, which ſuffered him not to break openly with Francis; and, Charles's council were better adviſed than to agree, that their maſter ſhould engage to gratify his grandfather's paſſion, at a time when he was neceſſarily obliged to go into Spain, and take poſſeſſion of his kingdoms. Thus, the emperor's whole refuge lay in the aſſiſtance he could expect from England; but, as there was no likelihood, that Henry would undertake a war, of which he was to bear

1516. bear all the expence, Maximilian bethought himſelf of a device to preſerve his good diſpoſition towards him, or, at leaſt, to draw money from him; and that was, to declare to Robert Wingfield, the Engliſh ambaſſador, at his court, that he was tired with the burden of the empire, and having a particular eſteem for the king, his maſter, intended to reſign it to him. For that purpoſe, he charged him to write to the king, that, if he would come to Triers, he would call a diet and ſettle that grand affair, after which, he offered to wait upon him to Rome, to ſee him receive the imperial crown; moreover, he put him in hopes, that he would reſign to him his right to the duchy of Milan, and aſſiſt him to conquer it. Henry eaſily perceived Maximilian's view, in making ſuch an offer, and, therefore, wrote to his ambaſſador, to thank the emperor for his good intention, deſiring him to defer the execution of this project, to a more convenient ſeaſon, when the French ſhould be expelled out of Italy. In the interim, in return for his good-will, he ſent him ſome money, excuſing the former defect of payment, with laying the blame on a Genoa banker.

Francis I. forms the project of invading Naples, but does not do it. Guicciard.

Whilſt the emperor was endeavouring to embroil the French affairs, Francis was forming new projects. He had good reaſon to be pleaſed with his glorious campaign, which, in a ſhort time, had regained him the duchy of Milan. In the interim, Ferdinand's death inſpiring him with freſh hopes, he formed the deſign of ſeizing the kingdom of Naples, imagining, that the new king of Spain would be unable to defend it, before he was thoroughly ſettled in his kingdoms; beſides, he believed he had ſo attached the pope to his intereſts, by the treaty of Bologna, that he did not doubt to find in him, all the aſſiſtance neceſſary to his undertaking, looking upon him, as his beſt friend. But he did not know Leo X; for that pontiff, did by no means deſire, that the French ſhould become more powerful in Italy, and, if he teſtified to the king, that he was in his intereſts, it was only to prevent his oppoſing the projects he had himſelf formed, in favour of his own houſe. The emperor's invaſion of the Milaneſe, this year, interrupted the execution of Francis's deſign upon Naples, and what, afterwards, happened, cauſed him to lay aſide all thoughts of it; but, however, his deſire to conquer that kingdom, occaſioned a defenſive league againſt him, towards the end of the year, as will be related, after a word or two more of the Italian affairs.

The pope diſpoſſeſſes the duke of Urbino. Cimarelli.

Leo X. was no ſooner reconciled with Francis I, than he deprived, upon a frivolous pretence, the duke of Urbino of his duchy, and inveſted Lorenzo de Medici, who aſſumed from thenceforward, the title of duke of Urbino, and the old diſpoſſeſſed duke retired to Mantua.

He endeavours to drive the French out of Italy.

It was in order to accompliſh this project, that the pope had flattered Francis with the hopes of aſſiſting him, in the conqueſt of Naples; but after he was become maſter of Urbino, by that monarch's connivance, inſtead of thanking him for it, he thought only how to drive the French out of the duchy of Milan. 1516. To that end, he held ſecret intelligence with the emperor, the king of England, and the new king of Spain, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours, by the help of his emiſſaries, to perſuade the Switzers to break their alliance with France. Tho' he acted with all poſſible precaution, he could not treat ſo privately, but that his ſecret practices came to the king's knowledge, who, however, pretended to be ignorant of them. On the contrary, he did all that lay in his power to gain the pope, in reality, to his intereſt, otherwiſe he was ſenſible his attempt upon Naples, would never ſucceed. Leo X. deſired nothing better, than to amuſe him, whilſt he was ſecretly acting againſt him; but, at length, Francis perceiving more and more his inſincerity, loſt all thoughts of the conqueſt of Naples, and reſolved to treat with the king of Spain, who, in the preſent ſituation of his affairs, could not but wiſh to live in a good underſtanding with him. Thus, the two kings being equally inclined to a peace, ſent their plenipotentiaries to Noyon, to conclude it. The treaty was ſigned, the 26th of Auguſt, the ſubſtance whereof was, that Charles ſhould eſpouſe Louiſa, Francis's daughter, then about a year old; that he ſhould have with her, the king of France's pretentions to the kingdom of Naples, and, till the marriage ſhould be conſummated, he ſhould give for the young princeſs's maintenance, 100,000 crowns a year; that, within ſix months, he ſhould reſign the kingdom of Navarre to Henry d'Albret, ſon to John d'Albret, and Catharine, king and queen of Navarre, who were diſpoſſeſſed by Ferdinand; and in caſe Charles ſhould not perform this article, Francis ſhould be allowed to aſſiſt the king of Navarre; and laſtly, that the emperor ſhould reſtore Verona to the Venetians, who, in return, ſhould pay him 200,000 crowns, and give him a full diſcharge for the ſum of 300,000 crowns lent him by Lewis XII, to maintain the war againſt Venice. It is very viſible, that in a treaty ſo advantageous to Francis, Charles meant only to gain time, by granting him whatever he could deſire, for fear of being hindered from going to take poſſeſſion of his kingdoms. Accordingly, this treaty was, afterwards, very ill obſerved.

1516.

The treaty of Noyon, between Francis and Charles. Guicciard.

The peace of Noyon was directly contrary to the deſigns of the pope, emperor, and king of England. The pope was extremely deſirous, that the French ſhould be expelled out of Italy. Maximilian was wholly intent upon raiſing enemies to Francis, to hinder his aſſiſting the Venetians; for he ſaw, that he muſt reſolve either to ratify the treaty of Noyon, and, conſequently, reſtore Verona, or defend his conqueſt without the aſſiſtance of any ally. To avoid both theſe extremes, he tried all poſſible ways to embroil affairs, and kindle a new war which might occaſion a league againſt France, hoping thereby to be able to reject, without danger, the treaty of Noyon, which he believed very prejudicial to his intereſts. It is true, the reſtitution of Verona would be worth to him 500,000 crowns; but out of that ſum

The intereſts of the princes.

1516. sum were deducted, the 300,000 he owed the king of France, but never intended to pay him; so, for the sum of 200,000 crowns, he was bound to restore Verona, that is to say, he was to be shut out of Italy, the only thing that made him considerable in the present situation of the affairs of Europe. Henry VIII, was no less desirous of a war with France, being prompted thereto, by cardinal Wolsey, or by his jealousy of Francis; but it was not the same with the archduke, to whom a peace, for some time, was very advantageous.

Negotiations against France. Act. Pub.

This was the subject of the several negotiations, set on foot, from the conclusion of the treaty of Noyon, to the end of October. The chief view of the pope, emperor, and Henry, was, to disengage the eight Swiss cantons, in alliance with France, from the interest of that crown, that their troops might serve to invade the Milanese. In the interim, they were labouring to form a league, wherein they passionately desired to engage the new king of Spain; but all they could obtain, was, his consent to a defensive league, in case Francis attacked any of the confederates. Leo X, according to his usual custom, would not openly declare himself, but intimated, he would freely join in the league when concluded, if a place was left for him. As to the Switzers, it was resolved to include them, tho' they desired it not, upon the hopes of engaging them, by means of some of their nation, who had been gained.

Articles of the league of London. Act. Pub.

This league was, therefore, concluded, at London, the 29th of October, about two months after the treaty of Noyon. It ran, that the emperor, the kings of England and Spain, engaged to defend one another against any prince that should attack one of the three, and the number of troops, each was to find, was settled; that all princes, potentates, republicks, and states, which desired to enter into the league, should be admitted; that, as the confederates had reason to hope, the pope would be willing to be admitted, they declared him head of the league; and lastly, that all the Swiss cantons should be deemed included in the league, provided they ratified it; and, to that end, the pensions, which should be agreed upon with them, should be assigned them. By a private article, signed two days after, it was agreed what each of the allies was to pay towards the pensions, which should be distributed to the Switzers "as well to the "publick as to private persons," (which are the very words) to induce them to come into the league. This shews there were no certainty of gaining them, and that the chief reliance was, upon the cabals of some private persons of their nation.

The emperor makes peace with Venice.

To this league, so inconsiderable in itself, tended all the motions of the pope, Maximilian, and Henry, during the course of this year. The emperor had been in hopes of something more; and, tho' by the treaty the allies were, in some measure, bound to assist him, if the king of France continued to aid the Venetians, he soon dis-relished a league which procured him no money; for, before the year was expired, he accepted and ratified the treaty of Noyon; and, at the same time, he concluded with the Venetians, a truce for some months, and with one consent, they put the rest of their differences to arbitration. The emperor's resolution entirely changed the face of affairs, as will be seen the next year. We find in the Collection of the Publick Acts, that presently after the league was signed, Henry sent Richard Pace to the Switzers, to persuade them to come into the league; but it was to no purpose. On the contrary, the emperor resolving to make peace with the Venetians, agreed, that the five cantons, who had refused to join with France, should come into the treaty, made by the other eight with that crown. 1516.

The affairs of Scotland.

Before I end the transactions of the year 1516, it will be requisite, briefly, to mention what passed in Scotland. Henry having formed great projects against France, and knowing how much the duke of Albany had at heart, the good of that kingdom, resolved to compel the Scots to remove him from the regency. To that purpose, he desired them to send ambassadors, to whom he might impart certain matters advantageous to both kingdoms. This negotiation tended only to press the great men of Scotland, to expel the duke of Albany. He even wrote to the parliament of Scotland, that the best way to preserve peace between the two nations, was to send back the regent into France, under colour, that it was dangerous to trust the presumptive heir to the crown, with the guardianship of the young king; intimating, also, that in case of refusal, he should be obliged to take care himself, by proper methods, of the safety of the king, his nephew; and, he, likewise, gave to understand, that he claimed the regency, as uncle to the young king. But the parliament returned such an answer, as fully convinced him, that the Scots were by no means inclined to comply with his will.

Hume's rebellion. Buchanan.

Whether Hume was concerned in Henry's proceedings, or was only suspected, the parliament summoned him to come, and answer to the accusations brought against him; but Hume not thinking fit to appear, was condemned for default. He looked upon this sentence as unjust, and in revenge committed hostilities upon some of his enemies; whereupon, the parliament granted to the vice-roy, a levy of 10,000 men, to chastise the rebel; but his friends advising him to submit, he cast himself upon the regent's mercy, who sent him to Edinburgh, and committed him to the custody of James Hamilton, his brother-in-law. Soon after, Hume persuaded the lord Hamilton to escape with him, and claim the regency, as son to James III's sister, and, consequently, as nearly related to the king, as the duke of Albany. He said, if the duke could alledge, that he was descended from the male line, it might be objected, he was son of a fugitive, and born out of the kingdom, and hardly able to speak the country language. The regent hearing of their flight and contrivance, marched against Hamilton castle, and took it in a few

1516. days; and, then Hume, perceiving it was time to throw off the mask, raiſed troops, and taking Dunbar, utterly deſtroyed the town.

A truce between England and Scotland.

In the interim, the ambaſſadors ſent by the regent into England, in May, had concluded a truce, the firſt of June; but, as Henry had granted the truce only to facilitate the execution of his deſigns, he appeared little inclined to obſerve it, after receiving the fore-mentioned anſwer. But to avoid a war, which muſt have been fatal to Scotland, the regent ſent him, by Francis de la Fayette, certain articles, deſiring his approbation, for which he offered to come, in perſon, and pay him his reſpects. At that time the affairs of the reſt of Europe having, as hath been ſaid, taken a new turn, Henry agreed to prolong the truce, to the end of the year 1517.

The council of Lateran ſets about reforming the calendar.

Theſe are the moſt conſiderable events, which paſſed in the ſeveral ſtates of Europe, during the year 1516. I ſhall only add a word, concerning the council of Lateran, which ſtill continued its ſeſſions, without having much to do. As the council meddled neither with the reformation of the church, tho' they ſeemed to be called for that very purpoſe, nor with the extirpation of hereſy, they reſolved, in order to keep themſelves employed, to reform the calendar, which was become very faulty. To that end, the pope cauſing memorandums to be drawn, undertook to write to all the Chriſtian princes, inviting them to ſend their beſt aſtronomers toRome, or, at leaſt,order them to examine what had been propoſed upon that ſubject. We find, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, the brief addreſſed to Henry, where the pope ſays, he had adjourned the next ſeſſion to December, to give the mathematicians time to ſend in their opinions.

1517. Maximilian reſtores Verona to the Venetians.

The emperor having ratified the treaty of Noyon, as far as it concerned him, reſtored Verona to the Venetians, the 15th of January, 1517, having received 200,000 crowns, and an acquittance for what he owed the king of France; moreover, to give the arbitrators time to adjuſt the differences, he ſtill had with Venice, he agreed, that the truce ſhould be prolonged for five years; but, on condition, that, during the truce, the Venetians ſhould pay him, yearly, 20,000 crowns. It was almoſt impoſſible to make a treaty with him, and money not accrue to him from it. Thus, ended, at length, a war, which may be deemed a conſequence of the league of Cambray. The Venetians were engaged in it, from the beginning to the end, and expended no leſs than 5,000,000 of ducats of the publick treaſure, beſides the infinite damages ſuſtained by the ſubjects.

He concludes with Francis and Charles, a league againſt the Turks. Herbert.

Maximilian, having, thus, deſiſted from his deſigns upon Italy, went into the Low-Countries, to ſee his grandſon Charles, before he departed for Spain; and, during his ſtay there he concluded with him and the king of France, a league againſt the Turks, wherein a place was reſerved for the king of England. The pope and the council of Lateran earneſtly preſſed all the princes of Chriſtendom, to join in this league, on the pretence of the progreſs the Turks were making, in Egypt, againſt the Mamalucks *; after which, he pretended, their deſign was to attack the Chriſtians; but what followed ſhewed, the pope's ſole view was to heap up money for his own uſe, and to inrich his family. 1517.

In the interim,Charles, the new king of Spain, thought only of going to take poſſeſſion of his kingdoms; for he had juſt made a peace, with Francis, ſo advantageous to France, that he did not fear, that prince would break it, becauſe it would not be for his intereſt. So, when the Engliſh ambaſſador preſſed him to ratify the London league, he deferred it ſome time, on divers pretences, becauſe, deeming it needleſs, he was afraid of offending the king of France. However, he ratified it, after ſome alterations, and, at length, in Auguſt, departed for Spain, where his preſence was abſolutely neceſſary. Upon his arrival, he diſmiſſed cardinal Ximenes, who died with grief; and, after that, he ſo gave himſelf up to the Flemings, whom he brought with him, that the Spaniards conceived ſuch a jealouſy, as carried them, afterwards, to great extremities.

Charles arrives in Spain, and diſmiſſes Ximenes.

The pope and Francis diſſemble their thoughts of one another.

The pope, as I have obſerved, continually amuſed Francis, with the hopes of a ſtrict alliance with him, at the time he was raiſing him enemies on all ſides. Francis was partly informed of his proceedings, but did not know all; ſo, that in expectation of really attaching him, in the end, to his intereſts, he omitted nothing he thought capable of gaining him, even feigning to deem him his beſt friend, when he moſt ſuſpected him. But as the pope knew, in his conſcience, he had not deſerved Francis's friendſhip, he could not believe his advances ſincere. In the mean while, it was for his intereſt, that Francis ſhould publickly appear to be his friend, and, therefore, he kept very fair with him, and not without cauſe. In the beginning of the year 1517, Franciſco Maria della Rovere, who had been diſpoſſeſſed of the duchy of Urbino, prepared to recover his dominions. When, by the truce, concluded, between the emperor and the Venetians, the Spaniſh troops, in the ſtate of Venice, were become uſeleſs, la Rovere found means to gain and employ them, in his ſervice; and, with theſe ſupplies, he took Urbino, and carried terror into Tuſcany and the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. Lorenzo de Medici, the new duke of Urbino, or rather the pope, his uncle, being then unable to recover that duchy, he was forced to have recourſe to the aſſiſtance of the Chriſtian princes, under colour that the church was grievouſly oppreſſed, the intereſt of the Medici being then the ſame with thoſe of the church. Francis I, who had the gaining of the pope ever in view, made uſe of this opportunity to do him a ſignal ſervice, in ſending him a good body of troops, under the command of Leſcun, brother of Lautrec.

* The word Mamaluck ſignifies, in Syriac, a hired ſoldier. Jovius ſays, they were Circaſſian ſlaves, ſold by the Tartars and Podolians to the merchants, and being trained up, at Cairo, in military exerciſes, were picked out for the Soldan's guard, and preferred to the higheſt poſts, who, in 1255, obtained for themſelves the kingdom of Egypt.

This

1517. This war, however, laſted ſeven or eight months, during which, the pope never ceaſed to preſs all the Chriſtian princes to contribute to the charges of a war, which, according to him, ought to have affected all the world. Henry VIII, being ſollicited like the reſt, refuſed to interpoſe; but the pope found means to engage his ſubjects, by levying a tenth upon the clergy, of which cardinal Wolſey was appointed collector. The war of Urbino ended in a way la Rovere did not expect; for the pope bribed the Spaniards, in his ſervice, who came to an agreement for him, which he was obliged to accept. Thus, being once more conſtrained to relinquiſh his dominions, he retired to Mantua.

A conſpiracy againſt the pope. Guicciard.

Whilſt the pope was employed, in the war of Urbino, he diſcovered a plot againſt his perſon, contrived by the cardinal of Sienna, who had bribed a ſurgeon to poiſon him. The cardinal, being abſent from Rome, when the diſcovery was made, the pope, who paſſionately deſired to have him in his power, ſcrupled not to uſe fraud to compaſs his ends; for, he ſent him a ſafe-conduct, and, moreover, promiſed the Spaniſh ambaſſador, that he would do him no hurt. The cardinal, being ſo weak as to come to Rome, on the faith of the ſafe-conduct, was, immediately, confined, in the caſtle of St. Angelo, and, afterwards, ſtrangled, in priſon. The Spaniſh ambaſſador complained of this breach of faith; but was told, by the pope, a ſafe-conduct was never reckoned to extend to high-treaſon, without expreſs mention of the caſe. Some other cardinals accuſed, or ſuſpected of being concerned in the plot, were depoſed, impriſoned, or ſeverely fined.

The marriage of Lorenzo de Medici with the heireſs of Boulogne. Guicciard.

Francis I. never ceaſed courting the pope, to gain his friendſhip, fearing, that by his ſecret practices, he would re-kindle the war, to deprive him of Milan. He imagined to have found, at laſt, an infallible means to attach him to his intereſts, in procuring Lorenzo de Medici a very advantageous marriage, with Magdalen, heireſs of the houſe of Boulogne. This propoſal was gladly accepted, and Lorenzo repairing to Paris, for that purpoſe, ſtood godfather, in the pope's name, to the French dauphin, born the beginning of this year; and, in acknowledgment for the king's favour to Lorenzo, the pope granted him tenths upon the clergy, under pretence of the war to be waged with the Turks; but he took care to aſſign 50,000 livres, for the charges of the wedding, which was to be ſolemniſed, at Paris.

The ſale of the indulgences on pretence of the war with the Turks. Guicciard.

The pretended war Chriſtendom was to undertake againſt the Turks, ſeemed to the pope, to be a fair opportunity to inrich himſelf, by the contributions of the Chriſtians. To that end, he granted plenary indulgences to all that would contribute, and cauſed them to be publickly ſold, at ſo moderate a price, that a man muſt have been very careleſs of his ſalvation not to purchaſe them; but it was this, that made the pope expect to reap an immenſe profit, for, probably, there would not be a Chriſtian without them. In the interim, that the money ariſing from the ſale might be regularly collected, all Chriſtendom was parted into ſo many diviſions, and in each were appointed collectors to receive the money, and preachers to extol the benefit of indulgences*; but, by an accident which, at firſt, ſeemed of no conſequence, the archbiſhop of Mentz, who was commiſſioned to appoint the preachers, in Germany, happened to aſſign Saxony to the Jacobins, whereas in the former Cruſades, the Auguſtines had been employed in that office. The injury done to theſe laſt, rouzed their jealouſy. They narrowly examined the behaviour of the preachers as well as collectors, ridiculed them, and, afterwards, publickly complained of them. At length, Martin Luther, an Auguſtine fryar and profeſſor of divinity, in the new univerſity of Wirtemberg, publiſhed ſome writings againſt them, not without ſatyrical remarks upon the indulgences themſelves. This boldneſs drew upon him enemies, who, by their oppoſition, obliged him, by degrees, to enquire more carefully, into the grounds of thoſe indulgences. In ſhort, he was convinced, they had no foundation in the holy ſcriptures. From thenceforward, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to undeceive the publick, concerning the hitherto received opinion of the papal power. Hence ſprung the reformation, which ſpread it ſelf, afterwards, through Germany, and ſeveral other ſtates of Europe.

1517.

Martin Luther begins to appear. Sleidan.

The pope, at firſt, did not much regard Luther's repreſentation; for he never imagined, that the papal power, which ſeemed to ſtand upon unmoveable foundations, could be prejudiced by a ſingle fryar; ſo deſpiſing this inconſiderable oppoſition, he continued, without interruption, to ſell his indulgences. He every where publiſhed, that a powerful effort was going to be made upon the Infidels, and exhorted all Chriſtians to contribute, according to their abilities, towards ſo neceſſary a war, which would procure them, beſides many temporal advantages, deliverance from the pains of purgatory, provided they would qualify themſelves for the indulgences. There was, however, one thing, which very much cooled the zeal of many Chriſtians for the Cruſade. It was diſcovered, that the pope, had, beforehand, diſpoſed, for his temporal concerns, of the money which was to ariſe from the ſale of the indulgences. For inſtance, he had aſſigned to Magdalen de Medici, his ſiſter, wife to Franciſco Cibo, natural ſon of Innocent VIII, part of the money to be raiſed in Germany. Mean while, he continued his ſollicitations in all the ſtates of Europe. He forgot not to write to Henry VIII, exhorting him to join his forces with thoſe of the other Chriſtian princes, and to excite him to this good work, by great commendations of his conſtant zeal for the defence of the holy ſee, and the exaltation of the faith. All theſe encomiums ended in demanding 200,000 ducats, for the pretended war againſt the Infidels; but it does not appear, that the king complied

The pope continues to ſollicit a Cruſade.

* Guicciardini affirms, that the powers for releaſing ſouls out of purgatory, were openly played for, in taverns.

1517. with his requeſt. The Turks were then employed in Egypt and Perſia, and the Cruſade was founded only upon a bare conjecture, that after ending theſe wars, they would invade Chriſtendom. A man muſt have wilfully ſhut his eyes, not to ſee, it was but a pretence to fill the pope's coffers. Beſides, in the preſent ſituation of the affairs of Europe, Henry had no great occaſion for the pope.

Wolſey is uneaſy about the biſhoprick of Tournay.

In the interim, cardinal Wolſey perceiving, that the league of London would come to nothing, becauſe Francis was not diſpoſed to commence a new war, with any of the confederates, dreaded his making uſe of this time of peace, to move the affair of the biſhoprick of Tournay. On the other hand, he plainly ſaw by the time paſſed, ſince that buſineſs had been put into the hands of the commiſſioners, that he was greatly regarded, as having an abſolute ſway over the king, his maſter. Indeed, nothing could be expected from the king, but through his means, and for that reaſon all the princes ſtudiouſly made their court to him, to gain him to their intereſts. We find, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, that Charles, king of Spain, aſſigned him, this year, an annual penſion of 3000 livres, tho' he had yet received no ſervices from him; and, therefore, it was for thoſe he hoped to receive, for the future. In the interim, Wolſey was uneaſy about Tournay. As the pope and the king of France, regarded him only for the ſake of what he could do for them, he was in danger of loſing the reſpect they ſhewed for him, in caſe they ſhould ever come to ſtand no longer in need of him. He began, therefore, privately, to intimate to Francis I, that it would not be impoſſible to perſuade Henry to reſtore Tournay, for a ſum, which ſhould be agreed upon, provided, he himſelf was recompenſed for the adminiſtration of the biſhoprick. I ſhall relate next year the ſucceſs of this negotiation.

A negotiation of Henry with the emperor, about the ceſſion of the empire, comes to nothing. Herbert.

Henry enjoying this year great tranquillity, reſolved to ſee what the emperor intended, with reſpect to the reſignation of the empire, which he had cauſed to be mentioned to him. Maximilian, being in Flanders with the king of Caſtile, his grandſon, Henry ſent the biſhop of Wincheſter, with doctor Cuthbert Tunſtal, to renew the negotiation with him, acquainting him, likewiſe, that, if he would appoint a convenient place, he would come and confer with him, in perſon. The emperor, who had never intended to reſign the empire to him, and ſtill leſs, at that time, very civilly replied, that to ſave the king the trouble of croſſing the ſea, he would come himſelf and confer with him, in England. But when the ambaſſadors preſſed him on the affair they were charged with, they found that he ſought only to evade his own offer. One while he ſaid, he would reſign the empire to Henry, but firſt, would try to obtain of the diet, that himſelf and poſterity might preſerve the title of king of the Romans. Another while, he talked of making Charles, his grandſon, emperor, Henry, king of the Romans, Ferdinand, brother to Charles, king of Auſtria, and himſelf only marſhal of the empire. Theſe alterations convinced the ambaſſadors, that nothing was to be expected from the negotiation; and acquainting the king, he was ſatisfied Maximilian had no other deſign, than to draw money from him. 1517.

There was, this year, an inſurrection of the London apprentices againſt foreign tradeſmen, wherein ſome perſons loſt their lives; but it was appeaſed, by the puniſhment of ſome of the ſeditious, who were hanged in the principal ſtreets of the city. Inſurrection at London. Hall.

The ſame year, the ſweating ſickneſs made great ravages in the kingdom, and eſpecially, at London. Moſt of thoſe that were ſeized with it, died within three hours, and no cure could be found. As this diſtemper was peculiar to England, it was called Sudor Anglicus, or the Engliſh Sweat, The ſweating ſickneſs. Stow.

The affairs of Scotland, were ſtill, in great diſorder, by reaſon of the factions in the kingdom. Alexander Hume, and his brother William, after ſeveral pardons, were, at laſt, beheaded. After the death of the two brothers, the duke of Albany, hoping Scotland would be in perfect tranquillity, reſolved to take a journey into France, promiſing to return in few months; but being detained there longer than he expected, by accidents mentioned hereafter, the affairs of Scotland fell into very great confuſion, becauſe of the diſſenſions of the great men, which were inflamed by thoſe, who deſigned to take advantage of them. The affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

In the interim, the pope earneſtly puſhed the affair of the pretended war, contriving, with the amdaſſadors reſiding, at his court, projects, which would have required more zeal than princes uſually have, and greater union among them. To execute his deſigns, he ſhould have amaſſed vaſt ſums of money, and that was the ſecret intent of the league, propoſed by the pope, of which he was to be head and director. To that end, he exhauſted, if I may ſo ſay, the church's treaſures, to encourage the faithful, to exchange their periſhing riches, for everlaſting advantages. This affair was carried ſo far, that he ſent legates to all the courts, to excite the ſovereigns to join their forces together, for the deſtruction of the Infidels; and there was not one, but what, outwardly, ſhewed an extreme deſire to apply himſelf to ſo holy a work, provided he could be ſecured from being diſturbed by his neighbours; but that was the thing which rendered the execution of the project very difficult, becauſe they had no confidence in one another; and they had no more for the pope himſelf, who, ſince the beginning of his pontificate, had but too plainly diſcovered, that the concerns of religion were not what affected him moſt. So, in ſeeing him act with that zeal, they could not help ſuſpecting, that the deſire of inriching himſelf by the voluntary contributions of Chriſtians, by the ſale of the indulgences, by the tenths of the clergy, and by the bounties of the ſovereigns, was what moſt fired his zeal. However, not one of them ſhewed any averſion to the deſign, leſt he ſhould be taxed, with 1518. Leo X. ſends legates to ſollicit the Cruſade. Guicciard.

1518. with not having a due regard for religion. But they gave only words, whereas the pope wanted deeds. Hence the pope's project of an univerſal league had not, as will, hereafter, be ſeen, the ſucceſs he expected. However, the project, tho' chimerical, ſerved for pretence and a cloak to many other deſigns. The emperor, deſiring to have one of his grandſons choſen king of the Romans, uſed the pretence of the imaginary war, Chriſtendom was in danger of, from the Turks, to ſhew the neceſſity of continuing the imperial dignity, in the houſe of Auſtria, there being no other in Germany, able, by its own ſtrength, to withſtand their arms. Charles, king of Spain, made uſe of the ſame pretence for the ſame purpoſe. Beſides, that, as he wanted ſome years of peace, he ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on the project of a general truce, that the Chriſtian princes might be free to unite their forces againſt the Turks. Francis I, plainly ſaw, by the defenſive league made againſt him, that a pretence was only ſought to invade him, and take away the duchy of Milan; ſo, a general truce could not but be advantageous to him in his preſent circumſtances; beſides, he had in view, the recovery of Tournay, which could be accompliſhed but during a peace. Henry VIII, knowing that the pope, the emperor, and the kings of France and Spain, had joined in a league againſt the Turks, was apprehenſive, that league covered ſome deſign againſt him; for that reaſon, he would not refuſe to enter into the ſame engagement, for fear of giving them a pretence. Thus, the chief potentates of Europe, being concerned to improve the Cruſade, or, at leaſt, not to reject it, the leſſer powers were alſo obliged to follow the torrent. This gave the pope great hopes he ſhould, at laſt, effect his deſigns; but, as in truth, not one of the princes thought the thing practicable, the project was ſtill very far from being executed.

Negotiation about Tournay.

Whilſt Leo X, fed himſelf with theſe hopes, Francis was thinking, much more ſeriouſly, of means to recover Tournay, than of the affairs of the Cruſade. On the other hand, cardinal Wolſey was afraid of loſing the adminiſtration of the biſhoprick, becauſe he ſaw no likelihood of ſowing diſcord between France and England, at a time, when all the princes of Europe, ſhewed a deſire to live in peace. He could not, therefore, keep the adminiſtration, if Guillard, the true biſhop, would take the oath to the king, to which he ſeemed inclined. This made him embrace the ſecret offers of Francis, to make him ample amends, if he could induce the king, his maſter, to reſtore that place to France. Francis was very ſenſible, that before all things, the cardinal was to be ſatisfied, not only in order to recover Tournay, but to procure it as cheap as poſſible. This was the ſubject of a private negotiation between them, before Henry was informed of it. To ſucceed, Francis ſpared neither flatteries, promiſes, or preſents. If Polydore Virgil may be credited, theſe preſents were very conſiderable. But however, it was agreed between them, that the cardinal ſhould be recompenſed for the loſs of the adminiſtration, with an annual penſion; that the king of France ſhould give Henry 600,000 crowns, for Tournay; but as this ſum was a little too large, an expedient, mentioned hereafter, was found to reduce it, to a much leſs. Upon theſe two conditions, the cardinal undertook to obtain his maſters conſent to the king of France's deſires. One of leſs aſſurance than the cardinal, and not ſo ſecure of the king's confidence, would, doubtleſs, have been greatly embarraſſed, ſince the buſineſs was to convince the king of the contrary, to what, hitherto, he had been endeavouring to make him believe, viz. that Tournay was no longer neceſſary. When Francis I, would have treated of the reſtitution of Tournay, Wolſey had repreſented to the king, that both for his own and England's intereſt, it was of very great conſequence to keep that place, which was, moreover, a perpetual monument of his victories, whilſt it ſhould be in his hands; but, now, altering his tone, he undertakes to perſuade, and indeed, does perſuade him, that the place is of no uſe, and the maintenance of the garriſon far outweighs all the advantages he can receive from thence; that it was better yield it to the king of France, who earneſtly ſued for it, and, to obtain it, ſcrupled not to condeſcend to make preſents to a miniſter; that nothing could be more honourable for the king, than to ſee that monarch make the firſt advances to procure his friendſhip, and render it perpetual, by the marriage of the dauphin, with the princeſs Mary, which alſo he propoſed; that, therefore, the preſent opportunity ſhould be improved, to receive a good ſum of money in lieu of Tournay, which being ſo remote from Calais, would infallibly be loſt, upon the firſt rupture between the two crowns; that hereby the king of France would be obliged to be his friend, and their union would render them umpires of Europe; and, that this union was the more neceſſary, as it was time to think of oppoſing the growing power of the houſe of Auſtria, who poſſeſſing the empire, Spain, the Low-Countries, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, were, infallibly, going to render themſelves very formidable to all the ſovereigns. The ſtrength of theſe reaſons was too manifeſt for Henry to reſiſt them; and all he could think ſtrange, was, that the cardinal had not ſooner propoſed them, but, till then, had rather uſed directly contrary arguments, to hinder the reſtitution of Tournay. But, as it has been remarked, Wolſey had ſuch an aſcendant over him, that he could perſuade him, pro and con, as he pleaſed.

An Embaſſy of Francis to Henry. Herbert. Hall. Act. Pub.

Henry having agreed to what the cardinal propoſed, the next thing was to treat upon the matter. As ſoon as Francis I, was informed of it, he ſent a ſolemn ambaſſy to England, conſiſting of admiral Bonnivet, Stephen Poncher, biſhop of Paris, and M. de Villeroy, ſecretary of ſtate. For form's ſake, ſome time muſt be ſpent in this negotiation, tho' the king of France and the cardinal had already agreed on the chief articles, by the mediation

1518. of Villeroy, who had been in London ever since the beginning of July, whereas his colleagues arrived not till two months after. The French ambaſſadors had full powers to treat of the renewing of friendſhip, between the two kings; of a league with the pope, and all Chriſtian princes, who deſired to be included in it, for the defenſe of religion and the church; of a marriage between the dauphin and the princeſs Mary, daughter of Henry; of the reſtitution of Tournay, St. Amand, and Mortagne; and of the interview of the two kings; moreover, they brought Francis's letters patent, whereby he promiſed to pay to his good friend, the cardinal of York, an annual penſion of 12000 livres, in conſideration of his relinquiſhing the adminiſtration of the biſhoprick of Tournay. As the treaties concluded upon theſe atticles, were not ready, till the beginning of October, I ſhall briefly mention another affair, tranſacted about the ſame time.

The pope was ever intent on the buſineſs of the Cruſade, from whence he hoped to draw great ſums. He wrote, laſt year, to all Chriſtian princes, to notify the victory of Selim, emperor of the Turks, over the Mamalucks of Egypt, whoſe empire he had utterly deſtroyed. The beginning of this year, he cauſed the college of cardinals to ſend a letter to Henry, repreſenting to him, the danger Chriſtendom was in, after the victory by the Ottoman emperor over the Soldan of Egypt, who, according to the beſt advices, was ſlain in battle. The cardinals exhorted the king to undertake the defence of religion, jointly, with all the other Chriſtian ſovereigns, with the pope and ſacred college, who were ready to ſacrifice, to that end, their own, as well as the church's treaſure. The plain meaning of all this, was, that the king ought to contribute largely, towards the Cruſade, his country being too remote from Turky, to ſend forces thither.

Campejus is ſent as Legate a Latere to England. Herbert. Act. Pub.

Some time after, the pope ſent Legates a Latere to ſeveral courts, with orders to exhort the ſovereigns to accept and preſerve a five years truce, enjoined by his apoſtolick power; and, they were, likewiſe, to uſe their endeavours, to perſuade them to unite all their forces, and make war upon the Turk. Cardinal Laurentius Campejus was appointed for England, and already departed from Rome, in the beginning of May, to go and execute his commiſſion. But Wolſey deemed it a very great affront, that the pope had not thought of him for this legateſhip; ſo, whilſt Campejus was on the road, he ſent a truſty meſſenger to Rome, to repreſent to the pope, that by ſhewing ſo little regard for a cardinal, actually in England, and the king's prime miniſter, he put it out of his power to do him any ſervice; that whatever he ſhould ſay to ſupport what the pope required, would be of no weight, ſince he ſhould be conſidered as one, whom the court of Rome durſt not truſt with the legateſhip; that it was rather the pope's intereſt to make uſe of him, to obtain his deſires, conſidering the confidence the king honoured him with, and that, without his aſſiſtance, the preſent affair would be in danger of miſcarrying. Leo X, eaſily perceived, by this repreſentation, that Wolſey muſt be contented; ſo, by a bull of the 17th of May, he joined him with Campejus in the ſame commiſſion, giving them both an equal authority, "knowing, "ſays he, in the bull directed to Wolſey, your "great credit with the king, and how eaſily "you can perſuade or diſſuade him." In the interim, Campejus arriving, at Boulogne, Wolſey found means to detain him there, till he had received the pope's anſwer; for which reaſon, it was the 29th of July before the Italian legate made his entry, into London. As he had but a very poor train, Wolſey ſent him 12 mules, with coffers richly covered; but ſome of theſe coffers happening to fall, during the proceſſion, and being overturned and broken, were found to be empty, to the great ſport and laughter of the people, who derided this external pageantry. There is, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, a bull of Leo X, with extraordinary powers to the two legates, authorizing them to grant a plenary indulgence to the faithful of both ſexes, who ſhould be preſent at the maſs, which either of the legates ſhould celebrate, in the preſence of the king and queen, or, at leaſt, of the benediction, provided they confeſſed their ſins, or deſired to confeſs, and were penitent.

1518.

Campejus's entry into London. Hall.

The legates commiſſion, conſiſted of two points. The firſt was, to try to obtain of the clergy, an aid of money, for the war againſt the Turk; but the clergy ſtood their ground againſt all their attempts. The ſecond was, to perſuade Henry to join in the projected league, with all the Chriſtian princes, for the defence of religion and the church. The pope's deſign was not to undertake a war againſt the Turk, but only to heap up money on that pretence. Thus, the league he was meditating, was ſolely to make the world believe he, really, intended to make war againſt the Infidels. After which, he had a very plauſible excuſe to lay impoſitions upon all the clergy, and draw money from the ſovereigns, and their ſubjects, to bear the charges of this pretended war. With this league, therefore, he was to begin, and on that, the legates were commiſſioned to treat with the king, who ſeemed inclined to agree to it, tho' he might eaſily foreſee the league would ſignify nothing.

The legates commiſſion.

As cardinal Wolſey's credit increaſed, in England, it became, likewiſe, greater, at the court of Rome; for he had cauſed, as was before obſerved, cardinal Adrian de Corneto, to be removed from the office of the pope's collector, in England; but this ſlight puniſhment, not ſufficing to ſatisfy his revenge, he had ſo ordered it, that the king wrote to the pope, deſiring him to deprive Adrian of the cardinalate, and of the biſhoprick of Bath and Wells, which had been conferred on him. Leo X. could not help thinking it very ſtrange, that the king ſhould make ſuch a requeſt, without alledging any reaſon; but, however, without giving him a poſitive denial, he contented himſelf with ſaying, he would give him ſatiſfaction,

Cardinal Adrian depoſed.

1518. faction, at a more proper ſeaſon. In 1517, there was a conſpiracy againſt the pope, wherein cardinal Adrian being concerned, was committed to priſon. Guicciardini ſays, he was never more heard of, and that it is not known what became of him; but there is, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, a letter of cardinal Julius de Medici, dated the 5th of July, 1518, notifying to the king, that, in a conſiſtory held that day, cardinal Adrian was depoſed and ſtript of all his preferments, intimating, alſo, to the king, that it was on his account. But it is more probable, he was puniſhed for his crime againſt the pope. However this be, a few days after, the pope gave cardinal Wolſey the adminiſtration of the biſhoprick of Bath and Wells, ſuppoſing he wanted it, to maintain the dignity of cardinal.

Leo X, wiſhes to make an offenſive league againſt the Turks.

The negotiation of the two cardinals, proceeded very ſlowly, ſince it was not ſufficient to incline Henry to the league, but the reſt of the ſovereigns were, alſo, to give their conſent. Accordingly, the pope ſollicited, to the utmoſt of his power, all the potentates, magnifying the danger to which the Chriſtian religion was going to be infallibly expoſed. In ſhort, every prince returning him the ſame anſwer, viz. that it was neceſſary, all the ſovereigns ſhould unite in this affair, he ſent a bull to his legates, in England, impowering them to conclude between the emperor, and the kings of France and Spain, a league againſt the Turk. His intent was, that the league ſhould be offenſive, elſe it would be of no advantage to him, unleſs the Turk really intended to invade Chriſtendom, which was, hitherto, thought to be very uncertain. But Leo was too well known, for the princes to be thus taken in a ſnare, which tended only to render the pope maſter of their own, and the people's money; ſo, pretending, zealouſly, to enter into his deſign, they contented themſelves with concluding together, a defenſive league for the protection of the pope, the holy ſee, and their reſpective dominions, againſt all invaders, and, particularly, againſt the emperor of the Turks. The pope was declared head of the league, provided he ratified it, within ſuch a time; but, the treaty made no mention of what each of the allies was to furniſh. All which ſhews, this league, according to the intention of the parties, was only to caſt a miſt before people's eyes, to give the pope ſome ſatisfaction, and, perhaps, to frighten the Turks.

The pope ratifies the league. Herbert. Hollingſh.

This was not what the pope deſired. He could have wiſhed, that all the princes of Chriſtendom had joined together, in an offenſive league againſt the Turk, and engaged to ſend their forces to Conſtantinople, to attack the Ottoman emperor, in his metropolis; for, in that caſe, he knew, the moſt remote would have been eaſily induced to furniſh their quota, in money. Since the frentick zeal for Cruſades was over, the popes had loſt no occaſion to re-kindle the ſame zeal, which had formerly procured ſo many advantages to their predeceſſors; but the people, as well at the princes, were entirely diſcouraged, becauſe it was too viſible, that the Cruſades had been profitable to none but the popes; ſo, for once, the Chriſtian princes were contented to make a defenſive league, to ſhew only, they were ready to defend Chriſtendom againſt the attacks of the Infidels, deferring to take other meaſures, till they ſhould be obliged. Leo X, ſeeing he could obtain no more, approved and ratified the league, the 31ſt of December, after which, it was never more mentioned. All the terrible preparations of the Turks to fall upon the Chriſtians, as was affirmed, entirely vaniſhed, as ſoon as the pope found, his artifices could not produce the effect he expected. 1518.

Several treaties between France and England.

Whilſt theſe things were in agitation, cardinal Wolſey, jointly, with the French ambaſſadors, was employed in preparing the treaties, agreed upon, to be ſigned.

I. Treaty of marriage between the dauphin, and Mary.

The firſt related to the marriage, between the princeſs Mary and the dauphin, which was to be ſolemnized, as ſoon as the young prince ſhould be full 14 years old, each of the two kings promiſing to pay 500,000 crowns, in caſe it was his fault, that the marriage was not compleated. Mary's dower, was to be 333000 crowns of gold, one half to be paid on the day of marriage, and the other within a year after. The jointure was to be as great, as had ever been aſſigned to any queen of France, and, particularly, to Ann of Bretagne, and Mary of England, wives to Lewis XII.

II. Treaty about Tournay. Hall.

The ſecond treaty was, upon the reſtitution of Tournay, for which Francis I, engaged to pay Henry 600,000 crowns of 35 d. Tournois each, beſides 50,000 livres Tournois, due to him from the inhabitants. But out of theſe two ſums, Francis was to keep back the princeſs Mary's dower; and, as to the payments, he obliged himſelf to pay 50,000 livres, upon taking poſſeſſion of the place, and, then 25000 livres, every ſix months, till the whole ſum was paid.

III. Treaty about outrages. Act. Pub.

The third treaty concerned the outrages, which might be committed, for the future, againſt the peace, by the ſubjects of either king, and contained certain regulations, to procure ſpeedy reparation.

IV. Treaty about an interview.

By the fourth, the two monarchs agreed upon an interview, in the village of Sandinfelt, between Ardres and Guiſnes.

Cardinal Wolſey is made amends.

Theſe treaties being ſigned, the 14th of October, the French ambaſſadors gave cardinal Wolſey their maſter's letters patent, whereby he bound himſelf to pay him an annual penſion of 12000 livres Tournois, to ſatisfy him for the loſs of the biſhoprick of Tournay.

Eſpouſal of the dauphin with Mary.

As ſoon as the two kings had ratified the treaties, and ſolemnly ſwore to the peace, at London, and Paris, the king and queen of France, acting, in the name of the dauphin their ſon, affianced the princeſs Mary, repreſented by the earl of Worceſter, her proxy. This cermony was performed, at Paris, the 21ſt of December.

1519. The death of the emperor. Herbert.

Europe enjoyed, then, a profound tranquillity; but, on the death of the emperor Maximilian, the 12th of January, 1519, new troubles,

1519. troubles aroſe. By his death, France, Spain, Italy, Germany, England, Scotland, the Low-Countries, were engaged in wars, no leſs fatal to them, than the former. As ſoon as Maximilian was in his grave, the kings of France and Spain, openly, declared themſelves candidates for the empire, and began to cabal among the electors, to obtain their deſires. This threw the electors into great perplexity; for, on which ſide ſo ever they turned, they ſaw for themſelves, for Germany, for all Europe, advantages and inconveniencies, which deſerved their whole attention. It would have been the intereſt of Germany, to keep the balance even, between the two monarchs, who aſpired to the imperial dignity, and to reject both; but, by chuſing one of the competitors, ſuch ſuperiority would be given him, as could not but be fatal to all Europe, and, particularly, to Germany. I ſhall not farther inſiſt on the reaſons which the electors had to chuſe one, or reject both, it being well known, on theſe occaſions, the publick good does not always ſerve for rule and foundation, to form deciſions of this nature. Leo X, wiſhed, as it was, indeed, his intereſt, the electors would agree to chuſe one of their own body; for, Charles being poſſeſſed of the kingdom of Naples, and Francis of the duchy of Milan, the election of one of theſe monarchs, could not but one day diſturb the peace of Italy, and prove deſtructive to the papal power. Accordingly, the pope uſed his utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the electors to take that courſe; but, however, he was forced to act privately, for fear of making the two candidates his enemies, by openly declaring againſt them.

The death of Lorenzo de Medici. Guicciard.

Whilſt the reſolution of the electors was, impatiently, expected, Lorenzo de Medici, the pope's nephew, was ſeized with a diſtemper, that laid him in his grave. By this unexpected accident, that branch of the family of Medici, was reduced to the perſon of the pope, ſole lawful deſcendent of Coſmo the Great, who firſt acquired the ſovereignty of Florence. Some endeavours were uſed to perſuade the pope, to reſtore his country to liberty; but he did not love the Florentines well enough, to ſuffer them to enjoy ſo valuable a bleſſing, of which he had taken ſo much pains to deprive them; therefore, reſolving to keep that ſtate, he ſent cardinal Julius de Medici, natural ſon to Julian, his uncle, to govern in his name. Soon after, he annexed the duchy of Urbino to the church, and razed the walls of the capital, for fear la Rovere ſhould think of recovering it.

The electors meets to chuſe an emperor. Guicciard.

The electors being aſſembled to proceed to the election of an emperor, Francis and Charles ſent ambaſſadors to the aſſembly, to manage their concerns. The pope would have a nuncio there too, who had orders, privately, to endeavour to cauſe them both to be rejected; but, however, to conform himſelf, outwardly, to the diſpoſition of the electors. Henry VIII, perceiving the difficulties which would occur in the choice of either of the candidates, ſent Richard Pace to the diet, to try, whether there was any thing to be expected for him; but, as he thought of it too late, his ambaſſador found the affair ſo advanced, that he did not think fit to expoſe the king's honour. He, therefore, wrote to him, that, indeed, ſome of the electors ſhewed an inclination to favour him; that the pope would have, likewiſe, ſupported him to the utmoſt of his power, had he declared ſooner; but that matters were ſo ordered, that the election would infallibly be over, before proper meaſures could be taken to accompliſh his project. And, indeed, a few days after, on the 28th of June, Charles, king of Spain, was declared emperor, by the name of Charles V, or rather of Charles Quint, as he was then, and, ſtill, is called, to this day. 1519.

Jealouſy of Francis I. Several occaſions of quarrel between Charles and Francis I. Guicciard.

The election of Charles, was a terrible mortification to Francis I. All the world, immediately, thought, the jealouſy between theſe two potent princes, would, infallibly, occaſion bloody wars; and, this opinion was but too well confirmed, by experience. Beſides the king of France's jealouſy, which was, doubtleſs, one of the chief cauſes of the following rupture, there were differences between them, of very great importance, and extremely difficult to adjuſt. Francis I. had pretenſions to the kingdom of Naples; moreover, by the treaty of Noyon, Charles was bound to reſtore Navarre to Henry d' Albret, within four months after ſigning the treaty, and this article was yet unperformed. On the other hand, Charles, as heir of the houſe of Burgundy, believed he had a lawful title to the duchy of that name; for, he pretended, that after the death of the laſt duke, his grandfather, Lewis XI. had unjuſtly ſeized it, upon a bare alligation, that it was a male fee, tho' the contrary was evident. He had ſuffered his title to lie dormant, during his minority; but after he was of age, he had thoughts of reviving it, and the imperial dignity lately obtained, helped very much to confirm him in that reſolution. The duchy of Milan was another cauſe of diſpute, which would naturally beget a war between theſe two monarchs. It could not be denied, that it was a fief of the empire, and yet Lewis XII. had ſeized it, and Francis I. re-conquered it, and was now in poſſeſſion, without either's being inveſted by the emperor Maximilian, or ſo much as deſiring it. Charles, therefore, could alledge, that it was his duty to maintain the rights of the empire, and endeavour to diſpoſſeſs the king of France of that duchy. The duke of Gueldres afforded another occaſion of quarrel, between theſe two monarchs. He was a profeſſed enemy to the emperor, and Francis protected him openly. And laſtly, the treaty of Noyon gave Charles another cauſe of complaint; for he pretended, that Francis had extorted from him ſo advantageous a treaty, by threatening war, when his affairs neceſſarily required his preſence in Spain, to take poſſeſſion of his kingdoms; that, therefore, the reſignation of the kingdom of Navarre, and the penſion of 100,000 crowns, to which he had been engaged, under the

1519. the ſpecious pretence of a maintainance, for the princeſs, his future ſpouſe, were nothing elſe but the price of a peace, he had been made to purchaſe.

Intereſts of the princes of Europe.

Tho' theſe two monarchs looked upon each other, with a jealous and envious eye, and wanted not pretences for a war, neither of them durſt, however, begin, before he had ſounded the reſt of the ſovereigns. And how they ſtood affected, will, alſo, be neceſſary to know, for the better underſtanding the ſequel, the intereſts of princes, giving to hiſtory, a perſpicuity, which without that aſſiſtance, is ſought for, in vain.

Of Leo X.

Leo X. was equally afraid of the two monarchs, being ſenſible, to which ſide ſoever the balance inclined, Italy muſt be in danger. If he could have ſet them at variance, without making Italy the ſeat of the war, he would freely have done it; but that was not poſſible. Much leſs was it in his power to ſtand neuter; and, the reaſon is, becauſe he could not hinder the conteſts about Naples and Milan, from being decided by arms, and, therefore, could not avoid interpoſing in a quarrel, which would ſo nearly concern him. He took, therefore, the courſe which beſt agreed with his temper, and that was, to be reſerved, and manage both the monarchs, till he found it his intereſt to declare himſelf. But through all his diſguiſes, he diſcovered, however, ſome partiality to the emperor, in the grant of a diſpenſation to hold the empire with the kingdom of Naples, tho' that was directly contrary to the terms, on which he had given him the inveſtiture of that kingdom. Francis complained of it, but the pope excuſed it, as not having in his power to refuſe, without involving himſelf in troubles, from which, it would not have been eaſy for him to be delivered.

Of Henry VIII.

As for Henry VIII, the poſture of affairs, between Charles and Francis, might have rendered his reign very glorious, had he not entirely given himſelf up to the intereſted counſels of cardinal Wolſey. He had it in his power to preſerve the peace of Europe, by keeping the balance even, between the two rivals, without ſuffering it to incline too much to either ſide. This was his grand intereſt, as well as the kingdom's, and, accordingly, this was his reſolution. Hence it was, that he frequently engaged in one or other ſide, but not always, as the intereſt of Europe, the welfare of his realm, and his own glory required. Thus, whilſt he thought to follow the maxims of good policy, he ſerved, without perceiving it, to gratify the paſſions of his miniſter, as will be ſeen hereafter.

Both monarchs try to gain Henry by means of Wolſey. Herbert.

Charles and Francis were ſo convinced of the advantages to be reaped, from the king of England's friendſhip, that they neglected nothing, which they thought would procure it. The beſt, or rather the only means to that end, was, to gain cardinal Wolſey to their intereſts. And, therefore, they ſpared neither flatteries, promiſes, or preſents, to make him their friend. They took occaſion, ſometimes, to write to him, on purpoſe to ſtile him their friend, their father. In their letters, they extolled his virtue, his prudence, his capacity, in ſuch affected terms, that he muſt have been blind not to ſee, they had farther views, than to expreſs their eſteem for him. Wolſey made good uſe of theſe teſtimonies of their friendſhip, to obſerve to his maſter, how formidable he was to theſe two monarchs, ſince they did not diſdain even to careſs his miniſter. But, alſo, it ſerved him, to inſinuate, how far his own merit excelled that of other miniſters, ſince it was univerſally known. All this produced the effect he expected; for Henry deemed himſelf the arbiter of Europe, and remained ſo perſuaded of his favourite's capacity, that he no longer ſaw but with his eyes, or acted, but by his advice. 1519.

The cardinal's preferments.

Thus, Wolſey was, then, at the top of the wheel; for he was favourite, prime miniſter, lord chancellor, adminiſtrator of the biſhoprick of Bath and Wells, archbiſhop of York, ſole legate a Latere, Campejus, his collegue, being recalled. He had a penſion from the emperor, and the king of France, and received an immenſe profit from his chancellorſhip, by the privileges annexed thereto, by the king. Beſides this, the king never ceaſed making him preſents, and giving him continual occaſions of increaſing his incomes. On the other hand, the pope, the emperor, the king of France, and the republick of Venice, ſtrove, with emulation, to gain his goodwill, and ſeemed, as I may ſay, to glory in their dependence upon him. The beginning of the year, Francis I, ſent him letters patent, whereby he conſented, that he ſhould, alone, regulate the ceremonies of his interview with Henry, giving him thereby an authentick teſtimony of his confidence, in his probity, upon a point, of which kings are, commonly, very jealous. In the interim, the advances ſuch great princes made the cardinal, did not argue ſo much their eſteem for him, as their fear of loſing the friendſhip of the king, his maſter. Francis I, to give Henry a freſh mark of his reſpect, deſired him to ſtand godfather to his ſecond ſon, afterwards king of France, by the name of Henry II. Theſe things demonſtrate Henry's happy ſituation, and how glorious his reign might have been, had he wiſely improved theſe advantages; but, unfortunately for him, inſtead of acting for himſelf and his own glory, he laboured, in effect, for his favourite's intereſts.

Cardnal Wolſey's extreme pride.

It would have been hard to conceive, to what height the cardinal's pride was carried, if all the hiſtorians had not taken care to deſcribe it, and all, in the ſame colours. The legateſhip of Campejus, ſetting that cardinal on a level with him, he could not long bear that equallity. By his credit, at Rome, he had cauſed him to be recalled, and himſelf appointed ſole legate, with power to viſit the monaſteries, and all the reſt of the clergy; and, to obtain this commiſſion, he had taken care to deſame, to the pope, all the clergy of the kingdom, intimating, how neceſſary it was to commit the reforming them to his care. But this was only to increaſe his authority,

1519. and ſubject the whole church of England to his orders. When he ſaw himſelf inveſted, alone, with the dignity of legate, he let looſe, if I may ſo ſay, the reins to his vanity; for he ſaid maſs after the manner of the pope himſelf, not only biſhops ſerving him therein, but earls and dukes giving him water, and the towel; and, when he walked into the city, two croſſes were carried before him, by two of the talleſt prieſts that could be found, mounted on the higheſt horſes. One of theſe croſſes was that of legate, and the other that of York. At firſt, theſe things ſerved only for diverſion to the people, who paſſed their jeſts upon this external pomp; but, preſently after, were felt much more grievous effects of the power aſſumed by the legate. A new court of juſtice was erected, called the legate's court, the juriſdiction whereof extended to all actions relating to conſcience; that is, properly ſpeaking, to all the actions of life, ſince there is ſcarce any but where conſcience may be ſome way concerned. One John Allen, being made judge of this new court, committed numberleſs rapines and extortions, under colour of reforming the manners of the people, tho' he was himſelf a perſon of an infamous character. Strict enquiry was made into the life and manners of every body, which gave occaſion to the new judge to oppreſs all that obſtinately refuſed to compound with him. Particularly, he pretended, that his juriſdiction reached to all ſuits ariſing from wills, or marriage-contracts, and drew to his court numberleſs cauſes, without the king's judges daring to oppoſe it. On the other hand, the legate treated the clergy with inconceiveable rigour, and conferred all the benefices of the kingdom on his creatures, without troubling himſelf about the rights of the churches, the monaſteries, or the patrons. This is what had ever occaſioned violent quarrels between the kings of England, and the court of Rome, and given birth to the famous ſtatute of Præmunire, daily violated by the legate, the king ſuffering, in him, things which he would not, doubtleſs, have allowed in the pope himſelf, and being informed no farther, than the cardinal pleaſed. At laſt, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſeeing ſo many oppreſſions, thought it his duty to acquaint the king, who ſeemed ſurpriſed, and charged the archbiſhop to tell the cardinal, that, it was his pleaſure, he ſhould amend whatever was amiſs. The effect of this remonſtrance was, that the cardinal ſtill more hated the archbiſhop, for whom he had already conceived an averſion, for ſubſcribing himſelf, in one of his letters, "Your brother "of Canterbury." But ſhortly after, one John London, a prieſt, boldly accuſing the judge of the legate's court, it was not poſſible to hinder the affair from coming to the king's knowledge. As the judge was convicted of numberleſs miſdemeanours, the king ſo reprimanded the cardinal, that from thenceforward he became, if not better, yet more wary, at leaſt.

The grandeur, riches, power, and authority, enjoyed by Wolſey, in England, were not capable of ſatisfying his ambition, whilſt there was ſtill one ſtep higher to which a churchman could aſcend. He had began, ſome time ſince, to take meaſures to become pope, when the ſee ſhould be vacant, and the king of France had, now, offered him the votes of 14 cardinals; but ſince Charles was elected emperor, Wolſey thought him moſt capable to procure him the papacy, and, probably, continued a private negotiation with him. For that purpoſe, he gradually diſengaged the king, his maſter, from the intereſt of France, to turn him to the emperor. In the interim, he believed, he could not, without too much diſcovering himſelf, hinder the interview of Francis and Henry, which had been deferred till the year 1520; but he well knew, how to prevent the ill-effects this interview might produce againſt the emperor, his new friend. Beſides, he could not think of loſing the pleaſure of appearing before the court of France, with a magnificence, little inferior to that of a king, and of ſeeing himſelf, in the preſence of the Engliſh, honoured and careſſed by the king of France, and his whole court; as he would probably be. This was an opportunity, which a perſon ſo fond of pageantry and oſtentation, could not neglect.

1519. Cardinal Wolſey aſpires to the popedom, by means of the emperor. Herbert.

The emperor had reaſon to careſs cardinal Wolſey. He had met, in Spain, with unexpected difficulties; for the Caſtilians and Arragonians, were bent to preſerve their privileges, which were continually attacked by the emperor's Flemiſh counſellors. On the other hand, the emperor, on pretence of the Cruſade, publiſhed by the pope, having demanded a tenth of the clergy, that demand had cauſed, throughout Spain, troubles, which very much embarraſſed that prince. There had been, alſo, an inſurrection in Auſtria, which was not appeaſed, without difficulty. In ſhort, the king of France was privately labouring to raiſe the emperor troubles in Naples, Sicily, Navarre, and to withdraw his allies from him. All this made Henry's friendſhip ſo neceſſary to him, that it is no wonder he ſhould endeavour to win the cardinal to his ſide, ſince the miniſter's credit, was the only way to gain the maſter. The king of France uſed the ſame method, which exceedingly increaſed the cardinal's pride, who ſeeing himſelf courted by theſe two monarchs, had it in his power, if I may ſo ſay, to ſet what price he pleaſed on his ſervices.

Affairs of Spain.

Whilſt all the world was impatiently expecting the effect of the jealouſy, between the emperor and king of France, the affairs of Scotland ſtill remained in the ſame ſituation, that is, in extreme diſorder, becauſe of the regent's abſence. When he went from Scotland, he hoped to return in few months, but was not ſuffered to follow his inclination; for, Francis I, foreſeeing the want he might have of England, had made a private treaty with Henry, promiſing to detain the duke of Albany, in France. Thus, Henry obtained, by another way, what the parliament of Scotland had plainly refuſed him. It was very eaſy to conceive, why he oppoſed the duke

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

of

1519. of Albany's return. His design was to throw Scotland into trouble and confusion, to have an opportunity to interpose in the affairs of that kingdom, under colour of supporting the interests of the young king, his nephew. He could not, therefore, execute it better, than by fomenting discord, among the nobility, which the regent's presence might have remedied; but the war which, afterwards, broke out between Charles and Francis, and wherein he was but too much concerned, prevented the prosecution of his designs against Scotland. Probably, this saved the kingdom, which otherwise was in great danger of being conquered by the English.

The discovery of Mexico, and New-Spain.

Before I close the year 1519, I must not forget to remark, that this year, the emperor received the news of the discovery, and beginning of the conquest of Mexico and New-Spain. The mention of this particular, is the more necessary, tho' it seems foreign to our History, as it was the gold and silver wherewith the new world furnished Spain, that contributed most to render Charles V, so powerful, as he will, hereafter, appear; besides, money growing more plenty, by the trade carried on by other countries with Spain, the reader must not be surprised to find, hereafter, more numerous armies, greater magnificence in princes courts, and the dowries of princesses much larger than before. But Spain first improved the gold and silver of the new world, and was thereby enabled, in the reigns of Charles V. and Philip II, to aspire to univer-monarchy.

1520. The regulation of the interview between the two kings, by Wolsey. Act. Pub. March 12. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh.

The confidence, placed by Francis I, in cardinal Wolsey, in giving him power to regulate his interview with Henry, would have been very honourable for that minister, if, on the other hand, this proceeding had not shewn his little esteem for him, as believing him liable to corruption. Be this as it will, Wolsey, by vertue of powers, received from the two kings, made the 12th of March, 1520, a regulation, importing, among other things, "That the interview should be on the 4th of June, between Ardres and Guisnes; that the king of England should go towards Ardres, as far as conveniently he could, without passing, however, the English pale, and the king of France should meet him at the place where he should stop." Hence, he so ordered it, that Francis paid the first visit to Henry. But he assigned for reason, that the king, his master, having crossed the seas, on purpose to do his friend honour, it was very just, Francis should, in some measure, make him amends, by advancing, to receive him, a little beyond the limits of his own territories, in some open place, appointed by deputies on either side. The rest of the regulation concerned the safety of the two monarchs, their queens, the queen dowager of France, sister to Henry, Louisa of Savoy, duchess of Angoulesme, mother to Francis I, the trains of the princes and princesses, who were to assist at the interview, the place where the monarchs were to meet and confer together, and lastly, the diversions which the two courts were to take.

During the time, between the regulation and the interview, Francis caused the cardinal to be sounded, to know whether, by his means he could not prevail with Henry to restore Calais, for a sum of money. This proposal was, doubtless, attended with secret promises to the cardinal, answerable to so great a service, since he did not think fit to reject it. He durst not, however, speak of it directly to the king; but tried so to manage, that others should inspire him with the thought, that in case the king advised with him upon it, he might give his opinion more freely; and, to that end, in his conversation, he would frequently turn the discourse upon Calais, and say, as it were accidentally, "What have we "to do with this Calais, that lies on the con-"tinent and costs us so much? It were to be "wished we were honestly rid of it!" This artifice failing, he never ventured to make the king so extraordinary a proposal, and the rather, as, being resolved to engage with the emperor, he was not so desirous to oblige the king of France.

1520. Francis gains Wolsey to get Calais given up. Herbert.

Henry sets out for the interview. The emperor arrives at Dover. Hall. Stow.

The time of the interview approaching, Henry came to Canterbury, the 25th of May, in order to pass his Whitsuntide there, and then proceed to Calais; but next day news was brought him, that the emperor was landed at Dover. This arrival surprised the whole court, and, perhaps, the king himself. But the cardinal had no reason to be surprised, since the emperor had, the 29th of March last, promised by letters patent, dated from Compostella, to give, or cause to be given him by the pope, the bishoprick of Badajos, within two months after the conference he was to have, in person, with the king of England, as appears in the Collection of the Publick Acts. Hence it is plain, that the emperor's journey to England, had been resolved ever since March, at least, between the emperor and the cardinal; but it is uncertain, whether the king was informed of it. However this be, the cardinal was commissioned to go and welcome the emperor, at Dover, where the king came, also, on the morrow. Then, the two monarchs went together to Canterbury, where Henry sent for his queen, who was extremely glad to see her nephew, the emperor, having never seen him before. The emperor's view, in this visit, was, to dissuade the king from the interview with Francis; but he could not succeed, Henry making him sensible, he could not recede, with honour. But very likely, he had also, in view, the securing of cardinal Wolsey, in order to gain, by his means, the king to his interest. It is the common opinion, his journey was not fruitless, but that he could obtain the cardinal's favour, only by promising to use all his credit to raise him to the papacy, in case Leo X. died before him. Tho' the emperor had not obtained all his desires, he departed, however, very well satisfied with his visit, Henry having promised not to enter into any engagement with the king of France, to his prejudice; and, on the 30th of May, Charles proceeded to Flanders, and Henry to Calais.

I shall

1520.

The interview of Francis and Henry. Stow. Hall.

I ſhall not ſtay to deſcribe the interview of the rwo monarchs, between Ardres and Guiſnes, as regulated by the cardinal. Whilſt it laſted, there was nothing but entertainments, tournaments, balls, maſquerades, and other diverſions, wherein the two courrs mixed to their mutual ſatisfaction. Every thing on both ſides was ſo magnificent, that the aſſembly was called, the Camp of the Cloth of Gold. But, in the midſt of all the pleaſures, which the two courts took together, the affairs, however, were not neglected. The following articles were agreed on, by the two monarchs, at their conferences; that, after Francis ſhould have paid the 1,000,000 of crowns, according to the late treaty, he ſhould give Henry an annual penſion, for life, of 100,000 livres Tournois; that, in caſe the dauphin ſhould become king of England, by his marriage with the princeſs Mary, the penſion ſhould be continued to Mary and her heirs for ever; that the differences between the kings of England and Scotland, ſhould be referred to the arbitration of Louiſa of Savoy, the king of France's mother, and the cardinal of York. The two kings parted not, till the 24th of June, after paſſing about three weeks together, in continual diverſions.

Henry goes to ſee the emperor at Graveling.

Henry, being returned to Calais, was pleaſed, before he repaſſed into England, to repay the viſit received from the emperor, at Canterbury. To that end, he came to Graveling, the 10th of July, and returned, the ſame day, to Calais; and, on the morrow, the emperor, with the lady Margaret, his Aunt, governeſs of the Low-Countries, came to ſee Henry, at Calais, and ſtayed three days with him. Theſe mutual viſits made Francis extremely jealous, and not without reaſon; for, probably, in theſe conferences were laid the firſt foundations of the alliance, afterwards, concluded, between the emperor and Henry. In a few days after, Henry returned into England.

A letter of the doge of Venice to the cardinal.

The greateſt princes very juſtly courted cardinal Wolſey; for, he, abſolutely, governed his maſter, who, in the preſent ſituation of his affairs, could make the balance incline to which ſide he pleaſed. The ſenate of Venice foreſeeing, that a war would ſoon break out, in Italy, endeavoured, beforehand, to make Wolſey their friend, by ſhewing a great eſteem for him. There is, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, a letter from the doge to the cardinal, to congratulate him on the interview of the two kings, as a work of his conſummate wiſdom.

The pope grants the cardinal penſions on Spaniſh ſees.

But this was only words, whereas the pope, who found he ſhould quickly want the cardinal, thought he muſt gain him by ſomething more ſubſtantial. He granted him, as appears, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, on the 29th of July, a penſion of 2000 ducats, on the biſhoprick of Palencia, in Spain, and conſtituted him perpetual adminiſtrator of the ſee of Badajos, without prejudice to the benefices he had, or ſhould have for the future. There is no doubt, this was done with the emperor's conſent, who endeavoured, by degrees, to gain ſo powerful a miniſter, whoſe credit was very neceſſary in the preſent ſituation of his affairs; for he had left Spain full of troubles, occaſioned by the greedineſs of the Flemings, who only ſought to inrich themſelves, at the expence of the Spaniards. This had even obliged him to depart with ſome precipitation, for fear of being embroiled in affairs, which might have prevented his going to receive the imperial crown. He had left for governors, in Spain, Adrian Florentio, biſhop of Tortoſa, and the conſtable of Caſtile; but he was no ſooner gone, than ſeveral lords, and ſome cities of Caſtile, joined in a league, for the defence of their liberties, and expulſion of the Flemings. This league was followed, by an open rebellion, which very much embarraſſed the two governors. In the interim, having drawn together a body of troops, conſiſting partly of the garriſons left in Navarre, they formed a good army, and, at length, defeated and reduced the male-contents to obedience.

1520.

The emperor is crowned.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in Spain, the emperor was preparing for his coronation, which was ſolemnized the 21ſt of October.

The pope ſollicits the elector of Saxony againſt Luther.

Luther's defection made, then, great noiſe in Germany. Leo X. endeavoured to excite all the princes of the empire againſt the doctor, who had boldly appealed to a general council, notwithſtanding pope Pius II's bull; in ſhort, after fruitleſs trials, to win him, by promiſes, or frighten him by threats, he publiſhed a bull of excommunication againſt him, and his followers; but Luther, regardleſs of theſe thunders, renewed his appeal to a council, in very harſh terms. The pope, exaſperated, that a ſingle monk ſhould, thus, dare to brave him, deſired the elector of Saxony, then at Cologne, to put him to death, or ſend him to Rome; but the elector refuſing, the pope's nuncio ordered Luther's books to be publickly burnt, at Cologne, and Luther, in revenge, cauſed the pope's bull, and the decretals, to be openly burnt, at Wirtemberg, and publiſhed a manifeſto, in defence of his proceedings. He found himſelf ſupported by the elector, his ſovereign, who earneſtly deſired to ſee a reformation in the church.

The duke of Wirtemberg loſes his dominions.

In the interim, the duke of Wirtemberg, who, at the inſtance of Francis I, had forſaken the league of Swabia, was driven out of his dominions, and the emperor purchaſed them; and, as the king of France was not then, in condition to protect him, he was forced to ſubmit to the emperor's terms, without hopes of being reſtored.

Troubles in Scotland. Buchanan.

The troubles ſtill continued among the Scots, who were divided into two factions, whereof Andrew Hamilton, and George Douglaſs, earl of Arran, were the heads. During the year 1520, the Hamiltonians found means to conſtrain Archibald Douglaſs, earl of Angus, one of thoſe left by the regent, to govern in his abſence, to relinquiſh his poſt. After which, they would have taken away his life; but, with 80 men, he beat, in the ſtreets of Edinburgh, above 1000 of his enemies, and drove them out of the city. All

this

1520. this ſerved only to exaſperate, more and more, the factions againſt one another, ſo that, at laſt, Douglaſs received into his party, all the friends of the two Humes, beheaded by the regent, in order, with their aſſiſtance, to withſtand his enemies. Theſe were the ſad effects cauſed by the regent's abſence, whom the king of England hindered from returning into Scotland. In the interim, the truce between the two kingdoms was farther prolonged, to the 9th of April, next year, by the king of France's mediation, and the council of Scotland poſitively promiſed, to ſend an honourable ambaſſy to Henry, to deſire a peace.

1521. The characters and tempers of the principal ſovereigns of Europe.

The poſture of affairs, in the beginning of the year 1521, did not promiſe the long continuance of the peace of Europe; for, four ſovereigns enjoyed, almoſt, the whole, and had a great influence on the dominions they were not poſſeſſed of; and, they were all four young, able, and ambitious enough to form vaſt projects, which could not be executed, without putting all Europe in combuſtion.

Of Francis I.

Francis I, ſecretly envying Charles V, ſought occaſion to ſhew his concern at ſeeing him on the imperial throne, and was thinking to uſe the pretence of recovering the kingdom of Naples for himſelf, and Navarre for Henry d'Albret; but his deſign of attacking the emperor, was founded on another and more powerful motive, viz. policy, which required his utmoſt endeavours, to humble this formidable rival, otherwiſe France might be in great danger. To execute this grand deſign, it would have been neceſſary for him to be wholly intent upon his affairs, and to be a good œconomiſt, in order to ſupport the expence, in which he was going to engage; but, unfortunately for him, he was too much addicted to his pleaſures, and very often applied to other uſes, the money deſigned for the war; moreover, he was too eaſily governed by his miniſters, and ſtill more, by the ducheſs of Angouleſme, his mother, whoſe intereſts were often contrary to his. However, he fancied his affairs in ſuch a poſture, as promiſed a happy ſucceſs of his undertakings; for, Spain was diſaffected and agitated, with inteſtine troubles, which, probably, would greatly embarraſs the emperor; and, on the other hand, the Turks threatened Hungary, which the emperor could not abandon, without endangering his Auſtrian dominions. In the next place, Francis flattered himſelf with having, in the king of England, a faithful friend, who would not forſake him, and who ſeemed to be, almoſt, equally concerned, to prevent the too great advancement of the houſe of Auſtria; and, in a word, he imagined to have reaſon to expect, that the pope, with whom he was in treaty for the conqueſt of Naples, inſtead of helping to increaſe the emperor's power, would uſe his utmoſt endeavours to humble a neighbour, who could not but be a terror to him. All this was ſtrengthened with Francis's alliances, with the Venetians and Switzers, who, joining with the pope and the king of England, would, of courſe, render him ſuperior to his enemy, whoſe kingdoms, remote from each other, were leſs capable of giving mutual aſſiſtance. Thus, Francis, flattered by theſe appearances, formed extraordinary projects, ſuitable to his ambition and age, being then only 27 years old. 1521.

Of Charles V.

As for Charles V, he had not yet done any thing to give a very advantageous idea of him; for his youth had been ſpent under the guardianſhip of the emperor Maximilian, his grandfather, or of Margaret of Auſtria, his aunt, and ſince he had aſſumed the adminiſtration of the Low-Countries, his governor, Chievres, did all in the name of the prince. His firſt proceedings, after the death of king Ferdinand, begat no great opinion of him, for he had ſcarce ſet foot in Spain, before the country was all in commotion; and, his advancement to the empire, was owing, perhaps, to the little eſteem the world had for him. However, he was then the moſt potent prince in Europe; for, beſides the imperial dignity, he poſſeſſed all Spain, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the Low-Countries, the archduchy of Auſtria, and many other provinces and lordſhips, in Germany; ſo, that with his own forces, alone, he was able to withſtand Francis I, aſſiſted by all his allies. Henry VIII, was the only ſovereign, that had, at firſt, embarraſſed him, by reaſon of his union with France; but he had artfully drawn that thorn out of his ſide, by means of cardinal Wolſey; and with this he began, as I may ſay, to diſcover his ability, which, till then, had been, as it were, concealed. After that, he diligently applied himſelf to gain the pope, and ſucceeded to his wiſh. Thus, at the time I am now ſpeaking of, he was become very formidable, not only by his forces, but alſo by the proofs he had given of his capacity. As ſoon as he was raiſed to the empire, he rightly judged he ſhould find, in Francis I, an enemy that would ſpare nothing to make him feel the effect of his envy; for that reaſon, he thought early of means to ſcreen himſelf from his attempts, not only by a juſt defence, but even by attacking him firſt, He had two plauſible reaſons; one was, that the crown of France withheld from him the duchy of Burgundy, ſince the death of his grandfather Charles, the laſt duke of Burgundy; the other concerned the duchy of Milan, whereof Francis ought to have received the inveſtiture from the emperor, ſince it was a fief of the empire, and yet he had never vouchſafed to ask it; and, he believed, moreover, to have cauſe of complaint for Francis's extorting from him, the treaty of Noyon, as was before related.

In vain, therefore, do the hiſtorians of both ſides, ſtrive to caſt the blame of the rupture upon one or other of the two monarchs; for it is certain, both thought, at the ſame time, of making war, and took meaſures beforehand, to execute their deſigns, tho' each privately, endeavoured to engage his rival, in ſomething that ſhould make him be deemed the aggreſſor. So, as the beginning of a rupture is not to be judged of, by the firſt act of

1521. hostility, but rather by the cause, one can hardly be mistaken, in affirming Charles V, and Francis I, to be equally authors of a war, which set all Europe in a flame. Charles was not above 21 years of age, but of a very different character from that of his enemy. Francis was too much addicted to his pleasures, whereas Charles was too intent on his affairs, having been used to it from his youth. Francis was of a free and open temper, but Charles was much more reserved; for he maturely thought of what he had to say or do, and readily made use of artifice and evasion to accomplish his ends, framing his conduct by that of Maximilian and Ferdinand, his grandfathers.

Of Leo X. Guicciard. Leo X. had reason to be satisfied with his lot, could he have resolved to live in quiet; for he was absolute master of the whole ecclesiastical state, to which he had lately added, all la Romagna, Modena, Reggio, and the duchy of Urbino; and, his own, the church's, and all Italy's grand interest, was, therefore, to endeavour, by all sorts of means, to keep the balance even, between the emperor and king of France, and to manage so, that neither of these two monarchs should become too powerful in Italy. This was very practicable, since his dominions being situated between those, belonging to these two princes, in Italy, they necessarily wanted him, in order to invade Naples, or Milan. Thus, by keeping a strict neutrality, he would have, probably, freed Italy from a war, and preserved the papal power in its full lustre. But he was of too active a spirit to remain in peace; for, as he had a great opinion of his address, he ventured to engage in all sorts of affairs, how difficult soever they appeared, because, let what would be the event, he hoped to get clear by some artifice; besides, he had this, in common, with all the popes, his predecessors, that the respect of his character removed his fear of being reduced to extremities, in case his undertakings were not crowned with success. As to the rest, he was entirely addicted to his pleasures, spending most of his time with musicians and buffoons, and in some still less innocent diversions; and, this, added to his liberal temper, threw him into such excessive expences, that he was poor amidst his vast incomes, and always contriving means to procure money. Hence his extraordinary zeal to form a league against the Turks, because it afforded him a pretence to levy the aoths upon the clergy, and sell his indulgences, to the great scandal of all Christendom *.

Had this pope been of a more narrow genius, he would have, doubtless, maintained the tranquillity of Italy; but as he found himself capable of forming and executing great designs, he had a mind to render his pontificate illustrious, by some signal actions. Unfortunately for him, and his successors, he resolved to drive the French, Spaniards, and Germans, out of Italy, a project which may well be deemed extravagant. To accomplish it, he 1521. was necessarily to make use of the one to ruin the others, and by, thus, causing the balance to incline all to one side, he could not but give masters to himself and all Italy, which he would have avoided by standing neuter; but what chiefly engaged him in this project, was his desire to seize the duchy of Ferrara, and recover Parma and Placentia, which he could not hope to effect, whilst the French were possessed of the duchy of Milan. On the other hand, he was something uneasy, with regard to Florence; for he could not help fearing, that Francis would think of restoring the Florentines to their antient liberty. He resolved, therefore, to begin with the French; but took care not to discover his designs; on the contrary, he continued private negotiations with the king of France, as well as with the emperor, and put both, equally, in hopes of his friendship. In the interim, as his intent was always to remain in this medium, he ordered 6000 men, to be levied in Switzerland, and sent for them into the ecclesiastical state, having demanded a passage through the Milanese, under colour of providing for the defence of his towns.

Of Henry VIII. Henry VIII, was then more advantageously situated, than any king of England had ever been before him; being at peace with all Europe, except Scotland, which would have been glad to be left in quiet. Tho' he had now consumed all the money, found in the king his father's coffers, he was, however, assured of being always supplied, since he was in a good understanding with his parliament, and had the art of managing the two houses, with a very singular address. Thus, being able to raise numerous forces, and at liberty to turn them which way he pleased, it was, doubtless, in his power to render himself umpire of Europe; and for that reason, Charles and Francis, with equal ardor, courted his friendship, being sensible, he could invincibly obstruct their designs, and cause the balance to lean to the side he should please to espouse. It was his interest to keep always in this situation, till obliged to interpose in their differences, to hinder the one from rising to the prejudice of the other. And, indeed, this was his aim and intention; but unfortunately for him, his weakness for his prime minister, the cardinal, was beyond all imagination; for this favourite had such an ascendant over him, that he inclined him which way he pleased, always under the specious colour of carrying his glory to a greater height, tho', in reality, he had only his own interests in view. We have already seen sensible proofs of his great influence, over his master, in what passed during, and after the late war with France. He had persuaded him to deliver to the emperor Maximilian, the city of Terouenne, which might have been of great service to him, and to keep Tournay, which was of little or no advantage; afterwards, when he was in pos-

* This is the pope, of whom Bembo, his secretary, reports this saying: "It has been long and well known, "how beneficial this fable of Jesus Christ has been to us, and our predecessors."

session

1521. session of the bishoprick of Tournay, he had artfully persuaded him, that the keeping of that place would be an everlasting monument of his glory; but when he saw, he was like to lose the bishoprick, and had ample amends offered him, he found other reasons to convince him, that he ought to part with a place which was of no benefit to him. We shall see, presently, that he led him, also, to make a very false step, in espousing the emperor's part against France, whereas his true interest, was, to keep the balance even between those two potentates. All this was done for the sake of cardinal Wolsey, who having the ambition to aspire to the popedom, thought to succeed by the emperor's means. The pension procured him by Charles, upon the bishoprick of Palencia in Castile, and the administration of the see of Badajos, at a time when he had not yet received any publick service from him, are incontestable proofs, that the cardinal had engaged with him, as being sure of governing his master as he pleased. These things afforded no very advantageous idea of Hen y's penetration.

Such were the characters, interests, and designs of the four principal sovereigns, concerned in the new war, I am going to speak of. The king of Scotland was yet too young, to be reckoned among the directors of the affairs of Europe. The Venetians sought only to live in peace, being, as I may say, exhausted by the former war. However, they could not avoid entering into this also. As for the Switzers, they were satisfied with their pensions from France, and generally inclined to observe the articles of their alliance with that crown; but they were not intirely secured from the secret practices continued, by the pope's and the emperor's agents, with some of their magistrates, to try to persuade them not to take part with France.

Francis I. invades Navarre. Du Bellay. Mezerai.

Francis I, having formed a design to make war upon the emperor, without incurring the blame of the rupture, resolved to begin with what could not be imputed to him as a premeditated design to quarrel. By the treaty of Noyon, Charles was bound to resign Navarre to Henry d'Albret, within four months, in default whereof, Francis was free to assist Henry to recover his kingdom. The affairs of Spain being extremely imbroiled, since the emperor quitted that country, Francis believed it a fair opportunity to invade Navarre. He was the more inclined to this undertaking, as the two regents of Spain had been forced to draw troops from Pampelona, and other places of that kingdom, to reinforce the army which was to act against the fore-mentioned league. He sent, therefore, into Navarre, in the beginning of March, an army, commanded by Lesparre of the House of Foix, elder brother to Lautrec and Lescun. This general, finding the kingdom without troops, and almost deserted, became master of it, in the space of a fortnight. Had he stopped there, perhaps, Navarre would have been still, at this day, annexed indeed, as it is in name only, to the crown of France, since the Spaniards were unable to expel Henry d'Albret, from whom the kings of France, of the house of Bourbon, are descended; but the desire of acquiring fame, or procuring the king's advantage, carried Lesparre to enter the province of Guipuscoa, and besiege Logrogno. The regents of Spain had no thoughts of recovering Navarre; but when they saw the French invading Spain itself, they assembled their forces to stop their progress. The male-contents themselves, lately vanquished, accepting a general pardon, led all their troops to the regents. Lesparre seeing an army, much stronger than his, coming against him, would have retired; but was so closely pursued, that he was forced to come to a battle, wherein he was defeated and taken prisoner. The loss of this battle occasioned the loss of Navarre, which the Spaniards recovered in less time than the French had conquered it. Thus, the king of France had the mortification to lose his army, to no purpose, and flagrantly discover to the emperor how he stood affected towards him. 1521.

Francis stirs up Robert de la Mark against the Emperor. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

The same time that he invaded Navarre, he raised Charles an enemy from another quarter, viz. Robert de la Mark, prince of Sedan, and sovereign of Bouillon, who believing to have cause to complain of the emperor, for a denial of justice to the young princes of Chimay, whose guardian he was, implored the king of France's protection. Very probably, Francis had offered it before it was desired. However, Robert de la Mark, seeing himself supported by the king, was so bold as to send a defiance to the emperor, who was then at the diet of Worms. Soon after, the earl of Fleuranges, eldest son of la Mark, put himself at the head of 4 or 5000 men, levied in France, and besieged Vireton, a place in Luxemburgh, belonging to the emperor.

The emperor calls upon the king of England to aid him against France. Herbert.

Then it was, that Charles, who had, with reluctance, agreed to the league of London, thought proper, however, to make use of it, in summoning the king of England to assist him, as obliged by the treaty, since it was evident, the king of France had raised him this enemy. Henry, prepossessed by the cardinal, was glad of a pretence, to cast the blame of the rupture upon the French king. In the interim, to proceed according to the articles of the league, he sent an ambassador, to require him to forbear all hostility against the emperor, not only in Luxemburgh, but also in Navarre. Francis answered, he was not author of the war between Robert de la Mark and the emperor, and all he could do, was, to forbid his subjects to serve, or assist la Mark. As to Navarre, it would have been needless to reply, since it was now out of his power to re-enter it. He performed his promise with regard to the war of Luxemburgh, and Fleuranges disbanded his army. Francis took care not openly to support the duke of Bouillon, for fear of affording Henry, who had offered his mediation, a pretence to declare for the empeor. I shall pursue this affair, when I have spoken of those of Italy, which are of no less importance.

In

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Leo X. joins with France, for the conquest of Naples. Guicciard.

In the beginning of this, or, perhaps, before the end of the last year, Leo X. concluded with the French ambassador residing at Rome, a treaty, whereby he joined in a league with Francis, for the conquest of Naples. The treaty ran, that all that part of the kingdom of Naples, lying between the ecclesiastical state and Gariglian, should remain to the pope, and the rest should be for Henry, the king's second son; but during his minority, the kingdom should be governed by the pope's legate, who should reside at the city of Naples. Whatever the pope's intention was in making this treaty, it may be almost affirmed, he acted with insincerity, because it must have been very disadvantageous to him, for the same prince to hold Milan and Naples. He was too politick, and too much used to by ways, to be thought to proceed fairly on this occasion. What may most probably be conjectured is, that his intention was to deal by Francis I, as Ferdinand, king of Arragon, had done by Lewis XII, when he made much the same partition with that prince. At last, Francis, who had frequently experienced what the pope was capable of, could never believe he really intended to assist him in that conquest; wherefore, he delayed the ratification of the treaty, to gain time to consider seriously of the affair.

The pope's league with the emperor. Mezerai. Guicciard.

Leo X, finding the time for ratifying the treaty was expired, suspected the king of projecting with the emperor, some agreement prejudicial to the holy see. Those that deal not sincerely, are ready to think others like themselves However, the king of France's affected delays, afforded the pope a motive, or pretence, to conclude another treaty with the emperor, to drive the French out of the Milanese, and restore the Sforza's. As he continued, at once, secret negotiations with the emperor and Francis, it would be something difficult to know his real design, if there was not a notable difference between the two treaties just mentioned. That with the French ambassador, concerned a chimerical project, the execution whereof, was almost impracticable in the present juncture of affairs, and, besides, really contrary to his true interest; whereas the other was to his advantage, and agreeable to the projects he had formed; so, probably, the first was made only to procure better terms from the emperor; besides, he had been ever wont to have, as they say, two strings to his bow, which he considered as the grand mystery of politicks. His treaty with the emperor was no less advantageous, than that he would have made with the king of France. The chief articles were these.

The articles of the treaty of league. Guicciard.

That the pope and emperor should join their forces, to expel the French out of the Milanese, and restore Francesco Sforza. That prince was then at Trent, having retired thither, a little before his brother Maximilian was dispossessed of his dominions.

That Parma and Placentia should be restored to the church.

That the inhabitants of the Milanese should provide themselves with salt, only at Cervia, a town in the ecclesiastical state.

That the emperor should aid the pope to conquer Ferrara.

That the sum the emperor gave the pope for the kingdom of Naples, should be augmented.

That the emperor should protect the family of Medici.

That he should grant to the cardinal de Medici, a pension of 10,000 ducats, upon the archbishoprick of Toledo.

That Alexander de Medici, natural son to Lorenzo, late duke of Urbino, should have, in the kingdom of Naples, lands, to the value of 10,000 ducats a year.

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This treaty was kept so private, that it came not to Francis's knowledge, till the two allies were going to invade the Milanese. In the interim, they concerted proper measures, to accomplish their designs. The pope, who had already 6000 Switzers, in his service, took care to augment his forces, on divers pretences; and the emperor ordered the viceroy of Naples, to keep the troops of that kingdom ready to march, upon the first notice, and at the same time, caused levies to be made in Germany, to reinforce his army, in Italy. Prosper Colonna was declared general of the league.

They prepare for war.

Colonna, general of the league.

Whilst Francis continued in a fatal security, and left the Milanese destitute of troops, never imagining he should be attacked in Italy, because he thought himself sure of the pope, the two new allies were contriving to seize, at once, Milan, Genoa, and Como, before they proclaimed war against him. For the first of these projects, they employed Hieronimo Morone, senator of Milan, who being suspected by the French, was banished the city. Morone having assembled a great number of exiles, in the neighbourhood of Milan, Lescun, who commanded in the absence of his brother Lautrec, the governor, sallied out of Milan with some troops, and pursued the exiles to Reggio, a town of the pope's, where they had retired, and even demanded of the governor, to deliver them into his hands. The governor refusing, Lescun withdrew, and posted himself about 10 miles from Reggio, within the pope's territories, and lay encamped 10 or 12 days. Then the pope, who only wanted a pretence to declare against France, called a consistory, greatly aggravated Lescun's affront, and declared, that in revenge, he was resolved to join with the emperor; but he had already done so, and the affair of Reggio was a mere pretence to delude the cardinals.

Attempts upon Genoa, Milan, and Como. Guicciard.

Whilst Lescun was at Reggio, Adorno, banished from Genoa, attempted to surprise that city, with some gallies supplied by the pope and the viceroy of Naples, but could not succeed. A few days after, Lescun discovered a plot to surprise Como, and was fully informed, that the pope and the emperor were the authors. It is, therefore, evident, that in case they had succeeded in their designs, they would have made no scruple to appear the aggressors.

Lescun no longer doubting, that there was a design to invade the Milanese, acquainted the

1521. the king, and alſo, ſent for the 4000 Switzers, intended for Milan, who were ready to march. Francis ſurpriſed at the danger the Milaneſe was in, ſpeedily ordered a levy of 20,000 Switzers, and ſent Lautrec to Milan, promiſing he ſhould want for nothing; but this promiſe was but very ill performed.

Colonna beſieges Parma. Bellay. Mezerai.

In the interim, Proſper Colonna, having aſſembled, at Reggio, the army of the allies, beſieged Parma, where Leſcun had now thrown in ſome troops; but before he could take the place, Lautrec having received the ſupplies he expected from Switzerland, forced him to raiſe the ſiege, and purſued him even beyond the borders of the Milaneſe. As he imagined Parma to be out of danger, he had drawn out Leſcun with the garriſon, to ſtrengthen his army; but no ſooner was Leſcun out of the city, than the inhabitants declared for the pope, and erected the church's colours on the walls,

He raiſes the ſiege.

Lautrec is deſerted by the Switzers. Colonna purſues him cloſely. Guicciard.

But this was not the only misfortune Lautrec was to be expoſed to, during the campaign; for preſently after, he was deſerted by the 20,000 Switzers he had lately received, and conſtrained to retire to Milan, where Proſper Colonna purſued him in his turn, with all poſſible diligence. Whereupon, Lautrec deſpairing of defending Milan, quitted the town, after ſupplying the caſtle with ammunition, and withdrew to Como, where the 4000 Switzers he ſtill had, forſook him and returned home, becauſe he had no money to pay them. So, Colonna, taking poſſeſſion of Milan, went from thence to make other conqueſts, which Lautrec could not oppoſe. In a word, Francis loſt the whole duchy of Milan, except a few places.

Lautrec quits Milan.

The death of Leo X. Guicciard.

Probably, Lautrec would not have been able to ſupport himſelf long, in Italy, had not the pope's death, on the 1ſt of December, afforded him ſome reſpite. Leo X, is ſaid to die with joy, at the news of the good ſucceſs of the league. Some, however, affirm, his death was haſtened by poiſon. However this be, the news of the pope's death was no ſooner ſpread, but the troops he maintained, disbanded themſelves. Of the 12000 Switzers he had in the army of the allies, but 1500 remained, and the Florentines retired to their own country. Thus, Proſper Colonna found himſelf in a few days, in as ill a ſituation as Lautrec. The college of cardinals, not knowing what courſe to take, gave no orders, but deferred every thing till the election of a new pope. In the interim, the duke of Ferrara recovered ſome of his towns in la Romagna, and Franceſco Maria della Rovere, took poſſeſſion again of the duchy of Urbino. If Lautrec had then been ſupplied with the men and money, he was promiſed, he would have, doubtleſs, expelled the Imperialiſts out of Milan; but Francis I, entirely neglecting the affairs of Italy, thought only of defending himſelf in Flanders and Picardy, where he was vigorouſly attacked. However, he ſtill held, in Italy, Genoa, Cremona, the caſtles of Milan and Novarra, with ſome ſmall places, on the lake Gorda.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in Italy, the war, at length, was begun in the Low-Countries, in a manner very diſadvantageous to France. The troops raiſed by Robert de la Mark, to beſiege Vireton, being disbanded, Francis thought he had ſatisfied the emperor and the king of England. It was indeed ſufficient to take from Henry all pretence of declaring againſt him, ſince by the treaty of league, in caſe one of the allies was invaded, the reſt were not to declare againſt the aggreſſor, till being ſummoned to deſiſt from the war, he ſhould have refuſed. Francis was ſummoned, and had deſiſted, conſequently Henry had no cauſe to complain. But it was otherwiſe with the emperor, who was not contented with ſo ſlight a ſatisfaction. He forbore, however, to complain of the king of France, but was reſolved to be revenged of Robert de la Mark, who had dared to ſend him a defiance; beſides, he conſidered, if Francis undertook to defend that prince, as it was very likely, he would incur the blame of the rupture, and this was what the emperor and cardinal Wolſey chiefly deſired, in order to make uſe of that inducement to perſuade Henry, to declare againſt France; ſo Charles having prepared an army, gave the command to Henry, count of Naſſau, who entering the territories of Robert de la Mark, took and razed ſeveral places. Francis was patient, chuſing rather to forſake his ally, than give the king of England a pretence to arm againſt him. Then Robert ſeeing himſelf without refuge, made his ſubmiſſion to the emperor, who granted him a truce for ſix weeks. In the interim, tho' the emperor had to deal only with a petty prince, unable to reſiſt him, and of whom he had been ſufficiently revenged, he continued to reinforce his army. Francis ſeeing ſo many troops, in the neighbourhood of Champagne, eaſily perceived, they were not ſolely deſigned againſt Robert de la Mark, and that he might be taken unprovided, unleſs he prepared for his defence. In the interim, he repreſented to the king of England, that he could not avoid taking arms, in order to reſiſt the emperor, who was preparing to attack him. Henry replied, he would ſide with neither, but as a common friend, offered to be their umpire; adding, if they would both ſend their plenipotentiaries to Calais, the beginning of Auguſt, cardinal Wolſey ſhould be there, to act in his name, as mediator. Charles readily accepted ſo advantageous a propoſal, ſince he and the cardinal underſtood one another. As for Francis, he durſt not reject it, tho' he had no reaſon to be pleaſed with the king of England; but he did not yet know that Wolſey was wholly devoted to the emperor. It was, therefore, agreed, that the plenipotentiaries of the two monarchs, the pope's nuncio, and the cardinal mediator, ſhould meet at Calais, the 4th of Auguſt.

1521. Campaign of the Low-Countries. Bellay.

In the interim, the lord of Liques having levied an army, at his own charge, as he affirmed, ſurpriſed Mortagne, and St. Amand, in the Tournaſis, on pretence of ſome claim

1521. of his houſe. The emperor affected to conſider this as a private quarrel, in which he had no concern, tho' Liques's army was compoſed of his ſubjects. His view was to oblige Francis to take ſome ſtep, which might give occaſion to accuſe him, of being the aggreſſor. Herein he only imitated that prince, who had attacked him under the name of Robert de la Mark. But ſome time after, the governor of Flanders beſieging Tournay, in form, it was not poſſible to put ſo favourable a conſtruction upon that ſiege, eſpecially as what paſſed then in Italy, left the emperor no room to diſſemble any longer. It is certain, Francis had been ſurpriſed as well in Italy, as in Champagne and Flanders. He had intended, no doubt, to attack the emperor, but did not expect to be invaded firſt. For this reaſon, he wanted time to prepare his army. In the interim, the Imperialiſts took and razed the town of Ardres.

The emperor tries to lay the blame of the rupture upon the French king. Bellay.

The congreſs of Calais. Act. Pub.

The time appointed for the congreſs of Calais, being come, cardinal Wolſey repaired thither, with a numerous retinue, and carried the great ſeal with him. It appears, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, that he was furniſhed with ſeveral of the king's commiſſions, to be uſed as he ſhould think proper. By the firſt, he was conſtituted the king's lieutenant general to adjuſt, as mediator, the differences between the emperor and the king of France; by a ſecond, he was impowered to treat and conclude with Francis I, a renewal of the alliance. But, probably, this was only to ſhew the French ambaſſadors Henry's impartiality, and pretended deſign to join with that prince, who ſhould be found to be unjuſtly attacked. By a third, he had power to conclude a league between England and the emperor, the pope, the king of France, or any other potentate whatever. Thus, Henry, without having yet examined on which ſide the blame lay, left it to his lieutenant to engage him in which party he pleaſed. But very probably, his reſolution was taken already, and the congreſs of Calais intended only to ſhew, he was not reſolved, till after a ſtrict information, and to cauſe the blame of the rupture to be thrown on the king of France. All the proceedings of the cardinal mediator, diſcovered, that he meant not to procure a peace between the two monarchs, but only to find the king, his maſter, a pretence to declare for the emperor.

The emperor's army takes Mouzon, and ravages Champagne. Bellay. Mazerai.

Whilſt theſe affairs were negotiating, at Calais, the Imperialiſts beſieged and took Mouzon, in Champagne. Then they ravaged the country, and plundered the little town of Aubanton, where the count of Naſſau ſuffered his ſoldiers to commit grievous outrages; after which, he laid ſiege to Mezieres. Francis wanting time to aſſemble his army, could not be ready till the end of September; which, however, was ſoon enough to throw ſuccours into Mezieres, and thereby force the count of Naſſau to raiſe the ſiege. The earl of St. Pol recovered Mouzon ſoon after, and the count of Naſſau retired into the earldom of Namur. Champagne being thus freed, Francis ordered his army to march into Flanders, where the Imperialiſts ſtill continued the ſiege of Tournay. When his troops were drawn together, he aſſaulted Bapaume, Landrecy, Bouchain, and carried them; afterwards hearing, the emperor, who had headed his army, was retiring towards Valenciennes, he reſolved to go and attack him, but loſt the opportunity, by his own fault. It is ſaid, if he had been as ſpeedy as he might, and ought to have been, he would have infallibly defeated the emperor, who giving all over for loſt, was retired with 100 horſe only, quitting his army, not to be a witneſs of their deſtruction. Upon this occaſion, Francis I, gave the duke of Bourbon, conſtable of France, great cauſe of diſguſt, by ſetting the duke of Alenſon at the head of the vanguard, tho' that poſt properly belonged to the conſtable, when the king was in the army. It is ſaid, the king gave the conſtable this mortification, to oblige his mother, the ducheſs of Angouleſme, who hated him; but he had too much reaſon, afterwards, to repent his complaiſance to his mother. 1521.

The campaign in Navarre. Hall. P. Daniel.

At the very time Francis I, was attacked, in Champagne, he ſent an army into Navarre, under the command of admiral Bonnivet, who arrived about the end of September, at St. John de Luz. At firſt, he pretended to march towards Pampelona. Then, after ſeveral marches and counter-marches, he ſuddenly approached, and beſieged Fontarabia. When the breach was made, he ordered the town to be furiouſly ſtormed, but, however, was bravely repulſed; but the garriſon, being little able to ſtand a ſecond aſſault, ſurrendered by capitulation. This conqueſt was of very great importance, Fontarabia being one of the keys of Spain.

An account of the congreſs of Calais. Hall. Herbert.

Whilſt the war was vigorouſly continued in Italy, Champagne, Flanders, Picardy, Navarre, cardinal Wolſey was buſy, at Calais, in treating with the plenipotentiaries of the emperor and the king of France. This congreſs laſted 10 weeks, and the parties could not be brought to agree. In all appearance, the mediator, inſtead of cloſing, helped rather to widen the breach. It was long debated, to know which had begun the war. This was the chief point, with reſpect to Wolſey, who intended to throw the blame on the king of France. Afterwards, when the differences themſelves came to be conſidered, the propoſals of the emperor's plenipotentiaries ſhewed, a peace was ſtill very remote. They demanded reſtitution of the duchy of Burgundy, and abolition of the homage due to the crown of France, for Flanders and Artois. The only reaſon they alledged to ſupport their laſt pretenſion, was, that it was unbecoming for an emperor, to do homage to a king. Theſe two propoſitions were of ſuch a nature, that Francis would hardly have accepted them, even after the loſs of many battles. On the other hand, the French ambaſſadors having notice of what paſſed in Italy, earneſtly demanded reſtitution of Milan, and, that the emperor ſhould withdraw his troops from before Tournay. They inſiſted, moreover, upon

1521. on the reſtitution of Navarre, to which the emperor was bound by the treaty of Noyon. If the emperor had been afraid of Henry's joining with the king of France, he might have granted part of theſe demands, without being forced to diſmember his dominions. But Francis could not reſign Burgundy, without letting the enemy into the heart of his kingdom, nor the homage of Flanders and Artois, without diſhonour. But as the emperor was ſecure of the king of England, he perſiſted in his demands, without any abatements.

Wolſey declares he deſpairs of a peace. Act. Pub. Hall. Stow. Herbert.

After the mediator had long feigned to endeavour only to procure a peace, he declared, he ſaw no way to ſucceed. Then, he preſented to the plenipotentiaries, a treaty to ſign, containing articles of little importance, viz. that the French and Flemings ſhould have liberty to fiſh for herrings, till the end of January; that the two contending monarchs ſhould enjoin their ſubjects to purſue no veſſel into the ports, or harbours, belonging to the king of England, and commit no hoſtilities within the territories of the ſaid king, during the war; that the pope's nuncio, and the plenipotentiaries, at Calais, might freely retire with all their train, without receiving any injury from the troops of the two monarchs; that the king of England and the cardinal legate, his lieutenant, ſhould be the conſervators of theſe articles, to be ratified within 10 days. We have here a very ſenſible proof of the cardinal's inſolence, who, in a treaty drawn by himſelf, preſumed, thus, to ſet himſelf upon a level with his maſter, by being declared conſervator with the king. Theſe conventions were ratified by the two monarchs, the 2d and 11th of October, and there appears not in the Collection of the Publick Acts, the leaſt trace of any other treaty made, at Calais, at that time.

Remarks on a paſſage of Bellay's Memoirs.

Du Bellay, however, ſays, in his Memoirs, that the king of England having ſent ambaſſadors to Francis I, during the congreſs of Calais, they laboured ſo effectually, that, at length, it was agreed, the emperor ſhould raiſe the ſiege of Tournay, and withdraw his troops out of the Milaneſe; that Francis ſhould retire into France with his army, and their differences be referred to the arbitration of the king of England. He adds, after theſe conventions, each thought the peace concluded, but that upon the emperor's receiving news of the taking of Fontarabia, he demanded, before the treaty was ratified, the reſtitution of that place, and upon Francis's refuſal, the treaty remained unexecuted. But very probably, this illuſtrious author, who was better acquainted with the particulars of the war, than of the negotiations, was miſinformed. Firſt, becauſe the Collection of the Publick Acts, mentions not this pretended treaty, tho' we ſee there another of much leſs conſequence, concluded at the ſame time. Secondly, we don't find in the Collection, any ambaſſy from the king of England, either to the French king, or the emperor, in the time which muſt have preceded this ſame treaty. Thirdly, there is no likelihood, the emperor would have withdrawn his troops out of the Milaneſe, that is, would have reſtored Milan to France, and loſt the hopes of acquiring Tournay, which was now reduced to extremities, for the bare advantage of ſeeing Francis retire into his own kingdom. In ſhort, it may have been eaſily perceived, Henry was very far from the thoughts of forcing the emperor to yield to theſe terms, and it will ſtill be more plainly perceived by what follows. Add to all theſe conſiderations, that ſeeing the regard the emperor and the king of France had for cardinal Wolſey, it is not likely they ſhould conclude a treaty without his knowledge, and by the miniſtry of other ambaſſadors, whilſt he was at Calais, to do the office of mediator. It may be, theſe propoſals were made to Francis, and he was ſo blind as to imagine they would take place, becauſe he was yet ignorant of the ſecret engagements of the king of England and his miniſter, with the emperor, and becauſe ſuch a report was ſpread in the court of France. Be this as it will, after the taking of Fontarabia, the war continued without intermiſſion, and with great animoſity. Francis I, became maſter of Heſdin, about the beginning of November, and Tournay ſurrendered to the emperor by capitulation. 1521.

Wolſey goes to the emperor, at Bruges. Herbert. Hall.

In the interim, cardinal Wolſey ſtill remained, at Calais, under pretence of ſearching for ſome farther expedient to procure a peace between the two monarchs; for he frequently ſent expreſſes to both, with propoſals, which he knew they would not accept. At laſt, feigning to deſire to gain time, he went himſelf to the emperor, at Bruges, where he was received with as much reſpect, as if he had been king of England. Here he concluded with the pope and the emperor, a league againſt France, by vertue of the powers he had brought with him. By this treaty, the pope engaged to thunder the church's cenſures againſt the king of France. Henry was to invade him with an army of 40,000 men. The emperor and Henry obliged themſelves to break all their engagements with him; moreover, Henry promiſed to give, in marriage, to the emperor, the princeſs Mary, affianced to the dauphin. Theſe were the chief articles agreed upon, by the emperor and the cardinal, the 24th of November, 1521, which were to be ratified and put into form of treaty, within three months; but they engaged to be ſecret, till the time of performance. Thus, was Henry perſuaded by his miniſter, to oppreſs his ally, the king of France, who had done him no injury. The only thing he could complain of, was, that Francis had lately permitted the duke of Albany to return into Scotland, doubtleſs, becauſe he perceived the cardinal was meditating ſomething againſt him. It is in vain to inquire, what intereſt Henry had to declare againſt France, and cauſe the balance to incline to the emperor's ſide; no other can be found but the cardinal's, who wanted to be pope, at Francis's coſt. The death of Leo X, haſtened by poiſon, as ſeveral affirm, and happening during theſe tranſactions, has made ſome ſuſpect, that Wolſey was concerned in it, and the more, becauſe

1521. because he aſpired to be ſucceſſor to a pope much younger than himſelf; but no proof was ever produced. Certainly, Henry would have acquired more glory, in continuing umpire of the peace, between the two contending monarchs, and procuring tranquillity to all Europe, than by all the conqueſts, his miniſter flattered him with. 1521.

A bull to enlarge the legate's power. Act. Pub.

Hitherto cardinal Wolſey had puſhed his fortune to ſuch a height, that it ſeemed difficult to make any addition to it; and yet all this was not capable to ſatisfy him. His legateſhip had been prolonged for two years, the beginning of this year; but he thought himſelf to be too much above all other legates, not to have a different commiſſion from theirs. In April, he procured from Leo X, a bull, impowering him to make 50 knights, 50 count palatines, as many acolyths and chaplains, 40 notaries apoſtolick, who ſhould have the ſame privileges as thoſe made by the pope; to legitimate baſtards, give degrees in arts, law, phyſick, and divinity, and grant all ſorts of diſpenſations. In ſhort, not content with all the riches he poſſeſſed, or with the means he had to increaſe them inceſſantly, he cauſed alſo, the rich abbey of St. Albans to be given him, this year, in Commendam.

The diſgrace and death of the duke of Buckingham. Herbert.

It is no wonder, if, being arrived to ſo high a degree of grandeur and riches, his pride increaſed, in proportion. Tho' the king's blindneſs for him, was inconceiveable, it was not ſo with the courtiers, who ſaw but too plainly, how groſsly he miſled his maſter, who placed ſo great confidence in him; but none dared to take notice of it, ſuch was the dread of his haughty and revengeful temper. The duke of Buckingham, ſon to the duke of the ſame name, who, in the reign of Richard III, loſt his head on the ſcaffold, for endeavouring to procure the crown for Henry VII, ſadly experienced, how dangerous it was to diſcover what was thought of that proud prelate. He happened one day to ſay, in the hearing of one, who betrayed him, that in caſe the king died without iſſue, he thought he had a right to the crown, and if ever he aſcended the throne, his firſt care ſhould be to puniſh the cardinal, according to his deſerts. The duke's title was not altogether groundleſs, ſince he was deſcended from Ann of Glouceſter, grand-daughter to Edward III. Doctor Moreton, afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury, preſſed the duke, his father, to endeavour to ſeize the crown; but the duke choſe rather to act for the earl of Richmond, than for himſelf, as was ſhewn in the reign of Richard III. What the ſon had ſaid concerning his title, was, therefore, rather imprudent than criminal, ſince he pretended not to the crown, unleſs the king died without heirs. Indeed, his title might be ill-grounded; but he had done nothing to ſupport it. His crime, then, conſiſted only, in what he had ſaid againſt the cardinal, who, for that reaſon, reſolved to diſpatch him. For that purpoſe, he gained ſome of his domeſticks, and learnt, by their means, that he had conſulted a certain monk, who pretended to foretell things to come, and conferred with him, ſeveral times, ſince April, 1512. Probably, the duke, fond of his title, had inquired of the monk, whether the king would die without children; and, that was ſufficient to give the cardinal occaſion to miſconſtrue all his proceedings. When he believed he had ſufficient evidence againſt him, he began with depriving him, of his two principal ſupports; viz. Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, his father-in-law, whom he ſent to the tower, on ſome pretence, and Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, his ſon-in-law, on whom he conferred the government of Ireland, to remove him from London. Preſently after, the duke was apprehended, and accuſed of high-treaſon. The ſubſtance of his impeachment, was, that he had ſeveral times conſulted the monk, concerning the ſucceſſion to the crown, and affected to make himſelf popular. The duke confeſſed, he had talked ſometimes with the monk; but denied it to be with the intent he was charged with. He was, however, condemned to die, as a traytor, which he could not bear to hear when the ſentence was pronounced. "My lord of "Norfolk, cried he, you have ſaid as a tray- "tor ſhould be ſaid unto, but I was never "one. My lords, continued he, addreſſing "himſelf to the peers, his judges, I nothing "maligne for what you have done to me, "but the eternal God forgive you my death, "and I do. I ſhall never ſue to the king for "life, howbeit he is a gracious prince, and "more grace may come from him than I deſire. "My lords and all my fellows, I deſire you "to pray for me." When he ſaid he would not ſue to the king for life, his meaning was, he thought it would be fruitleſs, knowing he was the cardinal's victim, who had an abſolute ſway over the king. Indeed, the miniſter had ſo ordered it, that tho' all the peers of the realm, had a right to aſſiſt at the trial, there were preſent only one duke, one marqueſs, ſeven earls, and 12 barons; and probably, he had ſecured the majority. All the the favour the duke received, was, to be beheaded, inſtead of dying the death of a traytor. This execution was attended with loud murmurs, among the people, and ſatyrical libels againſt the cardinal, wherein was ſaid among other things, that it was not ſtrange the ſon of a butcher ſhould delight in ſhedding blood. But this was all the revenge that was taken for this injuſtice. He was too deeply rooted in the king's mind, to fear theſe murmurs, which, beſides, never reached the king's ears, all about him being either ſpies, or creatures of the cardinal.

The affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

The king was then, wholly intent upon one affair, viz. the war he had reſolved to make upon France, as if his glory and grandeur had depended upon the ruin of that kingdom, whereas his true intreſt was, to ſupport France againſt the emperor, who was now grown too powerful. He was already formidable to all Europe, even without the aſſiſtance of England, how much more by his union with that kingdom? This was owing to cardinal Wolſey's ambition, whoſe counſels to his maſter,

1521. master, were always self-interested. Probably, France was going to be reduced to a very sad condition, it being hardly possible for her to resist so potent enemies, who were to invade her from several quarters. Francis I, imagined, however, he had still one refuge, by means of the Scots, who could make a considerable diversion, in England. The congress of Calais having plainly discovered Henry's partiality to the emperor, he made no doubt of its being an introduction to a rupture. In this belief, tho' he had engaged to detain the duke of Albany, in France, he thought proper to keep him no longer, not thinking himself bound to perform a promise, the motive whereof, was now no more, viz. the mutual friendship between him and Henry. He permitted, therefore, the duke of Albany, to return into Scotland, or rather sent him back, in hopes he would employ part of the English forces on the borders of the two kingdoms. He very justly expected this service from a prince, who was devoted to him, and looked upon his settlement, in France, as much more solid than that in Scotland, where his regency was to last but few years. The duke, therefore, departed for Scotland, and arriving the 30th of October, 1521, after a four years absence, resumed the regency. As he intended to serve France to the utmost of his power, his first care, was, to oblige the earl of Angus, the queen's spouse, to quit the kingdom, deeming him one of the king of England's principal adherents, and, yet, the earl took refuge in France.

The progress of the reformation in Germany. Sleidan.

Whilst the Christian princes were all employed in their temporal concerns, the reformation made great progress, in Germany, by means of Luther's writings, which were read with great eagerness. Luther was satisfied, at first, with attacking the sale of indulgences, then the indulgences themselves, and the pope's power to grant them. This naturally led him to examine the grounds of the papal authority; and, being persuaded there was nothing to support it, in scripture, he wrote upon that subject, without any regard to the Roman pontiff. He attacked, likewise, in his writings, the celibacy of priests, monastick vows, and private masses. Tho' at the time I am now speaking of, viz. the beginning of the year 1521, he had preached and wrote against the pope, but three years, he had gained many followers, and still more enemies, not only by his novel opinions, but also by his sharp and satyrical stile, wherein he threw off all ceremony, with respect to the church of Rome. The book that made most noise, was entitled, Concerning the Babylonish Captivity. In the book the popes were not spared.

In the several answers which appeared, as well against this as the other books of Luther, the decretals of the popes, and the works of Thomas Aquinas, were urged in favour of the the papal power. This gave him occasion, in his answers to redicule those, who in defence of the papal authority, alledged the decisions of the popes themselves, and the testimony of Thomas Aquinas, who was canonized for carrying the pope's authority as high as possible. Besides, he did not shew much regard for that author's writings; which, probably, was the chief thing that incensed Henry VIII. against him. As Henry had much studied the works of Thomas Aquinas, and from thence, properly, had acquired all his theological knowledge, he could not bear to see his favourite author thus contemned. He thought himself, therefore, a match for Luther, and able to confute his writings; but, as Leo X, had by a bull, expresly forbid the reading of his works, and, an answer necessarily supposed the perusal, cardinal Wolsey applied to the pope for a power, to permit such to read them, as desired it, with intent to confute them. This was granted him, by a brief, dated the 17th of April, 1521, the pope little thinking who the person was, that was going to support his cause.

1521. 1521.

Henry VIII's book against Luther, presented to the pope. Herbert.

Henry finished, in September, his book, against Luther, entitled, Concerning the seven Sacraments. He defended indulgences, papal authority, the number of sacraments, and other articles, combated by Luther, proceeding upon Thomas Aquinas's principles, as upon undeniable truths. Very probably, he was assisted by cardinal Wolsey in composing this work, which was presented to the pope in full consistory. Leo X, who was still living, received it with great joy, and spoke of it in the highest strains of flattery, making no scruple to compare it to the works of St. Augustine and St. Jerom. This is no wonder. A book composed by a great king, in defence of the papal authority, could not be too much esteemed by a pope. A few days after, Leo assembled the cardinals, to consult with them, after what manner he should requite the king of England's service to the church. After a long debate, they resolved, at last, to honour that monarch with the glorious title of Defender of the Faith. In consequence of this resolution, the pope ordered a bull to be drawn, conferring that title on Henry, and all the kings of England, his successors. I shall not repeat here, the magnificent encomiums the pope gave the king, in this bull, and, in a letter of thanks for his book. It may easily be imagined, he spared not the most extravagant expressions to flatter a prince, who was so fond of being flattered, and of whom he stood in need, his nuncio being then, at Calais, negotiating with cardinal Wolsey, a league against France.

1522. Henry's reasons for making war upon France.

I have already spoke of this league, which was really concluded at Bruges. Henry founded his joining with the emperor, upon Francis's having been the aggressor, by encouraging Robert de la Mark to take arms. But besides that, Francis denied he was concerned in that undertaking, and had even obliged Robert to desist, it was evident the emperor had prevented him, by joining in a league with the pope, tho' their league was not so soon made known. The secret attempts upon Como, Milan, Genoa, and the open war in the Milanese, by which the king of France lost that

1522. duchy, were clear evidences, that the league was concluded before Robert de la Mark's affair. Henry pretended, alſo, to have againſt Francis, another cauſe of complaint, which, however, had no better foundation; viz. that contrary to his promiſe, he had permitted the duke of Albany to return into Scotland. But if it is conſidered, that the duke arrived not in his own country, till the 30th of October, that the league of Bruges was ſigned, the 24th of November, it will be eaſy to perceive the league was already reſolved, before Henry could know that the duke of Albany was returned into Scotland. But, tho' upon the firſt notice, he had taken a haſty reſolution to join with the pope and the emperor, was that a juſt cauſe to proceed to a war, which would, probably, ruin France? The truth is, theſe were only pretences to cover the injuſtice of a war, undertaken by Henry for the cardinal's intereſt, and, perhaps, without knowing himſelf the real motives of that miniſter's proceedings.

Henry ſends to the duke of Albany, to go out of Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert.

In the interim, Henry perceiving the duke of Albany would embarraſs him, if he continued in Scotland, attempted a ſecond time to drive him from thence. To that purpoſe, he ſent Clarenceux, his herald, with orders to upbraid him, with breach of promiſe, and with returning into Scotland, to marry the queen dowager, and deprive the young king of the crown. The pretended reaſon of this laſt charge, was, that the queen dowager being deſirous to have her marriage with the earl of Angus annulled, the duke of Albany had ſeconded her ſuit, at the court of Rome. The duke replied, he was returned into Scotland, by the invitation of the great men; that he had never done any thing to give occaſion to ſuſpect him of aſpiring to the crown, neither had he ever any ſuch thought, that, indeed, he had countenanced the queen's ſuit, but without any deſign to marry her, having a wife of his own.

He writ to the parliament upon the ſame account.

The parliament's anſwer. Act. Pub.

Henry was not ſatisfied with ſummoning the regent, but ſent, alſo, a letter to the parliament of Scotland, containing the ſame accuſations againſt the duke of Albany, and a charge to the ſtates, to expel him the kingdom. The ſubſtance of the parliament's anſwer was; that what had been reported to his majeſty, concerning the duke of Albany's return into Scotland, to take forcible poſſeſſion of the king's perſon, was utterly falſe; that the duke did nothing with regard to the king, that could breed the leaſt ſuſpicion, ſince he did not ſo much as offer to change any of his domeſticks, without the conſent of the ſtates; and, that it was with the queen's advice and conſent, that they had taken care of the guardianſhip and education of the king; that they could not believe the duke had ever intended to put away his wife, and marry the queen, or, that the queen had any thoughts of eſpouſing the duke; that, as for the treaty with the king of France, to hinder the duke of Albany's return into Scotland, it was never communicated to them, neither had they any knowledge of it; that they could not help thinking ſuch a treaty very ſtrange, ſince they rather imagined, his majeſty ſhould have ſollicited the duke to return and defend the king, his nephew, againſt his rebellious ſubjects, whereas they ſaw, with grief, it was he who fomented the rebellion. That, if it continued thus, they did not ſee how it was poſſible to keep a good underſtanding between the two kingdoms. That, however, if he would be pleaſed to ſend away the biſhop of Dunkeld from his court, and without interpoſing in the affairs of Scotland leave to the regent and ſtates, the care of governing the kingdom, a truce might be concluded, till the ambaſſy that was to be ſent to him, was ready. But that, in caſe, he would have no truce, unleſs they expelled the regent, they would endeavour to defend themſelves in the beſt manner they could. 1522.

The queen of Scotland's letter to the king, her brother. Herbert.

Queen Margaret, to whom the king, her brother, had likewiſe wrote upon the ſame ſubject, ſent an anſwer, ſharply expoſtulating with him, for giving ear to the report concerning her mariage with the duke of Albany. She freely owned, it was with her conſent and advice that the duke was recalled, adding, if he had not been ſo unkind a brother, ſhe ſhould have had no occaſion to ſeek the protection of a ſtranger.

Henry finds means to avoid a war with Scotland. Buchanan. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Henry could not expect any other anſwer, ſince he was conſcious to himſelf, that his accuſations againſt the regent of Scotland, were only affected pretences, to complain indirectly of the king of France. He ordered, however, the lord Dacres to march into Scotland, with 500 men, and proclaim on the borders, that if the Scots made not peace with him, by ſuch a time, it ſhould be to their peril. But he did not ſupport this bravado; for his ſole view, was to furniſh his party, in Scotland, with a pretence to refuſe to ſerve the regent, in caſe he attempted to make a diverſion, in England, in favour of France. And, in this he was not diſappointed; for, in October following, the regent of Scotland raiſing an army to make an inroad into England, was no ſooner come to the borders, but many of the lords refuſed to attend any farther, alledging, they were unwilling to engage the kingdom in an unneceſſary war with England. The oppoſition the duke of Albany found in his army, convincing him he ſhould be able to do nothing conſiderable, he propoſed a truce, which the Engliſh gladly accepted; for Henry's view, was only to terrify the Scots with a dread of the ſucceſs of a war with England, during the minority of their king. So, the duke of Albany ſeeing it was not in his power to ſerve France, as he deſired, returned about the end of October, to Paris, in order to take freſh meaſures with the king. Thus, Henry attained his ends, in avoiding a rupture with Scotland, as a war with that kingdom could not but extremely incommode him, in his preſent circumſtances.

Francis calls upon Henry to aid him againſt the emperor. Act. Pub.

In the interim, Francis I, having had ſome intelligence of what paſſed, at Bruges, between the emperor and the cardinal, and deſiring to convince Henry, how directly contrary to the league of London, his proceedings

1522. ings were, ſent him letters patent, inſerting the article of the treaty, whereby they were engaged mutually to aſſiſt one another. Then he recited what the emperor had done againſt him, as well in Italy, as in Champagne and Flanders, and ſummoned him to perform the treaty he had ſolemnly ſworn. Henry, in anſwer, ſent a herald to proclaim war againſt him, alledging, he was obliged to it by the ſame treaty of London, becauſe Francis had firſt attacked the emperor, and moreover, had diſappointed him, with reſpect to the duke of Albany. Thus, war was once more declared between France and England, upon very frivolous, not to ſay unjuſt occaſions. But Wolſey had the art of perſuading the king, his maſter, to whatever he pleaſed.

Henry proclaims war. Hall. Stow.

A tax impoſed on England. Herbert.

Henry having without cauſe proclaimed war againſt France, did not dare to call a parliament to demand a ſubſidy; for he could alledge neither any juſt cauſe, nor any neceſſity for undertaking a war deſtructive to the Engliſh merchants. However, money muſt be raiſed, and it was the cardinal's buſineſs, who had embarqued him in the war, to find means. The expedient he thought moſt proper, was, to order the ſheriffs to ſend a liſt of the names of all above 16 years old, with an exact account of what each perſon was worth in land, ſtock, moveables, and money. This was ſuch a ſurvey, as was, formerly, taken, in the reign of William the Conqueror, and had given ſo great cauſe of complaint to the nation. This was followed by a general loan of the tenth of his lay-ſubjects, and a fourth of the clergy, according to the true value of their eſtates, beſides 20,000 pounds, which the king borrowed of the city of London, in particular. Thus, one injuſtice commonly draws on another; for, this war was manifeſtly unjuſt, and became ſtill more ſo, by the means employed to maintain it. Theſe kinds of involuntary loans, to which certain kings of England have ſometimes forced their ſubjects, are a manifeſt violation of the privileges of the people, and tend directly to arbitrary power. If the king may oblige his ſubjects to furniſh him with money, when he ſhall think neceſſary, tho' it be by way of benevolence, or loan, it may be aſſured, he will very ſeldom, or, perhaps, never think himſelf obliged to call a parliament. It is true, Henry was neither the firſt nor laſt, that uſed this extraordinary method to raiſe money; but, tho' he was ſo fortunate as to receive no prejudice by it, ſome of his ſucceſſors, who were pleaſed to imitate him, were not ſo happy.

Murmurings againſt the cardinal.

This general loan made a great noiſe over all the kingdom; for every one openly exclaimed againſt the cardinal, who was the author; but he little regarded the people's clamours, becauſe he was ſupported by the king. However, tho', at firſt, he had given orders to exact loans with the ſame rigour, as if they had been a tax impoſed by the parliament, he met with ſo many obſtacles, that he was apprehenſive of raiſing, in the kingdom, commotions, not to be appeaſed at his pleaſure; ſo, the tax was levied much more gently, than at firſt was intended. This cauſed ſo great a miſtake in the cardinal's calculation, that the king was forced, at laſt, to recur to the uſual method of a parliament, to maintain the war, as we ſhall ſee preſently. The London merchants were the moſt ſtrenuous oppoſers of the levying this tax. They were required to declare upon oath, the real value of their effects; but they firmly refuſed it, alledging, it was not poſſible for them to give an exact account of their effects, part whereof, was in the hands of their correſpondents in foreign countries. At length, by agreement, the king was pleaſed to accept of a ſum, according to their own calculation of themſelves. 1522.

The London merchants oppoſe the tax.

Cardinal Wolſey's concern, at not ſucceeding in this affair, according to his wiſh, was not comparable to his trouble, at being diſappointed in another, which touched him more nearly, and for which, he had ſpared neither money nor pains; I mean his election to the papal dignity, of which he thought himſelf ſecure. Leo X. dying, the beginning of December, laſt year, when his obſequies were over, the cardinals entered the conclave, where they were not a little embarraſſed, concerning the election of a new pope. Julio, cardinal de Medici, aſpired to the papacy, and had many votes for him; but the emperor's party, and ſome cardinals gained by Wolſey, openly oppoſed the election of Julio. In the interim, as it is required to have two thirds of the voices to be choſen pope, if the cardinal de Medici had not enough for himſelf, he had, however, enough to exclude any other; and, this long detained the cardinals in the conclave. Tho' the emperor had promiſed Wolſey his intereſt, he intended not to keep his word; for his deſign was, to cauſe Adrian Florentio, biſhop of Tortoſa, native of Utrecht, and formerly his preceptor, to be choſen, reckoning, when he ſhould be pope, he would be entirely devoted to him. But this affair was managed ſo artfully, and withal ſo privately, that the cardinals of his party, without diſcovering their intent, were ſatisfied with breaking the cardinal de Medici's meaſures, till an opportunity offered to carry their point.

The cardinal is diſappointed of his hopes of the papacy.

In the interim, Wolſey left no ſtone unturned. As he built all his hopes upon the emperor's intereſt, he wrote to him, to put him in mind of his promiſe, repreſenting the advantages to have a pope at his devotion. At the ſame time, he ordered Pace, who was then at Venice, inſtantly to repair to Rome, and do him what ſervice he could. The emperor was very much embarraſſed in relation to Wolſey; for he had promiſed to uſe all his intereſt in his favour, tho' nothing was farther from his thoughts. It was his intereſt to have a pope at his devotion; but he knew cardinal Wolſey too well, to imagine ſuch a pope would be guided by his counſels. It was, therefore, neceſſary, in order not to loſe Wolſey's friendſhip, to cauſe Adrian to be choſen without the emperor's appearing to be concerned in the election. As he had gained that miniſter to his intereſt, ſolely by the promiſe Herbert.

1522. miſe of procuring him the papacy, he could not doubt, that if he ſaw himſelf deceived, he would turn his maſter againſt him; wherefore, the emperor concealed his deſigns, and was ſo faithfully ſerved in the conclave, that they could not be diſcovered; neither had Adrian ever one vote in the daily ſcrutinies. In the interim, he kept cardinal Wolſey in hopes, and threw upon the cardinal de Medici's faction, the obſtacles which occurred in the performance of his promiſe. At laſt, when they that were in the emperor's ſecret, and managed his affairs in the conclave, were ſecure of a ſufficient number of votes, one day as the cardinals were met to make a ſcrutiny, ſome one propoſed cardinal Adrian, biſhop of Tortoſa, then in Spain. He enlarged upon the great qualities of that cardinal, and the advantages which would accrue to the church, by his promotion. Whereupon, they, who were of the party, voted, one after another, for Adrian, as if they had been inſpired, and, perhaps, without knowing one another's deſign, ſo dexterouſly had the buſineſs been managed. The reſt that were not in the ſecret, ſeeing two thirds of the voices for Adrian, voted the ſame way, leſt a fruitleſs oppoſition might turn to their prejudice. Thus, the election was made with unanimous conſent, and paſſed for a miraculous inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt. It is not likely that Wolſey was ſuch a dupe, as to believe the emperor was not concerned in Adrian's election, ſince the ſame was ſo plain. The new pope, who aſſumed the name of Adrian VI, had been his preceptor, and upon his recommendation, was made cardinal, and was now regent, in Spain; beſides, there is no likelihood, that the cardinals would have thought of chuſing a Barbarian, for that's the honourable appellation the Italians beſtow on thoſe that are not of their nation, if the election had not been managed by the emperor. However this be, Wolſey ſhewed no reſentment, whether he waited for an opportunity to be openly revenged, or thought proper to keep fair with the emperor, againſt another vacancy; for it was probable, there would be one very ſoon, the new pope being old and infirm. Adrian VI. was elected in January, 1522, but it was Midſummer before he came to Rome.

Adrian VI. choſen pope. Hollingſh.

The emperor ſets out for Spain, and goes by England. Hall.

The emperor having made a pope, at his devotion, and ſettled his affairs in Flanders and Germany, reſolved to return into Spain, where his preſence was neceſſary; but, as he had cauſe to fear ſome change, at the court of England, on account of what had paſſed in the late conclave, he thought proper to viſit Henry in his way. This viſit was neceſſary, as well to confirm with that prince the articles agreed on, at Bruges, as to try to preſerve cardinal Wolſey's friendſhip, without which, he could not expect to preſerve the king's. He landed the 26th of May, at Dover, where the cardinal waited on him with a magnificent train, and Henry came himſelf two days after; from thence, he conducted the emperor to Greenwich, and then to London, where he was received with all the honour and reſpect uſual on ſuch occaſions. The cardinal legate forgot not to ſhew his grandeur, by ſaying high-maſs, before the two monarchs, aſſiſted by ſeveral biſhops, and ſerved by dukes. As he had reſolved to hide his reſentment, the emperor had reaſon to be ſatisfied with his reception, and found a ready compliance with all his deſires. After ſome ſtay, at London, the king invited him to Windſor, where he was inſtalled knight of the Order of the Garter, into which his brother Ferdinand, alſo, had been admitted the 23d of the foregoing April. This done, the two monarchs received the ſacrament together, and ſwore to the treaty of Bruges. 1522.

He ſigns with Henry the treaty of Bruges. Herbert.

The preamble of the treaty ran, that the emperor and king of France had referred their differences to the arbitration of the king of England, who had ſent the cardinal of York to Calais, to decide them; that in theſe conferences it was long debated, to know, which of the two monarchs had been the aggreſſor, and after mature deliberation, the cardinal had declared, it was the king of France, as well by means of Robert de la Mark, as by invading Navarre; that, therefore, the king of England was obliged by the treaty of London, to aſſiſt the prince attacked, againſt the aggreſſor; that, moreover, he had himſelf cauſe to complain of the king of France, for breach of promiſe, in ſending back the duke of Albany into Scotland, and for diſcontinuing the payments of the ſums due to him. Upon all theſe accounts, Charles and Henry deeming themſelves free and clear from all engagements, with the king of France, had reſolved to contract a ſtrict alliance, and ſeal it with a marriage between the emperor and the princeſs Mary, Henry's daughter, upon the following terms. Of theſe terms I ſhall recite ſuch only as may be of ſervice to the ſequel of the Hiſtory. Thoſe concerning the marriage were to this effect:

Articles of the treaty. Herbert.

That the emperor ſhould eſpouſe, by proxy, Mary, daughter to Henry, as ſoon as ſhe ſhould be 12 years old.

That her dowry ſhould be 400,000 crowns, out of which, ſhould be deducted, what the emperors Maximilian and Charles had borrowed of the king of England.

That, in caſe the marriage ſhould not be accompliſhed, by the emperor's fault, he obliged himſelf to pay 400,000 crowns to the king of England, who bound himſelf in the ſame ſum, to the emperor, in caſe the marriage was hindered, on his part.

The terms of the league were;

That before the end of May, 1524, the emperor ſhould enter France on the ſide of Spain, and the king of England in Picardy, each with an army of 30,000 foot, and 10,000 horſe.

That they ſhould make neither peace nor truce, without a mutual conſent.

That if any places ſhould be conquered upon France, they ſhould be reſtored to him of the two allies, who had a right to them; and to prevent all diſputes, each ſhould declare his pretenſions before the firſt of May, 1524.

That if the king of England intended to ſubdue Scotland, or reduce Ireland to an entire obedience, or the emperor to recover Gueldres, or

1522. of Friesland; if the Scots invaded England, or the duke of Gueldres made war upon the emperor; in all these cases, the two monarchs should be bound to assist one another.

That they submitted to the spiritual jurisdiction of the cardinal of York, as legate, and required him to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against him of the two, that should first violate the treaty.

That the treaty should be kept private, so that the common enemy might have no knowledge thereof.

That the pope should be intreated to enter into the league, as a principal contractor, and reputed as such, provided he accepted it within three months.

That the Venetians should be, likewise, admitted, provided they renounced their alliance with France.

That the two monarchs should use their utmost endeavours, to persuade the Switzers to forsake the French, or, at least, to be neutral.

The same day the treaty was signed, the emperor signed also letters patent, promising to pay Henry whatever was due to him from Francis, in case Francis, on account of the present league, should refuse to continue the payments, to which he was obliged.

The emperor's bounty to Wolsey. Act. Pub.

But cardinal Wolsey had not waited to do his own affairs, till the king's were finished; for, on the eighth of June, the emperor, by letters patent, engaged to pay him the pension of 12000 livres, which the king of France gave him for the bishoprick of Tournay. Some days after, he obliged himself to pay him a pension of 2500 ducats, till the like pension was assigned him, upon the vacant churches, in Spain, in lieu of that he received out of the bishoprick of Badajos, which the emperor desired to discharge. But the emperor's bounties to cardinal Wolsey, were amply recompensed, by a great sum lent him, by the king, before his departure.

The emperor makes the earl of Surrey admiral of his fleet. Hall.

During the emperor's stay, in England, which was about five weeks, he so won the affection of the whole court, by his civilities, caresses and presents, that he was almost sure of leaving none but friends about the king. He gained the good-will of the English, chiefly, by constituting the earl of Surrey, admiral of his fleet. The commission was drawn, whilst the emperor was at London, before his journey to Windsor. As he was to make some farther stay, in England, the earl of Surrey, taking with him both the English and Flemish fleets, made two descents into France, and carried away a rich booty. Then he returned, and conveyed the emperor to Spain.

The affairs of Italy. Herbert.

I must now briefly relate the success of the wars, which were waging in several places. The death of Leo X, had put the affairs of the allies, in Italy, in a very ill situation. The troops of the church and of Florence, had relinquished the army, immediately, after the news of the pope's death. Besides that, Prosper Colonna receiving no more supplies of money, either from Rome, or the emperor, was forced to disband most of his remaining troops, and to keep but what was absolutely necessary for the defence of Milan. In the interim, the emperor ordered a levy of 6000 Landsquenets, which Francesco Sforza, and Hieronimo Adorno, a Genoese, were to lead into Italy. Soon after, Lautrec received a reinforcement of 6000 Switzers, which rendered him superior to the allies, and yet he could not hinder the Landsquenets from joining the emperor's army. His only refuge was, to try to bring the Imperialists to a battle, and for that purpose he besieged Pavia; but Prosper Colonna found means to throw succours into the place, without running any risque; whereupon Lautrec, despairing of success, raised the siege, and encamped at Monza, and Colonna, who was afraid for Milan, posted himself at Bicocca, a country seat with a large park, capable of being easily fortified, being surrounded with a deep ditch. Here Colonna intrenched himself in such a manner, that he could not be attacked, without rashness. Lautrec had no inclination to attack che Imperialists in this post, but could not possibly help it. His Switzers would have money, and he had none to give them, Louisa of Savoy, the king's mother, having applied to other uses, the 400,000 crowns designed for the army in Italy. In the interim, the Switzers pressed their general, either to give them money, or lead them to battle, else they were resolved to return home. This put him, at length, upon assaulting the camp, at Bicocca, where he was repulsed with great loss; after which, the Switzers quitting him, he was constrained to repass the mountains, not being able to withstand the Imperialists. Presently after Colonna became master of Genoa. This rich City being taken by surprise, whilst a capitulation was negotiating, was miserably sacked. In short, Francis had nothing left in Italy, but the castles of Milan and Cremona, and even these were very closely blocked up.

The Spaniards raise the siege of Fontarabia. Mezerai.

In othet parts, where the war was carrying on, during this campaign, France was more prosperous. After admiral Bonnivet had taken Fontarabia, the Spaniards invested that place, and continued the siege, without being able to accomplish their enterprise. At last, marshal de Chabanes being sent into Bearn, to command the French army, in the room of marshal de Chatillon, who was dead, raised the siege, and appointed one Frauget, governor of Fontarabia, who afterwards behaved very ill.

The Imperialists and English do no great matters in Picardy. Hall. Hollingsh.

In Picardy and Champagne, the Imperialists and English having joined their forces, performed nothing of moment. The two armies, commanded by the count de Bure for the emperor, and by the earl of Surrey for the king of England, were so superior to those of France, that the duke of Vendome, who commanded in Picardy, was not able to resist them; so, having furnished the towns with ammunition, he contented himself with incessantly annoying them, with a small body of troops. In September, the two generals besieged Hesdin, but after having been five or six weeks before the town, were forced to re-

1522. tire. From thence they marched to Dourlens, and finding the place deſerted, and the gates pulled down, ſet fire to it. Then, intending to approach Corbie, in October, the bad weather, and the care the French had taken for the defence of the place, hindered their undertaking the ſiege. After that, the Imperialiſts retired into Artois, and the Engliſh returned home.

Francis's fault in leaving Lautrec without money.

Thus all the efforts of the emperor and the king of England, would have done Francis no great miſchief this campaign, if he had not himſelf been the cauſe of his ill ſucceſs in Italy, by neglecting to find the Switzers money. Indeed, if Lautrec had not been forced to attack the Imperialiſts, at Bicocca, probably, he would have been maſter of Milan before the end of the campaign. Charles V. then perceived, that to gain any conſiderable advantages upon France, much greater efforts were to be uſed, and for that reaſon continued to careſs cardinal Wolſey, in order to ſecure the king his maſter's aſſiſtance. In the Collection of the Publick Acts, there is a lettet of his to the cardinal, full of obliging expreſſions, plainly denoting his want of him. "I return you "thanks, ſaid he to him, for the good affec-"tion you have always ſhewn me, deſiring "you to continue it, as I firmly believe you "will, for you are ſenſible, that I place my "whole confidence in you. Again, I intreat "you to give the ſame credit to my ſaid am-"baſſadors, as to my ſelf, and ſhew yourſelf, "on this occaſion, as I take you to be, my good "and faithful friend, for I ſhall have a grate-"ful remembrance of it."

1523. The cardinal demands of the clergy a ſubſidy for the king. Herbert.

The extraordinary method uſed by the cardinal to raiſe money, having been very diſagreeable to the Engliſh, he judged it more proper to proceed, for the future, in the uſual way; and, therefore, the king aſſembled a parliament the 15th of April, 1523. The convocation meeting at the ſame time, according to cuſtom, the cardinal reſolved to eſtabliſh a good preſident, in favour of the king, by exacting from the the clergy a conſiderable ſubſidy. His character of legate, gave him ſuch an intereſt with that body, that he was almoſt ſure of obtaining whatever he was pleaſed to demand; but to find leſs difficulties, he removed, on divers pretences, ſome of thoſe from whom he feared to meet oppoſition, and gained others by promiſes or threats. Matters being, thus, ordered, he demanded of the clergy a ſubſidy of one half of their annual revenues, payable in five years. Richard Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, John Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, and a proctor of the inferior clergy, one Philips, would have oppoſed this exaction; but the cardinal treated them in ſuch a manner, as diſcouraged the reſt from ſupporting them; ſo the ſubſidy was granted, tho' the clergy privately murmured, that the pope's legate, who ought to maintain their rights, was the firſt to violate them.

He receives a mortification in the houſe of commons. Stow.

This affair being thus ended, with reſpect to the clergy, the cardinal repaired to the houſe of commons, where he made a long ſpeech, endeavouring to ſhew the neceſſity of the war the king had undertaken, by aggravating the pretended injuries he had endured from the king of France. He concluded with demanding, a ſubſidy of the fifth part of the goods of every lay ſubject, to be paid in four years. This demand cauſed warm debates among the commons; for ſeveral repreſented, that if the kingdom was actually invaded, hardly could the king require ſuch a ſubſidy, much leſs for a war wantonly undertaken, and rather for the intereſt of the emperor than of England. However, as the court party were very numerous in the houſe, it was reſolved to grant the king a ſubſidy, which was but one half of what was demanded. The cardinal, who was uſed to be complied with, was extremely offended at the oppoſition of the commons. He went again to the houſe, and told them, "He "deſired to reaſon with thoſe who oppoſed "his demands;" but the commons anſwered, by their ſpeaker, "That it was the order of "that houſe to hear, and not to reaſon, but "among themſelves." At this reply, the cardinal withdrew, extremely mortified, perceiving he could only prejudice the king's affairs, in attempting to treat the commons with the ſame haughtineſs he treated the reſt of the world. His ſollicitation, however, had ſome effect, ſince there was an addition made to the ſubſidy. 1523.

An act of attainder againſt the duke of Buckingham. Herbert.

Beſides this affair, for which, properly, the parliament was called, nothing remarkable paſſed in this ſeſſion, except an act of attainder againſt the late duke of Buckingham, who had been condemned by a ſentence of his peers. As all the world was ſatisfied, this ſentence had been procured by indirect and irregular methods, and the cardinal publickly accuſed of having ſacrificed that lord to his vengeance, he had the intereſt to obtain this act, in order to divert the blame thrown upon him. But withal, the parliament ſhewed, that the act was paſſed out of mere condeſcenſion, ſince by another, Henry Stafford, ſon to the deceaſed, was reſtored to his eſtate and honours. A ſtatute was made alſo this ſeſſion, impowering the king, for his life, to repeal all attainders of high treaſon, by his letters patent under the great ſeal.

The character of Wolſey.

Theſe were the firſt attempts made in this reign, to render the king maſter of the debates of the parliament. Cardinal Wolſey was the firſt author, and unfortunately for the ſubjects, the king too well improved his miniſter's inſtructions. Such favourites as this have but too much cauſe to fear the parliament, and, therefore, ſtrive, to the utmoſt of their power, to leſſen its authority, by enlarging that of the ſovereign, who ſupports them. But their labour is in vain; very few fail, at laſt, of falling into the hands of that authority, they have endeavoured to deſtroy. Wolſey is one of thoſe who have the moſt openly abuſed their favour, not only againſt the nation's, but alſo the king's intereſt, which was much leſs dear to him than his own. He was never contented with eſtates or honours. The 24th of March, this year, he procured for himſelf, the biſhoprick of Durham, one of the

1523. the richeſt in the kingdom, in lieu of Bath and Wells, which he was willing to reſign. Two months after, Adrian VI, prolonged his legateſhip for five years, after the expiration of the term granted by Leo X. Thus, eſtates and honours were inceſſantly heaped upon him, without, however, any poſſibility of ſatisfying his greedineſs. Indeed, he carried his deſires much higher, ſince he ſtill aſpired to the papacy, Adrian's age and infirmities giving occaſion to think his pontificate would not laſt long. He ſtill expected to be raiſed to that high dignity, by the emperor's means, and, therefore, forgot nothing to preſerve his favour. To this, doubtleſs, muſt be aſcribed the honourable reception given this year, to Chriſtiern, king of Denmark and Sweden, who had married the emperor's ſiſter. This prince having by his cruelties rendered himſelf odious to his ſubjects, and for that reaſon been expelled his dominions, arrived, in England, about Midſummer, with his queen, and was received as a king unjuſtly oppreſſed, and not like one that had, by his barbarities, drawn his misfortunes upon himſelf. Henry was not contented to do him all poſſible honour, but, moreover, renewed with him the treaty of alliance between England and Denmark, as if that prince had ſtill been in poſſeſſion of his dominions.

This was the fruit of cardinal Wolſey's intereſted counſels, who never regarded either honour or juſtice, in gratifying his paſſions. He expected every thing from the emperor, and, therefore, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to increaſe that monarch's power, that he might be better able to perform his promiſe. It was not the cardinal's fault that France was not utterly ruined; at leaſt, he formed, this year, in conjunction with the emperor, projects tending to the entire diſſolution of that antient monarchy.

A Project againſt France, founded on the conſtable of Bourbon's rebellion. P. Daniel.

Tho' by the treaty of Bruges, ratified by the emperor and Henry, at Windſor, they were not to enter France till 1524, an opportunity which offered cauſing them to take other meaſures, they reſolved to anticipate their expedition, and invade the king of France in three different places. The emperor was to have a ſtrong army, on the frontiers of Spain, to become maſter of Fontarabia and Bayonne; Henry was to employ his forces in Picardy, jointly with thoſe of the Low-Countries; and the conſtable of Bourbon, who had ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted by the emperor, or, perhaps, by his own offer, was to make an inroad into Burgundy. As moſt of the events of the following years, turn upon that prince's diſguſt, it will be requiſite, briefly, to mention the reaſons.

Cauſes of the conſtable's diſguſt. Mezerai.

The duke of Bourbon, prince of the blood royal of France, had received the conſtable's ſword ever ſince the firſt year of Francis I. He had all the quallifications neceſſary for that high poſt. Perhaps he had too much merit, ſince, if we believe Mezerai, Louiſa of Savoy, mother to Francis, wiſhed to have him for her husband. But as he feigned not to underſtand what ſhe deſired, he made her his irreconcileable enemy. From that time, he perpetually received mortifications from the king, over whom the ducheſs, his mother, had too great an aſcendant. The firſt mentioned in Hiſtory, was, when, in 1521, the king commanding the army in perſon, gave the conduct of the van to the duke of Alenſon, contrary to the prerogative annexed to the office of conſtable. But this was nothing in compariſon of another, which, however, is related in the Hiſtory of France only upon uncertain reports. The king telling the conſtable, he ſhould be glad to marry him to the ducheſs, his mother, received an anſwer ſo injurious to the ducheſs, that he gave him a box on the ear. This fact is not, perhaps, ſufficiently atteſted; but, however, it is certain, the ducheſs's affection for the conſtable turned to hatred. From thenceforward, he was looked upon with an evil eye, at court, and no more truſted with the command of the king's armies. This was ſufficient to give him great diſguſt. But his enemy not being ſatisfied with theſe mortifications, which ſeemed to her too ſlight a revenge for her contemned love, commenced a ſuit againſt him, for his whole eſtate. The cauſe was naturally to be tried by the parliament of Paris; but the ducheſs put it into the hands of the chancellor and ſome other commiſſioners, her creatures, which convinced the conſtable that his ruin was determined; ſo, perceiving no way to avoid ſo fatal a blow, his deſpair cauſed him to throw himſelf into the emperor's arms. A Flemiſh lord was the manager of this negotiation, wherein the king of England interpoſed, as being equally concerned with the emperor to create troubles in France. It is hard to know exactly when this negotiation began; but we find in the Collection of the Publick Acts of England, the treaty was advanced the 17th of May, 1523. We ſee there, Henry's commiſſion to Richard Sampſon and Richard Jerningham, to treat with the duke of Bourbon, in order to draw him into the league. This commiſſion empowered the envoys alſo to receive of the ſame prince, a promiſe or engagement to own Henry for king of France, to do him homage, and ſwear fealty to him. It cannot be inferred from hence, that the conſtable entered into any ſuch engagement, but only, that Henry intended to draw him into it. However this be, by the treaty made by the duke, with the two monarchs, after the conqueſt of France, he was to have, for his part, Provence, to be erected into a kingdom, and was to marry Leonora, the emperor's ſiſter, widow of Don Emanuel, king of Portugal. The duke was to bring into the field an army of his friends and vaſſals, to whom the emperor promiſed to join 7 or 8000 men. This army was to act in the bowels of the kingdom, whilſt the emperor and Henry invaded Bearn and Picardy.

Francis prepares to go into Italy. Guicciard.

In the interim, Francis I, ignorant of the deſigns of his enemies, was ſolely employed in preparing to recover the duchy of Milan, where he intended to command his army, in perſon. He haſtened his preparations the more, becauſe the Venetians were ſtrongly ſollicited to join with his enemies, on pretence, that

1523. that he amuſed them with the vain hopes of ſeeing them ſpeedily, in Italy, with a powerful army; but notwithſtanding all his diligence, it was not poſſible to avoid that misfortune. The Venetians ſeeing no French army arrive, and dreading to be expoſed to the emperor's indignation, entered, at laſt, into the league againſt France, about the end of July.

Adrian ſuffers himſelf to be deceived by the enemies of France. Guicciard.

On the other hand, pope Adrian VI, laboured with all his power to procure a truce between the Chriſtian princes, fancying, after, that there would be no difficulty to unite them together in a war againſt the Turks; but as his genius was mean, and very different from that of Leo X, and Julius II, his predeceſſors, inſtead of making the princes ſubſervient to his deſigns, he was himſelf, without knowing it, inſtrumental to thoſe of others. The emperor told him, he heartily deſired the truce, but intimated the neceſſity of its being for ſome time, in order to reap the intended advantage. He thereby laid an invincible obſtacle in the way, becauſe the king of France being lately diſpoſſed of the duchy of Milan, would never hearken to a long truce, which would afford his enemies time to ſecure their conqueſt. That monarch's oppoſition, gave the emperor and the king of England occaſion to engage the pope to proceed farther, by hinting to him, that after the example of ſome of his predeceſſors, he ſhould exert his apoſtolick power, which no Chriſtian prince would preſume directly to oppoſe. Pleaſed with theſe hopes, Adrian publiſhed a bull, dated the 30th of April, enjoining, by vertue of the power committed to him by God, a three years truce between all Chriſtian princes, under pain of excommunication and interdict, againſt thoſe that ſhould refuſe to obſerve it. But the king of France diſregarding ſuch a truce, continued his preparations for the Milan expedition, and ordered his troops to march towards Italy. Then the pope was told, that Francis alone, by his non-compliance and obſtinacy, hindered the Chriſtians from joining their forces againſt the Turk. By theſe ſecret practices, the good pope was gradually brought to conclude a league againſt France, with the emperor, the king of England, Ferdinand, archduke of Auſtria, the emperor's brother, the duke of Milan, the Genoeſe, and the Florentines. This league was ſigned the 3d of Auguſt, a few days after the Venetians had deſerted France.

Francis is induced by the affected careleſſneſs of his enemies, to paſs into Italy.

Italy ſeemed, by this league, to be ſecured from all invaſions; and, indeed, Proſper Colonna, who commanded in Milan, ſo little expected to be attacked, that he neglected to take neceſſary meaſures for the defence of that duchy. In the interim, Francis purſued his project, and the more, as he heard there were no preparations at Milan. The emperor ſeemed wholly to neglect the defence of that ſtate, on purpoſe to draw Francis into Italy, reckoning that his abſence would promote the duke of Bourbon's deſigns; nay, it is ſaid, that to induce Francis to abſent himſelf from his kingdom, Henry had cauſed him to be privately told, there was no danger from him that year, in Picardy.

1523. He ſets out for Lyons. Du Bellay.

Affairs being in this ſituation, Francis departed for Lyons, in order to paſs into Italy. In the interim, the emperor was preparing an army, in Spain, to beſiege Fontarabia and Bayonne; but this army was raiſed very ſlowly, becauſe it was not to act, till Francis was engaged in the war of Milan. On the other ſide, the count de Bure, his general, in Flanders, remained quiet, waiting to join the Engliſh, who the better to deceive the king of France, were not to land at Calais, till the end of September. In ſhort, the emperor ordered 8000 Landſquenets to march in ſmall diviſions, into Franche Comte, who were to join the duke of Bourbon as ſoon as he was ready. Upon that prince's revolt, the allies built all their hopes, imagining that Francis being in Italy, France, thus, unexpectedly invaded, in ſo many places, at once, would make no great reſiſtance. Theſe hopes were the better grounded, as Francis having no intelligence of the duke of Bourbon's plots, had no troops at all in Burgundy, few in Guienne and Bearn, and Picardy was in an ill ſtate of defence.

The conſtable feigns ſickneſs at Moulins.

In the interim, the conſtable, not to be obliged to attend the king, pretended to be ſick at Moulins; but Francis, whilſt on the road to Lyons, happened to be informed by two of the conſtable's ſervants, that their maſter held private correſpondence with the emperor. Surpriſed at the news, he turned out of his way to go to Moulins, where he told the duke, who ſtill feigned to be ſick, what had been diſcovered to him. The duke freely owned, the emperor had ſounded him by the count de Rœux, but that he had refuſed to hearken to his propoſals; that he deſigned to inform his majeſty of it, but being prevented by his illneſs from coming to court, he durſt not truſt any perſon with the ſecret. Whether the king believed what the conſtable ſaid, or thought he could not arreſt him in his own territories, he was contented with ordering him to follow him to Lyons. The duke ſet out, indeed, as if he had intended to follow the king, being carried in a litter, on pretence of his ſickneſs, and travelling by very eaſy journeys; but upon notice, that two of his confidents were arreſted at court, he privately withdrew from his attendants, and taking with him only Pomperan, one of his gentlemen, he eſcaped through by-ways, and ſafely arrived, at Trent, in Germany.

The king ſtays in France, and ſends Bonnivet to Italy. Guicciard.

The conſtable's flight convincing the king, that there was ſome grand plot in France, to be executed, during his abſence, he relinquiſhed his deſign of going into Italy, and contented himſelf with ſending his army under the conduct of admiral Bonnivet, who paſſed the Alps about the end of Auguſt, or the beginning of September. About the ſame time the emperor aſſembled his army, in Spain, the Landſquenets arrived in Franche Comte, and the Engliſh landed at Calais, to act in Picardy, in conjunction with the Flemings. It will be abſolutely neceſſary, briefly, to relate what paſſed

1523. passed during this campaign, in these four several places.

The campaign in Italy. Guicciard.

The castle of Milan, where Lautrec had left a garrison, surrendered the 14th of April; so the French had no place of importance in the Milanese, except the castle of Cremona, which too was so closely blocked up, that there was no likelihood of its holding out long. On the other hand, as France could expect no farther assistance from the Venetians, and as all the rest of Italy was joined in a league against her, Prosper Colonna, who commanded in Milan, did not doubt, that the king would desist from his design of carrying war into the Milanese. For that reason, he had neglected to repair the fortifications of the capital city, which were in an ill state, the ramparts being fallen down in several places; however, upon advice, that admiral Bonnivet was going to pass the Alps, he drew together all his forces, to try to defend the passage of the Tesin; but he came too late. The French had made such speed, that he was forced to retire to Milan, in the utmost disorder; nay, he resolved to abandon that city, if, by an unaccountable negligence, they had not given him some days time to repair the works. He had but 15000 men, with which he could not expect to defend, against an army of above 40,000, so large a city, which, also, was open, in several places. However, as he had learnt, by long experience, that it must not always be thought, the enemies will do what is most for their advantage, he never ceased repairing the places, which wanted it most, deeming he could but withdraw, at last, in case the French were as expeditious as they ought to have been. If Bonnivet had marched directly to Milan, he would have found the gates open; but after taking Novarra and Vigerano, and passing the Tesin, without opposition, he preposterously imagined, a few days more or less, would signify nothing; so having lost, to no purpose, four or five days, he gave the emperor's general time to put Milan in a posture of defence. At last, approaching the city, when it was too late, he found it incapable of being attacked, by the good management of Colonna. Whereupon, he resolved to encamp at Chiaravalla, in hopes of cutting off the provisions of Milan, and of having the Imperialists at his mercy; but he took his measures so ill, that after persisting in his design, till the end of November, he was forced himself to remove from Milan, for want of provisions. All he did, during that time, was, to relieve the castle of Cremona, reduced to the last extremities. Such was the success of Bonnivet's campaign, which might have been more glorious for him, and more advantageous for the king, his master, had he taken juster measures, and improved his superiority. Colonna died shortly after, and Lanoy, viceroy of Naples, took the command of the imperial army. The season was so far advanced, that nothing remarkable passed in those parts, till the end of the year, when the duke of Bourbon came and took the command of the emperor's troops, not without Lanoy's great disgust, who unwillingly resigned his post to a foreigner.

1523.

The campaign in Bearn. Herbert.

The allies, as I said, were resolved not to invade France, till September, because it was to be presumed, the king would then be employed in Italy; for which reason, it was the beginning of that month, before the emperor assembled his army, in Spain. Lautrec, who commanded in Guienne, hearing the Spaniards were drawing together, hastened to the frontiers, to provide for the defence of Bayonne and Fontarabia, which were most exposed. Frauget, an officer of note, was governor of Fontarabia, having been left there the last year, by marshal de Chabanes. Lautrec relying upon Frauget's bravery and experience, left him in the same post, after having re-inforced the garrison, and laid in some ammunition. After that, he did not question, the place would be able to maintain a long siege. These precautions being taken, with regard to Fontarabia, he repaired to Bayonne. He was no sooner arrived, than the Spanish army appeared before the walls, supported by a Fleet, which threw the inhabitants into great consternation, the town being weak towards the sea; but Lautrec so managed it, that the Spaniards were disappointed, tho' they had expected to carry the place without opposition. Therefore, perceiving that the siege would employ them too long, they suddenly raised it, and invested Fontarabia, which was basely surrendered, by Frauget, in very few days. He was like to have lost his head, for a fault of that consequence; but tho' he preserved his life, he saved not his honour, being publickly degraded.

The campaign in Champagne. Bellay.

The emperor was not so successful in Burgundy and Champagne. Lamothe of Noyers, the duke of Bourbon's officer, was gone, some time since, into Germany, to conduct into Burgundy, count de Furstemberg, who, with 7 or 8000 Landsquenets, was to join there the duke of Bourbon. Tho' this project seemed to be frustrated by the duke's flight, count de Furstemberg, however, entered Champagne with his army, and, immediately, took Coiffy and Monteclair, small places, which made no great resistance; but the duke of Guise, who commanded in that province, knowing Furstemberg had no cavalry, assembled all the nobles of the country, and forming some squadrons, closely followed the Germans. Furstemberg finding himself too weak, in the heart of the enemy's country, and having no horse to oppose to those of the duke of Guise, resolved to retire into Lorrain. However, he could not make his retreat, without receiving a terrible cheque near Neufchatel, where the duke of Guise defeated the best part of his troops.

The campaign in Picardy. Hall.

Whilst the war was carrying on, in Italy, Bearn, and Champagne, Henry embarqued his troops, commanded by the duke of Suffolk, who landing at Calais, joined the count de Bure, the 20th of September. These two bodies made together, an army of 25 or 30,000 foot, and about 6000 horse. The duke de la Trimouille, who commanded in

1523. that country, was ſo inferior, in number of troops, that he durſt not keep the field. All he could do, was, to throw ſuccours into the places moſt expoſed, and ſpeedily inform the king of what paſſed in thoſe parts. Francis I, being then at Lyons, was extremely embarraſſed, to withſtand ſo many unexpected invaſions. It is ſaid, that deceived by falſe advices from England, he hap been in hopes Picardy, for this year, would be unmoleſted, and yet, he ſaw it was there his enemies intended to make their greateſt effort. In this perplexity, he immediately diſpatched the duke of Vendome, with all the troops he could aſſemble, both to defend Picardy, and ſecure Paris, where he did not queſtion, the alarm was very great. Indeed, the duke of Suffolk, and the count de Bure, paſſing by Terouenne, Heſdin, and Dourlens, had taken Roye and Montdidier, and were advanced as far as Corbie; but the news of the duke of Vendome's march, cauſing them to be more circumſpect, they thought proper to proceed no farther, and the rather, becauſe the ſeaſon began to be very incommodious, and they were afraid of being engaged between the dukes of Vendome and la Trimouille. Theſe conſiderations, induced them to think of retreating. In their return, they became maſters of Bouchain, the governor whereof brought him the keys, tho' they had no thoughts of attacking the place; then leaving an Engliſh garriſon in Bouchain, they retired into Artois; but preſently after, the French recovered that town. Thus, the progreſs of the confederate army, was not ſo great as Francis had reaſon to fear. Had the army taken the field ſooner, he would have been greatly embarraſſed; but, as I ſaid, the hopes the emperor, and the king of England, had conceived of the duke of Bourbon's undertaking, was the cauſe of their not beginning the campaign in any place, till about the end of September.

The death of Adrian VI. Guicciard.

When Adrian VI, came into the league, he had no deſign to ruin France, in order to compel Francis to wage war with the Turks, but he had been told, it would be a certain means to oblige that prince to conſent to the truce. In the interim, without the pope's knowing any thing of it, the emperor and Henry had combined to invade France, and divide it between them. Probably, if he had lived to the end of this year, he would have ſeen, that their deſigns did not correſpond with his, but he died about ſix weeks after ſigning the league againſt France. He was a good man, of a character very different from thoſe of his predeceſſors; for, inſtead of thinking to enlarge the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, by unjuſt confiſcations, he had given the duke of Urbino the inveſtiture of his duchy; he had done the ſame by the duke of Ferrara, knowing that the former popes had quarrelled with theſe princes, only to gratify their deſire of inriching their own relations; and he would have even reſtored Modena and Reggio, to the duke of Ferrara, if the clamours of his council, who could not underſtand, that juſtice ought to be the foundation of policy, had not prevented him. He thought likewiſe of reforming the court of Rome, but death ſuffered him not to execute his deſign. All theſe proceedings, ſo remote from thoſe of his immediate predeceſſors, who had uſed the courtiers, and people of Italy, to ſee the popes purſue the looſe maxims of temporal princes, cauſed it to be ſaid, that he was indeed an honeſt man, and a good Chriſtian, but an indifferent pope. Accordingly, the Italian writers, ſpeak of Adrian VI, in terms, importing no great eſteem for him. 1523.

Cardinal Julio de Medici, miniſter to Adrian VI.

The beginning of this year, cardinal Julio de Medici, who retired to Florence upon the death of Leo X, returned to Rome, and was very civilly received. In a ſhort time, he gained the good-will of the pope, to ſuch a degree, that he ſupplanted the cardinal of Volterra, the prime miniſter, and cauſed him to be committed to the caſtle of St. Angelo. From thenceforward, he had the ſole management of the pope's affairs, gaining more and more his eſteem, by putting on the devout, and expreſſing a great zeal to unite all the Chriſtian princes againſt the Turk. By this artifice, he led him to publiſh the bull for a trienial truce, and, at length, to ſign the league againſt France. A miniſter like this, was, doubtleſs, too politick for ſuch a pope. Adrian VI, died the 14th of September, at the very time the armies began to take the field. Had he lived any longer, he would, without doubt, have perceived, the league he had imprudently engaged in, was by no means proper to procure the union, he ſo much deſired among the Chriſtian princes.

Cardinal Wolſey endeavours to obtain the papacy. Burnet.

Cardinal Wolſey, having notice of the pope's death, wrote to the king, to inform him of it, deſiring his aſſiſtance and protection. Next day he wrote to him again, praying him to recommend him to the emperor, by a letter under his own hand. He flattered himſelf, that the emperor would have a grateful ſenſe of his late ſervice, in cauſing the king, his maſter, to declare againſt France, and would now, at leaſt, keep his word with him, ſince he had no preceptor to be elected, as in the former conclave. But if the Italian hiſtorians are to be credited, the emperor little thought of procuring him the papacy, and the conclave much leſs, who met preſently after Adrian's deceaſe. Of the 39 cardinals which were in the conclave, Julio de Medici had 15 or 16 at his devotion, beſides three, who had promiſed not to be againſt him, if he was like to ſucceed in the conclave; ſo that he had only ſeven or eight to gain, in order to have two thirds of the voices. But this was not eaſy; for cardinal Colonna, his adverſary, was at the head of a much more numerous party, who would have infallibly carried it, if the cardinals of that faction could have as readily united in chuſing a pope, as in preventing the election of Julio. This made the conclave hold 50 days. As for Wolſey, if he had any cardinals for him, they could not be many, ſince he had againſt him the French party, and the emperor's adherents were the

ſame

1523. ſame with thoſe of Julio de Medici. In ſhort, Colonna's faction not agreeing upon the choice of a pope, becauſe the head would have one elected diſagreable to his friends, his indignation at their obſtinacy, cauſed him to be reconciled with the cardinal de Medici. Guicciardini ſays, Julio gave him a promiſe under his hand, to make him his vice-chancellor, and preſent him with his palace, one of the moſt magnificent in Rome. Be this as it will, Colonna giving him ſeven or eight votes, which were at his diſpoſal, there was no farther obſtacle to his election. It being reported in the conclave, that the cardinal de Medici would be elected the next ſcrutiny, moſt of the cardinals ſtayed not till day appeared, but went and made their court to the perſon who was ſoon to be their maſter. Their example drew in the reſt, who finding it not in their power to hinder the election, were willing alſo to ſhew, they freely concurred. So, that very night, between the 18th and 19th of November, all the cardinals went and paid obeyſance to the new pope, and next morning his election was confirmed by a ſolemn ſcrutiny, wherein he had all the voices. Thus, it is that the Holy Ghoſt influenced the cardinals in the choice of a pope, who, contrary to their intention, was to be the cauſe of the Roman church's receiving the deepeſt wound ſhe had ever received. The new pope aſſumed the name of Clement VII, on account of St. Clement's day, which was to be very ſhortly ſolemniſed. He was natural ſon of Julian de Medici, uncle to Leo X; but this defect of birth, tho' contrary to the canons, was not conſidered. Leo X, who made him cardinal in the beginning of his pontificate, took care to have it legally atteſted, that Julian promiſed his mother marriage; ſo, taking for granted, that a bare promiſe was equivalent to a marriage, he declared Julio legitimate. Alexander VI, took the ſame courſe, when he made Cæſar Borgia, his baſtard ſon, cardinal. He produced witneſſes, who depoſed, that Cæſar was born of a married woman, whence it was inferred, the child was to be deemed the husband's ſon. In this manner did the vicars of Jeſus Chriſt abuſe laws divine and human, to gratify their paſſions.

Wolſey hides his diſguſt.

The news of Clement's election was a great mortification to Wolſey, who, ſince the promotion of Adrian VI, had expected to be pope upon the firſt vacancy. He muſt have been extremely incenſed with the emperor, who had twice deceived him. So, it may be aſſured, conſidering his violent temper, he reſolved from that moment to be revenged; but as he could not execute this reſolution, without his maſter's aſſiſtance, he was to take care not to diſcover, that he acted from a motive of revenge; otherwiſe he would have run the riſque of being diſappointed. He concealed, therefore, under the mask of a feigned moderation, the reſentment he harboured in his breaſt, and contented himſelf with telling the king, that ſeveral had voted for him in the conclave, but his abſence had turned to his prejudice, and the ſituation of the affairs of Italy cauſed the cardinals to chuſe Julio de Medici. A few days after, the king's ambaſſador, at Rome, had orders to notify to the new pope, the king's and Wolſey's joy at his promotion. At the ſame time, Wolſey deſired the continuance of his legateſhip, affirming, that by reaſon of the king's prerogative, it was not worth to him 1000 ducats a year. Clement VII. was entirely of the emperor's party, and knowing of what conſequence the king of England's aſſiſtance was at the preſent juncture of affairs, in Europe, gladly embraced the opportunity to gratify cardinal Wolſey, and make him his friend, by whoſe means he might gain the favour of the king, his maſter. In this diſpoſition, he granted the cardinal more than he deſired; for, by a bull of the 9th of January, 1524, he gave him the legantine power for life. This is the firſt and, perhaps, the only inſtance of a perpetual legateſhip.

Wolſey becomes every day more proud.

Wolſey was now raiſed to the higheſt point of grandeur that a ſubject can aſpire to; for he was archbiſhop of York, biſhop of Durham, abbot of St. Albans, cardinal legate a Latre for life, lord chancellor of England, prime miniſter and favourite, careſſed by the emperor, reſpected by the pope, regarded by all the princes of Europe, with almoſt an abſolute power in England, where nothing material was tranſacted, either in ſpirituals or temporals, but by his ſole direction. It is eaſy to ſee, ſo many advantages were but too capable of rendering him proud and inſolent. He looked upon the king's ſubjects as ſlaves, and unfortunately for them, inſpired the king, by degrees, with the ſame principles, and inſinuated to him, that he ought to conſider the parliament only, as an inſtrument to execute his will. Theſe inſinuations were but too effectual, as will be ſeen in the ſequel. In order to render him independent of the parliament, he perſuaded him to exact from his ſubjects, at once, the ſubſidy given by parliament, and payable in four years. Every one aſcribed to the cardinal this illegal proceeding, which eſtabliſhed a very dangerous precedent; but he little regarded the complaints of the people, ſince he was ſecure of the king's countenance, and the pope's protection.

He forms the project of founding two colleges. Herbert. Stow.

He undertook this very year, a thing he would never have ventured upon, had he not been fully ſatisfied, that the pope could not be without the king's aſſiſtance; and that was, to cauſe ſeveral religious houſes to be ſuppreſſed, to appropriate the revenues to two colleges, which he intended to found at Oxford and Ipſwich. If the pope had reaped any advantage, his conſent would not have been very ſtrange; but that he ſhould agree to the ſuppreſſion of ſeveral monaſteries, to gratify a private perſon, is what could hardly be expected, and, perhaps, had never happened. Accordingly, the pope would never have granted it, had not the ſatisfying the paſſion of his ambitious miniſter, been abſolutely neceſſary to his

1523. his deſigns. The cardinal's project, was, to found a magnificent college, at Oxford, by the name of Cardinal-College, wich was to conſiſt of 186 perſons, with ſalaries. The other college was to be founded, at Ipſwich, theplace of his birth, but only for grammar, andto qualify, young ſcholars for his college, at Oxford; but as theſe projects were not accompliſhed this year, I ſhall ſpeak of them on another occaſion, and cloſe the year 1523, with an account of what paſſed in Scotland, where affairs were no more undiſturbed than elſewhere.

Henry forms deſigns deſtructive to Scotland. Buchanan.

Henry being engaged in a war with France, juſtly dreaded the diverſion the Scots might make on the frontiers. On the other hand, the king of Scotland's minority frequently tempted him to become maſter of that kingdom, after the example of Edward III, his predeceſſor, who diſpoſſeſſed the king, his nephew, at a like juncture. The factions, in Scotland, increaſing his hopes, he never ceaſed to foment them by means of his adherents, who were very numerous, becauſe he had wherewithal to give penſions. He uſed for pretence, his being obliged by nature, to take care of the king his nephew's concerns, who was not of age to diſtinguiſh what was advantageous, from what was prejudicial; ſo, as an affectionate uncle, he did his endeavour to remove the duke, of Albany, under colour there was danger of that prince's ſeiſing the crown. He knew he ſhould never accompliſh his deſigns, ſo long as Scotland was guarded by ſuch an Argus. The queen, his ſiſter, had made him very uneaſy in joining with the regent, becauſe he was thereby deprived of all pretence of ſaying, the king was in danger. Indeed, it was not likely, as the parliament of Scotland wiſely intimated in their anſwer, that the queen ſhould join with the regent, to deſtroy the king, her ſon. Henry, however, to give ſome colour to this accuſation, was pleaſed to ſuppoſe, the queen, his ſiſter, deſigned to marry the duke of Albany; but finding, at laſt, this ſuppoſition had not the deſired effect, he had recourſe to another expedient, which was, to gain his ſiſter, by promiſing to procure her the regency. That done, he preſſed yet more earneſtly, the parliament of Sotland, to remove the duke of Albany, and confer the regency on the queen. But, to render his inſtances more effectual, he reſolved to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to hinder the duke's return into Scotland. To that end, he ſent out a fleet to take him in his paſſage; and, at the ſame time, he ordered the earl of Surrey to march into Scotland, to ſhew the Scots what they were to expect, in caſe they did not give him ſpeedy ſatisfaction. The Scots being without a leader, and unprepared againſt this invaſion, ſuſtained great damages, during the campaign. The earl of Surrey took Jedworth, and carried fire and ſword into the country, without meeting any oppoſition. In the interim, Henry's adherents ceaſed not to cry, that a peace muſt be made with England, ſince it was the only way to ſave Scotland from utter deſtruction. Henry ſupported them, by offering to the king, his nephew, his only daughter Mary, in marriage, and magnifying the advantages the Scots would receive from this alliance, but withal, he required of them, that they ſhould break all their engagements with France. It was, however, very unlikly, he ſhould ſeriouſly think of giving his daughter to the king of Scotland, ſince ſhe was affianced to the emperor, and he ſtrictly united with that prince; beſides, ſuch a marriage would have been of no advantage to himſelf, or the nation. To this the oppoſite party anſwered, the king of England ſought to diſengage Scotland from France, only the more eaſily to ruin the kingdom, and that to make an alliance with England, by abandoning France, was the ready way to be ſlaves to the Engliſh; that this was not the firſt time the kings of England, by ſuch marriages, had attempted to become maſters of Scotland, and the worſt was to be feared from neighbours, who had ever aſpired to the poſſeſſion of all Great-Britain. In a word, the deſtroying with fire and ſword a country, whoſe friendſhip was courted, was a ſtrange way of deſiring an alliance, and propoſing a marriage. All theſe reaſons were anſwered by the other party. But it tended only ſo to augment diſorder and confuſion among the Scots, that it was impracticable for them to come to any reſolution. In the interim, Henry, who only intended to terrify them, by making them feel the effects of his arms, ordered the earl of Surrey to quit Scotland, and return into England; but he had ſcarce ſent his men into winter quarters, when the Scots made inroads on the borders of England, which obliged him to march a ſecond time into Scotland, where he became maſter of Jedburrough. 1523.

He invades Scotland. Hall. Buchanan.

The duke of Albany deceives the vigilance of the Engliſh, and goes to Scotland. Buchanan. Hall.

In the interim, the duke of Albany hearing what paſſed in Scotland, burned with deſire to repair thither, to appeaſe by his preſence, the troubles cauſed by the king of England's adherents, and to ſtrengthen the French party, which was in danger of being ſurmounted by the other. Francis I, had granted him an aid of 3000 foot and 200 men, at arms, to enable him to make a diverſion upon Henry, from that quarter; but it was not poſſible to tranſport theſe troops into Scotland, whilſt the Engliſh fleet kept the ſea, to hinder their paſſage; wherefore, policy was to be recurred to. For that purpoſe, he feigned to deſiſt from his deſign of going into Scotland, and ſent his troops into quarters, remote from the coaſt, with orders, however, to be ready to march upon the firſt notice. The tranſport-ſhips were likewiſe ſent away to certain ports, from whence they were ordered to ſail to the appointed rendezvous, the moment they heard from the duke. This ſtratagem deceived the Engliſh admiral, who being informed, by his ſpies, that the duke of Albany was returned to court, and had diſmiſſed his troops and veſſels, thought there was nothing more to fear this year, and ſo returned with the fleet into England. The duke was no ſooner informed of it, but he aſſembled his troops and ſhips, and embarquing about the middle of September, arrived

in

1523. Scotland, the 24th, the ſame day the earl of Surrey became maſter of Jedburrough.

He marches with an army to the borders. Buchanan.

The regent's arrival revived the courage of the French party, who began to be extremely diſmayed, and drew from the king of England ſeveral perſons who had only favoured him out of fear. Some time after, the regent ſummoned the nobility to Edinburgh, and endeavoured to convince them, that the kingdom would be in great danger, unleſs the king of England's deſigns were timely and vigorouſly oppoſed. But all his eloquence was not capable of cauſing a change of opinion, in thoſe who preferred Henry's penſions to all the arguments that could be alledged. However, he aſſembled an army, and advanced towards the borders, where he arrived the 22d of October; but when he came to march into England, he met with the ſame obſtacles that had ſtopped him the laſt year. That is, the generals and officers of the Engliſh party refuſed to follow him, maintaining, it was manifeſtly againſt the intereſt of Scotland to provoke the Engliſh, and, therefore, it was ſufficient to be upon the defenſive. They added, if the deſign was to ſerve France, it could not be done better, than by keeping an army on the frontiers, which would oblige the Engliſh to have the like in thoſe parts; but in the preſent circumſtances of Scotland, it was too much to hazard a battle, the loſs whereof would prove the ruin of the kingdom. In ſhort, the regent ſeeing it was in vain to perſuade them to follow him, ordered Werk-caſtle to be aſſaulted by the French troops; but they were vigorouſly repulſed. In the interim, upon notice of the earl of Surrey's approach, at the head of a numerous army, he did not think proper to expect him, but choſe to retire. Indeed, it would have been too dangerous to give battle, with an army wherein the Engliſh had ſo many favourers. The ſeaſon being no longer proper for one or other to keep the field, the earl of Surrey, content with having ſtopped the Scots, ſent his troops into winter quarters, and the regent followed his example.

Progreſs of the reformation. Sleidan.

Whilſt the flames of war were kindled, in almoſt all parts of Europe, the reformation made great progreſs in Germany, and began even to ſpread in Switzerland, France, and England. In the beginning of this year, the canton of Zurick, moved by the preaching of Zuinglius, renounced divers articles of religion they had hitherto profeſſed, tho' Zuinglius and Luther differed about the euchariſt. Many, likewiſe, in France and England, began to diſlike a religion, that ſeemed to be founded more upon the pope than upon Jeſus Chriſt. Adrian VI, hearing of the daily progreſs of Luther's doctrine in Germany, diſpatched a nuncio to the diet of Nuremberg, to exhort the German princes to deſtroy Luther and his followers. However, he confeſſed in a letter to them upon the ſame ſubject, that many abuſes and diſorders were crept into the church, throwing the blame upon thoſe who had governed before him; but he ſaid, to reform all, at once, would be the way to ſpoil all, and therefore it was neceſſary to proceed by degrees, in this reformation. Luther having ſeen this letter, publiſhed it in German, with notes of his own, wherein he ſaid, among other things, that the degrees the pope mentioned were ſo large, that there was 100 years interval between each of them. On the other hand, the diet taking advantage of the pope's confeſſion, demanded a free council, in Germany, where every one ſhould be obliged, upon oath, to ſpeak his real opinion, and that numberleſs abuſes, under which Germany had ſo long groaned, ſhould be reformed. 1523.

Luther anſwers the king of England's book. Sleidan.

In the interim, Luther ſtill continued to write in defence of his doctrine. Among other things, he publiſhed an anſwer to the king of England's book, wherein he uſed no ceremony. This behaviour obliged Henry to complain of him, to the princes of the houſe of Saxony. At the ſame time he exhorted them to hinder the publication of Luther's German bible, for fear the tranſlation ſhould be prejudicial to the truth; but his letter had no great effect.

1524. Affairs of Italy. Guicciard.

The progreſs of the reformation was not yet conſiderable enough, to be regarded by the chief ſovereigns of Europe, whoſe thoughts were wholly intent upon war. Clement VII. refuſed to renew the league, tho' himſelf had engaged his predeceſſor in it, and declared he would ſtand neuter. This declaration, at firſt, extremely embarraſſed the duke of Bourbon, becauſe the emperor not having provided for the payment of his troops, it was not poſſible for the duke to ſatisfy them, ſince the pope and the Florentines withdrew their uſual ſubſidies. He found means, however, to draw ſome money from the inhabitants of Milan, and, at laſt, perſuaded the pope to give him 20,000 ducats, and cauſe the Florentines to furniſh him with 50,000 on condition of ſecrecy.

Not long after, the duke of Bourbon receiving a ſupply of 6000 Landſquenets, and the Venetian army, commanded by the duke of Urbino joining him, he took the field with 35000 men. In the interim, Bonnivet was greatly embarraſſed; for he had not above 20,000 men, having loſt the reſt of his army by death or deſertion, during the laſt campaign; but what was worſe, he had no money to pay his troops. This was a common misfortune to both ſides. It is true, he expected 10,000 Switzers, and 5000 Griſons, but foreſaw they would be of little ſervice, becauſe he had not wherewithal to content them at their arrival. This made him reſolve to go in queſt of the Imperialiſts, and give them battle; but as they were informed of his condition, they determined to avoid it, tho' they were ſuperior in number, in expectation of diſperſing his army without engaging. And, indeed, the 5000 Griſons, who were coming to join the admiral, and were advanced as far as Bergamo, not receiving the money promiſed them, immediately returned. As for the 10,000 Switzers, they arrived, indeed, at Ju ea, and even advan-

1524. ced to the banks of the Sefia; but it was not poſſible to perſuade them to continue their march, for want of money to pay them. In the interim, the Imperialiſts became maſters of ſeveral ſmall towns, which very much annoyed the French camp, and, at laſt, forced the admiral to retire to Novarra; and, in the mean time, the caſtle of Cremona, which the French had hitherto kept, ſurrendered to the Imperialiſts.

The French army repaſs the Alps. Bellay.

Bonnivet, finding, that the Griſons were returned; that the Switzers would not ſtir without being ſecure of their pay; and that his men deſerted in great numbers, reſolved, at laſt, to re-paſs the Alps. As ſoon as the duke of Bourbon had notice of his march, he purſued him with all ſpeed, to compel him to a battle. There were even between the two armies, ſeveral ſharp skirmiſhes, in one of which the brave Bayard was ſlain; but notwithſtanding all the efforts of the Imperialiſts, Bonnivet retreated in good order. When the French had re-paſſed the mountains, the places they ſtill had in the Milaneſe, ſurrendered, by capitulation, to the Imperialiſts.

The emperor's and Henry's deſigns upon France. Herbert.

The French were no ſooner out of Italy, but the emperor and the king of England thought of means to invade Francis, in his own kingdom. They had expected great matters from the duke of Bourbon's revolt, but hitherto it was not poſſible to make any uſe of it, becauſe the conſpiracy was diſcovered too ſoon. The affairs of Italy having proſpered beyond expectation, they reſolved to make uſe of the duke of Bourbon to carry war into France, imagining, if he could have ſome conſiderable advantage, he would cauſe the kingdom to rebel. The duke himſelf fed them with theſe hopes, becauſe that was the thing which rendered him conſiderable. He would have been glad to act in ſome place near his own territories, from whence he expected great ſupplies; but it was thought more proper, that he ſhould enter Provence with an army, by reaſon he could eaſily be aſſiſted by the Spaniſh fleet, which kept at Genoa; whereas by engaging in the middle of the kingdom, the fleet would be of no ſervice. This reſolution being taken, Henry readily promiſed to find the duke 100,000 crowns a month, on condition, that after the firſt month, he ſhould be free to diſcontinue the payment, provided he acted himſelf in Picardy, at the head of a royal army, from the 1ſt of July, to the end of December.

The duke of Bourbon marches into Provence. Guicciard.

Tho' the emperor had put the duke of Bourbon in hopes, he would lend him all his army, in Italy, for this expedition into Provence, he could not, however, diſpenſe with leaving a good part at Milan, and other places of that duchy, under the command of Lanoy, viceroy of Naples. On the other hand, the Venetians withdrew their troops, becauſe they had promiſed by their private treaty only to defend the Milaneſe. So, the duke of Bourbon began his march, the 24th of June, much weaker than he expected *, and entered Provence the ſecond of July. He preſently became maſter of Aix and ſome other places, and, at laſt, came before Marſeilles, the taking whereof was the chief end of his expedition. But a few days before, Renzo de Ceri, an Italian captain, in the French ſervice, had entered with a ſtrong garriſon. Whereupon the duke found he ſhould meet with more reſiſtance than he had imagined; but, however, he opened the ſiege. 1524.

Francis I. flies to its relief.

In the interim, Francis I. having intelligence of Bourbon's march, ordered his forces to be aſſembled, and ſome troops ſent to Avignon, for fear the enemy ſhould ſeize it. There he reſolved to aſſemble his army, and came himſelf to command, in perſon. It is needleſs to ſpeak either of the ſiege of Marſeilles, or of the king's great diligence in aſſembling his troops. It ſuffices to ſay, in a word, that the very day he departed from Avignon, in order to fight the Imperialiſts, viz. the 10th of September, the duke of Bourbon raiſed the ſiege of Marſeilles, and retired into Italy. Whilſt the king was at Avignon, he received the news of the queen's death, who died, at Blois, in July.

The king marches into Italy another way. Guicciard.

The duke of Bourbon's retreat, entirely changed the face of affairs. Francis I, who had been in danger of loſing Provence, ſaw himſelf at the head of an army, of above 40,000 men, ready to be employed in any important undertaking; ſo, perceiving that the the Imperialiſts took a great compaſs to retire into Italy, he reſolved to improve that advantage, and the ſuperiority of his army, to recover the Milaneſe. This reſolution being taken, he began his march, and tried to reach Milan before them. On the other hand, the duke of Bourbon having notice, that the king was taking the ſhorteſt road to Milan, made incredible ſpeed not to be prevented, perceiving, that thereon would depend the preſervation of the duchy. Thus the two armies marching by different routs, arrived the ſame day, one at Albe, the other at Vercelli. A few days after the duke of Bourbon joined the viceroy of Naples, at Pavia.

Henry alters his deſigns and forſakes the emperor. Herbert.

Whilſt the imperial army was in Provence, the court of England was otherwiſe diſpoſed than before, and ſeemed too intend, to follow new maxims. Henry made no diverſion in Picardy, tho' he had paid but one month of the ſubſidy he was to give the duke of Bourbon. This was ſufficient to create ſuſpicions in the emperor, which were confirmed by Henry's unſeaſonable demand of the money lent him, at his departure from England. He could not believe, Henry would demand his money at ſo improper a time, inſtead of performing his own engagements, unleſs he intended to ſeek an occaſion of quarrel. His uneaſineſs ſtill increaſed, upon advice from his ambaſſador, in England, that a perſon was come from France to London, from the ducheſs of Angouleme, regent of that kingdom, and had long and

* He had 13000 foot, and 3000 horſe. Rapin.

frequent

1524. frequent conferences with cardinal Wolſey. All this, added to the cardinal's revengeful temper, whom he had vainly amuſed with hopes of the papacy, made him juſtly apprehenſive, that the king of England was thinking to abandon him, and join with his enemy. However, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, there was no other meaſure to take, ſince all depended on the ſucceſs of the war, which was going to be renewed, in Italy, where his generals were not a little embarraſſed.

The Imperialiſts abandon Milan. Guicciard.

As ſoon as the duke of Bourbon, and the viceroy of Naples were joined, they conſulted upon what was to be done at ſo ill a juncture. At firſt, they reſolved to leave ſtrong garriſons in Pavia and Alexandria, and take refuge in Milan; but the plague had made ſuch ravage in that city, every thing there was in ſo great confuſion, and money and proviſions ſo ſcarce, that they were forced to deſiſt from their deſign and abandon Milan. So, having well ſtored Pavia and Alexandria, they withdrew to Soncino, where Franceſco Sforza alſo repaired with them.

The French enter the city.

In the interim, Francis I. continuing his march towards Milan, and hearing the Imperialiſts were retired, cauſed his troops to enter the city, and ordered the caſtle to be inveſted. If, inſtead of going to Milan he had marched directly to the Imperialiſts, who were little able to withſtand him, he would have infallibly diſperſed them; but Bonnivet's unfortunate advice, induced him not only to march to Milan, which muſt have fallen into his hands, if he had defeated, or routed the Imperialiſts, but alſo to reſolve to beſiege Pavia. When he appeared before that place, the generals of the Imperialiſts began to take courage, in expectation, that the length of the ſiege, and the winter ſeaſon, would afford them time to take ſome meaſures. In the interim, they ſpeedily ſent for a ſupply of 10,000 Germans. The pope, the Venetians, and the Florentines failing them all at once, upon the French king's coming into Italy, their only refuge was the length of the ſiege of Pavia, which began, in November.

The pope treats privately with the king. Herbert.

Clement VII, who in the late pontificate, had openly declared againſt the king of France, being in great perplexity, ſent a nuncio to the two armies, to procure a truce; but not ſucceeding, he made his peace with the king of France; moreover, he propoſed to him the conqueſt of the kingdom of Naples, and concluded with him a private treaty, promiſing free paſſage to the French troops.

Francis ſends a detachment to Naples. Bellay.

Soon after, Francis detached 5 or 6000 men, commanded by the duke of Albany, who had left Scotland the beginning of the Spring, with orders to march towards Naples. As they were neceſſarily to paſs through the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, Clement VII. pretended, for ſome time, to oppoſe it, to make believe it was againſt his will. When the French were in the middle of his dominions, he publiſhed his agreement with the king of France, as if newly made, and ſent the emperor notice, excuſing himſelf on the neceſſity and conſtraint he was under. Tho' the emperor was very flegmatick, he could not help ſhewing, on this occaſion, an extreme reſentment againſt the pope. He ſaid, it was ſolely at the inſtance of Leo X, that he had undertaken the defenſe of Italy; that Clement himſelf had preſſed Adrian VI, to ſign the league, and now he was become pope, forſook him in his greateſt need, and left him to proſecute alone a war kindled by himſelf; that, however, he hoped to come off with honour, and to the confuſion of thoſe who ſo baſely deſerted him. The event ſhewed, however, the pope had done him ſignal ſervice, in perſuading his enemy to carry war into the kingdom of Naples, ſince he thereby cauſed him to divide his forces; but it is uncertain whether the pope had any ſuch intention.

1524.

Another accident, farther contributed to deprive Francis of his great ſuperiority over his enemies. Renzo de Ceri, who defended Marſeilles, having received the king's orders to embarque 10,000 men on the gallies, and join the duke of Albany, who expected him in Tuſcany, took Savona in his way. This ſucceſs, which ſeemed very advantageous for Francis, turned to his real misfortune, as it put him upon ſending a freſh detachment to Savona, commanded by the marqueſs of Saluzzo, to take againſt Genoa what advantages ſhould offer. The two detachments for Naples and Savona, ſo weakened the French army, that the Imperialiſts no longer feared to take the field, in order to prolong the ſiege of Pavia, till the arrival of the German ſuccours, which the duke of Bourbon himſelf was gone to haſten. And, indeed, within a few days Peſcara became maſter of Caſſano, a poſt very convenient for his purpoſe. With this event, ended the year 1524; but before I proceed to the next, it will be neceſſary, briefly, to mention what had paſſed this year, in Scotland.

Francis ſends another detachment to Savona. Guicciard.

The affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

The duke of Albany returning into France, in May, the queen dowager and the earl of Arran of the houſe of Hamilton, adviſed the young king, who was between 13 and 14 years old, to aſſume himſelf the reins of the government. This advice was very intereſted, but James was yet too young to perceive it. He followed it, and ſummoning the ſtates, declared the authority of the regent was ended, and for the future all orders were to be received from the king himſelf. After that, the queen and the earl of Arran governed, in the king's name. This change was not made with univerſal approbation. The earls of Lenox and Argyle, concerned to ſee the earl of Arran in poſſeſſion of the government, under colour of the king's anticipated majority, ſent for the earl of Angus from France, to ſupport themſelves by his intereſt, becauſe he was entirely fallen out with the queen, his wife. Upon that lord's arrival, they combined with him, and on pretence of freeing the king from the pretended captivity, the queen and the earl of Arran held him in, levied troops, and took Sterling, after which they marched to Edinburgh, where the king was. At their approach, the queen and the earl carried the king into the caſtle, but as they had not taken care to lay in proviſions,

1524. visions, were forced in few days, to deliver the king to the three lords, who assumed the title of regents. Thus, the king was again put in guardianship, under these three lords, who agreed to rule in turns, four months each. The earl of Angus began, and as he was in the king of England's interest, sent ambassadors to treat of the king of Scotland's marriage with the princess Mary, according to Henry's own scheme. To facilitate this negotiation, the truce which was to expire the 1st of December, was prolonged to the 26th of January, 1525.

Clement confirms Henry's title of Defender of the Faith.

As England was very quiet during the whole year 1524, the affairs of that kingdom will not take me up long; I shall only observe, that Clement VII, finding himself in a very ill situation, between the emperor and the king of France, shewed great regard for the court of England, whose assistance, he thought, he might want. To that purpose, he confirmed the king's title of Defender of the Faith, conferred on him by Leo X, and, to please cardinal Wolsey, suppressed St. Frideswid's priory in Oxford, on the ground whereof the cardinal intended to build his college, and appropriated the revenues to the new foundation; but as this was not sufficient for the maintenance of the college, the cardinal procured powers to visit all the religious houses, notwithstanding their immunities, and particularly those of the Franciscans, who pretended to be exempted. This was to make a certain list of such as might be suppressed, in order to transfer the revenues to his colleges. The bull which gave him these powers, was dated the 21st of August. On the 11th of September following, the pope granted him another bull, empowering him to suppress as many monasteries as he pleased, to the value of 3000 ducats a year, for the same use.

Cardinal Campejus made bishop of Salisbury. Act. Pub.

In the beginning of December, cardinal Laurentius Campejus, who had been the pope's legate, in Germany, was made bishop of Salisbury, with the king's consent. We must now return to the siege of Pavia, to behold an event, which made a very great alteration in the affairs of Europe, wherein England was deeply concerned *.

1525. Bellay. Mezerai.

Francis I, still persisted in this siege, tho' without making much progress, because of the rigour of the season, and the imperial army, which being posted at Cassano, annoyed his convoys very much; besides, he had made three detachments, one to besiege the castle of Milan, another for Naples, and a third for Savona. On the other hand, the duke of Bourbon came from Germany, about the end of January, with a supply of 10,000 foot, and 1000 horse, which made the imperial army 22,000 strong. As the generals wanted money, and for that reason were not sure of hindering the army from disbanding, they resolved to attempt the relief of Pavia. To that end, they began to march the 3d of February, towards the town, bent to improve what opportunities should offer; but, as the camp of the besiegers was strongly intrenched, they waited three weeks before they executed so dangerous a resolution, which might be attended with terrible consequence. In the interim, the Grisons having recalled their 6000 men, in the French service, and these troops departing, notwithstanding all the king's endeavours to detain them, the duke of Bourbon thought he should no longer defer attacking the enemy's camp. This resolution was executed the even of St. Matthias, with a success very fatal to Francis, since his army was routed, and himself unfortunately taken prisoner. 1525.

The French are attacked, and their king made prisoner. Guicciard.

The success of this battle filled all Europe with consternation and dread. The emperor was without a rival, and in condition to overrun Italy, with his victorious army, whilst the king of England, his ally, had it in his power to give France a mortal wound, on the side of Picardy. Consequently, the balance of Europe being taken away, the sovereigns, for the most part, had great reason to dread falling, at last, into slavery. The Venetians alone, perfectly knowing the danger, proposed to the pope, a league against the emperor, not questioning the king of England would also join in it, because it was his interest. This league added to the forces France could still bring into the field, and the supplies which might be received from the Switzers, by paying them well, would have been sufficient to keep the emperor in awe, if it could have been speedily concluded; but the pope preferring his own interest, to that of Europe, in general, hastened his treaty with the viceroy of Naples, who acted in the emperor's name. By this treaty, the emperor, among other things, was to give the investiture of Milan to Francesco Sforza. There were also three separate articles concerning the pope, in particular, viz. 1. That the inhabitants of the Milanese should furnish themselves with salt, from the pope's territories. 2. That the emperor should compel the duke of Ferrara to restore to the church, the town of Reggio, seized after Leo X's death. 3. That the pope should have the disposal of the benefices in the kingdom of Naples. By this treaty, which was of no force, till ratified by the emperor, the politick viceroy found means to cause to vanish, or, at least, to defer the project of league against the emperor, proposed by the Venetians, and to render the other powers jealous of the pope. This was the greatest service he could possibly do his master, on this occasion.

The emperor's generals at a loss.

In the interim, the emperor's generals were greatly embarrassed, after so glorious a victory, for want of money to pay their troops. They had, indeed, received 100,000 ducats from Florence, but that not sufficing to pay the arrears of the army, and maintain the soldiers afterwards, they were forced to disband the best part of the troops, when by the treaty

* About this time, divers things were newly brought into England, whereupon this rhyme was made:

Turkeys, carps, hops, piccarel, and beer,
Came into England, all in one year.

with

1525. with the pope, they were ſure of having no league to fear; beſides, Triulzi, who was beſieging the caſtle of Milan, had now repaſſed the Alps, and the duke of Albany was only thinking of retiring into France, with his army. This diſbanding of troops would have been of very great conſequence to the emperor, whoſe intereſt it was to prevent, by his moderation, the meaſures which the alarmed ſtates of Italy might take againſt him, if his generals had proceeded accordingly; but proſperity cauſing them to be wanting in policy, they treated the ſtates of Italy, and eſpecially the Venetians, with a haughtineſs, that gave them occaſion to think their liberty in danger, and made them reſolve to uſe all poſſible endeavours, to avoid the threatened ſlavery.

The emperor's moderation at the news of the victory of Pavia. Guicciard.

The emperor could better diſſemble his ſentiments. He received the news of the victory of Pavia, and the French king's captivity, with great moderation, forbidding any demonſtrations of joy, and ſaying, Chriſtians ought to rejoice only for victories over Infidels. He ſeemed to ſympathiſe with Francis's misfortune, and, as I may ſay, to put himſelf in his place, by acknowledging it to be a mere chance, and no prince, how brave ſoever, exempt from the like accident. Soon after, he called his council, to debate what was to be done with the priſoner. His confeſſor, who ſpoke firſt, was for releaſing him, without terms. He repreſented to him, that by ſuch a generous action, he would not only acquire immortal fame, but alſo make the king of France his real friend, who, not to be out done in generoſity, would, doubtleſs, ſtrive to expreſs his gratitude; that with his help, he would give law to Germany and Italy, without being obliged to demand the aſſiſtance of other inferior princes. But the duke of Alva anſwered all theſe arguments, and concluded it was beſt to reap from this victory, all the advantages it could naturally procure; and the emperor embraced his opinion. This plainly ſhews, that his pretended moderation was but a diſguiſe, to hinder the princes of Europe from being alarmed, and concerting meaſures to oppoſe the execution of his ambitious deſigns.

The emperor offers terms for Francis's liberty. P. Daniel.

To continue this diſguiſe, he ſent the count of Beaurain into Italy, with certain terms, on which he was willing to releaſe his priſoner. He was very ſure Francis would not accept them; but it was his intereſt, to make the world believe, it was not his fault, that the French king was not releaſed. Wherefore, it was every where induſtriouſly reported, that the emperor had ſent the king very reaſonable terms; but great care was taken not to publiſh them. Among other things, he demanded, for himſelf, the duchy of Burgundy; moreover, he had a mind to join to the duke of Bourbon's territories, Provence and Dauphine, and erect the whole for that prince, into a kingdom, independent of the crown of France. Laſtly, he demanded, that Francis ſhould give the king of England entire ſatisfaction, concerning what was due to him. The firſt of theſe conditions, in juſtice and equity, contained nothing ſtrange. King Lewis XI. took poſſeſſion of the duchy of Burgundy, after the death of the laſt duke, under colour of a title which was conteſted, and of which, however, he made himſelf judge. It could not, therefore, be taken ill, that the emperor ſhould demand reſtitution of what was wreſted from Mary of Burgundy, his grandmother, at leaſt, till the cauſe was legally decided. But what was ſurpriſing, and very hard in the emperor's propoſals, was, his deſire to eſtabliſh, in the heart of France, an independent kingdom, to gratify a rebellious ſubject, the prime author of the king's misfortune. Probably, he inſiſted on this article only to make the firſt paſs the better, or to give occaſion for a rupture. Francis I, rejected theſe conditions with the utmoſt indignation, and ſwore, he would rather be a captive all his life, than accept them *. But he offered, in his turn, conditions which he thought very advantageous to the conqueror, viz. that he would marry Leonora, queen dowager of Portugal, the emperor's ſiſter, and give the duke of Bourbon, his ſiſter, the ducheſs of Alenſon, who had lately loſt the duke, her husband; that he would agree to hold the duchy of Burgundy, as the queen dowager's dowry, and leave it to their male heirs; that he would reſtore the duke of Bourbon, all his confiſcated eſtates; that he would renounce all claim to Naples and Milan; that he would ſatisfy the king of England concerning what was due to him; laſtly, that he would pay the ſame ranſom as king John, when taken priſoner at the battle of Poictiers. But the emperor was not ſatisfied with theſe offers. He ſtill inſiſted, that the duchy of Burgundy ſhould be reſtored to him without condition; moreover, he affirmed, that Francis had no right to Naples and Milan, and, therefore, his offer to relinquiſh it, was needleſs and chimerical.

Great conſternation in France. Guicciard.

It was not without reaſon that the emperor perſiſted in his demands. It is eaſy to judge the conſternation of France, after the loſs ſhe had lately ſuſtained. The king was a captive, and almoſt all her generals taken, or ſlain, in the battle of Pavia. The kingdom being exhauſted by continual wars under this and the former reigns, was deſtitute of men and money. The Switzers were diſheartned. The canton of Zurich, which had refuſed to furniſh the king with troops for the war, was ſtill in the ſame diſpoſition from a principle of conſcience. Zuinglius, who had great intereſt in that canton, perſuaded the ſenate, that to barter the blood of their citizens for money, and ſerve the ambition of princes, was an infamous thing; but tho' all the cantons had been equally inclined to find troops, it was well

* When the articles were preſented to Francis, he was ſo diſpleaſed at them, that he is ſaid in a fury to draw his dagger and cry, "It is better for a king of France to die thus." Upon which, Hernando de Alenſon, who was preſent, haſtily took the dagger from him. Herbert.

1525. known, they would not do it without being paid; and to procure the money was no eaſy thing. On the other hand, there was reaſon to fear, the king of England would improve this opportunity, to invade France thro' Picardy, whilſt the emperor attacked the provinces bordering upon Spain. In fine, there was nothing to be expected from Italy, ſince the pope had made his peace with the emperor, it being impoſſible the Venetians would alone maintain the war, for the ſake of France. Thus, was ſeen, on all ſides, juſt cauſe of alarm. Certainly, had the emperor and Henry renewed their league, and vigorouſly attacked France, that kingdom in its preſent ill circumſtances, muſt have been ruined. But at the time the regent, and all true Frenchmen, were under theſe apprehenſions, a ray of hope appeared, which hindered their courage from ſinking entirely. The pope and the emperor could not agree together, tho', outwardly, they ſeemed willing to unite. The Venetians were inclined to join in a league with the other ſtates, to oppoſe the emperor's progreſs. In ſhort, the king of England, inſtead of taking advantage of the king of France's misfortune, generouſly took his part. On the other hand, Franceſco Sforza, ſeeing himſelf, as it were, the emperor's ſlave, ſtrove to throw off this yoke, and, tho' he miſcarried, his attempt, however, produced a good effect, as it ſhewed the emperor the diſpoſition of the princes, who entered into this plot, which it will be neceſſary to explain, in order to give a diſtinct idea of the affairs of thoſe times, wherein England was concerned; but firſt it muſt be ſeen what became of the captive king.

Francis I. is carried into Spain. June. Guicciard.

The unfortunate priſoner was kept, in the caſtle of Pizzighitone, till Eaſter, but with ſo much uneaſineſs on the part of the Imperialiſts, that they durſt not remove their troops from that quarter, for fear of his being reſcued. At laſt, Lanoy hearing, the Venetian ambaſſador, at Rome, had frequent conferences with the pope, was afraid ſome plot was forming, to deliver the priſoner; wherefore, without imparting his deſign to the duke of Bourbon, whom, perhaps, he miſtruſted, he reſolved to convey him into Spain; but this was difficult, ſince he had no naval force, and the French gallies were at ſea. To remove this obſtacle, he inſinuated to the king, that the only way, ſpeedily, to obtain his liberty, was, to confer, in perſon, with the emperor; that, as the emperor was a generous prince, and had ſhewn a concern for his misfortune, their interview could not but produce a good effect, and promote a ſpeedy peace. Francis agreed to it, full of hopes, that he ſhould do more himſelf, in two or three conferences with the emperor, than his miniſters, in many months. He even lent the viceroy his gallies, to carry him into Spain, where he arrived about the middle of June.

He is ſhut up in the caſtle of Madrid. Guicciard.

He flattered himſelf, he ſhould be treated in Spain, as king John was in England; but at his arrival, he had the mortification to be confined in the caſtle of Madrid, where the emperor, inſtead of treating with him, in perſon, did not ſo much as pay him a viſit; and all he could obtain, was, a ſafe-conduct for his ſiſter, the ducheſs of Alenſon, who came to Madrid, in September. She was empowered by the regent, her mother, to negotiate with the emperor; but, at laſt, ſhe was forced to return, and nothing obtained. When ſhe came to Madrid, ſhe found the king, her brother, ſo ill, that his recovery was deſpaired of; and, as there was no room to doubt, that his grief, at ſeeing his liberty ſo remote, occaſioned his illneſs, the emperor poſted from Toledo to Madrid, to viſit and comfort him, in the apprehenſion of loſing, by his priſoner's death, the advantages he expected from his captivity. He put him, therefore, in hopes of his deliverance, in the two viſits he made him, tho', in general terms, which, however, produced the deſired effect, ſince the king recovered his health; but when, after his recovery, he would have renewed the negotiation, he quickly perceived, he was farther from his deliverance, than he imagined. The emperor ſtill inſiſted upon the reſtitution of Burgundy, and when the king offered to eſpouſe the princeſs Leonora, and hold that duchy as her dowry, Charles excuſed himſelf, as having promiſed to give the queen, his ſiſter, in marriage, to the duke of Bourbon. It was no ſmall mortification to Francis to ſee one of his ſubjects preferred before him; but what troubled him ſtill more, was, that he ſaw it to be only a pretence to retard the concluſion of the treaty. So, in the deſpair the emperor's rigour threw him into, he gave the ducheſs of Alenſon a writing under his hand, whereby he conſented, and even ordered, that the ſtates of France ſhould crown the dauphin, his ſon. This, in France, is called the Edict of Madrid. But the parliament of Paris thought not fit to record it, either becauſe it was againſt the laws of the realm, or they deemed ſuch an imperfect edict to be of no authority, ſince the king was not free. It may be, Francis thereby, deſigned to let the emperor ſee, that inſtead of having a king in his power, he ran the riſque of having only a prince, without dominions.

The emperor deals deceitfully with the pope. Guicciard.

Whilſt the emperor amuſed his priſoner, in Spain, he acted with no greater ſincerity, with the pope, who did not know what to think of his proceedings. The victorious monarch had courted him very earneſtly; but, after making a treaty with him, by the viceroy of Naples, he long delayed to ratify it, and, at laſt, had ſent his ratification without including the three ſeparate articles. He ſaid, that as to the duke of Ferrara, he could not oblige him to deliver Reggio to the pope, being a fief of the empire. As to the ſecond article, whereby the emperor was bound to oblige the inhabitants of the Milaneſe, to take their ſalt of the pope's ſubjects, he ſaid, that concerned only the duke of Milan, and for his part, he could not promiſe for others. That for the benefices of Naples, he could not agree to that article, unleſs a limitation was added, which rendered it of no effect, viz. that what had been practiſed in the reigns of the former kings of Naples, ſhould be conformed to. The pope

1525. pope finding, the emperor refuſed to ratify theſe three articles, would not accept of the ratification, and they both remained upon the ſame terms, as before the treaty; but the emperor had obtained his deſires, ſince he had obſtructed the league which was projecting againſt him, in rendering the pope ſuſpected by the reſt of the ſovereigns.

The emperor offers the inveſtiture of Milan to Sforza, on a condition not to be performed. Guicciard.

There was another thing which ſhewed the emperor's inſincerity, viz. having ſent the inveſtiture of Milan to Franceſco Sforza, he clogged it with the condition, that Sforza ſhould pay him 1,200,000 ducats, in recompence for his charges, in keeping that duchy for him; and, as it was evident, Sforza could not poſſibly perform this condition, it was no leſs ſo, that the emperor only ſought a pretence, to continue maſter of Milan. Theſe things alarmed the pope, who heard, beſides, that the council of Spain was not favourable to him; and, indeed, ſome of the emperor's miniſters had adviſed him, to chaſtiſe the pope for joining with France, at ſo critical a juncture, and compel him to reſtore Modena to the duke of Ferrara, and Bologna to the Bentivoglio's.

The Venetians endeavour to form a league againſt the emperor. Guicciard.

On the other hand, the Venetians ſeeing there was no likelihood, that the emperor really intended to reſtore Sforza, could not but be alarmed at his keeping the duchy of Milan; wherefore, they uſed their utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the pope, and the king of England to join with them and France, againſt the emperor, well knowing, that otherwiſe, all Italy would fall under the dominion of the houſe of Auſtria. A letter of Andrea Gritti, their doge, to cardinal Wolſey, of the 31ſt of March, extant in the Collection of the Publick Acts, ſhews, that theſe able politicians had formed this project ſhortly after the battle. The letter, indeed, is only an ambaſſador's credentials, who had orders to treat with the king upon a very important affair; but, at ſuch a juncture, this great affair could be only the league they were projecting.

The pope continues undetermined.

In the interim, the pope was extremely embarraſſed; for, in attempting to manage too artfully, he had made ſo many falſe ſteps, that he knew not which way to turn; which is frequently the caſe of thoſe, who, quitting the great road, walk through by-ways. Clement VII, could not reſolve either to be ſatisfied with the emperor's offers, or enter into a league againſt him. In this uncertainty, he choſe to follow the example of Leo X, and Julius II, his predeceſſors, that is, to treat with the emperor and his enemies, at the ſame time, in order to be determined by the events, in what would be moſt advantageous. To that end, whilſt he was treating, at Rome, with the Venetians, he ſent cardinal Salviati to Spain, to negotiate with the emperor, putting into his hands a diſpenſation, deſired by that monarch, to marry his niece Iſabella of Portugal; but the diſpenſation was not to be delivered to the emperor, till after the concluſion of the treaty.

Sforza is kept in ſervitude by the Imperialiſts. Guicciard.

The affairs of Italy, being in this ſituation, another accident happened, which plainly ſhewed, the emperor only ſought to amuſe all the ſovereigns, by a feigned moderation, whilſt, in truth, he was ſolely thinking of extending his dominions. His league with Adrian VI, and the reſt of the ſtates of Italy, was founded upon Franceſco Sforza's reſtoration to the duchy of Milan; and, as this was the common intereſt of Italy, ſo was it, likewiſe, the only bond, by which the emperor had found means to unite all the potentates againſt France, then in poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe. That league had ſucceeded according to the deſires of the allies; for the French were driven out of Italy, and Sforza reſtored; but tho' the emperor had pretended to give him the inveſtiture, he had not yet done it, becauſe Sforza was not able to pay the 1,200,000 ducats he demanded. He was made to hope he ſhould obtain more moderate terms, but that was only to amuſe him, and remove his as well as the pope's and Venetians ſuſpicion, that the emperor intended to keep the duchy for himſelf, or give it to his brother, the archduke Ferdinand. 1525.

The emperor lays a ſnare for Sforza, in order to diſpoſſeſs him. P. Daniel.

What was then but a bare ſuſpicion, ſoon became a certainty; for the duke of Bourbon going into Spain, to take care of his concerns, Ferdinand d' Avalos, marqueſs of Peſcara, was commiſſioned by the emperor to command in Italy. Soon after, Peſcara affected to appear very diſſatisfied, and openly to complain of the emperor's ingratitude. He carried his diſſimulation ſo far, that, at laſt, he inſpired Jeronimo Morone, the duke of Milan's chancellor, with the boldneſs to ſound him, to ſee whether by his means, the Spaniards might be driven out of the Milaneſe. Peſcara harkened to his inſinuations, had ſeveral conferences with him, and managed ſo dextrouſly, that he engaged Morone to cauſe the duke himſelf, to ſpeak to him about the affair. Morone's project, was, to kill all the Spaniards in the duchy of Milan, and make Peſcara king of Naples. As this could not be effected without a foreign aid, Peſcara propoſed to engage in the plot, the pope, the regent of France, and the Venetians. Accordingly, theſe three powers came into it, and promiſed their aſſiſtance. When matters were almoſt ripe, Peſcara received the emperor's orders to diſpoſſeſs the duke of Milan entirely. He began with ſeizing Morone, and then conſtrained the duke, who was not able to reſiſt, to reſign the city of Milan, and all the reſt of the towns, in his poſſeſſion; only the caſtle of Milan, Sforza would not deliver, which was, therefore, immediately, beſieged. Thus, the emperor had a plauſible colour to render himſelf maſter of the duchy, and the pope and Venetians could not complain of his puniſhing Sforza's treachery, ſince there were evident proofs, that they themſelves were concerned in the plot.

The Venetians inſiſt upon Sforza's reſtoration. Guicciard.

The artifice practiſed by the emperor, to ſeize the Milaneſe, ſerved only to confirm the Venetians in their reſolution, to hazard all, to hinder that duchy from remaining in the hands of the houſe of Auſtria. Without troubling themſelves to juſtify their conduct, they plainly told the Spaniſh ambaſſador, who preſſed them to join with the emperor, that Sforza's reſtoration was a preliminary they would

1525. would never depart from. If Clement VII, had ſhewn the ſame reſolution, the emperor would have been ſomething embarraſſed; but the pope, by acting too politickly, ſuffered himſelf to be deceived, as he had been before. He had a legate, in Spain, who was treating with the emperor, whilſt himſelf was negotiating, at Rome, with the French and Venetian ambaſſadors, a league againſt that monarch. He impatiently waited the ſucceſs of his legate's negotiation, and, as the concluſion was long delayed, he appointed a day to ſign a league with France and Venice; but in the interval, receiving advice, that his treaty was concluded, at Madrid, he would hear no more of the league. Soon after, the emperor ſent him by an expreſs, the treaty concluded, in Spain, which he found ſo equivocal and ambiguous, that he refuſed to ratify it. The Spaniſh ambaſſador pretending to be himſelf ſurpriſed at the ambiguities of the treaty, ſtrenuouſly maintained, they were undeſigned, and told the pope, he might draw the treaty as he pleaſed, and engaged to have it ſigned by the emperor within two months. This delay was only to hinder the pope from entering into the league, during that time, and Clement ſuffered himſelf to be deceived by the aſſurance wherewith the ambaſſador ſpoke. This was tranſacted in December, 1525, and, in the ſame month, died Peſcara.

Henry thinks of ſiding with France. Hollingſh.

Thus, having ſhewn the ſituation of affairs in Italy, we muſt ſee what paſſed at the court of England, where was no leſs caballing, than at Rome and Venice, ſince it was then really debating to preſerve the balance of Europe, which leaned a little too much to one ſide. The equallity between the two houſes of France and Auſtria, was properly, what made England conſiderable, and conſequently, was an advantage not to be neglected; but there were other reaſons that incited Henry to forſake the emperor, and join with France. Tho' the treaty of Bruges, or Windſor, ſeemed to have inſeparably united the emperor and Henry, it is, however, certain, they were not pleaſed with one another, becauſe each was deſirous to make their union ſubſervient to his own affairs, without any regard to his ally. Probably, cardinal Wolſey, who was very angry with the emperor, did not a little contribute to diſpoſe his maſter to a rupture.

The emperor and Henry are diſſatisfied with one another.

Cauſes of their falling out. Guicciard.

The princeſs Mary, Henry's daughter, was affianced to the emperor, and yet the king, her father, had offered her to the king of Scotland. On the other hand, the emperor had not ſcrupled to conclude his own marriage with Iſabella of Portugal, as if he had not been engaged to Mary, and from hence, theſe two monarchs ſhewed they had very little regard for one another. Charles hearing that Henry was treating of a marriage, between his daughter and the king of Scotland, took that occaſion to throw upon him the rupture of his marriage. In March, he ſent into England the lord Buren, and the preſident of the council of Mechlin, to require the king to ſend him, immediately, the princeſs, pay down the covenanted dowry, and purſuant to their league, enter Picardy with a powerful army, as he ſhould have done the laſt year. It was eaſy for Henry to perceive, the emperor ſought only to juſtify himſelf, without any intention to accompliſh his marriage with Mary, and this way of proceeding was not very proper to preſerve a good underſtanding. But on the other hand, the emperor, had no leſs reaſon to complain of him.; for Henry had promiſed to find 100,000 crowns a month for the duke of Bourbon's expedition into France, or to make a powerful diverſion in Picardy; but after ſetting the affair on foot, by the firſt monthly payment, he had ſtopped there, without making any attempt againſt France; nay, he demanded the money due to him, when he knew the emperor was not able to pay him. This proceeding, ſeemed to demonſtrate, he only ſought a pretence. Moreover, the emperor was informed, that in October laſt, when Francis I, was marching into Italy, a perſon without character, came to London, from the regent, and had ſeveral conferences with cardinal Wolſey. But then, Charles had promiſed to invade France on the ſide of Spain, without having done any thing towards it, and yet he took it very ill, that Henry ſhould diſappoint him. Thus, theſe two monarchs, who were thought ſo ſtrictly united, and whoſe union made France and Italy tremble, were, in reality, eſtranged from one another, and ready to quarrel. In all appearance, the conferences of the perſon from France, with cardinal Wolſey, had taken effect; beſides, the cardinal, who was very revengeful, muſt have been extremely incenſed with the emperor, for deceiving him twice, after a poſitive promiſe to help him to the papacy.

Henry ſhews a regard for France. Herbert. Hall.

It was in the beginning of March, that the emperor's two ambaſſadors diſcharged their commiſſion; but, before they had received an anſwer, the news of the battle of Pavia, and the taking of the king of France reached England, by a letter from the governeſs of Flanders, with another from Lanoy, written on the very day of the battle. As the court of England then ſtood inclined, this news was by no means agreeable; nevertheleſs, as it was yet neceſſary to diſſemble, Henry ordered a ſolemn maſs to be celebrated, at St. Paul's, where he was pleaſed to be preſent, in perſon, without, however, cauſing Te Deum to be ſung. His view, was, to make the emperor's ambaſſadors believe, it was on account of the victory, and alſo to ſhew a regard for France, by avoiding to expreſs any joy at her misfortune.

Henry adviſes with his council about the courſe he ſhould take.

Some days after, the council was aſſembled to conſider, what was to be done at this juncture. The queſtion was, whether this opportunity ſhould be embraced to make conqueſts upon France, in proſecuting the king's title to that kingdom, or whether it was more expedient to aſſiſt and preſerve France entire, and oppoſe the growing power of the houſe of Auſtria. As to the firſt point, it is certain, if on this occaſion, England had ſtrictly united with the emperor, and made vigorous efforts on the ſide of Picardy, France, in her preſent condition, would have been irrecoverably loſt; for,

1525. for, inſtead of being able to withſtand the arms of theſe two powerful enemies, it was not poſſible for her to reſiſt the emperor, without the king of England's aſſiſtance. But on the other hand, it was conſidered, that France could not be ruined, without rendering the emperor too powerful; that he was already in poſſeſſion of Spain, and had alſo an eye upon Portugal, by marrying his niece Iſabella, as it was publickly reported; that his late victory, in Milan, gave him ſuch a ſuperiority in Italy, that, probably, the pope and Venetians would not be able to make head againſt him; that he poſſeſſed almoſt all the Low-Countries, with large and rich provinces in Germany; not to reckon the imperial dignity, which was become as hereditary in his family; that if by a powerful diverſion, an opportunity was given him to conquer the French provinces, bordering upon Spain and Italy, the moſt the king could expect, was, to ſhare France with him; but it was to be feared, that, afterwards, the emperor would become his enemy, and the more formidable, as there would be no proportion between their forces, nor any ſtate in Europe capable of ſupporting the weakeſt; that, therefore, ſuppoſing the king had, in France, all the ſucceſs he could wiſh, in aggrandiſing himſelf in that kingdom, he would only be involved, for the future, in an unequal war with the emperor, who very probably would never be ſatisfied, till he had diſpoſſeſſed the Engliſh of their conqueſts; that what had paſſed between Lewis XII, and Ferdinand, in reſpect of the kingdom of Naples, was a clear evidence, how difficult it is for ſuch partitions long to ſubſiſt; that upon all theſe accounts, it was more for the intereſt of England, to make a vigorous effort to ſupport France, and enable her to be always a balance to the power of the houſe of Auſtria; that the happineſs and glory of England conſiſted, in the equallity between the king of France and the emperor, ſince thereby England was always in condition to remain arbiter of Europe, and make herſelf courted by both ſides; that there was no other way to cauſe trade to flouriſh, wherein conſiſted all her ſtrength, and without which the Engliſh could never hope to render themſelves formidable; that if, on the contrary, it was reſolved to compleat the deſtruction of France, and a war ſhould afterwards happen with the emperor, of which, there was great probability; at once would be loſt the trade with France, Spain, Italy, Flanders, Germany, which would quickly reduce England to extreme poverty; that, at leaſt, it would thereby be out of their power, to have land and ſea forces ſufficient to balance the emperor's power. In ſhort, if France come to be devided between the emperor and the king, Scotland would certainly join in alliance with the emperor, and continue to annoy England by frequent diverſions, as ſhe had always done, in favour of France. To theſe conſiderations, another of greater weight was added, viz. that a league with the emperor to conquer France, was not the ſame thing, as one with the regent, in defence of that kingdom; that in the 1525. firſt, the emperor's ſole view would be to make the Engliſh forces ſerve to enable him to puſh his conqueſts elſewhere; but, at the ſame time, he would oppoſe directly or indirectly the king's increaſe of power; that this was the uſual policy of princes, when they joined with thoſe weaker than themſelves; that it could be the leſs doubted, that the emperor would follow this maxim, as even before the battle of Pavia, he had ſhewn, that he conſidered the king only as his inſtrument to promote his deſigns, in Italy; but if the king joined with France, the two allies having the ſame view, would, as is uſual in defenſive leagues, act unanimouſly; that on the other hand, in the preſent juncture, France not being able to ſupport herſelf without the aſſiſtance of England, would readily accept what terms ſhould be impoſed upon her, which was an advantage more real and certain, than any to be expected from the invaſion of that kingdom. In a word, nothing could be more glorious for the kingdom, than to relieve France in her diſtreſs, and free her captive king, that by ſo doing, he would truly acquire the title of arbiter and deliverer of Europe, and make of the king of France a friend, who, probably, would eternally remember ſuch a favour.

Theſe were the reaſons that induced the king and council, to take part with France. They were perfectly agreeable to the king's and the cardinal's inclinations, and to the meaſures they had now began to take. The only buſineſs, was, to ſeek a pretence to break with the emperor, by throwing upon him the blame of the rupture. This is a thing, to which princes are very attentive; for when they wage never ſo unjuſt wars, they would perſuade the world, that juſtice and equity are on their ſide, without any motive of envy, jealouſy, ambition and avarice. The war Henry was meditating againſt the emperor, was, as we have ſeen, wholly founded upon policy; and that would have been ſufficient to juſtify it; but he choſe rather to ground it upon the pretended injuries received from the emperor. The reaſon of this conduct is evident; for it ſeldom happens, that policy and equity agree, and Henry, like moſt princes, had rather be counted a great politician, than an honeſt man. However this be, the reſolution being taken to ſupport France, Cuthbert Tunſtal, biſhop of London, and Sir Robert Wingfield, were ſent into Spain to demand of the emperor ſeveral things, which it was known he would not grant. Firſt, that as the war was made at a common charge, it was reaſonable the king of England ſhould partake of the fruits of the victory of Pavia; that, therefore, purſuant to their alliance, it ſhould be ſtipulated in the treaty with the captive king, that Henry ſhould be reſtored to what belonged to him in France. Secondly, that if this could not be obtained by fair means, the emperor, according to the treaty, ſhould prepare to invade France from Spain, whilſt the Engliſh acted in Picardy, and that the war ſhould not ceaſe till the king of

Henry reſolves to ſupport France.

1525. England had acquired all that belonged to him; that the emperor ought to be the readier to aſſiſt the king of England, in obtaining his deſires, becauſe by his marriage with the heireſs of England, all theſe acquiſitions would finally devolve to him. Thirdly, that as it was ſaid in the treaty of Windſor, the two allies ſhould mutually deliver all uſurpers upon each other's right, Henry required, purſuant to that article, that the king of France ſhould be delivered to him, the ſame day the princeſs Mary was conſigned to the emperor.

The emperor anſwers in general terms.

Theſe demands were for the moſt part of ſuch a nature, that the emperor eaſily perceived, that Henry only ſought a pretence to break with him. Indeed, he could not receive the princeſs Mary, ſince he was determined to marry Iſabella of Portugal, and much leſs would he deliver the captive king, and ſo part with the advantage he expected from his victory. Having, therefore, framed his anſwer, in general terms, denoting his unwillingneſs to grant what was demanded, he afforded Henry the pretence he was ſeeking to join with the regent of France. When this reſolution was divulged, the court of England took care to publiſh the reaſons of the rupture, with the emperor. They were briefly theſe, That the governeſs of the Low-Countries, inſtead of providing for the war, her quota of forces, had privately treated with France; that the Flemings had broken the treaty of commerce, in ſeveral articles; that the emperor had not paid the king the ſums due to him; that in the terms, on which he had offered to releaſe the king of France, he had very negligently, and in general, only mentioned Henry's right, as a thing of little moment; that he was now treating of his marriage with the princeſs of Portugal, in contempt of the princeſs Mary, to whom he was contracted; and laſtly, that the Turks being about to invade Chriſtendom, it was neceſſary that all Chriſtian princes ſhould join their forces againſt them, which could not be done without a general peace; but this peace could not be effected, whilſt the emperor remained in arms to aggrandize himſelf at the expence of other princes. Theſe are the reaſons alledged, in vindication of the king's conduct; but the true reaſon, was, the juſt jealouſy with which the emperor's power inſpired England, and the reſt of Europe. Henry, however, did not think proper to proclaim war againſt the emperor, being unwilling by ſo raſh a ſtep, to prejudice his intended treaty with France; for he contented himſelf with ordering his ambaſſadors, in Spain, to intercede in his name, in behalf of the captive king, tho' he expected little from this interceſſion. In the interim, he acquainted the regent of France, that if ſhe would ſend ambaſſadors to treat with him, there might follow a treaty, advantageous to the king, her ſon, and to both kingdoms. The regent, immediately, appointed Jean-Joachim de Paſſau, lord of Vaux, the ſame that had begun the negotiation with cardinal Wolſey, and Jean Brinon, preſident of Roan. Their commiſſion was dated, at Lyons, June the 9th.

Whilſt the treaty between France and England was negotiating, at London, Henry, knowing how it would end, committed the raiſing of money to cardinal Wolſey's care. The moſt natural way was to apply to the parliament; but Wolſey was too haughty to expoſe himſelf to a refuſal, or conteſt with the houſe of commons, as it had once before happened; ſo, reſolving to uſe a ſpeedier means, and more agreeable to his temper, he granted commiſſions, in the king's name, to levy, throughout the kingdom, the ſixth part of every lay-man's goods, and the fourth of the clergy's. Theſe commiſſions were no ſooner publiſhed, but the nation was in a great fermentation; for this method of raiſing money, was univerſally deemed a manifeſt breach of Magna Charta, and an incroachment of ſo great conſequence, that there was like to have been a general rebellion. The king being informed of it, immediately, iſſued out a proclamation, diſavowing theſe commiſſions, which had been publiſhed, in his name, and declaring, he would exact nothing of his people by force, nor demand any thing, but by way of benevolence, as practiſed in the reign of Edward IV. But it was quickly perceived, this was only an artifice to extort, under another name, what the people refuſed to give by force. For, the benevolence demanded, afterwards, by the king, was, almoſt, equal to what was, at firſt, required, by way of authority. The Londoners being taxed firſt, the magiſtrates excuſed themſelves, as benevolences were aboliſhed by Richard III. The cardinal exclaimed againſt it, as if it had been the moſt extravagant aſſertion in the world; for, he told them, Richard III. was a tyrant and uſurper, and, therefore, laws made in his reign, could not limit the ſovereign's power. This argument having no great effect, he ſent for the chief of the common council of the city, one by one, to intimidate them, deſiring, at any rate, to compaſs his ends, without being obliged to call a parliament; but whilſt he was, thus, employed, there was an inſurrection near London, which, probably, would have drawn in the whole kingdom, if a timely ſtop had not been put to it. The ſpeedy courſe that was taken to diſperſe the ſeditious, ſucceeded as the court could wiſh; for they who had taken arms, ſeeing themſelves not yet ſufficiently ſupported, ſubmitted to the king's mercy, and ſome of the ring-leaders were impriſoned. The king finding how the nation ſtood affected, thought proper to ſatisfy them, by ſhewing he was not concerned in the violent proceedings of his miniſter; wherefore, he declared, in full council, that his intention was not to puniſh any perſon for this commotion. The cardinal perceiving, the king threw all the blame upon him, vindicated himſelf as well as he could, without accuſing the king, alledging, he had the judges opinion for what he had done. If ſuch an excuſe were admitted, it would be no longer neceſſary for a king of England to apply to the parliament for money; for the judges being appointed by the king, it would not

1525. Wolſey reſolves to levy money without the parliament. Herbert. Hollingſh. Hall.

An inſurrection in the country. Hall.

1525. not be difficult for him, to have their opinion on his ſide. But tho' there have been judges ſo hardy, as to decide points of this conſequence, as in the reigns of Richard II, Charles I, James II, very few eſcaped the puniſhment due to their preſumption; for the parliament never intended, that the privileges of the nation ſhould depend upon the deciſion of the judges. The council finding the king was not inclined to ſupport what the cardinal had done, and, on the other hand, not daring to come upon the cardinal himſelf, thought fit to throw all the fault, without naming any perſon, upon thoſe that had given the king wrong information, and to releaſe the priſoners, after a ſevere reprimand. Purſuant to this reſolution, the priſoners being brought before the council, the cardinal ſharply rebuked them, aggravating the heinouſneſs of their offence, and, adding, that the king was pleaſed to grant them his pardon, provided they would find ſureties for their good behaviour, for the future; but the priſoners replying, they could find none, the cardinal and duke of Norfolk ſaid, they would be bound for them; whereupon they were diſcharged.

Henry receives ſeveral complaints againſt the cardinal. Hall.

When the king had diſcovered, that he approved not all the cardinal's actions, people ventured more boldly to complain of his conduct. The truth is, he oppreſſed the nation, and more eſpecially the clergy, in a ſtrange manner. The inſtrument of his oppreſſions, was one Allen, his chaplain, who kept no meaſures, well knowing his maſter's protection would not fail him, on occaſion. In the interim, how great ſoever the cardinal's power was, a private perſon ventured to commence a ſuit againſt Allen, and proſecuted him ſo vigorouſly, that, at laſt, the affair came to the king's knowledge, who was informed, at the ſame time, of ſeveral other complaints of the people. He had, hitherto, fancied, there had never been in England ſo mild a government as his, being ignorant of the ill uſe Wolſey made of his authority. This information threw him into ſo terrible a rage, that the cardinal was like to have been entirely out of favour; and, it was not without the utmoſt ſubmiſſion, that he appeaſed the king's anger, ſhewing him withal, his laſt will, wherein he had made him his heir. This he did, to intimate, that he was labouring for him, and that the outrages he committed, were only to increaſe the inheritance the king was one day to enjoy. Nothing can more fully expreſs the king's ſentiments concerning him, than his letter to the cardinal, after having pardoned him. A fragment whereof, inſerted by lord Herbert, in his Hiſtory, is as follows:

The king's letter to the cardinal. Herbert.

"AS touching the matter of Wilton, ſeeing it is in no other ſtrain than you write of, and you being alſo ſo ſuddenly (with the falling ſick of your ſervants) afraid, and troubled; I marvel not, that it overſlipped you as it did. But it is no great matter, ſtanding the caſe as it doth; for it is yet in my hand, as I perceive by your letter, and your default was not ſo great, ſeeing the election was but conditional; wherefore, my lord, ſeeing the humbleneſs of your ſubmiſſion, and tho' the caſe were much more heinous, I can be content for to remit it, being right glad, that according to mine intent, my monitions and warnings have been benignly and lovingly accepted, on your behalf, promiſing you, that the very affection I bear you, cauſed me thus to do. As touching the help of religious houſes to the building of your college, I would it were more, ſo it be lawfully; for my intent is none, but that it ſhould ſo appear to all the world, and the occaſion of all their mumbling might be ſecluded and put away; for, ſurely there is great murmuring of it throughout all the realm, both good and bad. They ſay not that all that is ill-gotten, is beſtowed upon the college, but that the college is the cloak for covering all miſchiefs. This grieveth me, I aſſure you, to hear it ſpoken of him, which I ſo entirely love; wherefore, methought I could do no leſs, than thus friendly to admoniſh you. One thing more I perceive by your own letter, which a little, methinketh, toucheth conſcience, and that is, that you have received money of the exempts for having of their old viſitors. Surely, this can hardly be with good conſcience; for, and they were good, why ſhould you take money? and if they were ill, it were a ſinful act. Howbeit, your legacy herein might, peradventure, apud Homines, be a cloak, but not apud Deum. Wherefore, you, thus moniſhed by him, who ſo entirely loveth you, I doubt not, will deſiſt, not only from this, (if conſcience will not bear it) but from all other things which ſhould tangle the ſame; and, in ſo doing, we will ſing, Te laudant angeli atque archangeli, Te laudat omnis ſpiritus: And thus an end I make of this, tho' rude, yet loving letter, deſiring you as benevolently to take it, as I do mean it, for I enſure you, (and I pray you think it ſo) that there remaineth, at this hour, no ſpark of diſpleaſure towards you, in my heart. And thus, fare you well, and be no more perplext. Written with the hand of your loving ſovereign and friend,

HENRY R.

The cardinal removes from court thoſe whom he ſuſpects.

This letter ſhews the king was informed of ſeveral of the cardinal's miſdemeanours; but he did not yet thoroughly know him, his affection for him combating in his heart, the heinouſneſs of his proceedings, and making him believe, that his faults were the pure effects of his great zeal for the founding of his college. Had he not been, thus, prepoſſeſſed in his favour, he might have been more fully informed; but it was very dangerous to ſpeak directly againſt a favourite, to whom the king ſtill ſhewed ſo great kindneſs. In the interim, the cardinal finding by this inſtance, what his enemies would be capable of doing againſt him, if they had the king's ear, was very

1525. very careful to remove from court, all he ſuſpected. At the ſame time, he ſtrove to preſerve the king's love and eſteem, by all ſorts of condeſcenſions. He had now built, at Hampton-Court, a ſtately palace, which outſhone, in beauty, all the king's houſes; but what had lately happened, convincing him, it might breed a jealouſy in the king, he made him a preſent of it, as if from the very firſt he had intended to build it for him. He meant to inſinuate, by this preſent, that he heaped up riches purely for his ſake, which ſucceeded accordingly; for the king had the ſame confidence in him, as before, which the murmurs of the people ſeemed to have ſomething altered. This year he obtained the king's letters patent for founding his college, at Oxford.

Henry, the king's natural ſon, made duke of Richmond. Act. Pub. July 16.

About the ſame time, the king created Henry Fitz-Roy, his natural ſon, duke of Richmond and Somerſet, and high-admiral of England, tho' he was but ſix years old; and, as he had no legitimate ſon, he was extremely fond of this baſtard, whom he had by the lady Elizabeth Blunt.

Negotiation with the French ambaſſadors.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, the cardinal was employed in treating with the French ambaſſadors. The beginning of June, the regent had ſent general full powers to her two ambaſſadors; but in the courſe of the negotiation, they found they ſhould have occaſion for more particular powers, to ſettle the ſums due from the king of France to the king of England, and which, conſiſting of ſeveral articles, were to be put into one, according to Henry's intention. Theſe new powers were diſpatched the 16th of Auguſt. Upon ſuch an extraordinary occaſion, the French ambaſſadors had properly nothing to do but to comply with the king of England's pleaſure. Their view being to diſengage him from the emperor, and cauſe him to join with the king, their maſter, there was no diſputing upon the terms; but it muſt be confeſſed, that on this occaſion, Henry behaved with uncommon generoſity. Tho' he might have demanded towns, and even provinces, in return for the friendſhip he was pleaſed to contract with Francis I, and for the charges he was going to be engaged in, he contented himſelf with ſecuring, by new treaties, the ſums that were juſtly due to him. Theſe treaties being ready, were ſigned at Moore, a houſe of the king's *, on the 30th of Auguſt.

* In Hertfordſhire.

Treaty of Moore, divided into ſeveral treaties. Act. Pub. Herbert.

The firſt, contained a defenſive league between France and England, againſt all powers ſpiritual or temporal, that ſhould invade either of the two kingdoms. The allies of the two kings were included, by name, in the league, but with the limitation, that this article was not to be underſtood of thoſe, who had uſurped any thing upon either of the two principal contractors, ſince the league concluded, at London, October the 1ſt, 1518. Hence the emperor, who had lately conquered the duchy of Milan, was excluded. Moreover, Henry engaged to uſe his beſt endeavours, to procure the liberty of Francis.

The ſecond treaty concerned the payment of the ſums due to Henry, from the king of France, viz. 1. By a treaty of the 7th of Auguſt, 1515, 1,000,000 of crowns of gold. 2. By another of the 12th of January, 1518, for reſtitution of Tournay, 500,000 crowns of gold. 3. By another of the ſame date, 23000 livres Tournois. 4. By another of November the 13th, 1520, 462,000 crowns. For all theſe ſums, the regent bound herſelf in the king her ſon's name, to pay Henry 2,000,000 of crowns of gold, 35 pence Tournois each, which being reduced to crowns de ſoleil, of 38 pence, amounted to the ſum of 1,894,736 crowns, and 32 pence Tournois. This ſum was to be paid at ſeveral times, viz. 47,368 crowns, within 40 days after the date of the treaty; the like ſum on the 1ſt of November next, and the ſame every ſix months, till the whole was paid. This made in all 40 payments, conſequently the whole ſum muſt be paid in 20 years. 1525.

It was farther agreed, by the ſame treaty, that, if Henry died before he had received the 2,000,000, the arrears were to be paid to his heirs and ſucceſſors; but, in caſe he out-lived the payment of the whole, he ſhould receive, during life, an annual penſion of 100,000 crowns, to ceaſe at his death.

To ſecure the performance of the treaty, the regent was to ſwear to it ſolemnly, before the Engliſh ambaſſadors, and Francis I, was to ratify and ſwear to it, immediately, after his return into France; moreover, Henry had for ſecurity, the cardinal of Bourbon, the dukes of Vendome and Longueville, the earls of St. Paul, Maulevrier, Brienne, the lords of Montmorency, Lautrec, and Breze, the cities of Paris, Lyons, Orleans, Toulouſe, Amiens, Bourdeaux, Tours, and Rheims.

It muſt be obſerved, that in the ſum of 2,000,000 of crowns due to Henry, there was no deduction of what he had received from Francis I, from the year 1515, to their rupture. This was all the advantage Henry made, which was not very great, conſidering how little punctual the king of France was in his payments.

By a third treaty, the regent engaged to pay to Mary, Henry's ſiſter, queen dowager of France, all the arrears of her dowry, at ſeveral payments, viz. 5000 crowns within 40 days after the date of the treaty, and a like ſum every ſix months, till the whole was diſcharged; moreover, ſhe promiſed to let her enjoy her dowry, for the future.

There was alſo a fourth treaty, which ran, that the king of Scotland ſhould be reckoned in the number of the allies of France, but on condition the Scots committed no act of hoſtility againſt England, after the 25th of December next.

Laſtly, by a fifth treaty, it was agreed, that the court of France ſhould conſent, neither directly, nor indirectly, that the duke of Albany ſhould return into Scotland, during the minority of James V.

All theſe ſeveral treaties, which properly were only different articles of one and the ſame treaty, were ratified and ſworn by the regent of

1525. of France, and confirmed by the parliaments of Paris, Toulouſe, and Bourdeaux; and the lords and cities, that were to be ſecurities, gave their bonds. Finally, Francis I, ſent a ratification under his own hand, and dated the 27th of December.

A grant of the regent to the cardinal. Act. Pub.

But after having done the king's affairs, the cardinal forgot not himſelf; for there is, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, the regent's bond of the 18th of November, to pay the cardinal the arrears of the penſion granted him, in lieu of the adminiſtration of the biſhoprick of Tournay, being four years and a half, amounting to the ſum of 29,793 crowns of gold de ſoleil; moreover, ſhe declared, that for ſeveral other weighty reaſons, there was due to the cardinal 100,000 crowns of gold, theſe two ſums making together, 121,898 crowns de ſoleil, were to be paid in ſeven years, by half-yearly equal payments.

The regent takes heart.

The defenſive league between France and England, being, thus, concluded and ſigned, the regent began to be a little more at eaſe, and better able to diſpute upon the terms of the king, her ſon's liberty; beſides, ſhe had reaſon to hope, the king of England's declarations would help to determine the pope and Venetians, whoſe fears alone hindered them from forming a league againſt the emperor; and, indeed, it will, hereafter, be ſeen, they altered their meaſures, upon hearing what the king of England had done. In the interim, the emperor receiving advice of the treaty of Moore, recalled his ambaſſadors, who were ſtill in England, and Henry did the ſame, with regard to his, in Spain. Soon after, Charles concluded his marriage with Iſabella of Portugal, by vertue of a diſpenſation brought him by cardinal Salviati, who delivered it to him, after the concluſion of the forementioned treaty.

The affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

Whilſt the affairs of Europe took a new turn, by the effects of the battle of Pavia, and the French king's captivity, there was no other alteration in thoſe of Scotland, except, that the earl of Angus, who was to hold the adminiſtration but four months, did not think fit to reſign, when his time was expired; whereupon the earl of Argyle withdrew, greatly diſſatisfied, but the earl of Lenox, tho' likewiſe diſpleaſed, ſtill remained at court. In the interim, the queen and the earl of Arran, who had been diſpoſſeſſed, were not unmindful of their affairs; for the earl of Lenox's diſcontent giving them room to hold intelligence with him, they perſuaded him to inſtill into the king a deſire, to be freed from the earl of Angus; but as there was occaſion for great precaution to deceive that lord's vigilance, it was not till the next year, that the king found an opportunity to attempt the execution of his deſign.

A truce between England and Scotland prolonged. Act. Pub.

In the beginning of the year, the court of Scotland had ſent an ambaſſy to England, at the head whereof was the earl of Caſſils, to treat of the king's marriage with the princeſs Mary; but as ſeveral difficulties occurred, the truce, which was to expire the 26th of January, was prolonged to the 23d of March, to give the earl of Caſſils time to take a journey to Scotland, for new inſtructions. In the interim, it was not poſſible to conclude any thing, becauſe, in all appearance, Henry had no intention to give his only daughter and heir, to the king of Scotland; for, indeed, it does not appear, what advantage could be reaped by this marriage; beſides, as he then intended to join with France, it was no longer his intereſt to manage the Scots. 1526.

1526. Negotiations at Rome. Guicciard.

Before the treaty of Moore was concluded, the emperor had a great advantage, in his negotiations, at Rome and Madrid; for, by reſtoring Sforza to Milan, he was almoſt ſure the pope and Venetians would abandon France, and, by deſiſting from his demand of the duchy of Burgundy, he could be certain Francis would readily reſign Milan, and not trouble himſelf much with the concerns of Italy; but he could not reſolve to do either, and that made the negotiations ſo tedious. After the treaty of Moore was ſigned, the ſtate of his affairs was changed; for the pope was grown more courageous, and finding himſelf deceived by the emperor, who in a ſecond ratification of their treaty, left the reſtoration of Sforza in a ſtate of uncertainty, plainly told him, that without the reſtitution of the Milaneſe, there was no peace to be expected. The emperor had alſo reaſon to fear, that Francis I, ſeeing himſelf like to be ſo well ſupported, would be ſtill more incompliant with reſpect to Burgundy; ſo, perceiving there was no way to prevent a league, which was going to unite ſo many princes againſt him, he was in great perplexity. There was a neceſſity of ſpeedily reſolving either to maintain, without any ally, the impending war, or to make peace with France. Both were equally perplexing. In chuſing, war, he knew not where to find money, and in making, with his priſoner, a forced peace, he could not expect to reap from his victory, the advantages he propoſed. Happily for him, Francis, tired of his captivity, freed him from this perplexity, by offering to reſign the duchy of Burgundy, which had hitherto been the main obſtacle to a peace. After that, the emperor readily and ſeriouſly treated with him, whereas before he had only amuſed him. Soon after, they concluded together the famous treaty of Madrid. The chief articles, to which Francis ſubmitted, were theſe; beſides many others, which it would be needleſs to recite.

Treaty of Madrid. Jan. 14.

That the king of France ſhould marry queen Leonora, the emperor's ſiſter, and have with her 200,000 crowns of gold.

That Francis ſhould be releaſed, on the 10th of March, and the ſame day ſhould deliver to the emperor, his two ſons, in hoſtage.

That he ſhould reſign to the emperor, the duchy of Burgundy, in full ſovereignty.

That he ſhould deſiſt from the homage, the emperor owed him for Flanders and Artois.

That he ſhould renounce all claim to Naples, Milan, Aſti, Tournay, Liſle, and Heſdin, &c.

That he ſhould perſuade Henry d' Albret to reſign the kingdom of Navarre to the

1526. emperor, or, at leaſt, ſhould give him no aſſiſtance.

That within 40 days, he ſhould reſtore the duke of Bourbon, and all his party, to their eſtates.

That he ſhould reſtore Philibert de Chalons, prince of Orange, and Michael Antonio de Saluzzo, to their principalities.

That he ſhould give no ſort of aſſiſtance to the duke of Guelders, and after that prince's death, ſhould uſe his beſt endeavour, to cauſe his towns to fall into the emperor's hands.

That he ſhould pay the king of England 500,000 crowns, which the emperor owed him.

That when the emperor went to Italy, to receive the imperial crown, he ſhould lend him 12 gallies, four large ſhips, and a land army, or 200,000 crowns, inſtead of the army.

Laſtly, he promiſed upon the word and honour of a prince, to execute all theſe articles, or, in caſe of non-performance, to return priſoner into Spain.

The ſtate of the emperor's affairs at the time of the treaty of Madrid.

If Francis had not been ſo haſty, to offer the duchy of Burgundy, he would, probably, have ſaved himſelf many troubles, and avoided reproaches, which much concerned his honour. At the time, the treaty of Madrid was concluded, Charles was under very great perplexities; for beſides thoſe already mentioned, he knew that the princes and hans-towns of Germany, that had embraced Luther's doctrine, began to take meaſures, to ſecure themſelves from the calamities they were daily threatened with. To this was added, the dread of a Turkiſh invaſion, in Hungary, which greatly concerned the emperor, by reaſon of the neighbourhood of Auſtria. So, in all likelihood, if Francis had not been ſo haſty, the emperor would have rather deſiſted from Burgundy, than been expoſed to ſo many enemies at once. Theſe were the real motives that obliged him to haſten the concluſion of the treaty of Madrid, contrary to the inſtances and oppoſition of many of his counſellors, who repreſented to him, that he would be infallibly diſappointed. His chancellor even refuſed to ſign it, but as he believed he had ſtrong reaſons to run that hazard, he abſolutely concluded, in a belief, that it was the ſole means to prevent the league againſt him. Whatever happened, he hoped to be free, at moſt, by reſtoring Sforza to Milan, which, however, he did not intend to do, but at the laſt extremity. In the interim, by reſolving to inſiſt upon that article, he rendered all his meaſures ineffectual; he loſt his priſoner, without obtaining Burgundy, or preventing the league; in ſhort, after ſuſtaining many attacks, he was, as will be ſeen, forced to part with the duchy of Milan. But where is the prince, let his abilities be never ſo great, that can foreſee all the conſequences of his own policy? When Charles V, ſigned the treaty of Madrid, he imagined to do a very advantageous thing. Indeed, Francis would have dearly purchaſed his liberty, if, when he ſigned the treaty, he had really intended to keep it; but it is too manifeſt, that when he gave his word, he deſigned to break it, ſince he had no ſooner ſet foot in his own dominions; but he refuſed to ratify the treaty. This was ſo little expected by the emperor, that, immediately, after the concluſion of the peace, he wrote to the pope, that tho' he had promiſed to reſtore Sforza to Milan, it was, however, on condition, that Sforza cleared himſelf of the crime of felony and treaſon, laid to his charge; adding, that ſince the princes of Italy wiſhed, he would not give the duchy of Milan to the archduke Ferdinand, his brother, he would preſent it to the duke of Bourbon, in caſe Sforza was found guilty. Clement VII, being informed of the conditions of the treaty of Madrid, preſently gueſſed, that Francis had accepted of them only to obtain his releaſe, without intending to perform them. In this belief, he ſtill inſiſted upon Sforza's reſtoration, without terms, being willing, before he engaged with the emperor, to ſee what the king of France would do. The ſenate of Venice being of the ſame mind, not a little contributed to keep the pope in his reſolution. 1526.

Francis arrives in his dominions. Hall. Act. Pub.

What theſe ſubtle politicians had foreſeen, came to paſs; for Francis was no ſooner arrived in his own territories, but he mounted a Turkiſh horſe, and rid full ſpeed to St. John de Luz, from whence he went, next day, to Bayonne; and the 17th of March, he ſigned bonds to the king of England, for the ſums in which his mother, the regent, had engaged him. By the way, the hiſtorians place this prince's deliverance, on the 18th of March, and yet theſe bonds are dated, at Bayonne, the 17th of the ſame month. When he came to Bayonne, Lanoy, who accompanied him, as ambaſſador, prayed him to ratify the treaty of Madrid; but the king told him, that having exceeded in the treaty, the power of a king of France, in granting the duchy of Burgundy to the emperor, he muſt proceed to the performance by fair means, and endeavour to obtain the conſent of the Burgundians, and the approbation of the reſt of his ſubjects; that, however, he deſigned to execute the treaty, but wanted a little time to prepare for it. This anſwer might have ſufficiently ſhewn the ambaſſador, what the king intended. He followed him, however, to Bourdeaux, where the king's firſt care was to ratify the treaty concluded, at Moore, with the king of England. From Bourdeaux he came to Cognac, where he made ſome ſtay, with the viceroy of Naples, ſtill in his train, who preſſed him, from time to time, to ratify and execute the treaty of Madrid, or return to Spain, according to his oath. To this the king, to be excuſed, alledged three reaſons, which were far from being ſatisfactory to the ambaſſador. The firſt was, that it was not in his power to reſign Burgundy, becauſe the kings of France not being proprietors of their dominions, it was not lawful for them to alienate any part. The ſecond, that he was compelled to ſign the treaty of Madrid. The third, that by his coronation oath, he had ſworn not to alienate any part of his kingdom, and this oath annulled

1526. annulled that which he had taken at Madrid. The ambaſſador anſwered to the firſt, that tho' he could not alienate any of his provinces, that was not to be underſtood of dominions unjuſtly acquired by the crown of France, as was the duchy of Burgundy. To the ſecond he replied, that it was left to his choice, either to remain in the ſtate the chance of war, and the will of God had thrown him into, or to be freed by a treaty; that he had even ſollicited it, and it was difficult to conceive, wherein the force he complained of conſiſted. To the third he ſaid, that when the king ſwore to the treaty of Madrid, he was not ignorant of his coronation oath, and, probably, did not believe the ſecond contrary to the firſt; that if it was otherwiſe, there would be reaſon to think, he had intended to impoſe upon the emperor's eaſineſs. Without examining, here, either the king's reaſons, or the ambaſſador's anſwers, it ſuffices to ſay, in a word, the king was already reſolved.

The pope's and Venetian ambaſſadors, go to the king at Cognac.

The pope, the Venetians, and the duke of Milan, plainly foreſeeing, Francis would ſcruple to execute the treaty of Madrid, had ſent ambaſſadors to him, who found him, at Cognac. They were received with great civilities, and the king, immediately, entered into treaty with them, concerning a league againſt the emperor. The league was concluded, indeed, at Cognac, the 17th of May, between the pope, the king of France, the duke of Milan, and the Venetians; but it was not publiſhed till a month after, Francis pretending he could not ratify it, till he had ſeen, the ratifications of the other allies. The viceroy of Naples, having ſome notice of it, ſummoned the king, for the laſt time, to execute the treaty of Madrid. Whereupon Francis told him plainly, it was not in his power to reſign Burgundy, tho' he had promiſed it; but to ſhew him, he deſired to live in friendſhip with the emperor, his maſter, he offered to give him 2,000,000 of crowns of gold, as an equivalent for Burgundy, and punctually to perform the reſt of the treaty.

Francis offers 2,000,000 of crowns in lieu of Burgundy.

The emperor will abate nothing.

Thus, the emperor's meaſures were entirely broken. He had the king of France no longer in his power, and yet, was not leſs obliged to ſuſtain the efforts of the league, newly concluded againſt him; not to mention the king of England, who, probably, would one time or other, act offenſively. His whole refuge conſiſted in having the king of France's two ſons, in hoſtage; but his embarraſſment was not capable of making him yield on this occaſion; for he choſe to run all hazards, rather than conſent to the leaſt alteration of the treaty of Madrid. His reſolution being notified to Francis, the league was publiſhed, at Cognac, the 11th of June. Two things haſtened the concluſion of this league. The firſt, that the caſtle of Milan, beſieged by the Imperialiſts, being hard preſſed, wanted a ſpeedy relief, and the pope and Venetians durſt not ſend their troops into the field, before they were aſſured of the league with France. The ſecond, that the king of France deſigning to offer the emperor 2,000,000 of crowns in lieu of Burgundy, he believed this offer would meet with a readier acceptance after the concluſion of the league. It is certain, this was his ſole view; and, if his offer had been accepted, he would never have ratified the league of Cognac. Nay, after the league was publiſhed, neither himſelf nor the king of England, ever made any conſiderable effort againſt the emperor, their intent being only to frighten him, and obtain the reſtitution of the two hoſtages, upon reaſonable terms. Thus, for once, the Italians were the dupes of the French and the Engliſh, which deſerves notice, as a thing very uncommon. In the interim, Francis and Henry, to continue their game, made a new treaty, promiſing, never to make peace with the emperor, unleſs he would reſtore the hoſtages, and pay Henry what he owed him; but this treaty, obliged obliged them not to take arms, to procure each other the ſatisfaction they demanded. 1526.

The pope's and the Venetians army take the field. Guicciard.

The pope and the Venetians relying on the aſſiſtance of France and England, ſent their troops into the field, commanded by the duke of Urbino, who ſuffered the caſtle of Milan to be taken, and cauſed an attempt upon Genoa to miſcarry, for want of ſending the allies a ſupply of 1500 men. Guicciardini inſinuates, in ſeveral places, that the duke acted but faintly againſt the emperor, who was very weak in Italy, and that the duke of Bourbon, who was returned to Milan, would, if the leaſt preſſed, have been infallibly conſtrained to abandon the city.

The Colonna's make war upon the pope. Guicciard.

Whilſt the duke of Urbino indirectly favoured the emperor, the duke of Seſſa, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, at Rome, and Hugo de Moncada, who commanded, at Naples, in the viceroy's abſence, ſupplied, other ways, the weakneſs of the Imperialiſts, by exciting the Colonna's to make war upon the pope, whilſt his troops were in the duchy of Milan. This unexpected invaſion, which the pope could aſcribe only to the ſollicitations of the emperor, or his miniſters, cauſed him to reſolve to ſend into the kingdom of Naples, the army, under the command of the duke of Urbino, in the Milaneſe, and, to that end, he obtained the conſent of the Venetians. But the duke of Seſſa, to avoid the invaſion, the kingdom of Naples was threatned with, ſo ordered it, that the Colonna's gave the pope all the ſatisfaction he deſired. The agreement was made at Rome, the 22d of Auguſt, and the duke of Urbino was countermanded.

They enter Rome on a ſudden. The pope flies to the caſtle of St. Angelo. Guicciard.

But about a month after, when the pope leaſt expected it, the Colonna's, with 5 or 6000 men entered Rome, in the night, between the 19th and 20th of September, and ſo alarmed the pope, that he retired in a fright, to the caſtle of St. Angelo. As he was not very ſafe in that caſtle, where he had nothing to maintain a ſiege, Moncada went to him, and repreſenting the danger he was in, and that, beſides, Rome was going to be plundered, he perſuaded him to make a ſeparate truce with the emperor, for four months. This was more than the emperor wanted, who had now ordered levies to be made in Germany, and

was

1526. was about to ſend back Lanoy to Naples, with a good body of Spaniſh troops. When the truce was ſigned, the pope's forces, which ſerved under the duke of Urbino, were recalled to Rome.

Clement VII. feigns to intend to go to Spain. Guicciard.

In the interim, the pope was extremely ſurpriſed at Francis's ſlowneſs, who, tho' principal author of the league, made yet no effort to oblige the emperor to reſtore his ſons. The king of England's indolence aſtoniſhed him no leſs, becauſe not knowing that the league concluded at Moore, was only defenſive, he had imagined the two kings were to attack the emperor, with all their forces. So, to excite them, by raiſing their jealouſy, he declared, he intended to go into Spain, and concert means with the emperor, to procure the peace of Europe. This declaration very much confounded the French and Engliſh ambaſſadors; for they were afraid there was ſome hidden myſtery, in ſo extraordinary a journey, and, therefore, uſed their beſt endeavour to diſſuade the pope from it. But Henry uſed a more effectual means, viz. a preſent of 30,000 ducats, which entirely diverted the pretended deſign of this journey.

The pope breaks the agreement with the Colonna's. Guicciard.

Soon after, Clement VII. broke his agreement with the Colonna's, and ordered the troops, he had ſent for to Rome, to march into their territories, having excommunicated them, and deprived Pompeo Colonna of the cardinalate. He affirmed, that his treaty with them was void, becauſe he was forced to it. He thereby juſtified, in ſome meaſure, Francis's proceedings, whom, on the ſame pretence, he had abſolved from his oath, at Madrid.

Frondſperg marches to Italy. Bellay.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, at Rome, the baron de Frondſperg was marching from Germany towards Italy, with an army of 13 or 14000 men, raiſed for the emperor's ſervice. Whereupon, the duke of Urbino, who kept the duke of Bourbon, as it were beſieged, in Milan, quitted the neighbourhood of that city, under colour of oppoſing the paſſage of the Germans. In the interim, the pope was not a little embarraſſed; for the truce was ſoon to expire; Frondſperg was marching to Italy, and the viceroy of Naples was now in the iſland of Corſica, leading to Naples a ſtrong reinforcement of Spaniards. In the mean time, the king of France was making no preparations to ſupport his allies, and the king of England ſhewed the ſame remiſſneſs. In the interim, Frondſperg, ſtill continuing his march, arrived in the Mantuan, where the prince of Orange came to join, and ſerve under him, as a volunteer. Afterwards, about the middle of December, he repaired to the borders of the Milaneſe, the duke of Urbino not being able or willing to oppoſe his march. Here he expected the duke of Bourbon, who was to come and join him; but was not yet in condition to execute that deſign. The difficulty ſprung, from his having no money to pay his troops, who poſitively refuſed to go out of the city, before they had receivd their arrears, and even threatened to ſack the town. There was no other way to hinder them from executing their threats, than to take the plate belonging to the churches. This ſerved to pay part of what was due to the troops, who had ſcarce received any thing ſince the battle of Pavia, ſo deſtitute of money was the emperor. The duke of Bourbon made uſe of another expedient to increaſe his treaſure; and, that was, to cauſe the chancellor Morone to be condemned to die, who, to redeem his life, gave him 20,000 ducats. He afterwards became one of his chief counſellors. 1526.

Lanoy arrives at Naples, He amuſes the pope. P. Daniel.

Whilſt the duke of Bourbon was employed in raiſing money, Lanoy, who was come to Naples with a body of Spaniſh troops, amuſed the pope with negotiations, tending only to hinder him from taking ſure meaſures, by putting him in hopes of a ſpeedy agreement with the emperor. Theſe hopes, however, became more and more remote, after Frondſperg's arrival. Whilſt Milan was in danger, the emperor had intimated to the pope, that if he deſired Franceſco Sforza to be brought to his tryal, it was only to ſave the honour of the empire, and he would give the judges private orders to declare him innocent; but after the arrival of the Germans, he demanded ſuch a pecuniary reparation, that Sforza was by no means able to raiſe the ſum required. Wherefore, the emperor pretended that the pope, the Ventians, and the Florentines ſhould be his ſecurities.

Francis deceives the pope and Venetians. Guicciard.

The pope and the Venetians had expected, that, immediately, after the concluſion of the league of Cognac, Francis would ſend a ſtrong army into Italy, and with the king of England, make a powerful diverſion upon the borders of Spain and Flanders. But, as we have ſeen, they were very much miſtaken; for Francis had concluded the league only to frighten his enemy, and in hopes it would cauſe him to accept of the offered equivalent. He was deſirous to avoid a war, and even thought himſelf ſoſur of ſucceeding, by that means, that he had made with the king of England, no treaty to oblige them to take arms, unleſs they were attacked. Thus, Henry knowing the king of France's diſpoſition, took care to go no faſter than he. Expreſſes and envoys from the pope and the Venetians frequently came to the two courts, to ſollicit them to war, but it was to no purpoſe. On the contrary, even after the pope and the Venetians had ſolemnly declared war againſt the emperor, Francis ſent the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux to make him again the ſame offer of 2,000,000 of crowns in lieu of the duchy of Burgundy; but the emperor rejected it with diſdain, and charged the ambaſſador to tell his maſter, he had acted like a knave and a villain, and ought not to have forgot their laſt converſation. Probably, the ambaſſador thought not proper to diſcharge ſo ungrateful a commiſſion. This, afterwards, occaſioned a miſtake, which was not favourable to the king of France.

Wolſey obtains grants for his college. Act. Pub.

Whilſt Italy, France, and Spain were in agitation, Henry lived peaceably in his kingdom, and the cardinal, his favourite, was wholly employed about his college, at Oxford, for which, he inceſſantly obtained freſh grants from the pope and the king. The pope durſt not refuſe him any thing, at a time when he thought

1526. thought he wanted his credit, to incline the king, his master, to war; and Henry was always ready to give him marks of his affection, by confirming whatever was granted by the pope. This condescension of the pope and the king, proved fatal to several little monasteries, which were suppressed by the cardinal, and the revenues applied to his college.

The pope endeavours to persuade Henry into the league of Cognac.

Ever since the publishing of the league of Cognac, the pope and Venetians had used their constant endeavours, to persuade Henry not only to come into it, but declare himself protector. It is easy to guess with what view they paid him this deference; for they hoped to find him the same as formerly, ever ready to be ensnared, and to lavish away his mony for the affairs of others. There are, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, several credentials of the Venetian ambassadors, addressed to the king, the queen, and the cardinal, probably, to press the king to come into this league. There is, likewise, Clement VII's commission to Hubert Gambara and Giovanni Baptista Sanga, to treat with Henry. In this commission, the pope said, that the circumstances of the times forcing the allies to conclude a league, without the king of England's participation, they had, however, agreed, to declare him protector. Wherefore, he empowered his two envoys to treat with that monarch, upon his entering into the league, and to change or alter the articles, as should be agreed with him, nay, to annul it entirely, if it was thought necessary, and conclude another. Moreover, he gave them powers too settle with him, the pension which was to be adjudged to him, as protector of the league, if he would please to accept of the title; but this pension, as appears elsewhere, was to be raised upon the duchy of Milan and the kingdom of Naples, after they were conquered. Thus, upon the hopes of an imaginary pension, the pope meant to persuade Henry to declare war with the emperor, and consequently to draw him into very great and real expences. But for once, Henry would not be his dupe; for he knew, by experience, what it was to join with the popes for the Italian affairs.

The battle of Mohatz, in Hungary. Guicciard.

This year was fought the famous battle of Mohatz, in Hungary, between Lewis II, king of that country, and Soliman, emperor of the Turks. Lewis lost the day, and was drowned, in a morass *. The death of this prince was a fresh source of calamities for Hungary. Ferdinand of Austria, the emperor's brother, who had married Lewis's sister Ann, pretended to the crown of that kingdom, and had for competitor John de Zapol, wayvode of Transilvania. They were both elected by two different parties; but John put himself under the protection of Soliman, who caused him to be crowned at Buda, whilst Ferdinand was taking measures to prosecute his right.

The affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

The affairs of Scotland still remained, in the same situation, except, that in the course of this year, the queen's and earl of Arran's or Hamilton's faction, attempted to take away the king's person, from the earl of Angus; but the attempt miscarrying, the earl was severely revenged of the persons concerned.

1526.

Francis and Henry deceive the expectations of the pope and Venetians. Guicciard.

The pope and Venetians had begun the war, in Italy, in the sole expectation, that Francis would send thither a powerful army, and the king of England make a diversion from the Low-Countries, or, at least, according to custom, furnish money for maintaining the war. The easiness wherewith he had been amused in the former wars, caused his money to be relied on, as a sure aid, tho' when a peace or truce was made, his interests were not thought of. But the scene was changed; for Henry, grown more wise by experience, was no longer willing to find money for the affairs of others; besides, the treasure left him by the king, his father, being long since exhausted, he could raise money only by means of the parliament, who always framed difficulties, or made him purchase their subsidies, with some extraordinary favours. So Francis not finding in him the same dispositions as formerly, feared to engage too far, before he was secure of his assistance. He perceived, he was no longer inclined to favour the emperor as before; but that did not suffice; for it was also necessary, to persuade him to join in the league of Italy, otherwise the whole charge of the war must have fallen upon France, which was, however, drained of men, money, and generals. For this reason, his view was to induce the emperor, through fear of the league, to accept the equivalent offered him for Burgundy, and to continue the war in Italy, only till that prince was resolved, or the king of England entirely engaged. To that end, he made the pope and Venetians large promises, to hinder them from being impatient, but performed them very ill. A small body of troops levied in Italy, commanded by the marquess of Saluzzo, was, hitherto, all that he contributed for the league, whereof he was himself the author and head. In the interim, the pope was extremely uneasy at seeing the slowness, or rather coldness of the two monarchs, on whom he relied. Indeed, he had no cause to complain of Henry, who had made him no promise, and yet he ceased not earnestly to press him to undertake the defence of the church, as if the church could have not subsisted, if the emperor remained master of Milan; but he received only general answers, Henry being unwilling to engage in the affairs of Italy, where he could reap no advantage. In the mean time, the pope was at an expence which threw him into great streights; for which reason, he privately continued, with the viceroy of Naples, a negotiation, with intent to hasten or retard it, according to the proceedings of the kings of France and England. In this he acted agreeably to his real temper, which made him consider the having always two strings to his bow, as the surest maxim of policy; but he was always so unfortunate as to

* Lewis, with an army of 20,000, engaged 300,000 Turks. By his defeat and death, most part of Hungary was lost, with the lives of 200,000 Hungarians, who were cut off by the Turks, in the following rencounters. This Lewis, was born without a skin, had a beard at 15 years of age, at 18 his hairs were gray, and he was drowned in his 20th. Heylin.

1527. reap from his artifices, fruits contrary to his hopes. As his ſole view was to hinder the emperor from keeping the duchy of Milan, to that end it was, that he would have the kings of France and England make conſiderable efforts; after which, he would not have ſcrupled to forſake them, provided the emperor had ſatisfied him upon that article. Francis was in no better diſpoſition with regard to his allies; for his view was to recover his ſons out of Spain; and, could he have ſucceeded by treating alone with the emperor, he would have little regarded the concerns of the pope and Venetians. As for the republick of Venice, it was of great conſequece to her, that the emperor ſhould not remain maſter of the Milaneſe, and her expences to hinder it, was nothing in compariſon of the prejudice ſhe would have received, if the emperor had peaceably held that duchy. So, never ceaſing to ſollicit the kings of France and England, ſhe continued the war, tho' faintly, in expectation that theſe two monarchs would bear the greateſt part of the charge. The negotiations which the pope ſtill continued with the viceroy of Naples, afforded the Venetians a plauſible reaſon, not to exert themſelves, becauſe they were afraid, his inconſtancy would render all their endeavours ineffectual. The emperor, on his part, was no leſs embarraſſed. As he had but little money, a vigorous war muſt have annoyed him very much; and, therefore, finding the king of France made no great efforts, he did not haſten the ſending of freſh ſupplies into Italy, for fear of raiſing the attention of his enemies; beſides, ſince Frondſperg's arrival with the German troops, he thought himſelf ſtrong enough to keep the duchy of Milan, which was then his chief view. Such was the diſpoſition of theſe potentates, in the beginning of the year 1527. We muſt now ſee what paſſed in Italy, during this year, becauſe it ſerves for foundation to all the events ſpoken of hereafter.

The duke of Bourbon is without money, and at a great loſs. Guicciard.

The duke of Bourbon was under inconceivable difficulties, for want of money to pay his troops. After frequent exactions upon the inhabitants of Milan, he ſaw no way to maintain his army any longer, without danger of cauſing a general revolt in that great city, which was reduced to deſpair. On the other hand, the Germans brought into Italy, by Frondſperg, had received no pay ſince their liſting; therefore, it was neceſſary, either to pay them what was due, or furniſh them wherewithal to make themſelves amends, in ſome other place, or reſolve to ſee the army disband, on which the emperor wholly relied. To ſatisfy the troops, there was no other way but to lead them into the territories of the church, of Florence, or of Venice. But the Venetian towns were too well provided, to afford any hopes of booty from thence; eſpecially as the duke of Bourbon had no artillery; beſides, very likely, he was ſure the duke of Urbino would not oppoſe his deſigns, provided he did not moleſt the republick. So, determining to maintain his army upon the pope's territories, he left 7 or 8000 Germans, at Milan, under the command of Antonio de Leva, and went and joined Frondſperg in the Plaiſantin, where he ſtayed ſome time, to raiſe contributions. 1527.

A war between the pope and viceroy of Naples.

Before the duke of Bourbon departed from Milan, the viceroy of Naples had brought an army upon the borders of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, to make a diverſion, and force the pope to recall the troops he had ſent to the duke of Urbino, ſince the expiration of the truce. The approach of this army, had obliged the pope to raiſe troops to defend his dominions, not having thought proper to recall thoſe in Lombardy. Hence he ſaw himſelf engaged in an unuſual expence. Hitherto, the popes had found means to wage war at the charge of others, and Clement VII. had been in hopes to do the ſame. He had granted Francis a tenth upon the clergy of France, which he was to divide with him; beſides that, Francis had promiſed to find 40,000 crowns a month for the league, and 20,000 for the pope, in particular. But of all this, he had yet paid but 10,000 crowns. Thus, the pope ſaw himſelf over-burdened, without knowing how to get clear of this incumbrance, ſince it was no leſs difficult to raiſe money, than dangerous to make a ſeparate peace, in ſuch a juncture. In the interim, Henry VIII, being informed of his neceſſities, and fearing he would relinquiſh the league, ſent him 30,000 ducats, which helped to comfort him a little, and keep him in the reſolution to continue the war.

A truce between the pope and viceroy. Herbert.

It is needleſs to give the particulars of this war, between the pope and the viceroy of Naples. It ſuffices to obſerve, that whilſt it laſted, the pope receiving advice of the duke of Bourbon's march, concluded a truce with the viceroy. He had ſtrong reaſons for taking this courſe; for he was not only burdened with the maintenance of two armies, but alſo ſaw himſelf daily more remote from his hopes, with reſpect to France and England. Francis performed nothing of what he had promiſed, and Henry ſhewed no great inclination to come into the league. On the other hand, the duke of Urbino's proceeding, who commanded the army of the allies in the Milaneſe, daily grew more ſuſpicious; beſides, Florence was in danger, and the pope unſafe in Rome itſelf. The conditions of the truce were:

Guicciard.

That it ſhould laſt eight months, that the pope ſhould pay 60,000 ducats to the duke of Bourbon's army; viz. 40,000 on the 21ſt of the preſent month, and the reſt within eight days; and, that the imperial army ſhould march out of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. The truce being publiſhed, the pope disbanded all his troops, except 2000 foot, and 200 horſe, and laid up his gallies, before he knew the duke of Bourbon's intentions, who was in the midſt of his march to Bologna.

The duke of Bourbon's march.

The duke's troops conſiſted of 5000 men at arms, making about 2000 horſe, 13 or 14000 Germans, 5000 Spaniards, 2000 Italian Foot, and a good number of light horſe of the ſame nation. This army departed from

1527. from about Piacentia, in February, without money, proviſions, waggons, artillery, and ſubſiſting only by means of the contributions raiſed upon their rout. The duke not being able to enter Bologna, by reaſon Saluzzo had thrown himſelf in with 12000 men, ſtayed ſome time in the Bologneſe, where his army made a prodigious booty. Here he was informed of the concluſion of the truce, to which he would not conſent, becauſe the ſum he was to have, was not ſufficient to pay what was due to his troops. Whereupon the viceroy of Naples, who was at Rome, came to Florence, where the duke ſent an officer to confer with him. As the viceroy's intention was to cauſe the duke of Bourbon to accept of the truce, in order to ſend the imperial army into the ſtate of Venice, he agreed with the meſſenger, that the duke ſhould withdraw in five days; that 80,000 ducats ſhould be paid him down, and 60,000 ſome day in May. The pope hearing of this new agreement, disbanded the 2000 men he had kept, to be eaſed of the charge; but the duke of Bourbon, whether he had intended to deceive the viceroy, or could not reſtrain his army, after feigning to attack Florence, ſuddenly took the rout to Rome, leaving far behind him the army of the pope and Venetians, who had thrown themſelves into Florence.

The pope's diſtreſs. Guicciard.

Great was then the alarm at Rome; for the pope ſeeing himſelf without troops and money, knew not what courſe to take. In this diſtreſs, he committed the defence of Rome and himſelf, to Renzo de Ceri, who made him hope, that with an army, raiſed within the walls, he would ſecure the city from being inſulted. The pope truſting to his general's promiſes, would neither leave Rome himſelf, to provide for his ſafety, nor ſuffer any thing to be carried from thence.

The duke of Bourbon comes before Rome. Guicciard. Bellay.

In the interim, the duke of Bourbon purſuing his march, without meeting any obſtacle, appeared before Rome, on the 5th of May. The ſame day, pretending a deſign to proceed to Naples, he ſent a trumpet to the pope, to deſire a paſſage, which being refuſed, next morning at break of day, he approached the ſuburbs, by means of a very thick miſt, and ſtormed a breach which they had not had time to repair. But in the beginning of the aſſault, his thigh-bone was broke with a muſket-ſhot, of which he, immediately, died. The prince of Orange, who was near him, throwing a cloak over his body, continued the aſſault. At length, after two hours' reſiſtance, the breach was forced, and the Imperialiſts entered the ſuburbs. Whereupon the pope withdrew to the caſtle of St. Angelo, accompanied by 13 cardinals, all the foreign ambaſſadors, and ſome other perſons of diſtinction. In the interim, the Imperialiſts were employed in becoming maſters of the Tyber, which was not difficult, conſidering the conſternation the whole city was in. The pope might ſtill have withdrawn from the caſtle of St. Angelo, and ſecured his perſon; but by a ſtrange blindneſs, upon news of the duke of Bourbon's death, he

He ſtorms the city

He is ſlain.

was obſtinately bent, without any juſt reaſon, to ſtay in a place where he had neither proviſions, nor ammunition, nor a garriſon ſufficient to defend it. So many hiſtorians have deſcribed the ſacking of Rome, that it is needleſs to inſiſt on it here; for the reader may eaſily conceive, what the deſire of plunder may cauſe an ill-diſciplined army without a general, like this, to commit. Some hiſtorians have been pleaſed to caſt the whole blame of the rapine and cruelty committed on this occaſion, upon the Proteſtants in Frondſperg's troops; but moſt have made no ſuch diſtinction, agreeing, that the Spaniards ſhewed no more regard for the holy city, than the Germans. 1527.

The ſacking of Rome. Guicciard.

If the army of the allies had cloſely followed the Imperialiſts, they might have fallen upon them, whilſt moſt intent upon the plunder, and probably, with ſucceſs; but, if we may believe Guicciardini, the duke of Urbino ſo ordered it, that the army came not before Rome, till the end of May, and then raiſed ſo many objections againſt attempting the relief of the caſtle of St. Angelo, that the generals agreed to leave the pope to come off as well as he could. The allies retiring the firſt of June, Clement capitulated the 6th, having ſent for the viceroy of Naples to treat with him; but the army, having choſen the prince of Orange for general, had no great confidence in the viceroy, neither would be guided by his counſels. The pope, therefore, was forced to ſign with the prince of Orange, and the chief officers of the army, the following capitulation:

The over-ſight of the allies. Hall.

The pope capitulates.

The articles of the capitulation.

That the pope ſhould pay the army 400,000 ducats, viz. 100,000 down, 50,000 in 20 days, and 250,000 within two months, aſſigning for that purpoſe, a tax upon the whole eccleſiaſtical ſtate.

That he ſhould deliver into the emperor's hands, the caſtle of St. Angelo, Civita Vecchia, Oſtia, Citta Caſtellana, Parma, Placentia, and Modena.

That the pope, with the 13 cardinals, ſhould remain priſoners in the caſtle of St. Angelo, till 150,000 crowns were paid, and then ſhould be conducted to Naples or Gaeta, there to wait the emperor's pleaſure.

That the chevalier Gregoria Caſſali, the Engliſh ambaſſador, Renzo de Ceri, and all the reſt that were retired to the caſtle, except the pope and the 13 cardinals, ſhould be at liberty to go where they pleaſed.

That the Colonna's ſhould be abſolved from all cenſures.

That when the pope ſhould go from Rome, he ſhould leave a legate, and the court of the Rota.

The pope remains a priſoner.

The capitulation being ſigned, captain Alarcon, the ſame that had the cuſtody of Francis I, when a priſoner, entered the caſtle of St. Angelo, with three companies of Spaniards, and as many of Germans, and ſtrictly guarded the pope and cardinals. During the confuſion cauſed by the pope's impriſonment, the duke of Ferrara became maſter of Modena, the Venetians took Ravenna and Cervia, Sigiſ-

1527. mund Malateſta ſeized Rimini, and the Florentines expelling the pope's legate, recovered their liberty.

The imperial army becomes uſeleſs. Guicciard.

Some time after, all the troops which were in the kingdom of Naples, repaired to Rome to ſhare in the booty, and glean what the avarice of the Spaniards and Germans had left. The imperial army, then at Rome, conſiſted of 12000 Germans, 8000 Spaniards, and 4000 Italians; but the plague which preſently after raged among the troops, ſo diminiſhed them, that it is ſaid, when they came to go upon action, there was not 10,000 men able to bear arms. In the interim, the eager deſire of plunder, cauſed the emperor's affairs to be ſo neglected, that the army remained unſerviceable, till the end of the year; whereas Bologna and the towns of la Romagna might have been taken, which would have rendered the emperor invinceable in Italy; beſides, this negligence gave Francis time to ſend troops into thoſe parts, of which he would never have thought, if the emperor's generals had reaped from the taking of Rome, and the pope's captivity, the advantages they might have naturally expected, for the ſervice of their maſter. It is time now to ſpeak of the affairs of England, the recital whereof has been interrupted by the relation of this year's events in Italy, becauſe it was abſolutely neceſſary for the underſtanding of the ſequel.

Henry reſolves to make a league offenſive and defenſive with France. Herbert. Hollingſh.

Since Francis had refuſed to execute the treaty of Madrid, he had never ceaſed to preſs Henry to come into the league of Cognac; but whether Henry perceived that prince's views, or hoped, by managing the emperor, to make himſelf umpire of the peace, he had kept within the bounds of the defenſive league concluded, at Moore. At length, finding, that, probably, the pope and Venetians could not long maintain the war, he was afraid, the emperor would become maſter of all Italy, and with that increaſe of power, grow too formidable to Europe. Indeed, it was eaſy to ſee, that to diveſt him of the ſuperiority he was going to acquire upon France, England would one day be forced to make greater efforts than were neceſſary to hinder his attaining it. Theſe conſiderations were farther corroborated, by the inſtances of cardinal Wolſey, whom Francis had taken care to gain to his intereſt, otherwiſe all theſe reaſons, probably, would have been ineffectual. So about the end of the laſt year, Henry, had ſent to Paris, Sir William Fitz-Williams, to acquaint the king of France, that he was ready to join in an offenſive league with him, and give him the princeſs Mary, his daughter, in marriage. Francis gladly embracing the propoſal, the treaty was begun at Paris, by the biſhop of Bath and Wells, the Engliſh ambaſſador in ordinary, and Fitz-Williams; but as ſeveral difficulties occurred, which depended upon the king of England's determination, Francis thought it more proper to ſend ambaſſadors to London, and conclude it there. He made choice for that purpoſe of Gabriel d' Aigremont, or de Gramont, biſhop of Tarbe, and the viſcount of Turenne, with whom were joined, the firſt preſident of Roan, and the lord de Vaux, who were already in England. Theſe ambaſſadors concluded with cardinal Wolſey, appointed commiſſioner to negotiate with them, three treaties, which were ſigned the 30th of April, 1357, when the duke of Bourbon was marching to Rome. 1527.

Several treaties. April 30. Act. Pub.

The firſt treaty ran:

That the two kings ſhould jointly ſend ambaſſadors to the emperor, with offers concerning the ranſom of the two hoſtages, and to demand the payment of what was due to the king of England.

That, if he rejected the offers, or gave no anſwer within 20 days, the two kings ſhould proclaim war againſt him.

Another article of this treaty contained, a mutual engagement for the marriage of Francis, or his ſon, the duke of Orleans, with the princeſs Mary, at the king of France's choice, and upon ſuch terms as ſhould be agreed on, when the time came. Probably, this treaty was to be made publick, in order to induce the emperor to deſiſt from his claim to Burgundy, and be ſatisfied with the offered equivalent.

By the ſecond treaty, it was agreed:

That, in caſe the emperor rejected their propoſals, or deferred his anſwer, all commerce ſhould be forbidden with his ſubjects, by the two kings, allowing them, however, 40 days to withdraw their effects.

That the two kings ſhould make war upon the emperor in the Low-Countries, with an army of 30,000 foot, and 1500 men at arms, and that two thirds of the foot, and all the horſe, ſhould be furniſhed by the king of France.

That they ſhould equip a fleet, with 15000 men, whereof the king of France ſhould find 10,000.

That, if the king of Portugal, or any other prince or ſtate, ſhould join with the emperor, they ſhould be declared enemies to both the kings.

That the pope and Venetians ſhould be deemed included in the league, provided, they continued the war, in Italy.

That the king of France ſhould endeavour to perſuade the king of Navarre, the duke of Gueldres, and Robert de la Mark, to make war upon the emperor.

That the two kings ſhould uſe their joint endeavours to encourage John de Zapol, to proſecute his right to the crown of Hungary, in caſe he had not already made an alliance with the Turk, in order to keep the emperor's brother Ferdinand employed in thoſe parts.

That the league ſhould be notified to the princes of Germany, and the two king's endeavour to prevent their aſſiſting the emperor.

The ſubſtance of the third treaty was:

1. That this treaty ſhould not derogate from that of Moore, which remained in force.

2. That there ſhould be perpetual peace between Francis and Henry, and their reſpective ſubjects.

3. That

1527. 3. That neither of them ſhould give aid, or advice, to any perſon whatever, that ſhould attack the dominions of the other.

4. Henry renounced, for himſelf and ſucceſſors, all right and title to the kingdom of France, and, in general, whatever Francis now poſſeſſed.

5. In conſideration whereof, Francis bound himſelf, and ſucceſſors, to pay to Henry's ſucceſſors an annual penſion, for ever, of 50,000 crowns, at two payments; viz. on the 1ſt of May, and the 1ſt of November, and that the payment of the penſion ſhould commence, on the firſt of thoſe two days, which ſhould happen after Henry's death, without deduction of what ſhould remain to be paid after Henry's deceaſe, of the 2,000,000 ſtipulated by the treaty of Moore.

6. Moreover, Francis bound himſelf to give yearly to Henry, 15,000 crowns worth of ſalt of Bruage, beſides the fore-mentioned 50,000 crowns.

7. That, to prevent the objection which might hereafter be made, "That a king can't "bind his ſucceſſors," the two kings ſhould cauſe the treaty to be confirmed by the ſtates of their realms, and held as a perpetual and inviolable law.

8. That the treaty ſhould be approved and confirmed, by the archbiſhops, biſhops, princes, dukes, earls, barons, and other great men of the two kingdoms, whoſe names were inſerted in this article, under forfeiture of all their goods; and by the parliaments of Paris, Toulouſe, Roan, Bourdeaux, as well as by all the courts of juſtice, in England.

Alterations in the ſecond treaty, on account of the ſacking of Rome. Herbert.

The news of the ſacking of Rome, and the pope's captivity, arriving ſhortly after the concluſion of theſe treaties, the two kings thought fit to alter the article of the ſecond, concerning their carrying war into the Low-Countries, and to agree to act only in Italy; but as the Engliſh troops could not be tranſported into Italy, without great difficulties and loſs of time, they agreed, that the king of France ſhould undertake the war alone, for a certain ſum, which Henry was to pay him monthly, till the end of October. This laſt treaty was ſigned the 29th of May, about three weeks after the taking of Rome.

Henry's demands upon the emperor. Hall. Stow.

In conſequence of the firſt of the three treaties of April the 30th, Henry ſent Sir Francis Pointz, into Spain, to demand of the emperor, that as, by their former treaties, the war with France was carried on at a common charge, he would give him half the booty taken at Pavia, and one of the two hoſtages received from the French king. Pointz was accompanied with Clarenceux, king at arms, but incognito, that he might be ready to do his office, when there ſhould be occaſion. The emperor eaſily perceived the king of England ſought only a pretence of quarrel; but as it was his intereſt to prolong the time, he told the ambaſſador, he would ſend his anſwer to the king, his maſter, by an expreſs.

Lautrec marches to Italy. Guicciard.

While the ambaſſador was on his way to Spain, Francis and Henry hearing what had paſſed in Italy, thought proper that cardinal Wolſey ſhould go and confer with Francis, at Amiens, in order to concert meaſures agreeable to the ſituation of affairs. Soon after, Francis ſent Lautrec with the forces deſigned for Italy. 1527.

Wolſey confers with the king of France. Herbert. Hall.

Cardinal Wolſey departing from court, the third of July, arrived at Calais the 11th, from whence he went to Abbeville, and ſtayed till Francis came to Amiens. He was received at his entrance into the French territories, with the ſame reſpect as would have been paid to the king of England. We find in the Collection of the Publick Acts, Francis's letters patent, empowering the cardinal, "his dear-"eſt and great friend," to releaſe the priſoners, wherever he came, what crimes ſoever they were guilty of, except high-treaſon, rapes, coining, ſacrilege, and the like, and to grant them a pardon by his letters patent.

The emperor's memorial as to a peace.

Whilſt the cardinal was at Abbeville, he received a memorial from the emperor, containing his anſwer to the king of France's offers to the viceroy of Naples. He had, as was obſerved, rejected theſe offers, at firſt, with diſdain, and refuſed to hear them mentioned; but the ſituation of his affairs being altered, by the league between France and England, he believed it would be better to end all differences, by a peace, than run the riſque of maintaining the war alone, againſt ſo many powerful enemies. It was, therefore, in order to procure a peace, that he ſent this anſwer to the cardinal, wherewith he imagined to have reaſon to hope, the king of France and Henry would be ſatisfied.

As this memorial is very proper to illuſtrate the Hiſtory of thoſe times, it will not, doubtleſs, be unacceptable to inſert the ſubſtance thereof.

"The emperor began with proteſting, that "by what he offered in this memorial, he "meant not to derogate from the treaty of "Madrid, but in the points only which were "contrary to it. He added, that as to the "hoſtages, the king of France was not igno-"rant of the reaſon of their being in Spain, "and had it in his power to recover them. "Then he ſet forth the offers made by Francis "to the viceroy of Naples, containing the four "following articles.

The king of FRANCE's offers to the emperor.

"I. That he would execute the treaty of "Madrid, provided Franceſco Sforza was re-"ſtored to the duchy of Milan.

"II. That he would give the emperor, in "lieu of Burgundy, 2,000,000 of gold payable, "viz. a good ſum in hand, when queen Leo-"nora ſhould be delivered to him, and the "reſt, at a day to be appointed, and then his "ſons ſhould be reſtored; unleſs the emperor "had rather have the whole ſum at once, and "deliver, at the ſame time, the queen and the "two hoſtages.

"III. That he would pay the king of Eng-"land what was due from the emperor.

1527. " IV. He demanded, that the emperor " ſhould increaſe queen Leonora's dowry, in " proportion to the ſum he was to receive, " ſince he could do it without any charge to " himſelf.

The EMPEROR's anſwer.

" The emperor anſwered to theſe four arti- " cles, by the eight following declarations:

" I. That what ſhould be agreed upon, " ſhould not be prejudicial to the treaty of " Madrid, except in ſuch things as ſhould be " altered, by mutual conſent.

" II. That the emperor's right to Burgun- " dy ſhould remain entire, as before the trea- " ty of Madrid.

" III. That all the articles of the treaty of " Madrid, except ſuch as were mentioned in " theſe offers, ſhould remain entire.

" IV. The emperor, in his 4th declaration " ſaid, that he hoped the king of England, and " the lord cardinal would cauſe the ſum of " 2,000,000 of gold, offered by the king of " France, to be augmented. However, if that " could not be, it ſhould be underſtood, that " this ſum was over and above what the em- " peror owed the king of England, as well " for money lent, as for the indemnity he had " undertaken to diſcharge, which ſums the " king of France had taken upon himſelf, in " the treaty of Madrid. Beſides, likewiſe, the " reſtitution of the late Mr. de Bourbon's " eſtate, it being reaſonable, that his heirs " ſhould partake of the benefit of the treaty. " Item, That the king of France ſhould punc- " tually perform all the reſt of the articles con- " cluded on his part, in the treaty of Ma- " drid, before his ſons left Spain; the empe- " ror not being able, after what had paſſed, " to take any ſecurity, if the hoſtages remain- " ed not in his power, till the treaty was fully " executed.

" V. That purſuant to the treaty of Ma- " drid, what ſhould be agreed upon, ſhould " be ratified by the ſtates-general of France, " and approved by the parliaments; or, if " that could not be done, by the ſtates gene- " ral, it ſhould, at leaſt, be ratified by the " ſtates of each province.

" VI. The emperor, declared, that he " could not ſend the queen, his ſiſter, to " France, till every thing was accompliſhed, " and then the queen and the hoſtages ſhould " be ſent together.

" VII. That, as for the duke Sforza, the " emperor would appoint impartial judges to " decide his affair, and if he was found guilty " of no crime, for which he deſerved to be " deprived of his duchy, he ſhould be reſto- " red; but if he was condemned, the ſtate " of Milan ſhould remain in the emperor's " diſpoſal, according to juſtice and equity.

" VIII. That the king of England ſhould " be guarantee of the future treaty, and by " his letters patent engage to aſſiſt, at his " own charge, with a certain number of " troops, him, of the two parties, that ſhould " keep the treaty, againſt him that ſhould " not obſerve it.

" Beſides theſe eight conditions, which the 1527. " emperor called declarations, he demanded, " moreover, in his memorial, that the king " of France ſhould ſatisfy him for the expen- " ces of the leagues he had made with him, " and of which he was the ſole author, em- " powering the king of England to ſettle the " ſum.

" Finally, he ſaid, that he did not que- " ſtion, the king of England, who perfectly " knew what had paſſed between the two par- " ties, would not cauſe the king of France's " offers to be increaſed, and that the lord le- " gate, whom the emperor always looked up- " on as his good friend, would alſo endeavour " the ſame, to the utmoſt of his power; that, " however, he was ſo inclined to peace, that " if the king of England deſired, he ſhould " make any farther conceſſions, than what " were contained in the eight foregoing decla- " rations, he would do more for his ſake than " for any prince in the world. That he " ſhould be very glad, all the potentates of " Europe knew how much he valued his " friendſhip, and aſcribed to him the whole " glory of procuring a peace. This memo- " rial was dated at Valladolid the ------ of " July, 1527.

A remark on this memorial.

If this anſwer of the emperor be cloſely examined, it will be manifeſt, that he ſimply and abſolutely accepted of the French king's offers, under terms denoting, it was he that gave, rather than received law, and by his declarations, only, obviated all poſſible cavils. As to what he farther demanded, it was under ſuch reſtrictions, that he ſeemed willing to ſtand to the king of England's determination, which, at ſuch a juncture, was the ſame thing as to depart from his demands. There was but one ſingle point concerning which he could not reſolve to ſubmit; viz. the duke of Milan's affair; but this was a point newly propoſed by the king of France, and which had no relation to the treaty of Madrid, where nothing like it was to be found. However, it is plain, if that had been the only obſtacle to a peace, he would alſo have granted it, ſince he reſerved a way to come off with honour; viz. by cauſing Sforza to be declared innocent, in the manner he had himſelf propoſed to the pope. Perhaps Francis would have accepted the peace, on the terms offered in the memorial, if the emperor had come to that reſolution at firſt; but ſince he had made theſe offers to the viceroy of Naples, the face of affairs was very much altered, as he had entirely gained Henry to his intereſt, and as, after the taking of Rome, it was to be feared the emperor would become maſter of all Italy. In the interim, the emperor's offers, which were, in effect, the ſame Francis had made to the viceroy of Naples, were either to be accepted or rejected; but as it was not Henry's buſineſs to return an anſwer, ſince the affair did not directly concern him, he only ſent the memorial to Francis, who no longer deſiring to make peace, diſengaged himſelf in this manner. He demanded, in the firſt place, that Sforza ſhould be reſtored without condi-

tion.

1527. tion. Secondly, that his ſons ſhould be delivered before he recalled his forces from Italy, where Lautrec was now arrived, offering to depoſite 300,000 ducats in the hands of the king of England, for ſecurity of his word. There could not be a plainer evidence of his little deſire to execute the treaty of Madrid, tho' the ſame terms only were demanded, as were offered by himſelf, preſently after his deliverance. He meant, after having withdrawn his hoſtages, to have the execution of the treaty in his own power, under colour of offering to depoſite for ſecurity 300,000 ducats in the hands of a prince devoted to him, and who, by a private treaty, was engaged to make his intereſt his own. The emperor, unwilling to be, thus, inſnared, offered on his part, to depoſite the ſame ſum in the hands of the king of England, for pledge, that the hoſtages ſhould be reſtored; but his offer being rejected, the affair ſtopped there, and war was only thought of. In the interim, the emperor deſiring to let all the world ſee, it was not his fault that a peace was not concluded, gave the ambaſſadors of England, of the pope, and of the Venetians, the ſame anſwer he had ſent to cardinal Wolſey. They all ſeemed very well ſatisfied, and ſaid, their maſters would, doubtleſs, accept a peace on theſe terms, and ſend orders to conclude it: but they knew not that the kings of France and England had altered their minds, and taken new reſolutions.

Francis's conference with Wolſey.

If Francis and cardinal Wolſey were to confer together, at Abbeville, it was not to ſeek means to make peace, but rather to take meaſures, on ſuppoſition, that a war with the emperor was infallible. Francis being come to Abbeville, the firſt of Auguſt, the cardinal waited on him, and after conferring together, they concluded, on the 18th, three treaties, which, properly, were only ſupplements, explanations, and reſtrictions of the three foregoing ones.

Three new treaties. Act. Pub.

By the firſt it was agreed:

I. That, as he had left it to the king of France's choice, to marry the princeſs Mary, or leave her for the duke of Orleans, his ſecond ſon, the duke ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs when they ſhould be both of age; that then, and not before, ſhould be ſettled the marriage articles concerning the dowry, the education of the duke of Orleans, in England, and the like; moreover, that, whether the marriage ſhould be conſummated, or the two monarchs think fit to diſpoſe of their children otherwiſe, their friendſhip ſhould remain firm and inviolable, the marriage being only to be conſidered as a ſupplement to the treaties of the 30th of April, and not as part of thoſe treaties.

II. That the treaty concluded, at Moore, ſhould remain in full force.

III. That the project of the interview of the two kings, ſhould be laid aſide, on account of the ſeaſon and circumſtances of affairs.

IV. As by the treaty of the 29th of May, it was agreed, that the king of England ſhould contribute a certain ſum for the war of Italy, it was concluded by this, that in caſe the emperor accepted the offers the two kings ſhould make him, by their ambaſſadors, the ſaid contribution ſhould ceaſe, without any prejudice to the treaty of peace; but if he rejected them, the treaty of league offenſive and defenſive, ſhould ſubſiſt, on condition, that during this campaign, the king of England ſhould be deemed to have diſcharged his part of the treaty, by his contribution for the war with Italy. 1527.

V. That the king of England ſhould form no demands upon the king of France, on pretence of his charges for the war of Italy.

VI. That to prevent all diſputes, without examining the number of troops, which the king of France maintained in Italy, the king of England ſhould pay for the month of June laſt, 20,000 crowns, for the month of July laſt, 30,000 crowns, and 32,222 for each of the three following months. On condition, however, that if in theſe three laſt months, the Engliſh commiſſaries found in the army of Italy, a leſs number of troops, than what the king of France was to maintain, the contribution ſhould be leſſened, in proportion; moreover, if a peace was made during theſe three laſt months, the contribution ſhould ceaſe the day the peace was concluded.

By the ſecond treaty, which concerned only trade, Francis promiſed to give the Engliſh merchants ſuch privileges, as ſhould be agreed upon hereafter.

By a third treaty the two kings were bound:

Firſt, not to conſent to the calling of a general council, during the pope's captivity.

Secondly, To receive no bull, or mandate, from the pope, till he was releaſed.

Thirdly, That till the pope ſhould reſume the government of the church, whatever ſhould be determined, in England, by the cardinal legate, aſſiſted by the principal members of the clergy, and in France, by the clergy of the Gallican church, ſhould be punctually executed.

Wolſey returns to England. Act. Pub

Theſe treaties being concluded, Francis I. ratified them, and ſwore to the obſervance before he left Abbeville. Cardinal Wolſey did the ſame thing in his maſter's name, by vertue of his full powers and title of vicar-general, which he had received on this occaſion; after that, he returned into England to give the king an account of the ſucceſs of his negotiation.

Henry's freſh demands upon the emperor.

Henry being reſolved to proclaim war againſt the emperor, but willing to conceal the real motives, demanded of him, by his ambaſſadors, four things, which he knew could not then be performed. The firſt was, that he ſhould pay what was borrowed of him, or of his father, king Henry VII. The ſecond, that he ſhould pay him the 500,000 crowns, to which he was obliged, in caſe he married not the princeſs Mary, to whom he was affianced. The third, that according to the tenor of their treaty, he ſhould ſatisfy him for his penſion from the king of France, whereof there was now due four years and four months. The fourth, that he ſhould releaſe the pope, and ſatisfy him for all the damages cauſed by his troops.

1527. troops. The emperor anſwered the ambaſſadors, firſt, that he had never denied his being debtor to the king of England; but was ſurpriſed he ſhould, at this juncture, inſiſt ſo much upon payment; that, at leaſt, when the money was required, the obligations ſhould be offered to be reſtored. Secondly, that he would write to the king, their maſter, to acquaint him, why he did not think himſelf liable to the penalty of the 500,000 crowns, for not conſummating the marriage. In the third place, that orders, were ſent into Italy to ſet the pope free. He ſaid nothing concerning making ſatisfaction for the penſion, becauſe, probably, he conſidered it as included in the article of the debts, to which he owned himſelf bound, as, indeed, nothing was more reaſonable.

An aſſembly of the chief men of France. Mazerai.

The emperor's anſwers were not capable of ſatisfying Henry, who only ſought an occaſion of quarrel. On the other hand, Francis having called together the chief men, that is to ſay, properly, perſons devoted to him, declared to them, all the ſteps he had made towards a peace with the emperor; and it may eaſily be gueſſed, he was not very careful to explain what the emperor might alledge againſt him. Having repreſented the matter as he pleaſed, he ſaid, he was ready to return into captivity, if it was judged, that he was obliged, in honour or conſcience. The aſſembly unanimouſly replied, that his perſon belonged to the realm, and it was not in his power to diſpoſe of it, according to his pleaſure; that, moreover, he could not alienate the provinces of the crown, but if the emperor would accept of a ranſom for the two princes, in hoſtage, they offered the king 2,000,000 of gold to redeem them. A man muſt have voluntarily ſhut his eyes, not to ſee what was the deſign of this farce, entirely managed by the court. In the interim, the king believing, after this deciſion, that he might, with a ſafe conſcience, go to war with the emperor, thought only of means to recover his ſons, by force of arms. However, he ſtill hoped, the dread of a war would induce the emperor to mitigate the treaty of Madrid. This was not now with reſpect to Burgundy, ſince he could not be ignorant, that the emperor had accepted the offered equivalent; but he was in hopes, by means of the war, to procure a new treaty, which ſhould annul that of Madrid. Thus, many princes play with their words and oaths, and ſeek to blind themſelves, or, at leaſt, the publick, whilſt none about them dare to tell them the truth. The emperor kept his word no better, with regard to the duchy of Milan; and Henry VIII, ſcrupled not to break his league with the emperor, as he had before violated that with Francis. Princes never want excuſes when they have a mind to break a treaty; but the publick is not always impoſed upon, tho' frequently they appear ſo to be. Probably, the ſovereigns themſelves are not ſo blind, but they ſee the irregularity of their conduct, tho', countenanced by the diſſimulation of the publick, they affect the great ſecurity; but the time comes, at laſt, when poſteriy, leſs prepoſſeſſed, does juſtice to all the world, and calls things by their proper name. 1527.

Francis, willing to preſerve the friendſhip, newly contracted with Henry, ſent him the Order of St. Michael*, by Ann de Montmorency, one of the knights. This lord had power to diſpence with Henry's oath, in whole, or in part, as the new knight ſhould think fit, or even to be contented with his bare word. Henry was pleaſed to ſwear to obſerve all the ſtatutes of the order of St. Michael, which were not contrary to thoſe of the Garter, or any other Order he had already received, Then he ſent the Order of the Garter to Francis, by Arthur Plantagenet, viſcount Liſle, natural ſon to Edward IV, and Francis took the uſual oath of the Order, with the ſame reſtrictions. The French ambaſſador, who arrived, in England, about the end of October, was received with ſuch magnificence, that Du Bellay, who accompanied him, aſſures us, he had never ſeen the like. The Engliſh ambaſſador was received in the ſame manner, in France, there having ever been between Francis and Henry, an emulation, which frequently threw them into needleſs expences. But it was moſt inconvenient for Francis, by reaſon of his continual wars with the emperor, wherein Henry was no farther engaged than he pleaſed; nay, he paid the very contribution for the war of Italy, by way of deduction for the ſums owed him by Francis, as appears in the Collection of the Publick Acts. Thus, Francis was forced to diſburſe all the money employed in that war, of which I muſt now relate the ſequel.

Francis and Henry ſend one another their order of knights of St. Michael and the Garter. Act. Pub.

The affairs of Italy. Guicciard.

Clement VII, was ſtill confined in the caſtle of St. Angelo, till he could pay the ſums exacted upon him. As he had but little money, he could only pay part of what he had promiſed, and, therefore, his captivity was longer than he expected, at firſt; they, in whoſe cuſtody he was, not being willing to truſt to his word. The emperor had not advice of the ſacking of Rome, and the pope's impriſonment, ſooner than the beginning of June, and it was above a month before he came to any reſolution. As he did not queſtion this affair would make great noiſe in the world, he was willing to ſee, before he determined what to do, how the kings of France and England would take it, in order to proceed accordingly. The 2d of Auguſt, he wrote to Henry, to excuſe himſelf, concerning the outrages commited by his troops at Rome, and the violence exerciſed upon the pope's perſon, wherein he proteſted, he was not concerned. At the ſame time, he asked his advice, about what was to be done, on this occaſion, as if he ſtill deemed him his good friend and ally; but it was only to gain time, till he received Francis's anſwer to the memorial, ſent to cardinal Wolſey. On the other hand, the pope, tho' narrowly watched had found means to write to Henry, and cauſe the 13 cardinals, who were confined with him, to do the ſame, deſiring his protection, and

* The military Order of St. Michal, was inſtituted by Lewis XII, in 1469. The knights wear a golden collar of ſhell-work, one within another, laid on a golden chain, whereon hangs a medal of St. Michael, the archangel.

entreating

1527. entreating him to uſe his beſt endeavours, to free them from their unhappy condition. Henry, upon receipt of theſe letters, ſent orders to his ambaſſadors, in Spain, to demand of the emperor the pope's and cardinals liberty; to which the emperor anſwered in general terms, that he would do what lay in his power for the king of England's ſatisfaction. In the interim, he was thinking of conveying the pope into Spain, in expectation of making a better bargain with him, than if he left him in Italy. Of this cardinal Wolſey informed Henry, by a letter from Abbeville, of the 29th of July.

The emperor tries to ſet Francis and Henry at variance.

It is certain, Henry's inſtances, in the pope's behalf, greatly embarraſſed the emperor; for he found, that Francis and Henry would not fail to join their counſels and forces againſt him, under colour of labouring for the pope; and this union could not but break all his meaſures, with reſpect to his affairs, in Italy. He believed, therefore, that before all things, he ſhould try to divide them, by ſowing jealouſies and ſuſpicions between them. One of his expedients, to this end, was, to propoſe to the cardinal, a marriage between the duke of Richmond, natural ſon of Henry, and Iſabella, princeſs of Portugal, with whom he offered, in dower, the duchy of Milan. The cardinal acquainted the king with it, by a letter of the 31ſt of July, telling him withal, that the offer was not much to be relied on, but, however, it was proper to ſeem to liſten to it, becauſe it was neceſſary ſtill to preſerve ſome correſpondence with the emperor. This related, without doubt, to the affair of the divorce, which I ſhall preſently ſpeak of; for, by a letter of the 1ſt of Auguſt, the cardinal informed the king, it was reported in Spain, he intended to divorce the queen; but that it was requiſite to ſend orders to his ambaſſadors, at Madrid, to ſtifle the rumour as much as poſſible. That to this end, they might ſay, it had no other foundation than the biſhop of Tarbe's ſcruples, concerning the princeſs Mary's marriage with the duke of Orleans, as if there was room to queſtion the princeſs's legitimacy. The emperor, alſo, uſed another way to divide Francis and Henry, by trying to gain cardinal Wolſey by advantageous offers. But for once, he could not ſucceed; whether Wolſey was now too far engaged with Francis, or was bent to be revenged of the emperor, who had twice deceived him, or whether the buſineſs of the divorce was now reſolved, in which caſe, it was not poſſible for him to promiſe to eſpouſe the emperor's intereſts.

Francis joins in a league with the Venetians. Guicciard.

When Francis heard of the ſacking of Rome, he perceived it was time to lay aſide artifice, and neceſſary to ſend a powerful aid, into Italy, otherwiſe the Venetians would infallibly conclude a peace with the emperor. Indeed, it was not likely, they could, or would, bear alone the burden of the war; wherefore, his firſt care was to make a new treaty with them, to bring each into the field 10,000 men, and levy 10,000 Switzers, at a common charge. The Venetians deſired nothing more, than to be ſupported by France, becauſe they juſtly dreaded, that the army, which had ſacked Rome, would be employed againſt them. Indeed, if the duke of Bourbon had been alive, or the viceroy of Naples able to influence the army, the Venetians would, undoubtedly, have been attacked, being the only enemies the emperor had, in Italy; but happily for them, the imperial troops being wholly intent upon the plunder of Rome, without thinking of any other undertaking, the plague which broke out among them, ſwept away two thirds of the ſoldiers. In a word, the diſtemper deſtroying them by heaps, they left Rome, and diſperſed themſelves in the neighbouring country; after which, having ſacked Terni and Narni, and extorted money from Spoleto, the Germans parted from the Spaniards, and returned to Rome. Thus, diſcord ariſing in the army, which ill obeyed the prince of Orange, tho' they had choſen him for general, they projected nothing to improve their victory, for the emperor's advantage. On the contrary, by their negligence, they gave Francis time to ſend troops into Italy, under the command of Lautrec, who was declared general of the league, he had newly concluded with the Venetians. As for the duke of Urbino, he continued in the Milaneſe, with part of the Venetian army. 1527.

Lautrec arrives in Piedmont.

Lautrec arrived in Piedmont, in July, with part of the army he was to command; the marqueſs of Saluzzo was ordered to join him with his Italians, and the Switzers were to come preſently after. Whilſt he was employed in conqueſts of little moment, waiting the junction of all his forces, Adrea Doria, who had quitted the pope's ſervice, and commanded the French gallies, to which he had joined eight others of his own, found means to reduce the city of Genoa, under Francis's dominion. This was a good opening of a campaign, which ſeemed to promiſe an advantageous ſucceſs, in the reſt of the war, eſpecially, as Lautrec, after aſſembling his whole army, conſiſting of 25,000 men, became maſter of Vigevano, Alexandria, and Pavia. Sforza and the Venetians earneſtly preſſed him to beſiege Milan; but he ſhewed them poſitive orders to march to Naples. The king of France took care not to employ his army to conquer the duchy of Milan, which by the treaty of league, was to be reſtored to Sforza, after which, the Venetians would give themſelves but little trouble to accompliſh his attempt upon Naples; beſides, he ſtill hoped, that by conſenting, the emperor ſhould keep Milan, he might recover his ſons, whereas in reſtoring Sforza he ſhould deprive himſelf of that means. Lautrec, therefore, began his march to the kingdom of Naples, but with ſuch flowneſs and affected delays, that it was evident, he had private orders not to make too much haſte; and, indeed, it was at the time that Francis expected the emperor's final anſwer, to the offers made him by his and Henry's ambaſſadors. Lautrec long halted, at Parma, and Placentia, which had opened their gates to

1527. him. In the interim, the duke of Ferrara joined with France, as well on account of Lautrec's march, who might have eaſily ravaged his country, as of Francis's offer to give in marriage to his ſon Hercules, Renee of France, ſecond daughter of Lewis XII. The duke of Mantua preſently after followed his example.

Negotiation for the pope's liberty. Guicciard.

In the interim, the emperor ſeeing the ill effects of the pope's captivity, had diſpatched the general of the Order of St. Francis, to the viceroy of Naples, with orders to releaſe the pope. The general finding the viceroy ſeized with a diſtemper, whereof he died in a few days, delivered the orders to Hugo de Moncada, to be executed. The emperor had given general inſtructions, that the pope ſhould be bound to pay the arrears due to the army, and give ſecurity, after having his liberty, to forſake the league; but as it was not eaſy for the pope to find pledges, or the money neceſſary to pay the army, the negotiation was prolonged. In the interim, he continually ſollicited Lautrec, by private meſſengers, to approach Rome, in order to facilitate his deliverance; but Lautrec had poſitive orders which hindered him from making haſte, and, yet his march, tho' ſlow, was of good ſervice to the pope. Moncada ſeeing the kingdom of Naples was going to be invaded, and that it was not poſſible to lead thither the imperial army, which was at Rome, without giving them money, concluded, at laſt, a treaty, with the pope, to this effect:

A treaty for the pope's deliverance. Herbert.

I. That the pope ſhould not oppoſe the emperor, in the affairs of Naples or Milan.

II. That he ſhould grant the emperor a Cruſade, in Spain, and a tenth in the reſt of his dominions.

III. That the emperor ſhould keep Civita Vecchia, Oſtia, Citta Caſtellana, and the caſtle of Furli.

IV. That the pope ſhould pay down to the German troops, 60,000 ducats, and 35,000 to the Spaniards.

V. That in a fortnight after, he ſhould pay them another certain ſum, and within three months, all the reſt that was due to the emperor, amounting to above 350,000 ducats.

VI. That till the two firſt payments were made, the pope ſhould be conducted to ſome ſafe place out of Rome, and give hoſtages.

The pope eſcapes to Orvieto.

The treaty being ſigned, and the cardinals of Ceſis and Orſino delivered, in hoſtage, it was agreed, that on the 10th of December the pope ſhould be taken out of the caſtle of St. Angelo, and conducted to a place appointed; but as he was afraid of a longer confinement, becauſe he was unable to perform the treaty, he eſcaped, in diſguiſe, the night before, and ſhut himſelf up in Orvieto.

When Lautrec heard that the pope was at liberty, he reſtored to him the city of Parma, and marched to Bologna, where he ſtayed three weeks, expecting freſh orders from the king. Some days after, he received a letter from Clement VII, acknowledging himſelf indebted to him for his liberty, intimating withal, that having been forced to grant the Imperialiſts whatever they required, he did not think himſelf obliged to perform his engagements. 1527.

The beginning of Henry's divorce.

It was whilſt the pope was priſoner, in the caſtle of St. Angelo, that Henry's divorce was ſet on foot; a momentous affair, if ever there was one, as well in itſelf, as on account of the parties concerned, and chiefly for its effects. It was not yet 30 years ſince Lewis XII. put away his wife, without an difficulty, or much noiſe in the world. Henry VIII, had a mind to attempt the ſame thing, and tho' ſupported with much more plauſible reaſons, he met with inſuperable obſtacles, not to be ſurmounted, without an extraordinary method, which gave occaſion to the eſtabliſhment of the reformation in England. This effect diſtinguiſhed Henry VIII's divorce, from ſo many others, which are but ſlightly mentioned by hiſtorians. The writers upon this ſubject, being either Catholicks or Proteſtants, have conſidered it variouſly. The Catholicks have drawn arguments from thence, againſt the reformation in England, and repreſented Henry's divorce, as the next and immediate cauſe of the change of religion; whereas the Proteſtants affirm, it was only the occaſion. Three Engliſh authors, eſpecially, have wrote the Hiſtory of this divorce, beſides many others of the ſame nation, or foreigners, who have ſpoke of it in their works. Sanderus, or rather Sanders, author of the Origin and Progreſs of the Engliſh Schiſm, makes it his buſineſs to deſame Henry, and ſhew, that the reformation in England, which he terms ſchiſm, entirely ſprung from Henry's paſſion for Ann Bullen. He fancied by that, to give a mortal wound to the reformation, and cauſe the world to think, that a ſuperſtructure raiſed on ſuch a foundation, could not be the work of God. The lord Herbert, in his Hiſtory of Henry VIII, contents himſelf with a bare recital of the events of this reign, whereof the divorce is one of the principal, without many reaſonings, leaving his readers to make inferences from the facts he relates. Doctor Burnet intending to write the Hiſtory of the Reformation of England, made it his chief aim, in ſpeaking of Henry's divorce, to ſhew, that tho' it occaſioned the reformation, it was only by accident. For this reaſon, he has endeavoured to refute the palpable falſhoods aſſerted by Sanders, in his Hiſtory. He has ſucceeded ſo well, that no ſincere man can, for the future, acknowledge Sanders for a writer worthy of credit.

The ſequel of my Hiſtory obliges me to ſpeak, in my turn, of this famous divorce. I ſhould be inclined to refer the reader to the forementioned excellent Hiſtory of the Reformation of England, known to all the world, and to which it is difficult to make any additions; but it would not be reaſonable to oblige the readers, to remember what they have read in that Hiſtory, or to peruſe it again. Wherefore I ſhall chuſe, in purſuing the thread of my Hiſtory, to relate this event, which is as the hinge whereon do turn numberleſs other things, which that illuſtrious author had occaſion only to mention, but which I muſt more fully explain, becauſe our ends are different.

1527. ferent. His view, in ſpeaking of Henry VIII's affairs with the pope, the emperor, and the king of France, was to illuſtrate the Hiſtory of the Reformation, and mine is, not to meddle with the affairs of religion any farther, than they relate to the other events of this reign.

Henry reſolves to divorce queen Catharine. Stow. Hall. Herbert.

Henry had been married 18 years, to Catharine of Arragon, and by her had three children, whereof one was living, when he formed the deſign of putting her away. He alledged, as the principal reaſon, his ſcruples for marrying his brother's widow; but, as it is pretended, theſe ſcruples troubled him not, till he was in love with Ann Bullen, one of the queen's maids of honour, it is inferred, that his doubts concerning the validity of his marriage, ſprung from this new paſſion, and without that, would never have exiſted. Accordingly, ſome labour to ſhew his divorce had no other foundation, than his love for that lady. Others again endeavour to prove, that his love and his ſcruples, were independent of each other. For my part, I ſhould think it needleſs to accuſe or juſtify Henry, with regard to the concerns of religion, if there was not ſome neceſſity to illuſtrate this matter with reſpect to the Hiſtory. By illuſtrating, I mean, ſhewing the impoſſibility of giving a certain judgment about it; but, before all things, it is neceſſary to deſcribe the perſon, who, as it is pretended, was the prime cauſe of the king's divorce, and of all the conſequences thereof.

An account of Ann Bullen. Herbert.

Ann Bullen was of a good, tho' not a noble family. Sir Thomas Bullen, her father, married a ſiſter of the duke of Norfolk, and by her had Ann, born, according to Cambden, in 1507, about two years before Henry VIII's acceſſion to the throne. Thomas Bullen, her father, was twice ambaſſador to France, firſt, in 1515, and again, in 1527. He was was made viſcount Rochford in 1525, and, afterwards, earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond. Ann, his daughter, being but ſeven years old, was carried into France, in 1514, when Mary, the king's ſiſter, went and conſummated her marriage, at Abbeville, with Lewis XII. That queen being re-married ſoon after to the duke of Suffolk, and returning into England, Ann Bullen was left in France. It is pretended, ſhe then entered in the ſervice of Francis I's queen, tho' ſhe was but eight years of age; but it is ſaid in what quallity. It is certain, a girl of her age, was not capable of doing much ſervice. So it may be preſumed, her beauty, genteelneſs, or the livelineſs of her wit, made queen Clande deſirous to keep her about her. Cambden affirms, ſhe retained her in her ſervice, to the day of her death, which happened in July, 1524, and ſays not that Ann ever took a journey into England all that time; but Du Tillet, and Du Pleix, French authors, pretend, ſhe came over in 1522. The lord Herbert ſays the ſame thing, but, without citing any particular author, contents himſelf with ſaying, it appears in Hiſtory. Cambden affirms, Ann remained in France, not only till queen Claude's death, but that, after ſhe had loſt her miſtreſs, ſhe was taken into ſervice, by the ducheſs of Alenſon, Francis's ſiſter; however, he does not ſay when ſhe quitted it. Others ſay, Sir Thomas Bullen brought his daughter to England, when he returned from his ambaſſy. His ambaſſy of 1515, can't here be meant, ſince it is unanimouſly agreed, that Ann was in queen Claude's ſervice, after queen Mary's departure, and continued ſeveral years, in the court of France. It muſt, therefore, be his ambaſſy of 1527. But it is likely, Bullen was not ſent to France, till September, 1527, ſince his ſole commiſſion was to ſee the treaty of the 30th of April, of the ſame year, ſworn to, which Francis had not ratified ſooner than the 18th of Auguſt, as appears in the Collection of the Publick Acts. But as, before his departure, the affair of the divorce was already commenced, it may be affirmed, the king's love for his daughter was later than his reſolution concerning the divorce, if it be true, that Ann returned to England, with her father, about the end of the year 1527. Indeed, it may be objected, that two French authors aſſert, that Ann went over to England, in 1522, and, that it was then the king fell in love with her. But it may be replied firſt, that it is very ſtrange, theſe two hiſtorians, who wrote long after the fact, ſhould meet with memoirs of the journey of a maid of honour, and the more, as they cite nothing to ſupport their teſtimony. Secondly, ſuppoſing it were ſo, they do not ſay Ann ſtayed in England. Conſequently, they deſtroy not Cambden's teſtimony, who affirms, Ann ſerved queen Claude, till 1524, and afterwards the ducheſs of Alenſon. But, if it be true, that Ann took a journey into England, in 1522, and the king then fell in love with her, it cannot be ſuppoſed ſhe returned to France, becauſe the rupture between the two crowns happening that year, it is not likely, that in time of war, an Engliſh woman ſhould go and ſerve a queen of France; beſides, if the king was then in love, he would have ſuffered Ann to depart the kingdom? Cambden, therefore, or the two French authors, muſt have been miſtaken. This is a difficulty not eaſily to be ſolved.

1527.

Cambden. Burnet.

But there is a fact, which paſſes for certain, viz. that Ann Bullen being 20 years old, was taken into queen Catharine's ſervice, as maid of honour. Now this muſt have been, in 1527, ſince ſhe was born in 1507. Accordingly, this is the time to which the beginning of the king's love may moſt properly be fixed. But ſtill this is only conjecture, which were it well grounded, would be a ſufficient proof, that, the king's divorce was not an effect of his paſſion, ſince it was reſolved before the end of the year 1526. My view in this inquiry, is to ſhew, that the time of Ann Bullen's return into England, is very uncertain, and the beginning of the king's affection no leſs ſo. How then can it be ſo boldly affirmed, as it is by ſome, that love for Ann Bullen inſpired the king, with the thoughts of annulling his marriage with Catharine? We muſt now ſee, whether

1527.

At what time Henry resolved to sue for his divorce. Burnet.

whether it be easier to discover the time when Henry resolved to sue for his divorce.

When Henry VII. concluded his son's marriage, with Catharine, prince Arthur's widow, archbishop Warham told him plainly, it was contrary to the law of God, which the pope could not dispence with. The king, without doubt, was touched with this remonstrance; for, the very day, the prince, his son, entered into his fourteenth year, he caused him to make against his marriage, a secret protestation, tho' before trusty witnesses, declaring, he was constrained to give his consent. After that, the king on his death-bed, strictly charged the prince not to consummate his marriage with Catharine. Notwithstanding all this, Henry VIII, being come to the crown, espoused the princess, contrary to Warham's opinion, to which he preferred the bishop of Winchester's. He had by her three children, two sons and a daughter, of whom, the sons died soon after their birth. He afterwards affirmed, that he considered the untimely death of his two sons, as God's curse on his marriage, especially, when he saw the queen had done breeding. It happened, afterwards, that Charles V, who was affianced to the princess Mary, refused to marry her, upon the council of Spain's questioning the princess's legitimacy. After that, when a marriage was treating between Mary and king Francis, or the duke of Orleans, the bishop of Tarbe, the French ambassador, made the same objection, maintaining, that the princess could not be deemed born in wedlock, notwithstanding Julius II's dispensation.

All these things were more than sufficient, to raise scruples in the king's mind, concerning his marriage; but tho', in an assembly of lords, which he afterwards called, to inform them of his reasons for a divorce, he affirmed, the bishop of Tarbe's objection inspired him with the first thoughts of inquiring into the matter, it appears however, that his scruples began sooner; for, in a letter, afterwards, to Grinæus, he told him, he had abstained from the queen, ever since the year 1524.

But supposing it could be discovered, at what time Henry began, either of himself, or by the suggestion of others, to be troubled with these scruples, it would signify nothing with respect to his resolution, concerning the divorce, which, in all appearance, was taken much later. Polydore Virgil says, Longland, bishop of Lincoln, the king's confessor, laboured to persuade him of the necessity of the divorce, by cardinal Wolsey's order, but mentions not the time. All the historians affirm, the king had recourse himself, to Thomas Aquinas's works, to clear his doubts, and caused the bishops to be consulted upon that head; but none of them say, at what time this was done. It is well known, secretary Knight was dispatched to Rome about this affair, in July, 1527, but then the rumour of the king's meditating a divorce, had already reached the court of Spain, as appears in the cardinal's letter to the king, from Abbeville. It is also very probable, that before he engaged in this affair, Henry had considered of it some time before; for, it is scarce to be supposed, a resolution of this nature, can be taken lightly, or when taken, immediately, executed, without thoroughly weighing the difficulties, or waiting a favourable juncture. Henry said himself, that the bishop of Tarbe bred the thought of annulling his marriage; but if it be true, as some affirm, that the bishop spoke only as directed by cardinal Wolsey, it may be presumed, the project of the divorce was formed some time before, and this ambassador made to speak only, to have an excuse to commence the affair. This is what seems to me, extremely probable. Indeed it is not likely the ambassador, after, thus, questioning Mary's legitimacy, would have concluded the marriage of the king, his master, or of the duke of Orleans, with that princess, had he not acted in concert with the court of England. These then are my thoughts, which I submit to the reader's judgment.

1527.

A conjecture upon this subject.

Ever since Francis was freed from his captivity, he had never ceased to press Henry to join with him, in an offensive league against the emperor; but Henry had constantly excused himself, without even suffering him to entertain the least hopes, in that respect. However, lord Herbert affirms, that about the end of the year 1526, Henry, of his own accord, sent an ambassador to France, to propose this league, so eagerly desired by Francis, and to offer him his daughter Mary, in marriage. This proceeding, gives occasion to believe, he had now resolved upon the divorce, and foreseeing how much the emperor would oppose it, intended so to embarrass him, as to oblige him to court his friendship. Upon this supposition, it may naturally be conjectured, that he proposed the marriage of his daughter, with the king of France, only to convince the emperor, that he really designed to be strictly united with France; but, at the same time, it is very likely, he informed Francis of the obstacle, which would occur in the execution of this pretended project, viz. the divorce of the princess's mother, which he was meditating. This conjecture, is confirmed by the coldness wherewith these two monarchs treated of the marriage. In the first place, Henry left it to the king of France's choice, to have Mary himself, or to leave her to his second son, as if this alternative were the same thing. In the next place, when Francis declared he would leave Mary to the duke of Orleans, the treating more fully concerning the marriage, was deferred to another time. In the third place, in the treaty, Francis and the cardinal concluded at Abbeville, they took care to insert this clause; "That tho' the "marriage should not be effected, the treaty, "however, should subsist." In fine, tho' Knight was now at Rome, or on his way thither, when the treaty of Abbeville, was concluded, it does not appear Francis ever complained to Henry, that he had offered him a princess, whom he was labouring to bastardise, in prosecuting his divorce with the queen, her mother. On the contrary, he assisted him to the

1527. the utmoſt of his power to obtain his deſires; but he muſt have looked upon the offer, as an affront, had they not underſtood one another. If this conjecture has any foundation, it may be inferred, that the reſolution concerning the divorce, was taken, at leaſt, about the end of the year 1526, tho' the execution was deferred till the middle of the next year; but, in that caſe, it would, therefore, be true, that the king had reſolved upon the divorce, before his paſſion for Ann Bullen, who, in all appearance, returned not into England ſooner, than October, 1527.

From what has been ſaid, it may be gathered, that to affirm, with any probability, that Henry's paſſion for Ann Bullen, was the cauſe of his divorce with Catharine, theſe queries muſt be decided, in favour of that opinion. At what time did Ann Bullen return into England? When did the king's love for her firſt begin? When was it, that he came to a reſolution, concerning his divorce? But upon all theſe queſtions, conjectures only, as I have obſerved, can properly be formed. Thus much is certain, that between the reſolution about the divorce, and the beginning of the king's love, was no great diſtance of time. There we muſt ſtop. But it is going too far, to ground upon this nearneſs, as a certain fact, that Henry undertook the proſecution of his divorce, with Catharine, on purpoſe to marry Ann Bullen. I ſay, moreover, that tho' there was no difficulty about the times, and they exactly correſponded, yet as to what paſſed in the king's breaſt, it would be only conjecture.

I have enlarged a little, on this point, becauſe the illuſtrious author of the Hiſtory of the Reformation, ſeems to leave it ſomething in the dark; beſides, I thought it requiſite to curb the over-confident, by informing the readers of what is true, and what doubtful in the matter. We ſee it in many Hiſtories, and hear it, every day, poſitively affirmed, as if there was no difficulty, that Henry's love for Ann Bullen, was the ſole cauſe of his divorce with Catharine of Arragon, tho', as I have ſhewn, it can only be ſaid by conjecture, and the conjecture itſelf, does not countenance that notion. Not that Henry VIII. is to be conſidered, as a prince incapable of being miſled by his paſſion, even to the ſacrificing Catharine of Arragon to Ann Bullen. Why ſhould he have been more ſcrupulous with reſpect to Catharine, than he was with regard to Ann herſelf, whom he made no difficulty to ſacrifice to a third wife, as will hereafter be ſeen. He was a prince of an impetuous temper, who could bear no oppoſition to his will; for, the flatteries of his ſubjects, and the extravagant praiſes, continually beſtowed on him, by the ſovereigns, who ſtood in need of him, had poſſeſſed him with ſuch a conceipt of his own merit, that he imagined his actions ought to have been the ſtandard of good ſenſe, reaſon, and juſtice. Therefore, when it is ſaid, his love for Ann Bullen cauſed him eagerly to puſh the affair of his divorce, of which otherwiſe the difficulties would, perhaps, have diſcouraged him, nothing is affirmed repugnant to his character; only care muſt be taken, not to aſſert for an undoubted truth, what is but a bare conjecture. 1527.

Motives of the divorce alledged by Henry. Burnet.

Be this as it will, without dwelling longer upon the king's ſecret motives, and endeavouring to diſcover his thoughts, which lie hid from human eyes, let us content our ſelves with what he publiſhed himſelf. In the firſt place, he ſaid, he was troubled in conſcience for his marriage with Catharine, and, indeed, he had but too much reaſon. The wonder is, that he had not theſe ſcruples more early. He had married his brother's widow, and found it forbidden by the law of Moſes. It is true, he had the pope's diſpenſation; but he could not be ignorant, that many learned divines were of opinion, that the pope could not diſpenſe with the laws of God. This was ſufficient to give him very juſt ſcruples. As ſoon as theſe doubts had poſſeſſed him, he was willing to clear them, and found in Thomas Aquinas what he had, perhaps, inattentively read many times; firſt, that the Levitical laws are moral and eternal; ſecondly, that the pope cannot diſpenſe with the laws of God, becauſe, to diſpence with a law, one muſt be ſuperior, or equal, to the law-giver. This deciſion of a divine, for whom he had a great eſteem, confirming his ſcruples, he deſired archbiſhop Warham, who had formerly declared againſt the marriage, to conſult the biſhops of England upon this occaſion. Some ſay, that Longland, his confeſſor, cheriſhed his doubts, by the private orders of cardinal Wolſey, which is not improbable. The queen was aunt to the emperor, with whom Wolſey had reaſon to be diſpleaſed; beſides, the favourite loved not the queen herſelf, becauſe ſhe could not help ſhewing, how much ſhe was offended, that a biſhop, a cardinal, a legate of the holy ſee, ſhould lead ſo ſcandalous a life. However this be, ſoon after the archbiſhop preſented to the king, a writing, under the hands and ſeals of all the biſhops, wherein they condemned his marriage, as contrary to common decency, and the law of God. Only Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, refuſing to ſet his hand, it is ſaid, the archbiſhop made another write his name, unknown to him. But the biſhops were not the only perſons of this opinion; for, ſince Luther's works began to appear, many people in England were put out of their former high conceipt of the papal power. As, therefore, the validity of the king's marriage, was wholly founded on Julius II's diſpenſation, it was publickly diſputed, whether the diſpenſation could authoriſe a marriage ſo notoriouſly repugnant to the law of God; nay, many who were otherwiſe ſtrongly attached to the court of Rome, could not reliſh the doctrine of the pope's diſpenſing with the divine laws. All theſe things conſpired, either to breed or confirm the king's ſcruples.

Reaſons of ſtate alledged by the king. Burnet.

But it was not only ſcruples of conſcience that Henry alledged to juſtify his deſign; for he pretended, that tho' he were regardleſs of his

1527. his ſalvation, or able to overcome his ſcruples, the good of his people required the prevention of an inconvenience, which was eaſily to be foreſeen. He had but one daughter, and very likely ſhould have no more children, if his marriage were not annulled; therefore, if, after his deceaſe, the validity of his marriage with Catharine, ſhould come to be queſtioned, he foreſaw England would again be involved, on account of the ſucceſſion, in troubles, from whence ſhe was but juſt freed. Mary, his daughter, the king of Scotland, his nephew, the queen dowager of France, could equally pretend to the crown, upon very plauſible reaſons. Mary could alledge the pope's diſpenſation, againſt ſuch as ſhould charge her, with her being born of an unlawful marriage; the king of Scotland, who was next heir after her, could maintain, the diſpenſation was not valid; and the queen dowager, the king's ſiſter, could alledge, that the firſt was illegitimate, and the ſecond, a foreigner. Theſe ſeveral claims might eaſily kindle a civil war in England, where it was but too viſible, that each would find adherents, not to mention the foreign ſuccours they might be ſupported with. Henry, therefore, imagined, there was but one way to prevent this danger, viz. by annulling his marriage, and taking another wife, by whom, with God's bleſſing, he might have ſons. He to whom the ſecrets of all hearts are open, can only know for certain, whether this thought was inſtilled into him by the danger he foreſaw, by his averſion to the queen, or by his love for Ann Bullen. But, however this may be, independently of the ſeveral motives aſcribed to him, it is certain, there was great danger of the kingdom's being one day expoſed to a civil war, if the king remained till death, in his preſent ſtate, and he ſaw no other way to come out of it, than by annulling his marriage. It is true, he foreſaw great oppoſition from the emperor, the queen's nephew, who was then very powerful; but, on the other hand, as that monarch had himſelf ſhewn, on this occaſion, ſcruples, which hindered him from eſpouſing Mary, Henry hoped, he would not obſtinately maintain what he had himſelf queſtioned. Beſides, the juncture ſeemed very favourable for his purpoſe; for the pope, who was priſoner in the caſtle of St. Angelo, ſeemed to have no other reſſource, to be reſtored to his former ſtate, than the aſſiſtance of France and England, and Henry did not queſtion, that Francis, who ſtood in need of him, would promote his proceedings, to the utmoſt of his power. As to the reſt, he never doubted the pope's authority, reckoning, that Clement VII. could revoke a diſpenſation, granted by Julius II; nay, cardinal Wolſey warranted the ſucceſs of the affair, whether he had already gained the pope, or imaginad, that Clement, in his preſent circumſtances, could deny the king nothing. So, it was reſolved the ſuit ſhould be moved in the court of Rome, to cauſe the marriage to be annulled.

The beſt reaſon that could be alledged, was, that Julius's diſpenſation was contrary to the divine law, and that alone ought to have been ſufficient; but it would have been imprudent to begin with diſputing the prerogative of the Roman pontiffs, when a favour was to be asked of the court of Rome. Recourſe, therefore, was to be had, to another expedient, which was, to find nullities in Julius's bull, and ſhew, it was procured by falſe ſurmiſes, and untrue ſuggeſtions, which rendered the bull revocable, even according to the rules of the court of the Rota. This was not very difficult; for the bull was grounded upon Henry's and Catharine's requeſt, ſetting forth, that their marriage was neceſſary to preſerve peace between England and Spain. Here were found two reaſons for revoking the bull. The firſt, that Henry being then but 12 years old, could not be deemed to have any political views, whence it was inferred, that the requeſt was not his own. The ſecond, that the ſuggeſtion was falſe, ſince, as matters then ſtood between Spain and England, the marriage was not at all neceſſary, for the preſervation of peace between the two crowns, and conſequently Julius II, had been ſurpriſed. Another nullity was found, as the bull having no other foundation than the maintenance of peace and union between Henry VII, and the king and queen of Spain, this reaſon ceaſed, when the marriage was conſummated, ſince Henry VII. and Iſabella were now dead. In fine, it was alledged, that Henry VIII, having proteſted againſt his marriage, before conſummation, thereby renounced the liberty granted him by the bull, and, therefore, another bull was neceſſary to render the marriage valid. But all theſe reaſons were produced only, to afford the pope a pretence to revoke Julius's diſpenſation; for, if the contrariety of the diſpenſation to the divine law, was not the real foundation of ſuing for the divorce, nothing would have been more eaſy for the pope, than to quiet the king's conſcience, by confirming whatever had been done, by a new bull.

1527. Reaſons to be laid before the pope. Burnet.

In the interim, as the pope's compliance was not doubted, in his preſent circumſtances, the king ſent doctor Knight, ſecretary of ſtate, to Rome, to deſire him to ſign four inſtruments, drawn in England. The firſt was, a commiſſion to cardinal Wolſey, to try and decide the affair with ſome Engliſh biſhops. The ſecond was a bull decretal, declaring the king's marriage with Catharine void, becauſe Arthur's, with the ſame princeſs, was conſummated. By the third, the pope granted the king a diſpenſation to marry another wife. By the fourth, he promiſed never to repeal any of the three foregoing acts.

Knight is ſent to Rome about the divorce. Burnet.

Knight departed from England, in July, about the time the cardinal began his journey to confer with the king of France. But as the pope was priſoner, and guarded by a Spaniſh captain, it was impoſſible for Knight to have an audience. However, he found means to convey to him a memorial, containing the ſum of his commiſſion, to which the pope returned a favourable anſwer. He made believe, he would grant whatever the king deſired, tho' the

He ſends a memorial to the pope. Burnet.

1527. the emperor had already required him, by the general of the Franciſcans, not to do any thing in that affair, without communicating it to his miniſters. By the way, this ſhews, Henry had reſolved long before to ſue for his divorce, ſince the emperor had time to hear of it, and ſend to the pope. As it was not practicable for Knight to treat with the pope, in perſon, the matter was carried no farther, at that time. At length, the news of the pope's going to be releaſed, reaching England, cardinal Wolſey wrote to Sir Gregory Caſſali, the king's ordinary ambaſſador, at Rome, to order him to join with Knight, and preſs the pope to grant the king's requeſt. This letter was worded, in very ſtrong terms, and ſhewed the cardinal's deſire, that the divorce ſhould be effected. It was dated the 5th of December, 1527, the cardinal not yet knowing, that the pope had made his eſcape, the 9th of the ſame month.

Knight and Caſſali talk with the pope. Burnet.

Clement VII, being retired to Orvieto, Knight went and talked with him about the affair. The pope owned, he had received his memorial, and promiſed again to do all that lay in his power, for the king's ſatisfaction, but prayed him not to be too haſty. His circumſtances then were ſuch, that he did not yet know, whether he ſhould want the king of England, or whether the emperor would agree with him; wherefore, he deſired to gain time, in order to proceed as ſhould beſt ſuit with his intereſt. But for that reaſon, and becauſe the king's orders were urgent and poſitive, Knight would not delay his negotiation. He earneſtly preſſed the pope, who promiſed, at laſt, to ſign the acts, on condition no uſe ſhould be made of them, till the Germans and Spaniards were departed out of Italy. Knight willingly accepted of the condition, imagining, when the inſtruments, ready ſigned, were in the king's hands, he would uſe them when he pleaſed. But the pope was not eaſily to be deceived; for whilſt he feigned to have no other view than to ſatisfy the king, he was only contriving to gain time, being ready to ſacrifice him, if he found it for his advantage. He uſed, therefore, all his art, to prolong the affair, by means unſuſpected by the king. To this end, he told Knight, that before the inſtruments were executed, he ſhould be glad to talk with the cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor.

He promiſes to do what the king deſires.

But he finds means to delay the performance of his promiſes. Burnet.

The pope having, thus, engaged, Knight and Caſſali fancied they had no more to do, than to prepoſſeſs in the king's favour, the cardinal, whom the pope intended to conſult. They were at no great pains to ſucced, ſince, beſides 10,000 ducats which they had in hand, to reward ſuch as ſhould do them ſervice, they were empowered to make what farther promiſes, they ſhould think fit, in the king's name. The cardinal examining the inſtruments ſent from England, found very great faults, particularly in the legate's commiſſion, and took upon him to draw one more perfect; Which done, Knight and Caſſali waited on the pope, and preſſed him to ſign. He did not abſolutely refuſe, but ſaid, the emperor having required him not to act in that buſineſs, without imparting it to him, it was neceſſary to find ſome expedient, to excuſe ſo haſty a proceeding; that, therefore, it would be proper to cauſe Lautrec to march towards Orvieto, and preſs him, in his maſter's name, to give the king of England ſatisfaction. Lautrec being then at Bologna, to get him to march to Orvieto, there would have been occaſion for orders from the court of France, which would have taken up much time. Wherefore Henry's agents rejected the expedient, their view being to finiſh the affair before the emperor had notice thereof. At laſt, the pope, finding himſelf extremely preſſed, delivered to them the commiſſion for cardinal Wolſey, with the bull of diſpenſation for the king, and promiſed to ſend into England the bull decretal, to null the marriage. But here the pope uſed an artifice, which the agents, perhaps, did not ſufficiently conſider; for he dated theſe two inſtruments, from the time he was priſoner in the caſtle of St. Angelo. So, when the king had them in his power, he did not think fit to make uſe of them, leſt it ſhould be objected, that the pope had granted them only with deſign to obtain his liberty, by the aſſiſtance he expected from England; beſides, all acts executed by a priſoner, may be deemed void, whereof the treaty of Madrid was a late inſtance. Thus, how urgent ſoever the king was to end the affair, he found, at the cloſe of the year 1527, that he had yet made no progreſs. 1527.

1528. The pope reſolves to keep fair with the emperor.

Clement VII, had time, during his captivity, ſeriouſly to reflect upon his paſt conduct, which had been very unſucceſsful, becauſe he had ſwerved from the maxims of his moſt able predeceſſors. He had prepoſterouſly engaged in a war with the emperor, whereas Alexander VI, Julius II, and Leo X, after ſowing diſſention among the princes, left them, for the moſt part, to decide their quarrels, and then ſided with the ſtrongeſt, or if they engaged in a war, it was commonly at other people's expence. But for once, Clement VII, after draining his treaſure in maintaing an army, had loſt Florence, Parma, Reggio, Rome itſelf, with the beſt part of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and ſeen himſelf captive and ranſomed. This was ſufficient to make him wiſer, and take another courſe. As ſoon as the ambaſſadors of France, England, and Venice, ſaw him ſecure, at Orvieto, from the outrages of the Imperialiſts, they preſſed him to declare againſt the emperor. They thought, if he could not aſſiſt the league with temporal arms, he might at leaſt, by means of his ſpiritual, embroil the common enemy, whom he ſeemed to have no reaſon to regard. But he himſelf conſidered this affair in a different light; for having learned, by ſad experience, that he had been the dupe of his allies, he reſolved to be no longer guided by their intereſted counſels. So, without diſcovering his thoughts, he only told them, that his joining in the league, would only draw upon him freſh miſchiefs, without procuring them any advantage; that beſides, it was neceſſary, for the benefit of Chriſtendom, there ſhould be a mediator to labour to procure peace, and that was all he could do,

in

1528. in the ſtate he was reduced to. Nevertheleſs, he intimated to them, that he might take other meaſures, if Lautrec appaoached to oblige the emperor's troops to abandon Rome. This, indeed, was his ſole view, to free the eccleſiaſtical ſtate from that foreign army, in order to be able to act moſt agreeably to his intereſt.

Lautrec marches towards Naples. Guicciard. Hall.

At laſt, Lautrec departing from Bologna, the 9th of January, took the road to Naples, having firſt ſent the prince of Vaudemont and la Trimouille to the pope, to preſs him to declare. But Clement found means to excuſe himſelf, without, however, a poſitive denial; for he ſaw, as I may ſay, all Europe in motion, and was willing to wait the ſucceſs of the war, in order to take juſter meaſures than before. So, it was not poſſible, by any means, to bring him to a declaration. He only made believe, that if Francis and Henry would cauſe Ravenna and Cervia to be reſtored to him, he would join with them. This was an advantage he would willingly have reaped from their inſtances, without being debarred from finding ſome other evaſion, to prevent his declaring after the recovery of theſe two places. In the interim, he was thinking how to treat ſecretly with the emperor, from whom he had greater expectations, than from his allies; for, indeed, his chief view, being to reſtore the houſe of the Medici to the government of Florence, he perceived, that he could not accompliſh it, without the emperor's help, ſince the allies were concerned to ſupport the Florentines, who were become parties in the league. But it would have been imprudent in him to declare for the emperor, when that monarch was weak in Italy, and ſo powerful an army was marching to invade the kingdom of Naples; wherefore, it was neceſſary for him to wait, till the event of the war enabled him to reſolve with ſafety. This was the true reaſon which obliged him to uſe many artifices, to try to diſpleaſe neither the emperor, nor the king of France, nor the king of England. If, inſtead of unadviſedly engaging in a war, he had before taken this courſe, he might have ſold his favours, at any rate; at leaſt, he would not have had the mortification to be a captive in Rome itſelf.

Francis and Henry proclaim war againſt the emperor. Hall. Guicciard.

But tho' the pope refuſed to declare, the kings of France and England were not the leſs eager, in the purſuit of their projects; for, on the 21ſt of January, 1528, their ambaſſadors, in Spain, demanded the emperor's leave to retire, and next day Clarenceux and Guienne, heralds, one of England, the other of France, proclaimed war againſt him. This was done with great ſolemnity, the emperor being ſeated on his throne, and attended by all his grandees. He anſwered each in particular, but in a very different manner. Speaking to the Engliſh herald, he made uſe of civil and honourable terms, denoting, he was not at all pleaſed with having the king, his maſter, for an enemy. He complained, however, that Henry had uſed him ill, in deſigning to give him in marriage a princeſs, whom he propoſed to baſtardiſe, ſince he was ſuing to be divorced from the queen, her mother; but he threw all the blame, on the boundleſs ambition of cardinal Wolſey. He ſaid, the cardinal would have obliged him to employ his arms, in Italy, to make him pope, and thought himſelf injured, becauſe he would not diſturb the peace of Chriſtendom for his ſake. As for the ſums, of which Henry demanded payment, he denied, he had ever refuſed to diſcharge the debt; but added, that the Engliſh ambaſſadors, not having brought with them the original obligations, nor even a power to give him a diſcharge, Henry was in the wrong to complain. As to the indemnity he demanded, he knew the king of France had taken it upon him, in the treaty of Madrid. As for the penalty of 500,000 crowns, in caſe he refuſed to marry the princeſs Mary, he anſwered, it was not his fault; that he had demanded her of the king, her father, by ambaſſadors, ſent on purpoſe, and that Henry had refuſed to ſend her; that, beſides, before that time Henry had offered her to the king of Scotland; in ſhort, that he could not lawfully claim that ſum, before he had proved that he had himſelf performed all the articles of the treaty of Windſor. Such was the emperor's reply to the declaration of war, made by Henry's herald. In his anſwer to the French herald, he ſpoke not with ſo much regard and caution; for he plainly accuſed Francis of breach of faith, and charged the herald to put him in mind of the meſſage he ſent him, by the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, his ambaſſador, "That it would be better for them to "decide their quarrel by ſingle combat;" but that he had not received any anſwer; probably, the ambaſſador had not thought fit to deliver that meſſage to the king, ſince he ſeemed extremely ſurpriſed, when he heard it from the herald's mouth. In a few days, he ſent the ſame herald to the emperor, with a challenge under his own hand, wherein he gave him the lie in form, and required him to aſſure him the field, to fight hand to hand. The challenge was dated March 28, 1528. The emperor ſent his anſwer, by one of his heralds, who was charged to tell him, by word of mouth, very diſagreeable things. The herald coming to Paris, could not obtain leave, without great difficulty, to put on his coat of arms, when he entered the city. The king expected him on his throne, ſurrounded with a great number of princes and lords; but he had ſcarce began to ſpeak, before the king interrupted him, and demanded, whether he had brought the ſecurity of the field. The herald deſired leave to proceed with what he had to ſay from the emperor; the king refuſed to hear him, ſaying, he had required only the ſecurity of the field, and that all the reſt was to no purpoſe. Thus, ended this affair, which had now made great noiſe. The two monarchs gave publick marks of their courage, by their mutual challenges, and yet there was no great labour required to prevent them from deciding their quarrel in a way, ſo uncommon to great princes.

1528.

Hugo de Mendoſa, the emperor's ambaſſador, at London, hearing what had paſſed in Spain,

1528. Spain, would have retired; but cardinal Wolſey ſent him word, that Clarenceux had exceeded his inſtructions, in proclaiming war againſt the emperor, and ſhould be puniſhed at his return; whereupon the ambaſſador ſent an expreſs, to inform the emperor of what the cardinal had ſaid. Clarenceux, who was ſtill in Spain, ſurpriſed that he ſhould be made accountable for what he had expreſs orders, demanded, and obtained an authentick copy of the ambaſſador's letter. Upon his arrival, in England, he waited on the king, before he ſpoke with the cardinal, and ſhewed him the letter, with three others, wrote with the cardinal's own hand, whereby he gave him expreſs orders to declare war againſt the emperor. Henry, aſtoniſhed at his miniſter's preſumption, fell into a great paſſion with him, before the whole court; nay, he would, perhaps, have entirely diſgraced him, had he not been with-held by the conſideration of the affair of the divorce, where he could not proceed without him. He made him, however, undergo a terrible mortification, by cauſing this affair to be examined in the council. This inquiry would, doubtleſs, have been fatal to the miniſter, if the king had been pleaſed to purſue it; but he was contented with the cardinal's proteſtation, that he thought to have acted agreeably to his majeſty's intentions.

Bold act of Wolſey, which drew on him the king's anger. Herbert. Hall.

The cardinal aſſembles the great men, and tries to juſtify the war againſt the emperor. Hall.

The emperor's anſwer to Clarenceux, being made publick, in England, by the Spaniſh ambaſſador's means, the cardinal was afraid it would cauſe ill effects among the people, conſidering the weakneſs of the motives alledged by the king, for undertaking the war. For this reaſon he aſſembled, in the ſtar-chamber, all the great lords, then at court, to whom he made a ſpeech, aggravating, as much as poſſible, the injuries, the king had received from the emperor, and his reaſons to demand ſatisfaction, by arms. But let him ſay what he would, tho' every one outwardly applauded him, what the emperor ſaid to the herald, that the war was cauſed only by the cardinal's private diſcontent, made deeper impreſſion, than all the arguments the miniſter could alledge. The people openly exclaimed againſt a war, which was going to ruin the kingdom, to gratify the favourite's paſſion; nay, ſome went farther than murmurs; for, as the trade with the Low-Countries was interrupted, by the declaration of war, and the merchants would buy no more cloth which they could not vend, the clothiers riſe in arms. Whereupon the cardinal ordered the merchants to buy the cloths as uſual, threatening, in caſe of refuſal, to buy them himſelf, and ſell them to the foreigners. But they made a jeſt of this threat, and continued obſtinate, reſolving not to render themſelves liable to inevitable loſſes, for his ſake. An ambaſſy from the governeſs of the Low-Countries to the king, whilſt theſe things were in agitation, freed the cardinal from his embarraſſment. The ambaſſadors acquainting him, that if the king pleaſed to conſent to a truce, with the Low-Countries, for the mutual benefit of trade, the governeſs would readily agree to it; this overture being debated in council, it was reſolved, notwithſtanding the French ambaſſador's oppoſition, to agree to a truce for eight months, which was ſigned the 8th of June. 1528.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in England, the affairs of Italy were in ſuch a ſituation, as gave Francis room to expect Lautrec's expedition, in the kingdom of Naples, would be crowned with ſucceſs, tho', afterwards, it ended very unfortunately for him. Lautrec going from Bologna, the 9th of January, arrived the 10th of February, on the borders of Naples, and marching into Abruzzo, became maſter of that province, and, afterwards, of part of Apulia. It was not without extreme difficulty, that the prince of Orange obliged the Imperialiſts to quit Rome, where, for 10 months, they had exerciſed all ſorts of rapine and violence. Tho' the imperial army went not from Rome, till the 17th of February, they got before Lautrec, who had taken a longer way, in order to procure money, which he wanted exceedingly, the king of France, according to cuſtom, not having ſent him what he had promiſed. The Imperialiſts being poſted at Troya, he offered them battle; but as they thought proper to retire to Naples, purſued his march, and arrived in the beginning of May, before that capital, which he beſieged in form, purſuant to his orders. Sixteen French gallies, commanded by Andrea Doria, eight more under the conduct of Philippino Doria, his nephew, with 22 from Venice, were to block up Naples, by ſea, whilſt Lautrec, with 30,000 men beſieged the city by land, but when he opened the ſiege he had only Philippino's eight gallies. Thoſe of Venice came very late, and Andrea Doria, who was diſpleaſed with Francis, and had thoughts of entering into the emperor's ſervice, detained the 16 gallies, at Genoa, under divers pretences. In the interim, a ſea-fight between Philippino and the Imperialiſts, wherein Moncada was ſlain, and the marquiſs del Vaſto taken priſoner, made Lautrec hope he ſhould reduce Naples, by famine, tho' himſelf wanted all things in his camp; and his hopes were increaſed, by the arrival of the 22 Venetian gallies, which joined thoſe of Philippino. The buſineſs now, was, to ſee who could bear famine longeſt, the beſiegers or the beſieged, who were equally in want of proviſions; but the French had, beſides ſcarcity, a very great diſadvantage, as the plague made terrible ravage among them, and continually diminiſhed their number. At length, Andrea Doria having agreed with the emperor, recalled his nephew Philippino, with his eight gallies. Soon after, the Venetian gallies being obliged to go upon the coaſt of Calabria, to provide themſelves with biskets, the beſieged took that opportunity to convey into the city abundance of proviſions, whilſt Lautrec remained in a very bad condition, without victuals or money, and with an army grievouſly afflicted with the plague. Moſt of his general officers were dead, or ſick, and to compleat the misfortune, he was himſelf ſeiſed with

Iſſue of the war of Naples. Guicciard.

1528. with the peſtilence, which carried him off the 16th of Auguſt. The marqueſs of Saluzzo, who took upon him the command of the ruined army, reſolving, at laſt, to raiſe the ſiege, with great difficulty retired to Averſa, where he was, immediately, beſieged, and, in few days, forced to capitulate, ſurrendering himſelf, with all the principal officers of his army, into the hands of the Imperialiſts. Thus, the fine army Lautrec had led before Naples, was entirely diſperſed. Moreover, France had lately loſt Genoa, taken by Andrea Doria, in the emperor's name, after which, according to his agreement with that monarch, he reſtored his country to liberty, and eſtabliſhed a government, which ſtill ſubſiſts to this day. Thus, the affairs of Italy, which in the beginning of the year had ſo promiſing an aſpect for Francis, were ſo entirely altered, that he had ſcarce any thing left in that country.

Continuation of the divorce. Burnet.

The knowledge of what paſſed, in Italy, this campaign, will be of no little ſervice to diſcover the motives of the pope's conduct, in the affair of the divorce. Henry deemed the affair ended, when he heard the pope had left it to cardinal Wolſey's deciſion; but when, after much difficulty, he had obtained this commiſſion for the cardinal, with a bull decretal, declaring the marriage void, and a diſpenſation to marry again, he found, however, there was yet nothing done. The commiſſion was dated from the caſtle of St. Angelo, whilſt the pope was a priſoner, which rendered it entirely null, and conſequently there was a neceſſity of renewing it; and the decretal had no clauſe to hinder the pope from revoking it, if he pleaſed. In fine, the diſpenſation was only conditional, in caſe the king's marriage with Catharine ſhould be declared void; beſides, there were certain reſtrictions inſerted, leaving the pope at liberty to repeal it. For inſtance, he granted the diſpenſation, "as far as might be without "offending God. Notwithſtanding any pro"hibitions of the divine law, or other conſti"tutions and ordinances whatever, to the "contrary, as far as the authority apoſtolical "reached*." Henry was not a little concerned to ſee, that he could not uſe theſe bulls, without being liable to be moleſted. Nevertheleſs, in the belief, that all this was owing to inadvertency, he ordered Sir Gregory Caſſali, his ambaſſador, at Rome, to demand bulls leſs liable to diſpute. Caſſali ſpoke of it frequently to the pope, but could obtain no poſitive anſwer; only the pope finding himſelf preſſed, told him, as a ſecret, that he adviſed the king to proceed, and get his marriage annulled, by vertue of the commiſſion given the legate, but with as little noiſe as poſſible, and marry the woman deſired. He grounded this advice upon its being much eaſier to confirm a thing when done, than to permit him to do it. He charged Caſſali, however, not to let the king know, this ſuggeſtion came from him. Henry looked upon this advice, as a ſnare laid for him by the pope; for he conſidered, that it was not poſſible to have ſuch a cauſe tried without noiſe, ſince it was neceſſary the queen ſhould be heard, otherwiſe the ſentence would be evidently void. In the next place, had he done what he was adviſed to, he would have been entirely at the pope's mercy, who, according to the opinion of the canoniſts, might have refuſed to confirm the legate's ſentence, as well as the conſequent marriage. So, the affair being taken into conſideration, it was thought more proper to apply directly to the pope, for new bulls. According to this reſolution, the king ſent Stephen Gardiner, cardinal Wolſey's ſecretary, and Edward Fox, to manage the affair. Their inſtructions were to demand for the cardinal, a new commiſſion, appointing him judge of the cauſe, with powers to null the king's marriage, if he thought proper, and yet to declare his daughter legitimate; to preſs the pope to give him a promiſe under his hand, not to revoke the legate's commiſſion; to demand a bull decretal to null the king's marriage, and a diſpenſation to eſpouſe another wife, without any reſtriction. In ſhort, the envoys had orders to acquaint the pope, that the divorce was not adviſed by the cardinal, and to diſplay the extraordinary merit of the lady the king intended to eſpouſe. This was Ann Bullen, as may eaſily be gueſſed, ſince the king no longer concealed his love for her. It was very proper to tell the pope, that the cardinal was not author of the counſel, which had induced the king to ſue for a divorce, ſince he was required for a judge; and yet the letters he ſent by Gardiner and Fox, and which are in the Hiſtory of the Reformation, clearly ſhew, he was infinitely deſirous the thing ſhould ſucceed. Finally, it appears that the king was ſtill willing to have ſome condeſcenſion for the queen and the emperor, her nephew, ſince he required, that the legate ſhould have powers to declare Mary legitimate. Perhaps too, this was an effect of the love he had for her.

The pope's artful management. Herbert.

When Gardiner and Fox came to Orvieto, Lautrec was marching to Naples; but his progreſs was yet ſo inconſiderable, that it was difficult to judge of the ſucceſs of his undertaking, eſpecially, as the Imperialiſts were now departed from Rome, in order to oppoſe his paſſage; nay, it was likely, there would be a battle, and as the event was doubtful, the pope took care not to incur the emperor's reſentment, in caſe his arms were victorious. So, to gain time, he ſent the king a letter, in cypher, as if he meant to acquaint him with a ſecret, and yet it was not poſſible to diſcover his intention. This letter not being very welcome, the envoys had orders to inſiſt upon their demands, but, at that time, the face of affairs was ſomething changed; for Lautrec had now made conqueſts, in the kingdom of Naples, and the prince of Orange, unable to ſtop his march, was retired to the metropolis, which, probably, was going to be inveſted. It would, therefore, have been ve-

* Lord Herbert gives not this bull as authentick, but as very probable. Rapin.

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1528. ry imprudent to diſoblige Henry, when the king of France, his ally, was upon the point of becoming very powerful, in Italy. So, Clement being greatly embarraſſed, in ſo nice a juncture, had recourſe to his uſual artifices, to try to gain time. He feigned to deſire nothing ſo ardently, as to ſatisfy Henry, tho' he was reſolved, in his own mind, to do nothing effectual in his favour. His view was, to become maſter of the affair of the divorce, and prolong it, till the events of the war ſhould determine him, to content either the emperor or the king. The intereſt of his houſe required, that he ſhould manage the emperor, becauſe it was by his means that he hoped to reſtore the Medici's to Florence; and that of his ſee was no leſs important. Henry demanded, that he ſhould revoke a diſpenſation granted by a pope, his predeceſſor, upon the ſuppoſition, that this pope had not power to grant it, that is, properly ſpeaking, that he ſhould declare the Roman pontifs had, hitherto, aſſumed a prerogative which belonged not to them. This was a very difficult ſtep to be taken, at a time when great part of Germany had thrown off the pope's dominion, and nothing was every where heard, but complaints and murmurs againſt the exorbitant power they had uſurped. So, Clement's real deſign was, to amuſe the king with hopes, he would conſent to his divorce, till it was in his power to oppoſe it with ſafety. There is no occaſion to look for other myſteries in the pope's conduct, as will more plainly appear in the ſequel. As for the arguments and authorities alledged on both ſides, with reſpect to the main point in queſtion, from the holy ſcriptures, the fathers, and the canons, they were only ſo many amuſements, which were extremely ſubſervient to the pope's deſigns, but made little or no impreſſion upon him.

The pope gives Wolſey a new commiſſion. Act. Pub. Burnet. Herbert.

Clement VII, being in this diſpoſition, ſcrupled not, outwardly, to grant the king whatever he required; for on the 13th of April, 1528, he ſigned a bull, appointing cardinal Wolſey, judge of the cauſe, jointly with the archbiſhop of Canterbury, or any other Engliſh prelate he ſhould think fit to chuſe, and gave him as ample powers as the king deſired. But, beſides the above mentioned inconveniencies in the decretal and diſpenſation, the king's council found two in cardinal Wolſey's new commiſſion. The firſt was, that there was no clauſe to hinder the pope, from revoking it. The ſecond, that to appoint for ſole judge of the cauſe, a cardinal devoted to the king, and actually his prime miniſter, would be a manifeſt nullity. Theſe conſiderations obliged the king to deſire the pope, that he would join another legate with cardinal Wolſey, and poſitively promiſe not to revoke the commiſſion. As, when this was demanded, Lautrec was now before Naples, and it was not doubted, he would become maſter of the city, as well as of all the reſt of the kingdom, the pope granted whatever was deſired. He appointed, therefore, by a bull, dated at Orvieto, the 6th of June, Thomas Wolſey, cardinal of York, and Lorenzo Campegio, cardinal biſhop of Salisbury, for his legates a latere, giving them the ſame powers he had granted to Wolſey alone, appointing them his vicegerents in the affair of the divorce, and committing to them his whole authority. He gave, likewiſe, the 13th of July, the promiſe under his hand, deſired by the king. In a word, he delivered to Campegio a decretal, nulling the king's marriage, expreſſed in the very terms, which had as it were been dictated to him. It ſeemed Henry could deſire nothing more; but all the artifices of the court of Rome were not yet known, in England; for the pope only intended to gain time, in order to ſee the iſſue of the Naples expediton. To that end, he always placed ſome interval between his favours to the king; for Wolſey was made ſole judge in the affair of the divorce, the 13th of April; Campegio was, in a conſiſtory, declared his aſſociate, about the end of the ſame month; but the bull was not drawn till the 6th of June; and his promiſe not to revoke the commiſſion, was not ſigned before the 23d of July. In all appearance, the decretal was not drawn, till Auguſt, nor did Campegio begin his journey, till after Lautrec's death, or, perhaps, after the raiſing the ſiege of Naples; that is, when the pope was no longer in dread of France, and it was more neceſſary than ever to manage the emperor. So, it may almoſt be affirmed, that when Campegio departed from Rome, the pope was reſolved not to grant the divorce. However, it was requiſite, he ſhould ſtill ſeem willing to ſatisfy Henry, in order not to be delivered to the emperor's mercy, with whom he was determined to agree, and nothing was more capable to procure him advantageous terms, than his ſeeming union with France and England. This was moſt certainly, the ſecret of the pope's policy, and the real motive of all his artifices in this affair. In purſuance, therefore, of the reſolution he had taken, he gave the following inſtructions to his legate. Firſt, to prolong the affair as much as poſſible. Secondly, not to give ſentence upon the divorce before the reception of his commands, in writing. Thirdly, he expreſly enjoined him not to ſhew the bull to any perſon but the king and cardinal Wolſey, nor to part with it out of his hands, without his order, upon any pretence whatever.

Another commiſſion for Wolſey and Campegio. Act. Pub.

Inſtructions to Campegio.

Campegio departing with theſe inſtructions, arrived not in England, till October, ſix or ſeven months after he was appointed legate. Whilſt he was on the road, the emperor's miniſters, at Rome, raiſed a freſh obſtacle to the divorce, by the pretended diſcovery of a brief of Julius II, confirming the bull of diſpenſation for Henry's marriage with Catharine. But there was this difference between the bull and the brief, that the pope in the bull ſaid, "the "marriage was, perhaps, conſummated;" whereas in the brief the word "perhaps" was omitted. They inferred from thence, that Julius II. was not ſurpriſed, ſince he looked upon Catharine's firſt marriage, as conſummated. But this brief, of which they only gave an authentick copy, without ſhewing the original to the king's

The Imperialiſts produce a forged brief to retard the affair. Herbert.

1528. king's miniſters, was, probably, propoſed ſolely to cauſe time to be loſt in examining it; for, there were two reaſons, among many others, which manifeſtly proved it to be a forgery. The firſt was, that this brief granted, at Catharine's requeſt, ſuppoſed that princeſs's marriage with Arthur, to have been conſummated, and yet ſhe had ſworn the contrary; and upon that, her agents had grounded the validity of Julius's diſpenſation. The ſecond reaſon was ſtill more ſtrong, viz. that the brief was dated the 26th of December, 1503. Now, as in the date of the briefs, the court of Rome begins the year, the 25th of December, being Chriſtmaſs-day, this date anſwered to the 26th of December, 1502, of the common year, that is, 10 months before Julius II. was pope.

Proofs of its being a forgery.

Campegio being arrived in England, began his legateſhip, with gravely exhorting the king to live in good underſtanding with the queen, and deſiſt from a farther proſecution of this matter. This was taken very ill from a legate, who was thought to be ſent into England, to judge the cauſe in favour of the king. After that, he talked the quite contrary to the queen, endeavouring to perſuade her, that ſhe ought to comply with the king's deſire, and even intimated, it would be in vain to oppoſe it. But whether the queen was told beforehand what ſhe was to ſay, or naturally ſpoke her own thoughts, ſhe anſwered, ſhe was the king's wife, and would be ſo, till parted from him by the pope's ſentence. Campegio not being able to prevail with the king or queen, affirmed, he could not proceed without freſh orders, as if his whole commiſſion was only to make theſe exhortations. But it was ſix months before his inſtructions arrived. In the interim, he kept the king in hopes of obtaining his deſires, and even inſinuated, that he was himſelf ſatisfied of the juſtice of his cauſe. To amuſe him the better, he ſhewed him the bull he had brought with him, and gave the cardinal, his collegue, a ſight of it alſo; but when he was preſſed to ſhew it to ſome lords of the conncil, he anſwered, he had very poſitive orders to let no perſon ſee it, but the king and Wolſey. Henry ſurpriſed and angry at ſuch a proceeding, complained of it to the pope, who, inſtead of blaming his legate, replied, he had done very well to follow his orders; that the decretal was granted on condition, it was ſhewn to none but the king and cardinal Wolſey, and on purpoſe to prevent Wolſey's ruin, which otherwiſe, he was told, would be infallible; that in fine, the bull was not to be publiſhed, unleſs the legates gave ſentence for the king.

Campegio exhorts Henry to keep Catharine, Burnet.

and Catharine to deſiſt from her marriage. Herbert.

Whilſt Campegio amuſed Henry, in England, the pope was taking meaſures to conclude his treaty with the emperor, and ſeeking pretences to leave the kings of France and England, whom he no longer feared, ſince the Naples expedition had miſcarried; for he complained, that theſe two monarchs had diſappointed him, in not cauſing Ravenna and Cervia to be reſtored to him according to their promiſe; thereby inſinuating, that it was not to be thought ſtrange, he made no haſte to ſatisfy Henry, ſince that prince had neglected to do him juſtice, by the Venetians. He would feign have had it believed, that the affair of the divorce was retarded ſolely on that account, and was very deſirous to have theſe two places, in his power, before he concluded with the emperor; but, what caution ſoever he uſed, his negotiation in Spain, could not be ſo private, but Francis and Henry had ſome intelligence of it. They complained to him by their ambaſſadors, but he conſtantly denied he intended to depart from his neutrality. In the interim, under colour of removing theſe groundleſs ſuſpicions, he diſpatched into England, one Campana, to give the king freſh aſſurances of hisgood intentions, but withal, ſent by him expreſs orders to cardinal Campegio, to burn the bull decretal, and defer the ſentence of the divorce as long as poſſible. Campegio, immediately, obeyed the firſt of theſe orders, and as for the ſecond, never ceaſed finding freſh pretences to retard the proceedings.

The pope reſolves to agree with the emperor. Guicciard.

At laſt, Henry tired to ſee ſo many affected delays, and perceiving they came from the pope, ſent, about the end of the year, Sir Francis Brian and Peter Vannes, to Rome, to diſcover the true cauſe. They had likewiſe ſeveral other commiſſions, firſt, to ſearch the pope's records for the pretended brief of Julius II. Secondly, to propoſe, as of themſelves, ſeveral expedients, ſpeedily, to end the affair of the divorce, and to conſult, under feigned names, the canoniſts of Rome, whether they were practicable. Thirdly, in caſe they ſaw the pope over-awed by the emperor's menaces, they had orders to offer him a guard of 2000 men. Laſtly, if this had no effect, they were to balance the emperor's threats, with others from the king. They found the pope in a real or pretended fright, at the emperor's miniſters menaces to have him depoſed for a baſtard. His reply, therefore, to the offer of the 2000 men for a guard, was, that it would not be capable of ſecuring him, but rather render him more ſuſpected. He took care not to put himſelf in the king's power, when he was thinking to break entirely with him. The two envoys ſeeing, the pope leaned to the emperor's ſide, plainly told him, at laſt, "That if he "continued to deny the king, their maſter, the "ſatisfaction he demanded, he might be aſſured England would be loſt to him. That the "Engliſh were already but too much diſpoſed "to withdraw their obedience from the holy "ſee, and upon the leaſt encouragement from "the king, would openly publiſh what they "yet kept concealed, in their hearts; that the "king, their maſter, and the king of France, "were powerful and very ſtrictly united, and, "therefore, the pope would run a great riſque, "if he ſhould cauſeleſly make theſe two monarchs his enemies; that tho' the Naples expedition had miſcarried, he could not be ſure "it would be the ſame with thoſe that ſhould "be hereafter undertaken; nay, it was eaſy to "ſee, by the dangerous ſtate of the emperor's "affairs, what might happen another time. "That, if out of exceſſive condeſcenſion for

Vannes and Brian ſent to Rome.

1528. "the emperor, he dealt ſo unjuſtly by the "king of England, as to refuſe him what even "equity and the law of God required, he "muſt likewiſe expect no favour or regard, "when affairs ſhould be altered; that he "ought to conſider, the king of England had "engaged in this war to free him from capti-"vity, and if, inſtead of making a greatful "return, he ſhould join with his enemy, all "Chriſtians would abhor his ingratitude." All this was not capable to divert the pope from his deſign, and yet he would be thought unreſolved; for he anſwered, with a ſigh, that he was between the hammer and the anvil, and, which way ſoever he turned, ſaw nothing before him but dangers; and, therefore, he placed all his hopes in the protection of God, who would not forſake his church; that, as to the reſt, he had done for the king of England more than could be reaſonably expected, in committing the tryal of his cauſe to two legates, who were both devoted to him; that not content with this, he ſtill preſſed him to do more, and to diſregard the cuſtomary rules of the church on the like occaſions, and publickly ſacrifice to him, the emperor, the archduke, his brother, queen Catharine, the honour, dignity, and intereſt of the holy ſee; that this was asking too much, and the king ſhould, at leaſt, ſuffer the affair to be decided by the legates, appointed for that purpoſe; that it was not his fault, if matters were delayed, and in caſe it was owing to Campegio's negligence, he had acted contrary to his orders. This reply, was a plain indication of the pope's thoughts. Accordingly, the envoys told the king, nothing was to be expected from the pope, and that the only way was to cauſe the legates to give a ſpeedy ſentence. The truth is, the pope was now reſolved to agree with the emperor; and if he ſhewed any farther regard for Henry, it was only to avoid an open rupture with him, for fear the emperor ſhould take advantage of it, in the treaty they were concluding.

Expedients propoſed by the king. Burnet.

The expedients Brian and Vannes were commiſſioned to propoſe, were, 1. Whether, if the queen vowed religion, the king ſhould have liberty to marry again? 2. Or, if the king ſhould vow religion as well as the queen, whether the pope would diſpence with his vow, and allow him to take another wife, whilſt the queen was alive? 3. Or, whether the pope would grant him a diſpenſation to have two wives? But it does not appear how theſe points were decided. As for the brief produced by the imperial miniſters, there was not the leaſt trace of any ſuch thing among the pope's records, of which the Engliſh envoys had good certificates. In this manner paſſed the whole year 1528, at the cloſe whereof, the king found himſelf no more advanced than at the beginning, except, that he had ſtill ſome hope from Campegio, who all along, pretended to be entirely in his intereſt. It may be affirmed, that Francis, in neglecting to aſſiſt Lautrec, was the cauſe of the turn which the affair of the divorce took, ſince he thereby gave occaſion to the pope, to join with the emperor.

Whilſt the king was thinking of his divorce, cardinal Wolſey was very diligently employed in founding his colleges. As the pope made the king very uneaſy by his delays, he endeavoured to gratify him otherwiſe, in granting his favourite, whatever he deſired for his foundations. Among the Publick Acts of the year 1528, there are 10 or 12 bulls, as well for the ſuppreſſion of ſeveral ſmall monaſteries, as for other things concerning the two colleges, the endowment whereof the cardinal ſo paſſionately deſired. Wherefore, knowing how fair an opportunity preſented to obtain private favours from the pope, he forgot not to improve it. Had he ſtayed a year longer, he would have run great riſque of leaving the work unfiniſhed. 1528.

Several monaſteries ſuppreſſed for Wolſey's colleges. Act. Pub.

I have for ſome time been ſilent concerning the affairs of Sotland, becauſe there has been no occaſion to ſpeak of them; but as their ſituation was changed during the courſe of this year, it is neceſſary, briefly, to relate what had paſſed in that country. The earl of Angus, George Douglaſs, his brother, and their uncle Archibald, had ſtill the king's perſon in their power, and governed in his name. Queen Margaret, however, who had cauſed her marriage with the earl of Angus to be annulled, and was married again to Henry Stewart, had ſtill a powerful party in Scotland; but as her party could not act openly, without being liable to be deemed rebels, ſince the king was in the hands of the Douglaſſes, the queen made uſe of another expedient to accompliſh her deſigns. She perſuaded the king, her ſon, by ſome perſons about him, to make his eſcape, and retire to Sterling. The contrivance ſucceeded according to her wiſh; for James took his opportunity, and eſcaping from the earl of Angus, withdrew to Sterling, where it was publiſhed that the Douglaſſes ſhould be no longer acknowledged for regents, and withal, were forbidden the court. This order was notified to the earl of Angus, whilſt he was marching to recover the king's perſon. As he had but few troops, and was unable to enter Sterling by force, where ſeveral great men were come to the king's relief, he obeyed, and retired.

The affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

Soon after, the king called a parliament, at Edinburgh, the 3d of September, and came himſelf to hold it. The Douglaſſes, perceiving what was preparing againſt them, attempted to ſurpriſe Edinburgh, and become maſters of the king's perſon, with deſign to diſſolve the parliament; but being repulſed, they were forced to retire. Whereupon the parliament confiſcated their eſtates to the king; but they continued in arms, and made incurſions, even to the gates of Edinburgh.

A truce for five years between England and Scotland. Act. Pub.

Henry being informed of what paſſed in Scotland, and fearing the young king might ſuffer himſelf to be prejudiced againſt him, thought it adviſeable to ſend ambaſſadors to make peace, ſince a war with Scotland could not but be very inconvenient, in his preſent circumſtances. But it was not poſſible to ſucceed; for a truce only for five years, was concluded at Berwick, and ſigned the 14th of December. It was agreed, by a ſeparate article, that the Douglaſſes might take refuge, in England,

1528. on condition they delivered to their ſovereign, the places they held in Scotland, and, in caſe they entered the kingdom, and committed any diſorders, Henry ſhould be reſponſible, as if done by his own ſubjects.

1529. How the pope and Francis ſtood affected to the emperor. Guicciard.

Since the pope had detemined to agree with the emperor, his feeding the allies with hopes, was only to obtain the better terms from that monarch. On the other hand, Francis ſuſpecting the pope's intentions, perceived, likewiſe, that a peace only would procure him his ſons, and, therefore, continued a ſecret negotiation with the emperor; but at the ſame time, he made great promiſes to the Venetians, Florentines, duke of Milan, and the pope himſelf, to let the emperor ſee, in caſe he did not make haſte and conclude, it would, perhaps, be too late when he deſired it. About the ſame time, the emperor had certain advice, that the Turks were making great preparations to invade Hungary, and penetrate even into Germany. So, finding that a diverſion in Italy might greatly embarraſs him, at ſuch a juncture, he was the more inclined to peace. Theſe diſpoſitions in the principal parties, could not in the end but produce the peace, which was univerſally expected with impatience. In the interim, the war was continued, tho' faintly, in the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan, where the French and Venetians had kept ſome places; but it was eaſy to ſee that nothing deciſive would happen.

In the interim, the pope was wholly intent upon his own private affairs; for his view was not only to be reſtored to Florence, but alſo to become maſter of Peruſa and Ferrara, and recover Ravenna and Cervia, taken by the Venetians, during his captivity. Under pretence of uſing his intereſt, to procure a general peace, he had ſent a nuncio to Spain, to conclude a private treaty with the emperor. During the negotiation, the affair of the divorce was at a ſtand; for Clement VII, was fully reſolved to ſatisfy the emperor, and by that Henry daily loſt the hopes of ſucceeding in his purſuit. In the interim, a violent diſtemper, which ſeiſed the pope, in the beginning of the year 1529, had like to have very much changed the face of affairs. Cardinal Wolſey having notice of the pope's dangerous illneſs, had ſent an expreſs to Gardiner, to conjure him to neglect nothing that he thought capable of procuring him the papacy. Henry himſelf had wrote to ſeveral cardinals, in his behalf, and the king of France, who was not yet ſecure of a peace, had given him all thoſe of his faction. It is pretended, Wolſey would have been ſure of more than a third of the votes, in caſe the pope had died. Indeed, that was not ſufficient to make him pope; but it was enough to hinder any other from being ſo. This affair was even carried ſo far, that the king had ordered his ambaſſadors, at Rome, that if, notwithſtanding the cardinals of Wolſey's faction, another perſon ſhould be deſigned, they ſhould ſo manage, that theſe cardinals ſhould proteſt againſt the proceedings in the conclave, and then withdrawing to ſome ſecure place, ſhould themſelves come to a new election. 1529. I do not know, whether it would have been eaſy for the ambaſſadors to obtain ſo abſolute a reſignation, to the king's pleaſure. However, it is not ſtrange, that Henry ſhould be ſo very deſirous of procuring the papacy for his miniſter and favourite; but it is ſurpriſing, that a prince who was called Protector of the Church, and Defender of the Faith, ſhould not ſcruple, purpoſely, to endeavour to form a ſchiſm in the church, to gratify his paſſion. As for cardinal Wolſey, nothing in his conduct ought to be thought ſtrange; ſince it is certain, he was ready to ſacrifice every thing to his ambition. The pope's recovery put an end to all theſe cabals, which, however, could not be ſo private, but they came to his knowledge. This made him conſider Wolſey, as a dangerous rival, and capable of ſupplanting him, if an opportunity offered, by uſing for pretence, the defect in his birth.

The pope falls ill. Herbert.

The pope's management to put off the affair of the divorce. Burnet.

When Clement VII, was fully recovered, the proceedings for the divorce, continued upon the ſame foot as before. The pope gave hopes, the affairs ſhould be decided in England, for the king, by a ſentence of the legates, which he would himſelf confirm, to make it more authentick. His view was to gain time, and prevent the appearance of any miſunderſtanding between him and the court of England, before he had concluded his treaty with the emperor, becauſe it was a means to obtain better terms. To this end, and to hinder Henry from being impatient, he had put into Gardiner's hands, a brief, promiſing not to revoke the powers given the legates; but, beſides that the brief was expreſſed in ambiguous terms, he knew ſentence would not be paſſed without his poſitive orders. This management, which the pope continued with many artifices, afforded the king ſome hopes of gaining him to his intereſt. To ſucceed the better, he prevailed with the king of France, to ſend to the pope the biſhop of Bayonne, with orders, earneſtly, to ſollicit the deciſion of the affair. He could have wiſhed, that the pope of his own accord would have granted a bull to annul his marriage, and diſpenſe with his taking another wife, or, at leaſt, have given the legates ſuch a commiſſion, as it ſhould not be in their choice to judge otherwiſe, than in his favour. The pope, pleaſed at his being ſo intent upon his own projects, ſtill fed him with hopes of ſucceſs; but withal, he expreſſed great fear of what the emperor might do againſt him, and uſed that pretence to delay the favour, he ſeemed too intent to grant; in every thing elſe, he was always ready to content the king; for the biſhoprick of Wincheſter being vacant, by the death of Richard Fox, and Henry deſiring him to beſtow it on Wolſey, the bulls for that purpoſe were, immediately, diſpatched. It is true, they were rated at 15000 ducats; but Wolſey would give but 6000, alledging, he did not want them, ſince the king had already granted him the temporalities of the biſhoprick. This ſhews, in what ſpirit, he, thus, heaped upon him the church preferments. But herein, is

nothing

1529. nothing ſurpriſing, ſince the pope himſelf made no ſcruple to own, in his bull, that he conferred this biſhoprick on the cardinal, to help him to bear the expence, to which he was obliged, by his rank.

The pope's pretence to delay the divorce. Burnet.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, the emperor, haſtened, as much as poſſible, the concluſion of his treaty, with the pope, being reſolved to grant whatever he required, rather than give him occaſion to join with his enemies. Before the pope was aſſured of this agreement, policy required, he ſhould keep the emperor in fear, that the affair of the divorce would be determined to Henry's ſatisfaction; and, conſequently, it was his intereſt that the affair ſhould remain undecided, to let the emperor ſee, it depended on the ſucceſs of the negotiation, at Barcelona; but when he had juſt brought him to his own terms, he began inſenſibly to ſeek pretences to break his engagements with Henry. So, the reſtitution of Ravenna and Cervia was again moved, the pope feigned to believe, that if Henry had deſired it, he ſhould have had theſe two cities before now, and from thence took occaſion to be diſpleaſed. On the other hand, the emperor knowing the pope's intention, proteſted, in queen Catharine's name, againſt whatever ſhould be done in England, in the affair of the divorce, declaring, that ſhe excepted againſt the two legates, as one was notoriouſly devoted to the king, and the other, biſhop of Salisbury. The king's miniſters uſed their utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the pope to reject the proteſtation; but he anſwered, he could not, without ſhewing himſelf too partial to the king, ſince a proteſtation was no prejudice to the cauſe itſelf; that it would be a very ſtrange thing to refuſe a queen, the right of proteſting, which the meaneſt perſon could claim. All this added to many other circumſtances, and to certain advices, that the pope was treating with the emperor, took from the Engliſh miniſters, all hopes of prevailing with him; wherefore, they wrote to the king, that they were only amuſed, and if the proceſs was not ſpeedily decided in England, there was danger of its being brought to Rome. Whereupon, the king reſolved to proceed before the legates, and not ſuffer himſelf to be any longer amuſed by deceitful promiſes. In the interim, when the inſtrument whereby the pope had promiſed not to revoke the legates commiſſion, came to be examined, it was found to be worded in general or ambiguous terms, which left him at liberty to do what he pleaſed. So, to know whether he had acted with ſincerity when he ſigned that inſtrument, Gardiner was ordered to repreſent to him, that the paper, on which it was written, being wet by the careleſſneſs of the courier, and the words almoſt quite defaced, the king deſired he would ſign another; but Clement found ſome artifice to be excuſed. Wherefore, Henry, being ſatisfied there was nothing to be expected from the court of Rome, where the emperor's intereſt was too great, recalled Gardiner and Brian, and ſent Bennet to Rome, only to hinder, as much as lay in his power, the avocation of his cauſe. Bennet carried a letter from the two legates, directed to the pope and cardinals, wherein they ſaid, that the principal point in the cauſe they were to judge, conſiſted in knowing whether Julius's II. could grant a diſpenſation, or exceeded his power; that, ſince the ſole point was to decide concerning their authority of the head of the church, they conceived it to be beyond their commiſſion, and, therefore, were of opinion, the pope would do well to avocate the cauſe; that they doubted not, the king would conſent to it, provided he had ſome aſſurance it ſhould be decided, in his favour. It is hard to conceive what could induce cardinal Wolſey to ſign ſuch a letter, ſo directly contrary to the king's intereſt; for, tho' the legates ſeemed to ſuppoſe his conſent, it was evident, the reaſon of the avocation ſubſiſted, whether the king conſented or not; and, conſequently, they afforded the pope a plauſible pretence to avocate the cauſe, which the king dreaded of all things. Was Wolſey deceived by Campegio, or did he ſacrifice his maſter's intereſt? It is difficult to believe either; and yet hiſtorians affirm, that one of the principal cauſes of his diſgrace, was a letter he had wrote to the pope, which came to the king's knowledge by Bennet's means, and it might very well be this. Indeed, he was inexcuſable, if he ſigned it without the king's approbation; and on the other hand, it cannot be conceived that the king ſhould be ſo blind, as not to ſee the conſequence of ſuch advice. 1529.

The legates ſit to hear the cauſe. Hall.

Tho' Campegio came to England, in October, laſt year, it was now the end of May, and nothing done towards the tryal of the cauſe, which brought him thither. The king, having ſuffered himſelf to be amuſed, by the pope, whoſe intereſt it was to gain time, had been ever in hopes of obtaining a bull to null the marriage, without being obliged to go thro' the uſual forms of a proceſs; but, at length, his agents convincing him, that his expectations were in vain, he reſolved to proceed before the legates. To this end, on the 31ſt of May, he granted them a licenſe, to execute the pope's commiſſion. They met the ſame day, and appointed aſſiſtants to examine the papers and evidences. From the very firſt ſeſſion, it appeared, that Campegio intended to prolong the proceſs, ſince after the commiſſion was read, he ordered the king and queen to be cited to appear the 18th of June. This was too long a term, if there had been any deſign to diſpatch the affair, eſpecially as the parties were in London itſelf, or in one of their palaces near the city. Tho' Wolſey was the ſenior cardinal, he let Campegio preſide, to ſhew he intended to act without partiality; ſo, from the firſt day to the laſt, Campegio did all, without Wolſey's ever appearing to oppoſe the affected delays of his collegue, between the ſeſſions. I ſhall not enter any farther into the particulars of this famous proceſs, which may be ſeen at large, in the excellent Hiſtory of the Reformation of England, known to all the world, but content myſelf with relating, in general, the moſt remarkable circumſtances.

Henry reſolves to try his cauſe before the legates.

In

1529. In the ſecond ſeſſion, the queen's proctors excepted againſt the two legates; but the exception not being deemed valid, ſhe had a farther day given her, to the 21ſt. On that day, the king and queen appeared in perſon; but the queen, without ſaying any thing to the legates, went and kneeled down before the king, and made a very moving ſpeech, concluding, with imploring his juſtice and pity, after which, ſhe withdrew, and would never more appear, nor ſuffer any perſon to defend her cauſe*. As ſoon as ſhe was retired, the king declared, he was very well pleaſed with the queen, and in ſuing to be divorced from her, acted ſolely from a motive of religion and conſcience; adding, that his ſcruples concerning his marriage, ſprung from thoſe of the biſhop of Tarbe, and were confirmed by the opinion of all the biſhops of England. The archbiſhop of Canterbury confirmed what the king ſaid, concerning the biſhops; but Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, denied, he ever ſet his hand to the writing, which was preſented to the king. In the interim, the queen was cited again for the 25th of June, but inſtead of appearing, ſhe ſent in her appeal to the pope, in form, from whatever had been or ſhould be done hereafter; nevertheleſs, ſhe was declared contumacious. The ſame day, the proceſs was reduced to twelve articles, upon which witneſſes were to be examined. The principal article was, prince Arthur's conſummation of his marriage with Catharine, which the queen had denied with an oath, and which, notwithſtanding, was proved by the teſtimony of ſeveral perſons, as far as a thing of that nature can be. Theſe proofs conſiſted in the age, health, and vigorous conſtitution of the prince, and in his diſcourſes next morning, after the nuptials; ſo that Arthur, or Catharine, muſt not have ſpoken the truth, the one out of vanity, or the other out of intereſt †.

The pope receives news of the concluſion of his treaty with the emperor. Herbert.

Whilſt the tryal was proſecuting in England, the emperor's miniſters were earneſtly preſſing the pope to avocate the cauſe to Rome, and Henry's as vehemently ſolliciting the contrary. What is more, both ſides threatened to depoſe him, on account of his being a baſtard. The pope feigned to be terrified by theſe threats, and this ſeeming fear to declare for either, afforded him a pretence to remain undetermined, till he received advice of the concluſion of his treaty, with the emperor. At length, the agreeable news being come, he reſolved to avocate the cauſe, before the publication of the treaty, leſt it ſhould be thought to be one of the ſecret articles. Weak precaution, to efface or prevent ſuch a ſuſpicion. 1529.

Conditions of the treaty. Guicciard.

The ſubſtance of this treaty, which was ſigned at Barcelona, the 29th of June, was, that the emperor ſhould reſtore the family of the Medici to Florence, on the ſame foot as formerly; that he ſhould cauſe Ravenna and Cervia to be delivered to the pope; that he ſhould put him in poſſeſſion of Modena and Reggio, ſaving the rights of the empire; that he ſhould aid him to become maſter of Ferrara; that Franceſco Sforza ſhould be reſtored to Milan, if innocent, but if guilty, the emperor ſhould not diſpoſe of the duchy to any prince the pope ſhould diſlike; that the pope and emperor ſhould employ their temporal and ſpiritual arms againſt the hereticks of Germany; that Alexander de Medici ſhould eſpouſe Margaret, the emperor's natural daughter; that the pope ſhould grant the emperor a fourth of the eccleſiaſtical revenues in his dominions, to wage war with the Turks; that he ſhould abſolve all that were any way concerned in the taking and ſacking of Rome. What greater advantages could the pope have expected, ſuppoſing he had been victorious in the late war? But the emperor believed he could not purchaſe the pope's friendſhip too dear, who might ſtill have greatly embarraſſed him, if he had joined with France, England, and the republick of Venice.

The pope avocates the cauſe to Rome.

The pope having concluded his treaty with the emperor, told the Engliſh ambaſſadors himſelf, on the 9th of July, his reſolution to avocate the canſe to Rome. They uſed all poſſible endeavours to diſſuade him from it, repreſenting to him, that the holy ſee was going irrecoverably to loſe England. But it was all to no purpoſe; for, by his late treaty, with the emperor, the family of the Medici was to be reſtored to the government of Florence; which alone was ſufficient to outweigh, in his mind, all the dangers, to which he expoſed the holy ſee; ſo great was his affection for a family, from whence he was deſcended, tho' not born in wedlock. So, the 15th of July, he ſigned the bull of avocation; and the next day, he notified it to Caſſali, the king's ambaſſador, in ordinary, and to Bennet, who had been ſent to him laſt. He alledged, in excuſe of the avocation, ſeveral reaſons which might have been of ſome weight, in the beginning of the proceſs, on ſuppoſition he had been entirely impartial, but which had loſt all their force, after all his pro-

* When the king and queen were called on, the king anſwered, here; but the queen riſing from her ſeat, kneeled down and ſaid to the king, "She was a poor woman, and a ſtranger in his dominions, where ſhe could "expect neither good counſel, nor indifferent judges; ſhe had long been his wife, and deſired to know wherein "ſhe had offended him; ſhe had been his wife 20 years and more, and had born him ſeveral children, and "ever ſtudied to pleaſe him, and proteſted he had found her a true maid, about which ſhe appealed to his own con-"ſcience. If ſhe had done any thing amiſs, ſhe was willing to be put away with ſhame. Their parents were "eſteemed very wiſe princes, and no doubt had good counſellors, and learned men about them, when the match "was agreed; therefore, ſhe would not ſubmit to the court, nor durſt her lawyers, who were his ſubjects, and "aſſigned by him, ſpeak freely for her. So ſhe deſired to be excuſed till ſhe heard from Spain." That ſaid, ſhe roſe up, and making the king a low reverence, went out of court. Her council were the biſhops of Rocheſter and St. Aſaph, and Dr. Ridley. Burnet.

† Particularly Robert, viſcount Fitz-Walter, Thomas, duke of Norfolk, and Sir Anthony Willoughby, depoſed, that they heard prince Arthur ſay, publickly, "I have been, this night, in the midſt of Spain." Herbert.

ceedings,

1529. ceedings, and the concluſion of his treaty with the emperor. Three days after, he diſpatched a meſſenger with the bull of avocation into England, where proceedings were very dilatory, by the artifices of cardinal Campegio, who preſided in the affair.

The queen, who was cited for the 25th of June, not appearing that day, ſhe had farther time given her, to the 28th, and was ſummoned again to appear, by the biſhop of Bath and Wells, tho' in vain. On the 28th, ſome depoſitions were read, after which the ſeſſion was adjourned to the 5th of July, when, by reaſon of certain holidays kept at Rome, the ſeſſion was deferred till the 12th. The court met again on the 12th, the 14th, the 17th, the 21ſt, and the 23d; and, as there was nothing more to do but to pronounce the ſentence, every one thought all would be ended this laſt ſeſſion; but people were ſtrangely ſurpriſed, when cardinal Campegio was heard to adjourn the court to the 1ſt of October. He alledged for reaſon, that it was the time of the great vacation at Rome, and he was, indiſpenſably, obliged to comply with that cuſtom.

Continuation of the proceſs. Burnet.

Thus, did that legate, who was in the pope's ſecrets, amuſe the king, in the ſame manner as the pope had amuſed him at Rome, near two years, ever ſince the affair was begun. Henry was as much enraged as ſurpriſed, at the proceedings of the legates, but diſſembled both his ſurpriſe and reſentment. Soon after, he plainly perceived to what all theſe affected delays tended, when he came to know, that notwithſtanding his engagement, the pope had avocated the cauſe. The bull of avocation being arrived, he would not ſuffer it to be notified to him, but intimated to the legates, that he was content they ſhould obey the pope's orders. It was not without reaſon, that he would not have the bull notified to him; for he was cited therein, to appear at Rome, within 40 days, which he could not have done, without acting contrary to the laws of the land, which prohibited to obey ſuch citations, and carry cauſes to a foreign court. Upon this foundation, it was, that he had always inſiſted, that the proceſs ſhould be determined in the kingdom; beſides that, cenſures were denounced againſt him in the bull, as againſt a private perſon, if he obeyed not the citation. Some time after, the pope made him a ſort of reparation, in revoking theſe cenſures by a brief, where he proteſted, they were inſerted contrary to his intention; but as to the citation itſelf, he only prolonged the day to Chriſtmaſs.

Remarks on cardinal Wolſey's behaviour. Herbert.

The figure cardinal Wolſey made, during the pretended judgment of the proceſs, was very extraordinary. Of all mankind he was the proudeſt and moſt haughty; he was ſenior cardinal to his collegue, and yet gave place to him in every thing, and ſuffered him to act as he pleaſed, without ever oppoſing his opinion. If the affair had ſucceeded according to the king's deſire, his conduct would, doubtleſs, have been praiſed; but, as every thing turned againſt the king, it was not poſſible for the cardinal to avoid the ſuſpicion of betraying his maſter's intereſts, or, at leaſt, of ſerving him very ill. Henry himſelf thought ſo, tho' he did not preſently ſhew it. On the other hand, Ann Bullen, who had ever believed the cardinal in her intereſt, was extremely ſurpriſed, when ſhe was informed of what had paſſed. The king had removed her from court, whilſt the legates were employed in the judgment of the proceſs, but ſhe was ſent for the moment the bull of avocation was arrived. It is pretended, ſhe did not a little contribute to confirm the king's ſuſpicions of the cardinal; for ſhe was perſuaded, if Wolſey had pleaſed, the affair would have taken another turn, but that he had altered his reſolution. Whether her opinion was well grounded, or the vexation to ſee herſelf ſtill ſo remote from her hopes, exaſperated her againſt the cardinal, ſhe looked upon him as an enemy deſerving her whole vengeance; ſo, finding the king diſpoſed to give ear to whatever was ſaid againſt his miniſter, ſhe neglected nothing that could help to ruin him; and, in this, ſhe was aſſiſted by ſeveral perſons of the higheſt rank, who had no reaſon to love that proud prelate.

1529.

The king is extremely uneaſy. Burnet.

It is eaſy to gueſs Henry's concern, to ſee himſelf, on a ſudden, ſo remote from his views. The pope had joined in league with the emperor, which was properly his party; Francis I, from whom he had expected a powerful aid, in caſe of need, had juſt concluded, at Cambray, a treaty with the emperor, whereby he engaged not to aſſiſt that prince's enemies; and, in a word, queen Catharine remained obſtinate, not to accept any expedient that might debar her from being his wife. On the other hand, Henry's love for Ann Bullen, which he had pleaſed himſelf with the hopes of gratifying, by a lawful marriage, helped not a little to increaſe his concern. He did not know which way to get rid of the queen, who by her obſtinacy, had very much leſſened that eſteem and affection he had always had for. With a mind full of theſe troubleſome thoughts, and uncertain what to determine, he reſolved to take a progreſs into ſome of his counties, to try to diſpel his melancholy.

Dr. Cranmer opens him a way to get over his troubles. Burnet.

During his journey, he lodged one night at Waltham, where Edward Fox and ſecretary Gardiner happened to lie at a gentleman's houſe, who had two ſons comitted to Thomas Cranmer's care. Cranmer was a doctor in divinity, who, having been profeſſor at Cambridge, had loſt his place upon being married. He had travelled into Germany, where he had read Luther's works, and embraced his doctrine, but with more moderation than was uſually ſeen, in the firſt diſciples of that reformer. Whilſt they were at ſupper, Cranmer being at table, with Fox and Gardiner, the converſation ran upon the affair of the divorce, and as the maſter of the houſe had informed the two courtiers of Cranmer's merit and capacity, they deſired him to give his opinion upon that ſubject. Cranmer, at firſt, modeſtly declined it, but they preſſed

1529. him ſo much, that he could not excuſe himſelf. So, after ſtating the queſtion, he ſaid, he ſaw no better way to extricate the king out of his difficulties, than to procure, in writing, the opinions of all the univerſities in Europe, and of the moſt eminent divines and civilians. That one of theſe two things would follow, either the univerſities and the learned would judge Julius II's diſpenſation ſufficient, or deem it invalid. That, in the firſt caſe, the king's conſcience would have reaſon to be eaſy, and in the ſecond, the pope would never venture to paſs ſentence, contrary to the opinion of all the learned and able men, in Chriſtendom. Fox and Gardiner reliſhing this advice, imparted it to the king, who, immediately, taking the author's meaning, cried out, in a tranſport of joy, "That he had got "the right ſow by the ear," an expreſſion, which in its coarſeneſs, ſhewed how much the king was pleaſed with the expedient. At the ſame time he ſent for Cranmer, who explaining more at large, what he had but juſt hinted at table, ſo gained his eſteem, that from that moment he was ordered to follow the court. This is the ſame doctor who will quickly be ſeen to make a conſiderable figure, in England, and lay the firſt foundations of the reformation in that kingdom.

Campegio returns to Rome. Herbert.

The king being returned from his progreſs, cardinal Campegio, whoſe commiſſion was revoked, took his audience of leave, as having no farther buſineſs, in England. Henry had ſo much command of himſelf, as to take no notice of his proceedings, and looked pleaſantly upon him; but juſt as the cardinal was going to embarque, the cuſtom-houſe officers ſearched all his baggage, under colour of looking for contraband goods. Probably, the king hoped to find the decretal bull, which he had ſeen in his hands, not knowing it was burnt. Campegio loudly complained of this inſult, and wrote to the king to demand ſatisfaction, as for an affront done to the legate of the holy ſee. Henry coldly replied, that his cuſtomers had done their duty, in executing orders long ſince eſtabliſhed, with regard to perſons going out of the kingdom; that he was ſurpriſed he ſhould talk of his being legate, when recalled, and much more, that being biſhop of Salisbury, he ſhould be ſo ignorant of the laws of the land, as to dare to aſſume that title, without his licenſe. Campegio perceiving by this anſwer, that the king intended not to give him ſatisfaction, thought himſelf very happy in being ſuffered to depart.

Cardinal Wolſey's fall. Burnet.

The cardinal had good reaſon to wiſh himſelf out of the kingdom; for, with what moderation ſoever the king behaved to him, he could not be ignorant, how angry he was, after ſeeing, ſome days before his departure, the courſe that was taking with his collegue, cardinal Wolſey. The 9th of October, the attorney general had preferred a bill of indictment againſt Wolſey, as guilty of breaking the ſtatute of Præmunire. The 17th of the ſame month, the king ſent and demanded the great ſeal, tho' it was given him for life; for which reaſon, the cardinal made ſome ſcruple to deliver it, but he obeyed a ſecond command, and in a few days the king gave the great ſeal to Sir Thomas More, a perſon univerſally eſteemed for his great integrity. The cardinal had no ſooner delivered the great ſeal, but the attorney general preferred other articles of impeachment againſt him. The king having given him leave to appoint attornies, to anſwer for him, he choſe two, who appeared for him, and proteſted in his name, that he did not know the obtaining of the bulls whereof he was accuſed, was contrary to the laws of the land, and prejudicial to the prerogative royal. As for the particulars wherewith he was charged, they ſaid, he confeſſed them, and caſt himſelf entirely upon the king's mercy. He was accuſed twice, as I ſaid, viz. on the 9th and 18th of October, and both times found guilty, and declared to be out of the protection of the laws. Probably, he was indicted firſt, for obtaining ſeveral bulls without the king's expreſs licenſe, and the ſecond time, for exerciſing, in England, the office of legate a latere, without the king's letters patent to that end, contrary to the intent of the law. 1529.

Inventory of the cardinal's goods. Hollingſh.

As ſoon as the cardinal was out-lawed, the king commanded him to leave York-Place, and retire to a country houſe, belonging to him as biſhop of Wincheſter. Then he ordered an inventory of all his goods to be taken, which contained immenſe riches *, acquired by many acts of injuſtice. It is ſaid, that of fine holland alone, there was found in his houſe, 1000 pieces. One may judge of the reſt by this pattern. Some time after, he cauſed a very humble petition to be preſented to the king, praying a protection for his perſon, without which, he ſaid, he was expoſed to the inſults of the meaneſt enemy that would abuſe him. The king granted it, November the 17th, with a power to anſwer for himſelf, in all actions, that ſhould be entered againſt him, for the future; moreover, he left him the archbiſhoprick of York, and the ſee of Wincheſter. It is difficult to account for the king's behaviour, with reſpect to the cardinal, ſince, at the very time he ſeemed moſt incenſed againſt him, he ſent him a certain ring, which was a token betwixt them, of the continuance of his affection. The cardinal, who was then on the road to his country houſe, near Wincheſter, was ſo tranſported with joy, at the ſight of the ring, that he alighted from his horſe, and fell upon his knees, in the dirt, to receive it. But his hopes were not long-lived; for his enemies, who had the king's ear, took ſo much pains to exaſperate him againſt him, that, at laſt, his affair was brought before the parliament.

Difference between the articles of the houſe, and the attorney general's indictment Hall.

Lord Herbert has inſerted, in his Hiſtory, the 44 articles of impeachment, preſented to the king, againſt the cardinal, by the houſe of lords, which differ much from thoſe preferred by Hales, the attorney general, either in the ſtar-chamber, or elſewhere. Hales had accuſed

* They were valued at 500,000 crowns. Burnet.

1529. accuſed him of breaking the ſtatute of Præmunire, and exerciſing the office of legate a latere, without the king's licenſe. Therein, he proceeded according to the tenor of the ſtatute of Præmunire, which ran, that no perſon ſhould be exempt from the penalty, but thoſe to whom the king ſhould be pleaſed to grant his letters patent. Now, as the cardinal had not taken care to have a licenſe in form, he was liable to the penalty, purſuant to the rigour of the law; but in the articles of the houſe of lords, there was no ſuch thing. And indeed, it would have been contrary to equity, to accuſe the cardinal of exerciſing the authority of legate, without the king's permiſſion, ſince the king was known to conſent to it, tho' not in the manner preſcribed by the law. The attorney general did well, to keep to the letter of the law, according to the duty of his office; but it would have been wrong in the houſe of peers, to take advantage of the want of a formality, to deſtroy one of their body; ſo, the articles exhibited by the lords, ran upon crimes which had no relation to the ſtatute of Præmunire. The cardinal was chiefly accuſed of abuſing his legantine power, contrary to his oath, when admitted to the exerciſe of his legateſhip; of unjuſt proceedings as chancellor; of making himſelf, on ſeveral occaſions, equal to the king *; of iſſuing out divers orders of moment without the king's knowledge; of acting arbitrarily on many occaſions, as if he was rather ſovereign than miniſter. All the reſt of the articles were of the ſame nature, and ran upon the ill uſe he had made of his power, as legate, chancellor, prime miniſter, and favourite. But I cannot paſs over in ſilence, a very extraordinary article, viz. that the cardinal knowing he had the great pox upon him, had the confidence daily to approach the king's perſon, frequently whiſpering in his ear, without fearing to infect him with his breath. Theſe articles being ſent down to the commons, Thomas Cromwell, member of parliament, and the cardinal's ſervant, ſo undertook his defence, as did him great honour, and was one of the principal cauſes of his future advancement. It is true, he pretended not to clear him of the crimes he was charged with, but only to ſhew he was not guilty of treaſon, as the houſe of peers aſſerted, wherein he ſucceeded to his wiſh.

Remarks on the peace of Cambray. Guicciard.

It is neceſſary, now, to ſpeak of the peace of Cambray, which was only mentioned by the way. The differences between Charles V, and Francis I, ſo concerned all Europe, that it was very difficult to underſtand the Hiſtories of the other ſtates, without a clear notion of the affairs of theſe two monarchs. Francis laboured, during the firſt part of the year 1529, to negotiate a peace with the emperor; for after his ill ſucceſs, in the war of Naples, he ſaw there was no other way to recover his two hoſtages. He knew the pope continued a ſecret negotiation, in Spain, and, that it lay in the emperor's power, to make peace with all the ſtates of Italy, by reſtoring Sforza to Milan. So, tho' France and England had made the greateſt efforts, probably, it would have ſerved only to haſten the peace of Italy. But the king of France was not even ſure of prevailing with Henry to act, who was ſtill deſirous to manage the pope and emperor, in hopes of obtaining their conſent to his divorce, rather by fair means than by arms; beſides, tho' he was bound to contribute large ſums for the war, he payed them only in paper, by acquittances of what was due to him from Francis; ſo, properly ſpeaking, this was no aſſiſtance to France, drained by the former wars of men and money. Francis had, therefore, no buſineſs to ſtand in ſuſpence; for it was neceſſary for him to make peace, at any rate. However, to obtain as good terms as poſſible, he amuſed the Venetians, the duke of Ferrara, and the Florentines, with great promiſes, for fear they ſhould prevent him, and after they had made their peace with the emperor, his condition became worſe; for he told them, he was reſolved to lead, in perſon, a ſtrong army into Italy. He continued this management, till he had concluded the treaty of Cambray, wherein he left them all to the emperor's mercy. Probably, Henry was the only ally that knew his intentions. The emperor was not ignorant of the ſituation of the French king's affairs, and, doubtleſs, would have made it turn more to his advantage, had not the invaſion, the Turks were preparing againſt Hungary and Auſtria, and the commotions raiſed by the Proteſtants in Germany, made him deſirous to leave Italy in quiet; beſides, he ſaw, that a peace was the only way to break the ſtrict union of France with England. If theſe two monarchs had joined in the league, which the Proteſtants of Germany were projecting, for their common defence, they would have created him troubles, which might have broke all his meaſures. Theſe were the motives that inclined the emperor to peace, which, however, he made France purchaſe very dear. Charles and Francis being in the ſame diſpoſition, agreed together, by ſecret negotiations, upon the chief articles of the peace, the whole honour whereof they were pleaſed, however, to leave, in appearance, to the ladies. In July, Margaret of Auſtria, the emperor's aunt, and governeſs of the Low-Countries, and Loniſa of Savoy, ducheſs of Angouleſme, Francis's mother, repaired to Cambray, and ſigned, the 5th of Auguſt, a treaty, the ſubſtance whereof was as follows:

Chief articles of the peace of Cambray. Guicciard. Mezerai.

That the emperor ſhould renounce his demand, concerning Burgundy, his right to that duchy remaining, however, entire.

That the king of France ſhould pay him 2,000,000 of crowns of gold de ſoleil, for the ranſom of his ſons, and withdraw all his forces out of Italy.

That he ſhould reſign to him the ſovereignty of Flanders and Artois.

That he ſhould reſtore to him the earldom

Difference between the articles of the houſe, and the attorney general's indictment Hall.

* He uſed to write in his letters and inſtructions, "The king and I. And I would ye ſhould do thus. The "king and I give unto you our hearty thanks, &c." Herbert.

of

1529. of Aſti, with whatever he held in the duchy of Milan.

That he ſhould renounce all his pretenſions to the kingdom of Naples.

That he ſhould marry queen Leonora, with whom the emperor, her brother, would give in dower, 200,000 crowns.

In ſhort, beſides ſeveral other private articles, he promiſed to reſtore the heirs of the late duke of Bourbon, to all that prince's forfeited eſtates.

Francis deceives his allies.

This treaty being ratified, it was ſome time before Francis durſt give audience to the ambaſſadors of Venice and Florence, becauſe he could not, without confuſion, hear their juſt reproaches; at laſt, he put them off with ſome poor excuſe and freſh promiſes, which he performed no better than thoſe before the peace. What was very ridiculous, even after the peace was concluded, the biſhop of Tarbe, his ambaſſador, at Venice, not having timely notice, ſtrenuouſly ſollicited the ſenate to ſupport the war, upon the hopes he gave them of a powerful aid.

Henry's generoſity to Francis. Herbert.

It was ſomething ſtrange too, that, Henry having proclaimed war with the emperor, by a herald, there ſhould be, however, no particular treaty between them. Henry was ſatisfied with an article inſerted in that of Cambray, whereby the king of France was bound to pay him the 290,000 crowns, due from the emperor, and redeem the rich flower-de-luce, pawned by the emperor Maximilian to Henry VII, for 50,000 crowns. He did more; for he generouſly forgave Francis the firſt ſum, and made a preſent of the ſecond to the duke of Orleans, his god-ſon. This ſhews, that, in making peace, Francis I, had not dealt with Henry as with the princes of Italy, but had convinced him of the neceſſity, he was under, to conclude it.

1530. The emperor goes to Genoa. Guicciard.

The emperor being agreed with Francis, upon the principal articles of the peace, departed from Barcelona before he received advice of the concluſion, and arrived the 12th of Auguſt, at Genoa, with 9000 men. The peace of Cambray being publiſhed ſoon after, the Venetians, duke of Milan, duke of Ferrara, and Florentines, whom the king of France had forſaken, ſaw no other refuge, than the emperor's clemency, who had it in his power to make them pay dear for their attachment to France. The diſcuſſion of their affairs being referred to a conference, which the emperor, was to have with the pope at Bologna, each ſent ambaſſadors to take care of their concerns. Here it was, that the emperor enjoined the Venetians to reſtore to the pope, Ravenna and Cervia, and to himſelf ſome places they ſtill held in the kingdom of Naples. Franceſco Sforza was reſtored to the duchy of Milan, on condition of paying to the emperor 400,000 crowns in hand, and 500,000 in the ſpace of 10 years, at 10 payments. The duke of Ferrara having offered to make the emperor arbiter and judge of his differences, with the pope, his offer was accepted, Clement VII, thinking nothing could be more for his advantage, than to ſubmit to the emperor's deciſion, who was now bound by the treaty of Barcelona, to procure him Modena and Reggio, and aſſiſt him to take poſſeſſion of Ferrara. As to the Florentines, it was not poſſible to reconcile them with the pope. They would not hearken to any agreement, unleſs they were aſſured of preſerving their liberty, being reſolved to defend it to the laſt drop of their blood. They offered, however, to purchaſe it with a ſum of money. But the pope, on his part, tendered them all ſorts of advantages, provided the family of the Medici were reſtored to Florence, upon the ſame foot as before the expulſion of the legate. The parties not agreeing, the emperor ordered the prince of Orange to beſiege Florence, and reſtore the Medici. 1530.

He promiſes to try to ruin the Proteſtants. Sleidan.

The emperor having ended his affairs in Italy, was impatient to return into Germany, where the affairs of religion began to give him diſturbance For ſome time, the Proteſtants had inſiſted, continually, upon a free council in Germany, which was poſitively promiſed, tho' never intended. During the late war, the emperor had all along amuſed them with the hopes of granting this council; but no ſooner was the peace concluded, than in his conference with the pope, at Bologna, he promiſed him to do his utmoſt to reduce them, without a council. In the interim, the Proteſtants knowing his deſign, by his threatening anſwer to their envoys, after the concluſion of the peace, were thinking of joining in a league, for their common defence; and this made the emperor uneaſy, and obliged him ſpeedily to finiſh his affairs, in Italy, in order to ſettle thoſe of Germany. Before his departure from Bologna, he received the imperial crown, at the pope's hands, the 24th of February, 1530, on St. Matthias's day, which was his birth-day, and which, on ſeveral occaſions, had been very fortunate to him. He ſet out, at length, from Bologna, on the 22d of March, 1530, for Germany, being attended by cardinal Campegio, who was to aſſiſt, from the pope, at the diet of Augsburg.

Siege of Florence.

The prince of Orange inveſted Florence, purſuant to the emperor's order, and was ſlain at the ſiege, which the Florentines deſperately maintained; at length, on the 10th of Auguſt, they were forced to capitulate, but, however, on expreſs condition, that they ſhould enjoy their liberty, leaving it to the emperor to ſettle the form of their government. But ſome days after, the adherents of the Medicis raiſing a tumult in the city, and finding themſelves ſupported by a great number of Spaniſh officers, who had entered, on divers pretences, Clement VII. was again put in poſſeſſion of the government. Then the emperor, without regarding the article of the capitulation, eſtabliſhed Alexander de Medici, his ſon-in-law, at Florence, on the ſame foot that his anceſtors had formerly been, and made the ſovereignty hereditary in his family.

Capitulation.

Francis's two ſons are releaſed. Guicciard. Mezerai.

The 1ſt of June, this year, Francis received his two ſons, who were hoſtages in Spain, upon paying the emperor 1,200,000 crowns in hand, and giving ſecurity for the reſt of the ſum;

1530. ſum; after that, he married Leonora, purſuant to the treaty of Cambray. Had he been obliged to find ready money to pay Henry what the emperor owed him, according to the tenor of the treaty, very probably, he would not ſo ſoon have recovered his ſons; but Henry proved a generous friend, who, to enable him to redeem them, freely gave him the emperor's bonds, to reſtore them to him, as well as the pawned jewel above-mentioned. Moreover, he renounced all demands of his charges, in aſſiſting him, which, according to Francis's confeſſion, extant in the Collection of the Publick Acts, amounted to the ſum of 512,222 crowns of gold ſol, 22 pence, ſix farthings, both in ready money and acquittances upon the 2,000,000 Francis owed him. He clogged this great generoſity but with one ſingle condition, that in caſe Francis violated the peace and alliance they had made together, he ſhould ſtill be accountable for all theſe ſums, to which Francis bound himſelf by letters patents.

By the execution of the treaty of Cambray, the king of France ſaw himſelf, at length, in profound tranquillity, tho' the late war had coſt him immenſe ſums, the loſs of Genoa and Milan, the ſovereignty of Flanders and Artois, a year's captivity, numberleſs vexations, and, perhaps, ſomething of his honour and reputation. But it was not ſo with Henry; for after a vaſt charge to ſupport the intereſts of his ally, he was ſtill embarraſſed with the affair of the divorce, and in danger of a ſpeedy quarrel with the emperor. However, as he was naturally ſteady in his projects, all theſe obſtacles were not able to diſcourage him, and he reſolved to ſee the end of the affair, let what would be the conſequence. Thomas Cranmer being then very much in his eſteem, he ordered him to write upon the divorce, and the doctor did it with univerſal approbation; after that, he was commanded to accompany the ambaſſadors, ſent by the king to the pope and emperor, to try, for the laſt time, to find ſome expedient to end this affair, which ſo greatly embarraſſed him. Theſe ambaſſadors found the pope and emperor, at Bologna, and had audience of both. The pope ſhewed an inclination to content the king, but durſt not act without the emperor's conſent, who openly proteſted, he would never forſake the queen his aunt. Cranmer maintained his maſter's cauſe, with great warmth, which hindered not the pope from making him his penitentiary in England, to pleaſe the king, whom he ſtrove to oblige in things of little conſequence, whilſt he did nothing for him in the principal affair.

Henry purſues, at Rome, the buſineſs of the divorce. Herbert.

In the interim, Henry, according to Cranmer's advice, had ſent able and learned men into France, Italy, Germany, Switzerland, to conſult the univerſities concerning the divorce. We find in the Collection of the Publick Acts, the opinions of the univerſities of Angers, Paris, Bourges, Orleans, Thouloufe, Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, all uniform, declaring, that Julius II's diſpenſation for Henry's marriage with Catharine, being contrary to the divine law, could not be deemed valid. It might be objected, that the determinations of the French univerſities were ſuſpicious, by reaſon of the ſtrict union, at that time, between Francis and Henry; but the ſame thing cannot be ſaid of thoſe of Padua and Ferrara, and ſtill leſs of that of Bologna, a city belonging to the pope. Dr. Burnet having largely handled this ſubject, thoſe who have a mind to examine the matter more fully, may conſult his Hiſtory of the Reformation. It will ſuffice to obſerve here, that the queſtion was, whether Henry's marriage with his brother's widow, was contrary to the law of God, and upon that ſuppoſition, whether the pope had power to grant a diſpenſation. The above named univerſities maintained, that ſuch a marriage was contrary to the law of God, with which the pope had not power to diſpenſe. Oxford and Cambridge being likewiſe conſulted, decreed the ſame thing, tho' not without great oppoſition from ſome of the members. It ſeems, at firſt, ſomething ſtrange, that the two Engliſh univerſities ſhould be more ſcrupulous in the matter, than the foreign; but the ſurpriſe ceaſes, when it is conſidered that theſe ſcruples aroſe, not from the queſtion itſelf, but from the conſequence, their determination might occaſion. Moſt of the members of the univerſities were furiouſly averſe to Luther's doctrine, which began to ſpread in England, and were afraid of countenancing it, by deciding againſt the pope; beſides, they ſaw that the king's marriage with Ann Bullen would follow, upon his divorce with Catharine, and this ſecond marriage they would have gladly prevented, becauſe Ann Bullen much inclined to the reformation, and expreſſed a very particular eſteem for Cranmer, whoſe preferment, for the ſame reaſon, they dreaded.

Oxford and Cambridge mane the greateſt ſcruples. Burnet. The reaſon of it. Burnet.

The ambaſſadors, who had been ſent into Italy, returning without effecting any thing, Henry, who till then had ſhewn great regard for the pope, reſolved to alter his behaviour towards him. He might have known, by experience, that Clement was to be gained only by his intereſt. It is certain, if, at firſt, he had proceeded with more vigour, and powerfully ſupported the war in Italy, the pope would never have thought of joining with the emperor. A good Engliſh fleet, in the Mediterranean, would have made Francis maſter of Naples, and ſaved the city of Genoa. The pope would thereby have been ſo kept in awe, that he would have been glad to have always the king of England for his friend. Inſtead of acting in this manner, Henry remained quiet during the whole campaign of 1528, ſuffering himſelf to be amuſed by the deceitful hopes given him, by the pope. So, the French were driven out of the kingdom of Naples, and the pope was at liberty to treat with the emperor, concerning the recovery of Florence, which he would never have thought of, had the French been ſuperior in Italy. Henry perceived his error, when it was too late to repair it, that is, after the pope was united with the emperor, and Francis bound by the treaty of Cambray. He was left alone to ſupport himſelf againſt the emperor and pope, and it was very happy

Henry's falſe ſteps in the matter of the divorce. Burnet.

Moſt of the univerſities decides in favour of the king. Burnet. Act. Pub.

1530. for him, that the Turks and the Proteſtants of Germany ſo embarraſſed the emperor, as to hinder him from thinking of England. So, all means failing to accompliſh his deſign, but, what could be found in his own kingdom, he began, tho' a little too late, to make uſe of the inclinations of his ſubjects, who for the moſt part were not very fond of the pope.

The diſpoſition of the Engliſh to the popes, contrary to the intereſt of their kings.

We have ſeen, in ſeveral places of this Hiſtory, how, at all times, the Engliſh complained of the tyranny of the popes, and the remedies applied by the parliaments to this grievance. It is true, the private intereſt of the kings, rendered theſe remedies, in ſome meaſure, ineffectual, becauſe, as they frequently wanted the popes for their temporal concerns, the laws were not put in due execution. But that altered not the inclinations of the Engliſh; for the principles of the Lollards, were, ſtill, deeply imprinted in the minds of great numbers; beſides, Luther's books, whereof many were brought into England, had opened the eyes of multitudes; ſo that it may be affirmed, at the time I am ſpeaking of, the Engliſh, in general, had quite another notion of religion, than their anceſtors, eſpecially, with reſpect to the papal authority. The three laſt popes, Alexander VI, Julius II, and Leo X, had ſhewn ſo little piety and religion, in their conduct, and Clement VII, ſo cloſely followed their ſteps, that it was naturally inferred, it was impoſſible, Jeſus Chriſt ſhould have given the government of his church to ſuch vicars. Thus, the Engliſh were very ready to ſhake off the pope's yoke, if the king, for the ſake of his own private intereſt, had not ſupported the exorbitant power ſo long complained of. But Clement VII. had no ſooner joined with the emperor, than the king's intereſt became the ſame with the people's. To this chiefly are to be aſcribed all the changes mentioned hereafter.

A letter of the great men to the pope. Act. Pub.

Henry having reſolved to make the pope ſenſible of the danger of loſing England, if he continued any longer to favour the emperor, cauſed a letter, worded in ſtrong terms, to be ſent him by the great men of the kingdom, according to the example of their anceſtors, in the reign of Henry III. They plainly told him, "That the king's cauſe being their own, if "he continued to deny them what was abſo-"lutely neceſſary for their quiet, they were "reſolved to apply the remedy themſelves, "which was vainly expected from him." This was ſufficient to ſatisfy him, that the patience of the Engliſh was almoſt worn out, and they would not ſuffer themſelves to be curbed, or even amuſed any longer, by the court of Rome. Indeed, the letter had not the deſired effect; but, however, it ſhewed the pope the diſpoſition of the Engliſh, and how neceſſary it was to uſe them gently. Wherefore he returned the great men a very moderate anſwer, vindicating his conduct, with regard to the king, in the beſt manner poſſible. In the interim, he ſent for Sir Gregory Caſſali, the king's ambaſſador in ordinary, and hinted to him, that the affair might be adjuſted by means of a diſpenſation, for the king to have two wives.

The pope's anſwer. Herbert.

This we learn from the ambaſſadors' letter of the 18th of September, where, after aquainting the king with what the pope ſaid, he added, that the emperor's miniſters were alſo deſirous that the affair ſhould be ended by this expedient. But Henry was ſo aware of all the pope's artifices, that he took no notice of this overture. His reſolution was, either to have a bull to null the marriage, or to procure himſelf, at any rate, the ſatisfaction he required. And, therefore, fearing that the pope would unexpectedly ſend into England a bull of excommunication or interdict, he iſſued out a proclamation, forbidding, under ſevere penalties, to receive any bull from Rome, contrary to the prerogatives of the crown. His deſign was to bring the affair before the parliament and clergy, and after gaining theſe two bodies to his intereſt, to cauſe it to be determined in England, without regarding the pope's proceedings againſt him; but the difficulty was to prepoſſeſs the people in his favour. To this end, he ordered to be printed and publiſhed, an abſtract of the reaſons for the divorce, that theſe reaſons, being known to all the world, he might meet with leſs oppoſition in the parliament. This abſtract contained two principal points. The firſt was, that the king's marriage with Catharine, was contrary to the law of God. The ſecond, that Julius II, had not power to grant a diſpenſation for that marriage, and, conſequently, the diſpenſation could not render it lawful. As this affair was the ſpring of the great events which will hereafter occur, it will not be, perhaps, unacceptable to the reader, to ſee here the ſubſtance of the arguments alledged on both ſides.

A proclamation to forbid the receiving any bulls, Hall.

Henry publiſhes his reaſons for the divorce. Burnet.

It was ſaid for the king, I. That the Levitical law forbidding a man to marry his brother's wife, was not a poſitive precept, which bound only thoſe to whom it was given, but obliged all mankind without exception. That this evidently appeared, in its being found among many others, which forbid the crimes wherewith the Canaanites were polluted. Now, the Canaanites could not be polluted with crimes, forbidden only by a poſitive law given another nation.

II. Another argument was taken from what John the Baptiſt ſaid to Herod, in the New Teſtament, "It is not lawful for thee to take "thy brother's wife," becauſe St. John could allude only to the laws of Moſes, and conſequently owned them to be divine.

III. It was ſhewn from ſeveral paſſages of Tertullian, and writings of the popes, that the church always deemed the Levitical laws as parts of the univerſal law of nature, and all mankind. To this was added, the authority of divers ſynods, of the provincial Conſtantinopolitan general council, of the council of Conſtance, in the condemnation of Wickliffe, of many Greek and Latin fathers, and of ſeveral ſchoolmen.

IV. It was proved by the authority of the popes and councils, that a marriage is compleated by the mutual contract of the parties, tho' it be never conſummated; for that reaſon it was ſaid, Adonijah could not marry Abiſhag, who

1530. who had been his father David's wife, tho' David never knew her. That upon the ſame account, Joſeph could not put away Mary, without a bill of divorce; a clear evidence that their marriage was compleat, tho' not conſummated. Hence it was inferred, that tho' prince Arthur had not conſummated his marriage, it was not the leſs valid. But it was maintained, that it was as certain as a thing of that nature could be, that the marriage was conſummated. It was proved firſt, by violent preſumptions. Secondly, becauſe after Arthur's death, the princeſs, his widow, was ſuppoſed to be with child, and ſhe never ſaid any thing to the contrary. It is true, it might be objected that Catharine had ſince ſworn, ſhe was never known by that prince. But it was anſwered, the canon law forbids the taking of oaths, when there are ſtrong preſumptions to the contrary; beſides, the queen's oath could not be reckoned deciſive, ſince it was deſtroyed by the brief produced by her own advocates.

V. Julius's diſpenſation, being the ſole foundation on which the validity of the king's marriage was eſtabliſhed, it was ſhewn, by a croud of witneſſes, both antient and modern, "That the pope has not power to diſpenſe "with the laws of God;" nay, it was affirmed, that if he diſpenſed with the decrees of the church, it was uſurpation, and that ſeveral biſhops in England itſelf, had reſiſted the popes, when they would have aſſumed ſuch a liberty.

On the other ſide, the queen's advocates replied to theſe reaſons:

I. That the prohibitions, in Leviticus, were not parts of the moral law, ſince God himſelf had diſpenſed with them, in commanding the brother to marry his brother's widow. But of what nature ſoever the law was, if it were diſpenſed with, by Moſes, to the Jews, why might it not be as well done by the pope to the Chriſtians?

II. It was ſaid, the law, in Leviticus, againſt marrying the brother's wife, muſt be underſtood of not taking her while the brother was alive; for after he was dead, by another law, a man was commanded by God himſelf to marry his brother's wife.

III. The crime St. John Baptiſt reproached Herod with, might be adultery as well as inceſt, ſince according to Joſephus and Euſebius, Herod's brother Philip was alive when St. John ſpoke.

IV. The popes daily diſpenſed, contrary to the laws of God, with vows and oaths, without being cenſured; beſides, it was maintained, the pope was the only judge, whether the prohibition was moral or not.

V. It was alledged, the pope had granted the diſpenſation upon a very weighty conſideration, to keep peace between the two crowns of Spain and England.

VI. It was urged, that the marriage had ſubſiſted near 20 years, and never been thought invalid.

VII. Laſtly, It was ſaid, if there were any nullities in the bull of diſpenſation, the pope was the only competent judge of it.

1530. The king's advocates replied to theſe arguments, and were anſwered again, by the writers on the queen's ſide, both practiſing what is very common, on ſuch occaſions, that is, they evaded the force of the reaſons of the oppoſite party, by keeping to generals. I ſhall ſay no more of it. Thoſe that are curious to ſee the arguments on both ſides, may be ſatisfied, by reading the Hiſtory of the Reformation of England, where they are fully ſet forth. It will ſuffice to remark, that, in theſe ſorts of diſputes was ſpent the whole year 1530, Henry being very glad the people ſhould be thoroughly informed of the affair, before it was brought to the parliament.

Cardinal Wolſey's uncertain ſtate.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, cardinal Wolſey remained at his country-houſe, living betwixt hope and fear, without being able to form any probable conjecture of the king's behaviour towards him; for, tho' all his goods were ſeiſed, and that ſeemed to denote he intended to ſhew him no favour, yet he ſaw, from time to time, ſome rays of goodneſs ſhine upon him, which made him hope, that his maſter, who had loved him ſo well, would not be for ever inexorible; and, indeed, the 12th of February, the king granted him a general pardon of all his offences, of what nature ſoever. Among all the pardons in the Collection of the Publick Acts, there are none ſo full and particular as this. Then, the king came to an agreement with the cardinal, by which he left him the archbiſhoprick of York, with all its revenues and dependencies, except York-place. As to the ſee of Wincheſter and abbey of St. Albans, the king reſerved to himſelf the revenues, tho' he left him the titles; but the cardinal was bound to reſign theſe two benefices, when required. In conſideration whereof, the king aſſigned him 1000 marks ſterling a year, out of the biſhoprick of Wincheſter, with a promiſe to grant him the like penſion upon ſome other benefice, in caſe this was taken from him. Moreover, he gave him to the value of 6374 l. 3 s. 7 d. half-penny, in money and goods, part of thoſe belonging to the cardinal, which had been confiſcated. All the reſt remained to the king with his conſent, who owned it as a particular favour, that the king was pleaſed to leave him any thing. This was all he preſerved of the immenſe riches acquired, during his credit. But what afflicted him moſt ſenſibly, was, that his two colleges, founded with ſo much pains, and called by his own name, to be an everlaſting monument of his glory, were likewiſe confiſcated. He wrote to the king upon that ſubject, in a manner that perfectly ſhewed his extreme concern for that loſs; and even entreated Cromwell, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to hinder his two colleges from being involved in his ruin. But it was all in vain; for the king took poſſeſſion of all the lands belonging to them, and deprived them of the name of their founder, endowed them anew, in his own.

Act. Pub.

He has ſtill ſome hopes. Herbert.

Notwithſtanding all this, Wolſey had ſtill hopes, by reaſon of ſome marks of friendſhip, given him by the king, on certain occaſions; for, he had permitted him to remove to Richmond,

1530. mond, where he was nearer his perſon; moreover, hearing he was ſick, he ſent a lord to viſit him, in his name, and even cauſed Ann Bullen to write to him. But, at the ſame time that the compaſſion expreſſed for him by the king cheriſhed his hopes, it made his enemies apprehenſive of his return to court, and, therefore, they never ceaſed to exaſperate the king againſt him. In ſhort, as they could not ſee him ſo near the court, without fearing the revival of the king's affection for a miniſter, he had ſo paſſionately loved, they cauſed an order to be ſent him, to withdraw to his dioceſe of York. Very probably, Ann Bullen contributed moſt to his diſgrace, ſince none but a miſtreſs could poſſibly make the king forget ſuch a favourite. However this be, the cardinal being forced to ſubmit, began his journey to the north with a train, tho' not ſo large as uſual, during his proſperity, yet conſiſted ſtill of 160 horſe. He arrived about the end of September, at Cawood, where he ſtayed, according to the cuſtom of the archbiſhops of York, till things were ready for the ceremony of his inſtallment, which was to be performed in a month, with a magnificence, little ſuitable to his preſent condition. But whilſt he was preparing to enjoy in his archbiſhoprick, the ſmall remains of authority, which he imagined would be ſtill left him, he was arreſted by the earl of Northumberland, for high-treaſon. He would have inſiſted, at firſt, upon his privilege as cardinal; but the earl told him, that ſhould not hinder him from executing the king's orders. At the ſame time, his phyſician was ſeiſed, and ſent to London, with his legs tied to his horſe. It is not known to this day, whether the king had been prepoſſeſſed, that the cardinal had a deſign upon his life, which, however, is not very probable. Be this as it will, he ſet forward by eaſy journies to London, extremely concerned to think, he was going to appear as a criminal in a city, where he had before commanded with almoſt a ſovereign authority. But, in all likelihood, his grief turned to his advantage, as it threw him into a fit of ſickneſs, which conſtrained him to ſtop at Leiceſter-abbey, where he ended his days the 30th of November. Before he expired, he ſaid to the king's officer, who ſtood near his bed: "If I had ſerved God as "diligently as I have done the king, he "would not have given me over in my grey "hairs." But I do not know whether he had reaſon to boaſt of his zeal and diſintereſtedneſs, in the ſervices he had done the king. He added, ſpeaking to the officer, that if, as he thought him worthy, he ſhould ever be admitted to the king's council, he ſhould take care what he put in his head, for he would never be able to put it out again. This ſeems to intimate, he had counſelled the king to undertake the divorce, which afterwards he would have diſſuaded him from. And, indeed, he deſired the ſame perſon to tell the king, that he prayed him to call to remembrance, what had paſſed betwixt them, about the divorce, and hoped, that when he ſhould be leſs prejudiced, he would do him more juſtice. This ſhews, that he looked upon that affair, as the ſole cauſe of his diſgrace. Thus, died, this famous cardinal, the proudeſt and moſt haughty of men, and we may add, the moſt ambitious and moſt greedy of eſtates and honours. It is affirmed, that while he governed the king, he never gave him advice, without a view to his own intereſt. This alone would be ſufficient to obſcure all the fine quallities he might otherwiſe have, but which, in the main, amounted only to a great penetration, whereof he made an ill uſe. The king ſhewed a concern for his death; and yet, ſince he had ordered him to be arreſted for high-treaſon, very probably, his ruin was determined. Henry was of a temper to accompliſh whatever he undertook; which will plainly appear hereafter, in his extraordinary ſeverity to perſons, who, doubtleſs, were not ſo guilty as this favourite.

1530.

He is arreſted for high-treaſon. Hall.

His death.

The king ſhews ſome concern for his death.

The affair of the divorce, and its conſequences, employing Henry during the reſidue of his life, it will for the future, be the principal thing I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak to the end of this reign; but as by the alterations introduced by this prince, his affairs led him to concern himſelf with the troubles of Germany, it is neceſſary, for the underſtanding of the ſequel, juſt to mention what paſſed in that country.

The affairs of Germany, as to religion. Sleidan.

The emperor's view in calling the diet of Augsburg, was rather to inflame than appeaſe the religious troubles. Since he made peace with France, and Italy was as it were ſubject to his yoke, he was forming vaſt projects; for he ſaw himſelf maſter of Spain, Italy, and the Low-Countries; his brother Ferdinand was now king of Bohemia, and had been elected king of Hungary. With theſe advantages, he hoped to be able to ſubdue the reſt of Europe. It was neceſſary to begin with Germany, where he had great power, as emperor and archduke of Auſtria, becauſe, if he once became abſolute in the empire, and could diſpoſe of the forces of the German princes, he imagined France and England would not be able to reſiſt him. The troubles cauſed by religion, in Germany, ſeemed to him a very ſpecious pretence to arm againſt the Proteſtants, judging, that after ruining them by the help of the Catholicks, theſe laſt would, in their turn, be eaſily ſubdued. I cannot be accuſed here, of aſcribing to this monarch deſigns he never really had, ſince it is notorious, that himſelf and ſucceſſors purſued, gradually, and, I may ſay, openly, the execution of the ſame project. The wars that afflicted Europe for more than a century, were ſolely excited by the boundleſs ambition of the houſe of Auſtria, whom the other ſovereigns were concerned to oppoſe.

The progreſs of the reformation. Sleidan.

Since Luther's preaching, in Germany, the reformation had made ſo great progreſs, that ſeveral princes of the empire, and many hans towns had openly embraced it. As they were accuſed of introducing many innovations in religion, in anſwer to that charge, they proteſted, their intent was only to adhere to the doctrine of the goſpel, and religion of the primitive

1530. tive church. And, therefore, they demanded, that a free council might be held in ſome city of Germany, where the religious differences might be calmly examined, by the word of God. But this was a method, which their adverſaries could not allow; for they ſuppoſed, as a thing certain, that the religion profeſſed before Luther's appearance, was the true religion, and being without ſpot, wrinkle, or the like, had no need of reformation; and, according to that principle, they thought the point was not to examine it at all, but to compel the recuſants or hereticks to conform. This was the conſtant maxim, long ſince followed by the Romiſh clergy, and which cauſed them to uſe fire and ſword, to extirpate thoſe they were pleaſed to term hereticks; but in the ſituation of Germany, at the time I am ſpeaking of, it was not eaſy to practiſe that maxim; for, it was not private perſons only, who declared againſt the Roman church, but cities, whole nations, and ſovereigns. So the zealous abetters of the old religion, were not in condition to reduce them by force; wherefore, they choſe to feed them with hopes of a free council, till the affairs of Europe were ſo diſpoſed, that it might be hoped to reduce them, by way of authority. Several diets had been held upon that ſubject, in Germany, where, contrary to the opinion of the court of Rome, the emperor and the Catholick princes had been obliged to conceal their ſentiments, and conſent to a toleration, which, however, left them at liberty to act another time, according to their real principles.

When Luther began to appear, the religious diſputes turned only upon the exceſſive abuſes of the papal power, and a few other points; then Luther had on his ſide almoſt all the lay princes of Germany, and many hans towns, each of which was a republick. From that time, he made new diſcoveries, and publiſhed them to the world; but he had not, upon all the articles, the ſame number of followers, as upon that of the papal authority; beſides, the emperor and the zealous Catholicks oppoſed, with all their power, the progreſs of the reformation. Care was taken to intimidate ſuch as inclined that way, or to continue them in the old religion, by promiſes, by places, by poſts, which did not a little help to confirm them in their firſt ſentiments. So for ſome years, the reformers uſed all poſſible endeavours to gain proſelytes, and the Romiſh clergy were as diligent to hinder their progreſs. In the interim, whilſt they ſtrove only in this manner, the reformation daily took root; which obliged the adverſaries to ſeek other means to prevent its growth, thoſe, hitherto, uſed, not proving very effectual.

In 1524, Charles V, coming to the diet of Worms, ſent for Luther, and after a hearing, baniſhed him the empire, with all his adherents, by a formal decree, in the diet's name. But ſome pretend, the diet was not concerned in the decree. The emperor, however, perſiſted to maintain it; but it ſeems the Germans conſidered it, not as obligatory. Next year, the diet, held at Noremberg, produced againſt the court of Rome, 100 grievances, of 1530. which they demanded the redreſs, by means of a free council.

Another diet, held at the ſame place, paſſed a decree, whereby it was reſolved to demand a free council, in Germany; but upon their diſſolution, the Catholicks aſſembled by themſelves, at Ratisbon, and ordered the decree of Worms to be executed.

In another diet, at Spires, in 1526, the emperor cauſed it to be declared, that he meant not that any reſolution ſhould be taken concerning the affairs of religion, but only concerning the method of executing the decree of Worms, till there ſhould be a general council. But as this council was yet very remote, the diet decreed, the emperor ſhould be prayed to procure a council in Germany, within a year, and, in the interim, every one ſhould ſo govern himſelf in point of religion, as to be able to give an account of his conduct to God and the emperor.

During theſe tranſactions, the war which the Turks had carried into Hungary, ſuſpended, for ſome time, the execution of Charles V's projects, againſt thoſe who had embraced the new religion, becauſe he wanted the aſſiſtance of all the German princes, as well Proteſtants as Catholicks; beſides, his war then with France, ſuffered him not to think much of the affairs of Germany. But in 1529, being upon the point of making peace with France, he thought he might talk in a higher ſtrain. He called a diet, at Spires, where it was ordered that thoſe who had, hitherto, obeyed the decree of Worms, ſhould continue to obſerve it, and the reſt that had not ſubmitted, ſhould make no innovations in religion, nor hinder their ſubjects from going to maſs. Againſt this decree, the electors of Saxony and Brandenburgh, the landgrave of Heſſe, and the princes of Lunenburgh, made a ſoleme proteſtation, from whence all their party were called Proteſtants. The emperor, who was then in Italy, very roughly received the proteſtation, brought to him by deputies, and thereby obliged the Proteſtants to unite for their common defence, the emperor diſcovering by his words, that he had ill deſigns againſt them. In the diet, which was to meet at Augsburg, in April, 1530, but did not, however, aſſemble till June, he was reſolved to lay the foundation of his projected war againſt the Proteſtants.

At the opening of the diet, the emperor's chancellor made a long ſpeech, complaining, in his maſter's name, of thoſe who had, hitherto, endeavoured to alter the antient faith, and cardinal Campegio exhorted the Germans, to extirpate the errors that were crept into Germany. That done, the Proteſtants deſired, they might declare their belief before the diet. This was denied them, and they were made to take as a favour, the leave granted them to deliver their confeſſion of faith, in writing. The landgrave of Heſſe ſeeing ſo great partiality in the diet, withdrew, without taking leave; whereupon the emperor commanded the gates of Augsburg to be ſhut, ſhewing, he intended to uſe violence towards thoſe that

1530. remained in the city; but upon the elector of Saxony's remonſtrances, he ordered them to be opened. In ſhort, after many debates, he cauſed to be publiſhed, in the diet's name, a decree entirely againſt the Proteſtants, and which, upon the hopes he gave them of a general council, obliged them to deſtroy whatever had been done, in point of religion, to that day.

The diet ending, in this manner, the emperor ordered the archbiſhop of Mentz to aſſemble the electors, to proceed to the election of a king of the Romans, intending to cauſe his brother Ferdinand to be choſen. The Proteſtants ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this meeting, affirming, there was no occaſion to elect a king of the Romans, and demonſtrating the inconveniencies which would ariſe from his deſign, to render the imperial crown as it were hereditary to the houſe of Auſtria. In fine, ſeeing that, notwithſtanding their remonſtrances, it was deſigned to proceed to this election, they met at Smalcald, the 22d of December, 1530, and concluded a defenſive league againſt all who ſhould attack them, on account of religion. Then they made a formal proteſtation againſt the intended election of a king of the Romans, without their conſent. In this ſituation were the affairs of religion, in Germany, about the end of the year 1530.

1531. The emperor diſobliges the pope, in the affair of Ferrara. Guicciard.

After the emperor had quitted Italy, the pope's nuncio continually preſſed him to pronounce judgment upon the affair of the duke of Ferrara. The pope could not imagine but the judgment would be in his favour, conſidering the emperor's engagement with him, by the treaty of Barcelona. But whether the emperor had more fully examined the matter, or for ſome other reaſon, he gave ſentence, that Modena and Reggio belonged, of right, to the duke of Ferrara; but to ſatisfy the pope, he ſhould pay 100,000 ducats, for which the pope ſhould be obliged to give him the inveſtiture of Ferrara, as granted to his predeceſſors; and to begin to execute this ſentence, he delivered Modena to the duke. The pope, extremely diſpleaſed with a judgment ſo different from what he expected, refuſed to ſubmit to it, and in hopes of ſeiſing Ferrara, would not receive the 100,000 ducats offered him by the duke.

Francis I. ſtrives to gain the pope.

Clement VII, being, thus, incenſed againſt the emperor, had great inclination to be reconciled with the kings of France and England, imagining he ſhould be received with open arms. Indeed, Francis I. had unwillingly agreed to the treaty of Cambray, and ſolely becauſe there was no other way to recover his ſons; but ſince he had received them, he had been thinking how to retrieve what he had loſt by that treaty. To this end, he privately laboured to ſow jealouſies among the princes, by making them apprehenſive of the emperor's ambition, and promiſing them aſſiſtance. As ſoon as he was informed of the pope's diſcontent, he thought, nothing ſhould be neglected to gain him to his intereſt, at ſo favourable a juncture; wherefore, he propoſed a marriage between Catharine de Medici, daughter of the late duke Lorenzo, and the duke of Orleans, his ſecond ſon,; an honour to which the family of the Medici durſt never aſpire, if the king had not offered it himſelf. On the other hand, Henry knowing the union between the pope and the emperor was the ſole cauſe of the obſtacles in the affair of the divorce, did not queſtion, he ſhould eaſily effect his deſigns, if he could ſet them at variance. But two things hindered him from applying himſelf to that means. The firſt was, he could not truſt the pope; the ſecond, that he began to find his ſubjects much more inclined to ſhake off the papal yoke, than he had imagined, and, therefore, did not think himſelf under a neceſſity to depend upon the pope. If he had, at firſt, humbly addreſſed to the pope, it was, partly, becauſe he feared the people's prejudice, in favour of Chriſt's vicar; but when he found this prejudice, was not ſo ſtrong as he had believed, he never troubled himſelf about the pope's oppoſition. His kingdom being ſafe from invaſions by land, he had nothing to fear from any prince in Europe, provided his ſubjects were not terrified with the thunders of the vatican. But the Engliſh were not, in this reſpect, the ſame as formerly. Wickliffe had begun to enlighten them; the conduct of the late popes had increaſed their light; and Luther's books and followers had quite opened their eyes; for, ſince the ſpreading of the new doctrine in England, the pope's authority was ſo diſcredited, that the Engliſh, for the moſt part, wiſhed for a favourable opportunity, to throw off a yoke they had ſo long groaned under. This made the king reſolve to have his cauſe tried by the parliament and convocation. 1531.

He imparts the affair of the divorce to the parliament. Burnet.

The parliament meeting the 6th of January, the chancellor opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, declaring, that the king earneſtly wiſhed to annul his marriage, not from diſhoneſt motives, as ſome laboured to make his people believe, but for the peace of his conſcience, and the welfare of the kingdom, being unwilling to leave the ſucceſſion of the crown in danger of being diſputed. Then he cauſed a great number of books and treatiſes, written on that ſubject, with abſtracts of ſeveral authors, both antient and modern, to be brought, with the determinations of the univerſities of France, Italy, and England, which were all left upon the table, to be examined at leiſure. The king's deſign was alſo brought before the convocation, who declared, they were ſatisfied the king's marriage was contrary to the law of God. The king required no more at this time; for he had another important affair to debate with the clergy, which was to be decided before this was farther examined. Very likely, the convocation being informed of the king's intent, the more readily gave their opinion for him, as they perfectly knew how much they ſhould want his favour, in the buſineſs in hand, which was of the utmoſt conſequence.

Cardinal Wolſey had been accuſed, by the attorney general, of exerciſing, in England, his

1531.

All the clergy are accuſed of breaking the ſtatute of Præmunire. Herbert.

his legatine authority, without the king's ſpecial licenſe, and of diſpoſing, as legate, of ſeveral benefices, contrary to the ſtatutes of Proviſors and Præmunire. Hence it naturally followed, that thoſe who had owned his authority, and appeared in his courts, were equally liable to be indicted. By this means, all the clergy were in the ſame caſe, ſince there was ſcarce one but what had occaſion to apply to him, during the courſe of his legateſhip. So, after the king had procured of the convocation, an approbation of his proceedings concerning the divorce, he ordered an indictment to be brought into the king's bench, againſt all the clergy, for breaking the laws of the realm. He had, in this, a double view; the firſt, to draw a good ſum from the clergy; the ſecond, to humble that powerful body, and ſo leſſen their great credit with the people, who before had always ſeen them ſupported by the royal authority. He knew he ſhould meet with the greateſt oppoſition from the clergy, in the affair of the divorce; for that reaſon, he was very glad to put it out of their power to hurt him, by keeping them, as it were, in dependence, and by ſowing a kind of diviſion between the clergy and people, by the ſatisfaction theſe laſt would, probably, expreſs, at the diſgrace of the eccleſiaſticks, who had ever treated them with great haughtineſs. He thereby put the clergy under a neceſſity of recurring to the royal protection, and conſequently, of ſhewing leſs zeal for the intereſt of the court of Rome. This ſucceeded according to his expectation. In vain did the clergy plead, that the king himſelf had connived at the cardinal's proceedings; what had not been ſerviceable to Wolſey, was not capable of excuſing them that had owned his authority. So the court proceeded to a ſentence, that the clergy were all out of the king's protection, and liable to the pains in the ſtatute of præmunire. The people were extremely pleaſed, and, particularly, the favourers of the new religion, to ſee the clergy humbled to ſo great a degree. On the other hand, the clergy plainly perceived, that as the laity ſtood affected, it would be in vain, to reſiſt the king. They could expect no more aſſiſtance from Rome; for ſince the pope had quarrelled with the king, he had loſt all his power; and as the king ſhewed, he would no longer regard him, the thunders of the vatican were looked upon with contempt. The clergy, in this their ill ſituation, reſolved to purchaſe the king's favour, at any rate, finding they could no longer depend upon the people, who were much altered from what they were formerly. So the convocation of Canterbury, having debated upon the affair, reſolved to offer the king 100,000 pounds for a pardon; and, purſuant to this reſolution, ſome of their members were ordered to draw an act for that purpoſe. Probably, they who were charged with this commiſſion, were friends of the court, and had a mind to take this opportunity to give the king a prerogative, which none of his predeceſſors had ever enjoyed. Lord Herbert and Dr. Burnet affirm, the convocation reſolved to preſent a petition to the king, to pray him to accept of 100,000 l. but as this inſtrument is extant, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, it may now be ſpoken of with greater exactneſs. It was not a petition, but a publick act of the clergy, in form of letters patents, whereby they gave that ſum to the king. It was ſaid, in the inſtrument, that it was, firſt, in conſideration of his great merit; ſecondly, in teſtimony of the clergy's gratitude for the great benefits he had procured the catholick church, as well by his pen as his ſword; thirdly, for his zeal againſt the Lutherans, who were labouring to deſtroy the church of England, "of which the clergy acknowledged the king ſole protector, and ſupreme head;" and laſtly, in hopes he would be pleaſed to grant the clergy, and all their members, a pardon of all the offences committed againſt the ſtatutes of Proviſors and Præmunire.

1531.

Oppoſition to that title. Herbert.

When this inſtrument was read, in the convocation, many diſliked that the clergy ſhould be made to ſay, that they acknowledged the king for protector and ſupreme head of the church of England. Some imagined, it was inferred through inadvertency and exceſſive flattery, whereof the penners of the inſtrument had not conſidered the conſequence. Others ſaid, it was intended to ſurpriſe the convocation, by inſerting theſe words in the body of an inſtrument, which was only to grant a ſum to the king. They added, theſe ſame words, which ſeemed to be put in by accident, and without deſign, were, however, of very great conſequence, and as the convocation had not taken any reſolution upon that point, they were for razing them out. But on the other hand, thoſe who were in the ſecret, pretended the words could not be put out, by a formal reſolve, without diſpleaſing the king, and giving him occaſion to refuſe the offered compenſation. This cauſed ſuch debates, that they were forced to put off the deciſion of the affair, to the next day. It was not without reaſon, that ſeveral dreaded the conſequence, which might, very naturally, be drawn from theſe words, ſince it was evident, the clergy was thereby engaged to acknowledge the pope no longer head of the church of England, which could not have two ſupreme heads at once. This was, in effect, the king's intention, as well as their's who had penned or drawn the inſtrument, as plainly appeared the next day. Thomas Cromwell, with others of the king's council, going to the convocation, very clearly hinted, that the point in debate, yeſterday, was very agreeable to the king, and he could not but conſider the oppoſers as very diſaffected perſons. After ſuch a declaration, there was not one that durſt directly oppoſe it, eſpecially as the archbiſhop and ſeveral other prelates openly maintained, that the king was truly the ſupreme head of the church of England; ſo the act paſſed as it was drawn; only ſome moved to add this reſtriction, "as far as is conſiſtent with the law of "Chriſt." But it was not the king's intention

1531. on to leave a door for thoſe to eſcape, who ſhould hereafter diſpute his ſupremacy. The inſtrument being ſealed, the 22d of March, was preſented to the king, who very graciouſly accepted both the clergy's preſent, and his new title, of which he afterwards made great uſe. The convocation of the province of York reſolved likewiſe to give the king 18,840 pounds; but as they omitted in the grant, to acknowledge the king ſupreme head of the church of England, they were told, that their preſent would not be accepted, if they ſpoke not like the convocation of Canterbury; ſo the clergy of York province, were forced to inſert the ſame acknowledgment, in their inſtrument. In this manner the king procured, or rather extorted from the clergy, the title of ſupreme head of the church of England. It is certain, that tho' ſome freely gave it him, yet the major part were not of that opinion. This is evident from the methods uſed to obtain it. This acknowledgment was procured in the manner we have ſeen, by Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, Thomas Cromwell, and ſome others, who verily believed there was no occaſion for the pope. Thoſe who flattered themſelves, at firſt, that the words were inſerted without deſign, in the inſtrument brought into the convocation of Canterbury, might have ſeen their error, if they had attended to another article in the ſame inſtrument, and which was alſo inſerted in that of the province of York, viz. that the clergy did promiſe, for the future, neither to make nor execute any conſtitution without the king's licenſe. This was, in other words, acknowledging the king for ſupreme head of the church of England. We ſhall ſee, hereafter, what uſe Henry made of this new title.

A pardon granted to the clergy.

The king being ſatisfied with the clergy, granted them a pardon in ample form; but when the pardon was brought into the houſe of commons, they refuſed to paſs it, unleſs the laity, who might have been guilty of the ſame offences, were alſo included. Henry offended at their oppoſition, ſent them word, he would be maſter of his own favours, and not ſuffer them to be forced from him. The king's reſolution terrified the commons, who to avoid his indignation, paſſed the pardon as it was, throwing themſelves upon his mercy as to what concerned the laity. Then the king, ſatisfied with their ſubmiſſion, granted to his temporal ſubjects a pardon like that to his ſpiritual. However, it ſeems, that the colleges and monaſteries were excepted, who not being included in the pardons, were forced to compound with the king, as we find in the Collection of the Publick Acts.

The people rejoice at the clergy's diſgrace.

So far were the people from riſing, (as they would, doubtleſs, have done, had they been under the ſame prejudice with their anceſtors in the reigns of Henry II, and king John;) that on the contrary, joy was viſibly painted on their faces, being highly delighted to ſee the clergy humbled. Thus, that body, ſo formidable heretofore, inſtead of daring to reſiſt the king, were conſtrained to fly to his protection, becauſe they ſaw plainly, the people ſhewed no concern at their diſgrace, and they had no remedy elſewhere. 1531.

The pope diſſembles his ſentiments. Burnet.

When the pope heard what had paſſed in England, he was terribly embarraſſed. He ſaw Henry purſuing ſuch meaſures, as would, probably, be attended with ill conſequences. However, he durſt not venture to proceed haughtily, for fear of engaging in a quarrel, which he foreſaw would not be to his advantage. Beſides, his not being pleaſed with the emperor, he ſaw him upon the point of being fully employed by the Turks, and the German Proteſtants, at a time when France and England were in ſtrict union. So, perceiving no aſſiſtance ſpeedy enough, in caſe he ſhould attempt to exert his authority, he choſe to be ſilent, in expectation of a proper ſeaſon to act, or, at leaſt, to be reconciled to the king.

Henry tries in vain to bring the queen to conſent to the divorce. Burnet.

This affair being ended, Henry prorogued the parliament. Then, he ordered the determinations of the univerſities to be printed, with the opinions of the learned concerning his marriage, that againſt the next ſeſſion every one might be informed of the ſtate of the caſe, and of his motives to proſecute the divorce. In the interim, as in putting away the queen, his intent was to marry Ann Bullen, he paſſionately wiſhed, the queen would be perſuaded to conſent to the divorce, in order to avoid the inconveniencies which might ariſe from her obſtinacy. To that purpoſe, he ſent ſome biſhops and lay lords, earneſtly to preſs her, either to conſent to the divorce, or refer the deciſion of the affair to four prelates and four ſeculars; but, as ſhe could not be prevailed with, to deſiſt from her appeal to the pope, he ſent her word to chuſe where ſhe would reſide in any of his manors, and, the 14th of July, 1531, took his leave of her, at Windſor, intending never to ſee her more.

Three perſons burnt for religion. Herbert.

What had lately paſſed, in the parliament and convocation, encouraged the well-wiſhers to a reformation, in the church, to which they already ſaw ſome preparatives. For this reaſon, religious diſputes became more frequent and publick than formerly; but the king perceiving what inferences would be drawn from his firſt proceedings, was pleaſed to ſhew, that in throwing off the papal yoke, he deſigned not to ſtrike at the fundamental truths of religion; ſo, to fruſtrate thoſe who had any ſuch thought, he commanded the laws againſt hereticks, to be rigorouſly executed. This occaſioned the death of three Proteſtants, viz. Bilney, Bayfield, and Baynam, of whom the two firſt were burnt this year, and the other in the following April.

The affairs of Germany. Herbert.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, in England, the affairs of Germany were more embroiled; for, in the beginning of the year, Ferdinand of Auſtria, king of Bohemia and Hungary, was elected king of the Romans, notwithſtanding the proteſtation of the confederates of Smalcald, and crowned, a few days after, at Aix la Chapelle. This was in conſequence of a league concluded between the Catholick princes of Germany, in the foregoing November; but this league was offenſive, whereas that of Smalcald was only defenſive.

Never

1531. Never had the Proteſtants any deſign to force the conſciences of ſuch as differed from them in opinion. But the intent of the Catholick league, was, to compel the Proteſtants to return to the church, they had forſaken. Theſe laſt proteſted againſt Ferdinand's election, as unneceſſary, and contrary to the uſual forms; but their proteſtation had no effect.

The reſt of the year was ſpent in ſundry negotiations, wherein the emperor ſeemed to have no other view, than to adjuſt the religious differences, tho', in effect, his deſign was only to amuſe the Proteſtants, and hinder them from taking meaſures for their defence, when they ſhould be attacked; and, as they were not ignorant of his artifices, they wrote on that ſubject, to Francis and Henry, who returned them favourable anſwers, with a promiſe of aſſiſtance, in caſe it was attempted to oppreſs them. Not that theſe two monarchs deſired to countenance the reformation, but it was their intereſt to protect the German Proteſtants, becauſe their deſtruction could not but exceedingly increaſe the emperor's power. Indeed, this was one of the chief means whereby that prince intended to execute his vaſt deſigns.

1532. Francis tries to raiſe the emperor troubles.

Whilſt the emperor was forming projects, to become maſter of Germany, under pretence of ſupporting the intereſts of religion and the empire, Francis I. turned to all ſides, to try to create him troubles, capable of producing ſome change, which he might improve. His vexation to have been forced to ſign the treaty of Cambray, threw him upon earneſtly ſeeking means to repair his loſſes, and eſpecially to recover Genoa and Milan. To this end, he carreſſed or threatened the pope, according as he ſaw it proper to uſe one or other of theſe means, and put the Proteſtants of Germany, in hopes of a powerful aſſiſtance, in caſe they were attacked by the emperor; but, chiefly, he laboured to ſecure the king of England, becauſe he could be moſt ſerviceable to him. He confirmed him, as much as poſſible, in his reſolution to puſh the affair of the divorce, in order to keep him always at variance with the emperor and the pope. Sometimes he intimated to him, that if the juſtice due to him was obſtinately refuſed, he would join in a league with him, to withdraw their dominions from the tyrannical power of the court of Rome. Then, fearing he would agree with the emperor, he adviſed him ſpeedily to marry Ann Bullen, well knowing it would be a certain means to widen their breach; nay, he ſent a letter to the pope, wherein he appeared no leſs concerned than Henry himſelf, in the affair of the divorce. Among other things, he told him, that if out of complaiſance, or fear, he continued to be governed by the emperor, he muſt not think it ſtrange, that the king of England ſhould endeavour to procure, by extraordinary means, the juſt ſatisfaction he had ſo long expected, in vain; adding, that his intereſts were ſo ſtrictly united with Henry's, that he was indiſpenſibly obliged to aſſiſt, to the utmoſt of his power, a prince, of whom he gloried to be the perpetual ally. In a word, he prayed him to conſider, whether it was prudent to give thoſe who could not be compelled to obey, the opportunity and will to withdraw their obedience. But Clement ſeeing only the emperor's forces, in Italy, took care not to follow ſuch dangerous counſels. 1532.

The two kings finding, at length, it was impoſſible to gain the pope, reſolved upon an interview, to contrive means to break the emperor's meaſures; but they thought proper, firſt, to ſpread a report, they were going to make a new league, in order to frighten the pope, and hinder him from cloſing again with the emperor, from whom he was ſomething alienated by the buſineſs of Ferrara. Accordingly, they concluded a league, at London, ſigned the 23d of June; but it is manifeſt, this treaty, was made only with the fore-mentioned view, ſince it contained but two articles that could have reaſonably alarmed the pope or the emperor, had they been known to them. The firſt was, that in caſe the emperor ſeiſed the Engliſh merchants effects, in the Low-Countries, the king of France would do the ſame with regard to the emperor's ſubjects, the Germans excepted; nay, this article was guarded by ſo many reſtrictions, on the part of Francis, that it plainly appeared to be only a mere pretence to make a treaty. By the ſecond, if Henry was attacked by the emperor, Francis was to ſend him an aid of 500 lances, and if the king of France was invaded, Henry was to aſſiſt him with a body of foot, not exceeding 5000 men. As the publick was not acquainted with the particulars of the treaty, ſeveral reports were ſpread. Some ſaid, the two monarchs had agreed to join in the league of Smalcald, or, at leaſt, to ſend a powerful aid to the German Proteſtants. Others fancied, that as the Turks threatened Auſtria, and the emperor would be unavoidably obliged to lead his forces into that country, Francis would invade, at the ſame time, the duchy of Milan, and Henry carry war into the Low-Countries. All theſe reports, tho' uncertain, made the emperor very uneaſy, becauſe they were grounded upon very probable conjectures.

Francis and Henry try to frighten the emperor and pope. Burnet.

This interview of the two monarchs, between Calais and Boulogne, was not till October. They had, principally, two things in view. The firſt, to divert the blame thrown on them, by the emperor, in ſpreading over all Europe, that whilſt Chriſtendom was going to be invaded by the Infidels, they remained idle ſpectators of the danger, without offering the leaſt aſſiſtance to thoſe who were preparing to defend her. Their other view was, to keep the Italians and Germans in the expectation of a freſh war, for fear they ſhould become too compliant to the emperor's will. To effect their deſign, they gave one another letters patents, whereby they engaged, jointly, to raiſe an army of 80,000 men, to ſtop the progreſs of the Turks, and to lead the ſame either into Germany or Italy, as there ſhould be occaſion; but this pretended agreement, was never put into the form of a treaty. Du

Francis and Henry's interview. Hall. Stow.

1532. Tillet ſpeaks of it, in his inventory of the treaties between France and England, by the name of letters of agreement; but there are no ſigns of it, in the Collection of the Publick Acts of England; wherefore, it is not probable, theſe two monarchs deſired to execute this pretended project, the ſole view whereof, was to juſtify them to the world, and inſpire the emperor and pope with terror. Doubtleſs, that was the reaſon of their affecting to publiſh it.

Francis's deſigns.

During the interview, Henry complained much of the pope, and Francis even improved upon him, in a long enumeration of the complaints he had received from the Gallican church, on account of the court of Rome's exactions. But this was only to amuſe Henry, ſince he was at that very time in ſecret negotiation with the pope, concerning the duke of Orleans, his ſecond ſon's marriage with Catharine de Medici. It manifeſtly appears by that prince's whole conduct, that his ſole view was to make Henry's friendſhip ſubſervient to gain the pope, in order to recover Genoa and Milan, which he had always in view; wherefore, he outwardly expreſſed a ſtrong attachment to Henry's intereſt. He even preſſed him not to ſtay for the pope's diſpenſation to marry his miſtreſs, who was preſent at the interview, having lately been made marchioneſs of Pembroke. Whilſt the two monarchs were together, they feaſted one another ſeveral times, a particular account whereof is needleſs in this place. Henry came to ſee Francis at Boulogne, and Francis returned his viſit at Calais. They parted the 30th of October to return, the one to Paris, the other to London; but by reaſon of the bad weather, Henry ſtaid ſome days at Calais, where it is ſaid, he privately married Ann Bullen. It is more probable, however, as ſome affirm, that it was not till the January following.

The Turks threaten Hungary.

During this whole year, the emperor was greatly embarraſſed. Soliman, emperor of the Turks, threatned to invade Hungary with a powerful army, which he accordingly did. Germany was in trouble, becauſe the Proteſtants, who had now been threatened, were taking effectual meaſures for their defenſe, and refuſed to acknowledge Ferdinand of Auſtria, for king of the Romans. On the other hand, the emperor was not ignorant of the pope's diſcontent, on account of the duke of Ferrara's affair, and that Francis and Henry were uſing their utmoſt endeavours to draw him off from his party, in order to diſturb Italy. Moreover, the Italians were quiet, only becauſe there was ſtill an imperial army in Italy, and no preparation in France to ſupport them, in caſe they attempted to hold up their head. In the interim, in the midſt of this ſeeming tranquillity, they eagerly wiſhed to ſee ſome revolution, to free them from their apprehenſions of the emperor's over-grown power. In fine, the interview of Francis and Henry exttremely troubled the emperor, apprehenſive as he was, that if Soliman proſpered in Hungary, they would embrace that opportunity to invade the duchy of Milan and the Low-Countries. It was neceſſary, therefore, to think, without loſs of time, of preventing the dangers which might proceed from all theſe quarters, and to begin with the moſt urgent affair, the ſatisfying of the Proteſtants, in order to have their aſſiſtance againſt the Turks. To that purpoſe, he came, the beginning of the year, to the diet of Ratisbon, where he found means to negotiate with the Proteſtants, an agreement, whereby no perſon was to be diſturbed on account of religion, till a council was called. He intended not punctually to perform this agreement, extorted from him by neceſſity. He received, however, this benefit by it, that all the princes and ſtates of Germany, as well Proteſtant as Catholick, furniſhed him with a powerful aid, which enabled him to aſſemble an army of 80,000 foot, and 30,000 horſe. 1532.

Charles obtains an aid.

He ſuſpects the king of France.

Whilſt this army was forming, the emperor, willing to ſound the king of France's intentions, ſent and deſired his aſſiſtance againſt the Turks; but received an unſatisfactory anſwer, which, added to the interview of the two monarchs, confirmed his ſuſpicion, that they were contriving ſomething againſt him; but Soliman haſtening his campaign, in Hungary, hindered him from thinking of means to prevent the miſchief he feared, from the two confederate kings. Indeed, the Turks not only advanced into Hungary, but even into Auſtria, with deſign to give him battle; but he wiſely avoided it, ſince, in loſing it, he would have been without refuge, and Auſtria, with part of Germany, would inevitably have fallen under the dominion of the Turks; whereas by ſtanding, as he did, upon the defenſive, with an army of above 100,000 men, he prevented them from making any conſiderable progreſs, and compelled them, at length, to return into their own country. As ſoon as he had certain advice that Soliman was upon his march to Conſtantinople, he departed for Italy, from whence he deſigned to return into Spain.

He confers with the pope at Bologna. Guicciard.

About the middle of November, he came to Bologna, where the pope waited to confer with him. As their deſigns were very oppoſite, there was not that harmony between them, as at their interview in the year 1529. The emperor thought only of ſecuring Italy, and preventing the king of France's return. The pope, on the contrary, wiſhed to keep him always uneaſy on that account, as well to render himſelf neceſſary, as to be freed from a ſtate of dependence. The emperor required the pope to call a council, in Germany, otherwiſe he ſaw no poſſibility of finding a lawful pretence to ruin the Proteſtants. But after what had paſſed at Conſtance and Baſil, the very name of a council was become ſo odious to the court of Rome, that Clement VII, could not reſolve to call one. He knew what had befallen John XXII, and Eugenius IV, and, therefore, had no mind to have his authority queſtioned. The emperor demanded, moreover, the pope's conſent to a league, he intended to form between all the ſtates of Italy,

to

1532. to which each ſhould contribute, in proportion, to its forces, in order to ſecure the country from all invaſion; that is to ſay, he would have, in Italy, an army maintained at the expence of others, and always ready to defend the duchy of Milan, in caſe Francis ſhould think of invading it. The pope approved of this project, not in order to keep Italy in its preſent ſituation, ſince it was very much to his prejudice, that the emperor ſhould remain ſo powerful there, but to have a pretence to be rid of the German and Spaniſh troops, who were a terror to the Italians. He foreſaw, that a league of ſo many parties, whoſe intereſts were different, would not long ſubſiſt, and that after it was broken, he ſhould himſelf become more neceſſary and conſiderable. He deſired only, that the Venetians ſhould come into the league, and bear their part of the charge. In ſhort, the emperor farther demanded of the pope, that he ſhould give his niece, Catharine de Medici, to the duke of Milan; his view being to engage him, for his niece's ſake, in the defence of the Milaneſe, for fear, in the end, Francis ſhould find a favourable opportunity to gain him to his intereſt. But Clement alledged, againſt this propoſal, his engagement with the king of France, who had done him the honour to demand Catharine for the duke, his ſecond ſon. He repreſented to the emperor, that he could not prefer the duke of Milan to the duke of Orleans, without making Francis his irreconcileable enemy, who would never forgive ſuch an affront. So their whole negotiation ended only in the projected league, in which the Venetians refuſed to be included; for they contented themſelves with promiſing the emperor, they would punctually perform their engagement, with reſpect to the duchy of Milan. In fine, the emperor having ſent for ambaſſadors from Milan, Ferrara, and Mantua, it was endeavoured for ſome time to ſettle the terms of the league; but the diſpute between the pope and the duke of Ferrara, very much retarded the concluſion, becauſe the duke would not come into the league before he was ſecure of peace at home. However, after great pains, the emperor prevailed with the pope to allow the duke an eight months reſpite. This affair was the reaſon the league could not be ſigned, till February next year.

How the Engliſh ſtood affected, as to religion.

Henry's proceedings againſt the clergy, and his diſpoſition, with regard to the pope, greatly encouraged thoſe who longed to ſee a reformation in the church. To conceive a right notion how the Engliſh ſtood affected, in this reſpect, it is neceſſary to know what the people's ſentiments were, concerning religion. It may be undeniably affirmed, that as to the reformation of the pope's exorbitant power, and the clergy's immunities, there was ſcarce an Engliſhman, if you except all or moſt of the eccleſiaſticks, but what heartily wiſhed it. It was now 300 years ſince the parliament firſt began to endeavour it, but without a perfect ſucceſs, becauſe it was contrary to the intereſt of the monarchs; but as for a reformation of doctrine, the well-wiſhers to it were very far from being the majority. 1532. These were not ſufficiently numerous to venture to propoſe it openly, eſpecially as they were not countenanced by the king; but when the pope's exceſſive authority, or the pride and riches of the clergy were exclaimed againſt, they boldly joined with the reſt of the people, without fear of being diſcovered, becauſe that was the ſentiment of all the people, or, at leaſt, of almoſt all the laity. But in expreſſing their zeal againſt the clergy, their view was to promote the reformation of doctrine, becauſe they knew the chief obſtacle would always proceed from the governors of the church. Here, therefore, they believed they ought to begin, in order to arrive at a thorough reformation. So, among thoſe that wiſhed to reduce, within due bounds, the papal power, and the clergy's immunities, there were, doubtleſs, many who had no farther views, and imagined the reformation would end there. Others, on the contrary, hoped, that after taking this firſt ſtep, it would be impoſſible to ſtop, wherein they had for warrant, what had happened in Germany. But they took care not to undeceive the others, for fear of cooling their zeal, by ſhewing them too ſoon the conſequences of the firſt ſtep, in the buſineſs of the reformation.

The commons are inclined to reduce the power of the clergy. Hall.

The parliament meeting the 15th of January, 1532, the commons were almoſt unanimouſly inclined to redreſs the grievances, ſo long complained of in vain, with reſpect to the papal power, and the eccleſiaſtical privileges. There had never been ſo favourable an opportunity; for, when formerly the parliaments were diſpoſed to make any attempt of this nature, the kings were unwilling to concur with them, becauſe the ſtate of their affairs permitted them not to break entirely with Rome. But the affair of the divorce, had put things on another foot. The king was diſſatisfied with the pope, and conſidered the clergy, both ſecular and regular, as ſecret enemies, by reaſon of their attachment to the court of Rome. So, his intereſt required, that the pope and clergy ſhould be humbled, and diviſion ſown between them and the people, knowing, that the former, could hurt him only, in proportion to their credit with the latter. As for what foreigners might do, he thought himſelf in no danger, ſo long as he remained ſtrictly united with France, and the more, as the emperor was then employed by his war with the Turks, and the troubles of Germany.

An addreſs propoſed to the king. Hollingſh.

All this being artfully inſinuated to the houſe of commons, they preſented an addreſs to the king, praying him to conſent to a reformation of ſundry grievances, occaſioned by the immunities of the clergy. The king replied, that before he gave his conſent to their requeſt, which ſeemed to him of great moment, he wiſhed to hear what the clergy had to ſay for themſelves. But under this ſhew of equity, his intent was to intimate to the clergy, how much they wanted his protection, ſince he could either promote or reſtrain the proceedings

1532. proceedings of the commons, as he pleaſed. Some time after, the parliament paſſed certain acts, which only glanced at ſome of the clergy's privileges, the people had moſt reaſon to complain of. But for that time, the reformation was carried no farther; nay, care was taken to make the eccleſiaſticks amends, by paſſing an act to releaſe them from the payment of annates, which was become a heavy burden. The act ran, that the kingdom was daily impoveriſhed by the great ſums paid to the ſee of Rome, for firſt-fruits, for palls, for bulls, &c. That ſince the ſecond year of the reign of Henry VII, 160,000 pounds had been paid to thoſe uſes, and that more was likely to be, ſhortly, exported, by reaſon many of the biſhops were very aged; that beſides, the annates were firſt introduced only as a contribution for the war againſt the Infidels, to which, however, they were never applied; and, therefore, it was enacted, that all payments of annates ſhould ceaſe for the future; that as for the bulls, there ſhould only be paid five pounds in the hundred, according to the clear annual value of the biſhopricks. That if, on account of this regulation, bulls ſhould be denied by the pope, the biſhop elect ſhould be preſented by the king to the archbiſhop of the province, for his conſecration; that in caſe the archbiſhop ſhould refuſe it, on pretence of want of palls, bulls, and the like, any two biſhops, appointed by the king, ſhould perform the office, and the biſhop ſo conſecrated acknowledged for lawful. Nevertheleſs, the parliament declared, it ſhould be in the king's power, to null or confirm the act within ſuch a time; and, if in this interval, he ſhould make an amicable compoſition with the court of Rome, it ſhould have the force and authority of a law; but if, upon this act, the pope ſhould pretend to vex the realm, by excommunications or interdicts, ſuch cenſures ſhould neither be regarded nor publiſhed, and, all interdicts notwithſtanding, the prieſts might lawfully, without any ſcruples of conſcience, celebrate divine ſervice as before.

Statutes againſt the clergy.

The boldneſs of a commoner. Hall.

In the interim, among the great number of repreſentatives, in the houſe of commons, there were ſeveral, who were entirely againſt a rupture with the pope. They perceived, however, it would infallibly follow upon the king's divorce; wherefore, they uſed all poſſible endeavours to prevent it. One Temſe, a member of parliament, was ſo hardy as to move, that the houſe ſhould go in a body, and addreſs the king to take his queen again. Henry hearing of this, ſent for Thomas Audley, the ſpeaker, and, in his perſon, ſeverely reprimanded the commons, for ſuffering a motion to be made concerning an affair, which fell not under their cognizance.

The king wills the commons to conſider the biſhops oaths. Burnet.

Some days after, the king ſent again for the ſpeaker, and told him, that having compared the oath taken by the biſhops to the pope, with that they took to the king, it ſeemed to him, they were but half ſubjects; and, therefore, he deſired the commons to examine the matter, and take care of the intereſt of the crown; but the plague which raged then, at London, and conſtrained the parliament to break up preſently after, hindered the commons from debating upon this affair, at that time. 1532.

The pope complains of the act aboliſhing the annates Burnet.

The power given the king, by the parliament, to aboliſh the annates, or make amicable compoſition with the pope, was a clear evidence, that the act had been procured by the intrigues of the court. The pope was extremely offended at it; but when he complained to the king's agents, he was told, he might have ſaved himſelf that vexation, and there was ſtill a remedy, ſince the king had power to repeal the act. This was an intimation, that he might depend upon it, the king would behave according as he had reaſon to be ſatisfied with his proceedings.

Thomas More reſigns the great ſeal. Hall.

Thomas More, who was lord chancellor, and a perſon of excellent judgment, foreſaw now, the king's proceedings would, in the end, produce a total rupture with Rome. He would have readily conſented, that ſome abuſes ſhould be reformed; but he found, as matters were managed, the reformation would go much farther than he deſired. He put a great difference between withdrawing entirely from the pope's obedience, and retrenching ſome of his uſurpations. So, being unwilling to be inſtrumental in the rupture, he reſigned the great ſeal, on the 10th of May. Some days after, the king made Sir Thomas Audley, lord keeper of the great ſeal, till the 20th of January, 1533, when he was made lord chancellor.

The emperor and Henry equally threaten the pope. Burnet.

Whilſt Henry uſed ſundry means, to ſhew the pope his danger, in obſtinately refuſing what he required, the emperor was no leſs ardently endeavouring to obtain a ſentence in favour of queen Catharine. The way theſe two monarchs applied to the pope, was not by humble intreaties, but by menaces, which had the greater effect, as he was naturally timorous, and ſlow to reſolve, upon things that required a ſpeedy reſolution. By theſe two oppoſite demands, he ſaw himſelf, indeed, between the hammer and the anvil, as he ſaid himſelf, in the beginning of the affair; and, on the other hand, he found by Henry's late proceedings, that England was going to be loſt to him, and his ſucceſſors. This conſideration, was very capable of putting him upon ſeeking expedients to content that monarch, without prejudice to the honour of the holy ſee. He would thereby, have preſerved a kingdom, which had been ever devoted to the popes, and from whence they had drawn large revenues. But on the other hand, the emperor had ſtill an army, in Italy, and was able to revenge his refuſal. Clement, of all things, feared the loſs of Florence, which the emperor could take from him with more eaſe than he had procured him the poſſeſſion. It is no wonder, therefore, if this fear, being the moſt imminent, prevailed. It would be a great miſtake, to aſcribe to this pope any motives of juſtice, equity, good, and benefit of the church, or religion; theſe things, for ſome time, had ſerved only for preambles to bulls.

1532. bulls. His own and his family's intereſt was the ſole rule of his conduct. So, finding himſelf extremely preſſed by the emperor, to paſs ſentence upon queen Catharine's appeal, he could no longer be excuſed from giving him ſome ſatisfaction. He declared, therefore, to the Engliſh agents, that having long expected, in vain, that their maſter would, of himſelf, return to the right way, he was obliged to cite him to Rome. Henry having notice of it, ſent, with all ſpeed, Edward Karne, doctor of law, with the new character of excuſator, to alledge the reaſons againſt a citation, to which the king of England could not be liable. Karne coming to Rome, in March, the pope ſcrupled to receive him as excuſator, a character whereof there was no precedent to be found in the chancery. However, he committed the examination of this title to a congregation, which made no haſte to give their opinion, that the excuſator might not have power, before he was acknowledged, to oppoſe the reſolutions already taken.

A new delay granted the king. Burnet.

At laſt, in a conſiſtory the 8th of July, it was reſolved, that, without examining Henry's reaſons for not appearing, in perſon, he ſhould be intreated to ſend to Rome a proxy, to defend his cauſe. In the interim, as the vacation, which was to laſt till the firſt of October, was then juſt begun, a delay till that time, was tacitly given the king. During this interval, the pope ſent him a brief to require him to ſend a proxy to Rome. At the ſame time he cauſed the following overtures to be made him; that the affair of the divorce ſhould be examined in any indifferent place, by a legate and two auditors of the Rota; which done, the pope himſelf would paſs ſentence. Secondly, that all the ſovereign princes of Chriſtendom ſhould agree to a truce of three or four years, within which time, the pope promiſed to call a general council. The king anſwered, by Sir Thomas Elliot, who was ſent on purpoſe, that he could not agree to a truce, without the king of France's concurrence. Secondly, that it was not a proper juncture to call a council. Laſtly, as for the affair of the divorce, being king of England, he was to take care of the prerogatives of the crown, and the laws of the realm, which allowed not, that any proceſs ſhould be tried in a foreign court; that beſides, the canons of the church expreſly decreed, that all matrimonial cauſes ſhould be judged, in the countries where the parties reſided.

The king proteſts againſt the citation. Act. Pub.

To theſe reaſons, he added, a proteſtation in form, declaring, that he was not obliged to appear at Rome, either in perſon, or by proxy, and tacked to this proteſtation, the determinations of ſome univerſities he had conſulted. However, he propoſed three things to the pope. Firſt, he required, that the cauſe ſhould be decided by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and two other biſhops, or elſe, by the whole clergy of the kingdom. But it muſt be obſerved, that the ſee of Canterbury had been vacant ſince Auguſt, by Warham's death, and, if the pope had cloſed with this propoſal, the king would have failed to fill the ſee with a prelate devoted to him. His ſecond offer was, that the cauſe ſhould be judged by four arbitrators, one to be named by the king, another by the queen, a third by the king of France, and that the archbiſhop of Canterbury ſhould be the fourth. In the third place, he propoſed, that the cauſe being judged by the archbiſhop, or by umpires, if the queen ſhould think fit to appeal from the ſentence, the appeal ſhould be brought before three judges, whereof he would name one, the pope another, and the king of France a third. The pope anſwered to theſe propoſals, that he ſaw the king would not recede from his pretended rights, and, therefore, it ſhould not be thought ſtrange, that he reſolved to preſerve his own.

1532.

All the obſtacles of the divorce come from the emperor.

However, it is certain, if the pope durſt have ſatisfied the king, he would gladly have done it, by reaſon of his fear to loſe England entirely. It was not the difficulties in the affair of the divorce, that hindered him from proceeding. Had they been much greater than they were, he would have readily overlooked them all; for, ſuppoſing the unlimited power aſſumed by the pope, it was as eaſy for Clement VII, to null Henry's marriage, as it was for Julius II, to grant a diſpenſation; but he had to manage the honour of his ſee, and the intereſt of the emperor, who threatened him, and was able to execute his threats. Had not the emperor been concerned in the affair, it would have been very eaſy to find an expedient to content the king, without prejudice to the papal authority. It was only to aſſure the king, the cauſe ſhould be decided in his favour, and he would have willingly agreed, that the pope ſhould have been the ſole judge. But the pope could give him no ſuch aſſurance, by reaſon of the emperor's oppoſition; and, therefore, Henry could not reſolve to put the affair into his hands, at the hazard of being caſt. Upon this account it was, that he propoſed infallible expedients to gain his cauſe; but on the other hand, the pope could not accept of theſe expedients, without injuring his dignity. Thus, the affair was ſolely retarded, by the emperor's interpoſition. Had it not been for him, the pope would have contented the king, and the king would have ſubmitted to the pope, and remained as before, an obedient ſon of the holy ſee. Hence, therefore, it may be inferred, that the king's proceedings, as well in the late parliament as afterwards, flowed not ſo much from his real opinion, that the papal authority was uſurped, as from his ſeeing no other way to be delivered from his preſent difficulties, than by denying it to be in the pope's power to do what Julius II. had done. It is, however, very likely, he was afterwards fully convinced of the truth of what he aſſerted, at firſt, only out of neceſſity. On the other hand, if the pope paſſed ſentence againſt Henry, as we ſhall ſee preſently, it was not from a belief that his marriage with Catharine was lawful, but ſolely to ſave the honour of the holy ſee, and through fear of, or complaiſance for, the emperor. And here, who can forbear admiring the ſecret ways of Pro-

1532. vidence, which rendered a reconciliation between the pope and the king impracticable, in order to produce an event, which was to be attended with ſo momentous conſequences for England.

Henry is cited to Rome. Herbert.

At length, the vacation being over, Henry was cited the fourth of October, to appear at Rome, either in perſon or by proxy, and Karne ſolemnly proteſted againſt the citation. What has been ſaid happened before the emperor's arrival, at Bologna. Clement VII, who was going, immediately, after the citation, to confer with that prince, promiſed Karne, that all proceedings ſhould be ſuſpended ſo long as the emperor was in Italy. This was all the favour Karne could obtain *.

The affairs between England and Scotland. Buchanan. Hall.

Whilſt Henry ſeemed wholly employed in the affair of his divorce, a quarrel aroſe between England and Scotland. Buchanan pretends, Henry willing to take advantage of his union with France, and imagining, Francis I, would ſuffer him to oppreſs king James, made inroads into Scotland, as if he intended to renew the war. He adds, that the only pretence of this rupture, was, that the Scots had ſpoken ſome injurious words againſt the Engliſh. Be this as it will, the king of Scotland being prepared for his defence, Henry thought not fit to purſue his deſign. He choſe rather to agree, that the difference, ſhould be decided by the king of France's mediation, who for that purpoſe ſent an ambaſſador to Newcaſtle. The king of Scotland was ſo offended with Francis for ſo coolly eſpouſing his cauſe, that he was going to join with the emperor; but, at length, all was happily adjuſted, and the two kings of England and Scotland remained friends as before.

1533. A league concluded at Rome, for the ſecurity of Italy. Guicciard.

It was not for Henry's intereſt to undertake a war againſt Scotland, when he was to prepare for his defence againſt the emperor. It was extremely probable, the pope had not engaged to judge queen Catharine's appeal, without being firſt aſſured, that the emperor, the queen's nephew, would execute the ſentence. This, indeed, was his deſign, but the troubles which came upon him, hindered his engaging in that enterpriſe. He reckoned, that the Italian league before-mentioned, would be a ſure defence for the duchy of Milan; but he ſoon perceived, he was himſelf the dupe of the politick pope. This league was, at length, ſigned at Bologna, the 24th of February, 1533, according to his wiſh. Every ſovereign that had dominions in Italy, the Venetians excepted, engaged to find a certain ſum, monthly, for the maintenance of an army, which Antonio de Leva was to command, as general of the league. The emperor's intention was, that the army ſhould conſiſt of his own troops, and be conſtantly maintained; but the deſign of the confederates was very different. They had conſented to the league only that the emperor, having nothing to fear for Italy, might withdraw all his troops; but they never meant, that the army, maintained at their expence, ſhould ſerve to keep them in ſubjection, which would neceſſarily be the caſe, if the army continued always on foot, under the command of the emperor's general. They repreſented to him, therefore, that the league being defenſive, it was not proper to continue an army without neceſſity, to ruin them in expences; but upon the firſt motion of the French, they would not fail to perform their agreements. What arguments ſoever the emperor alledged, it was not poſſible to bring them to what he deſired; wherefore, he was forced to be ſatisfied with their promiſes, becauſe he was not in condition to maintain an army, in Italy, at his own charge. Then he disbanded part of his troops, and ſent the reſt to Naples and Spain. He departed from Bologna, about the end of February, and came to Genoa, where he ſtaid ſome time; after which, on the 8th of April, he embarqued for Spain, extremely diſpleaſed with the pope, who through all his diſguiſes, could not help ſhewing his inclination to France. Indeed, he was now agreed with the cardinals of Tournon and Grammont upon an interview with Francis, and the marriage of Catharine de Medici, with the duke of Orleans. 1533.

The affairs of Germany. Herbert.

The ſtate of Italy was not the only thing that employed the emperor. He had, as was obſerved, promiſed the Proteſtants a free council in Germany; but tho' the word free was equally uſed by thoſe who demanded a council, and by him that promiſed it, they were far from meaning the ſame thing. The Proteſtants underſtood, by that word, that a council ſhould be held in Germany, where not only they might have free acceſs and full liberty to produce their reaſons, but alſo, that the points in diſpute ſhould be decided ſolely by the word of God. The emperor meant, on the contrary, to retain only an outward ſhew of the word, and by rendering his party ſuperior in the council, to cauſe matters to be ſo decided, that the Proteſtants ſhould be forced, either to revoke all their innovations, or reject the council's deciſions. In the latter caſe, which was moſt likely, the emperor plainly perceived, they would give him a pretence to attack them, which was the thing he intended. But in the execution of this deſign, a great obſtacle occurred; viz. a council, let it be what it would, was a terror to the pope. Tho' he knew the emperor demanded a council, not with intent to alter religion, yet he was afraid of being ſacrificed to the Proteſtants, if that monarch's intereſt required it; beſides, the ſtrict alliance between Francis and Henry made him uneaſy. In ſhort, he could not reſolve to call a council, without being ſure of managing it as he pleaſed; and this could ſcarce be expected, as matters then ſtood in Chriſtendom. Since his being on the papal throne, he had pleaſed neither the emperor, nor the king of France, nor the king of England, nor the potentates of Italy, and yet, of the ſubjects of all theſe ſovereigns was the council chiefly to conſiſt. He knew himſelf to be a baſtard, and that alone

* King Henry, this year, purchaſed the hoſpital of St. James, founded by the citizens of London, before the time of any man's memory, for 14 leprous maidens; and built in the room of it, the palace, now called St. James's, to which he annexed the park, and encloſed it with a brick-wall. Hall.

to

1533. to be ſufficient to depoſe him, in caſe his enemies were ſuperior in the council. What had paſſed at Conſtance and Baſil, gave him juſt reaſon to dread that a council, held in a free city of Germany, might form the ſame deſigns. Upon all theſe conſiderations, when the emperor deſired him, at the conference of Bologna, to call a council, he forbore to give a poſitive anſwer; contenting himſelf with committing the examination of his requeſt, to certain cardinals, under pretence of being informed of the reaſons pro and con. The popes have a character to ſuſtain, which often throws them into great perplexity. In publick, they muſt make ſhew of a great zeal for God's glory, for religion, and for the good of the church, and withal, of a great diſintereſtedneſs for every thing, which, perſonally, concerns them; but, for fear what they, thus, profeſs, outwardly, ſhould be taken literally, they muſt, in private, undeceive thoſe who treat with them, and diſcover to them, that their own intereſt is the principal ſubject of the negotiation. So, what they ſay publickly, is always juſt and right, and ſeems to tend only to the greater glory of God; but, in the end, it is too frequently perceived, that religion ſerves only for a cloak to their temporal concerns. On the preſent occaſion, a general council ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary, to put an end to the troubles, cauſed by the religious differences, in ſeveral places, and, particularly, in Germany. The pope not only agreed upon a council with the emperor, but even feigned to wiſh it heartily. In the interim, as a council was contrary to his intereſts, reaſons, drawn from the good and advantage of religion, were to be found to reject it, or defer the convening. This was done by the commiſſioners, appointed to examine the emperor's requeſt. They drew a memorial, ſetting forth the neceſſity of a council, but ſhewing withal, the inconveniences of admitting the Proteſtants to diſpute upon matters already ſettled, and the uſeleſſneſs of the ſame council, if they were not admitted. This memorial being communicated to Francis, he anſwered to it, by another, demonſtrating, that the inconveniences mentioned in the firſt, ought not to hinder the calling of a council; moreover, he particularly chalked out the methods which were to be uſed, to baniſh all partiality. But this memorial was not acceptable to the emperor, becauſe a free council was not what he deſired, but a council that would afford him an opportunity and pretence to attack the Proteſtants of Germany; after which, he did not deſpair of bringing the Catholicks alſo under his yoke. Francis anſwered the emperor's reaſons againſt his memorial, but it was to no purpoſe; for, it was almoſt impoſſible that two princes, whoſe intereſts were ſo oppoſite, and who were ſo jealous of each other, ſhould agree in any point. Thus, the pope had his wiſh, ſince the calling of the council was deferred to a more proper ſeaſon. I muſt now ſpeak of what paſſed, in England, in the year 1533.

The reaſons of a congregation of cardinals againſt the council.

Francis anſwers their reaſons. Herbert.

The council is put off. Herbert.

A ſeſſion of the parliament in England. Herbert.

Whilſt the pope and emperor were conferring at Bologna, Henry aſſembled the parliament the 4th of February. As, hitherto, the pope had not relaxed, in the leaſt, except that he had delayed the excommunication, wherewith he had menaced the king, it was deemed proper to proceed farther, and let him ſee, he was not at all feared. So, the parliament paſſed an act, expreſly forbidding all appeals to Rome, on pain of incurring a Præmunire. This was to convince the pope, there was no occaſion for him, ſince, at the very time that the point in queſtion, between him and the king was, to know whether the affair of the divorce ſhould be judged in England, people were forbid to carry their cauſes to Rome. But there was another reaſon which induced Henry to procure this act; viz. having heard that Francis was going to make an alliance with the pope, he imagined, that for the future, his friend would act but faintly in his favour; and, therefore, he was now determined to have his cauſe tried in the kingdom, without troubling himſelf any farther about the pope's proceedings againſt him. The archbiſhoprick of Canterbury being vacant by Warham's death, it was neceſſary to fill the ſee, that the ſentence might be given by the primate of England; wherefore, Henry had caſt his eyes on Dr. Thomas Cranmer, then in Germany. But, contrary to his expectation, he had found the doctor more averſe to accept, than others would have been eager to deſire that high dignity. It was ſix months before he could be perſuaded to take upon him that burden. In fine, his reluctance being conquered by the king's patience, he began his journey to London, tho' very ſlowly, in hopes the king might alter his mind. However, as a farther delay was directly contrary to the king's meaſures, Cranmer could no longer defer ſubmitting to his will. The king himſelf undertook to demand his bulls, which, tho' 11 in all, were rated at 900 ducats. The pope forbore of his own accord, to require the annates, foreſeeing they would be refuſed. To enable Cranmer to be at this charge, the king made him a preſent of the revenues of the archbiſhoprick, from the 9th of September laſt year. Theſe obſtacles being removed, there aroſe another much more conſiderable; Cranmer refuſed to take the uſual oath to the pope, believing he could not do it with a ſafe conſcience. In his firſt journey into Germany, he had read Luther's books, which entirely convinced him of the truth of many of the Proteſtant tenets, and particularly of the little foundation in ſcripture, for the ſpiritual power aſſumed by the pope over the whole church. Conſequently, he could not reſolve to ſwear an obedience, which in his opinion, was not due to him. In the interim, Henry conſidering Cranmer, as a perſon, who by his principles and reſolution could effectually ſerve him, in the deciſion of the affair of the divorce, of which he deſired to ſee the end, preſſed him ſo earneſtly to ſwear the cuſtomary oath, that he was prevailed with, at length, by an expedient propoſed to him; viz. to make a formal proteſtation againſt the oath he was to take. This is by no means one of his moſt commendable actions. He was, however, conſecrated the 13th of March, according to Burnet;

1533.

Cranmer made archbiſhop of Canterbury. Burnet.

He refuſes to take the oath to the pope. Burnet.

He yields at laſt, but makes a proteſtation. Act. Pub.

1533. net; and yet, the king put him not in poſſeſſion of the temporalities, till the 29th of April; which gives occaſion to ſuſpect, there is a miſtake in the firſt of theſe dates.

The convocation of Canterbury and York, decide the points about the divorce, for the king. Act. Pub.

This affair being ended, the king required the convocation of the province of Canterbury, to give their opinion upon theſe two points. Firſt, whether pope Julius's diſpenſation for the king's marriage with Catharine was ſufficient, and able to render ſuch a marriage valid? Secondly, whether it was ſufficiently proved, that Arthur had conſummated his marriage with Catharine? Whereupon, the convocation declared, on the 5th of April, that the pope had not power to diſpenſe contrary to the law of God, and the conſummation of Arthur's marriage was proved, as far as a thing of that nature could be. The convocation of York made the like deciſion, the 13th of May following.

Francis ſends de Bellay to London. Mezerai. Bellay.

Whilſt the clergy were employed in debtaing theſe points, Henry wrote to Francis, deſiring him to ſend a truſty perſon, to whom he might diſcover ſome things, which he would not make publick. Whereupon Francis ſent William de Bellay, lord of Langeais, ordering him to acquaint the king, that he had concluded a marriage between his ſecond ſon, the duke of Orleans, and Catharine de Medici, and that the pope and himſelf were to meet at Marſeilles, to celebrate the nuptials; that, in ſuch a juncture, he believed his preſence would be very neceſſary, to negotiate his own affairs himſelf, with the pope; but, in caſe he did not think proper to be at the interview, he would do well to ſend ſome perſon on his part. Langeais being come to London, the king told him, that Clement VII, having obſtinately refuſed to appoint him judges, in England, he had determined, at length, to proceed; and, therefore, had already eſpouſed Ann Bullen, with a reſolution to have his marriage nulled by the archbiſhop of Canterbury. That, however, he would keep his ſecond marriage private, till May, to ſee what the king of France could do with the biſhop of Rome (for ſo he called the pope;) but, if he could obtain nothing, his deſign was to withdraw himſelf wholly from the papal authority. He imagined then, the pope and Francis would meet in May, but it was not till October. He told Langeais farther, that he had compoſed a treatiſe upon the incroachments of the biſhops of Rome, and the prerogatives of ſovereign princes; but would not publiſh it, till he ſaw no hopes of a reconciliation.

Henry makes his marriage publick.

A remark on that ſubject.

Soon after, the king's marriage with Ann Bullen was made publick, which, certainly, was very wrong. Since the king was reſolved to have his firſt marriage nulled, by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, he ſhould have ſtaid till the ſentence was pronounced. All that can be ſaid, in excuſe of this irregular conduct, is, that the new queen was four months gone with child, and her breeding could hardly be concealed any longer; but, notwithſtanding this, the king might have cauſed his firſt marriage to be nulled a little ſooner, or the ſecond, to be publiſhed a little later, ſince there was but a month between the publication, and the ſentence. However this be, Henry deſpairing to prevail with the pope, and not much fearing him, thought to have no farther regard either for him or the publick, being almoſt aſſured of ſucceeding in whatever he undertook, conſidering how the people ſtood affected. In a word, being fully determined to end the affair, he ſo ordered, that the archbiſhop of Canterbury demanded his leave to ſummon queen Catharine. Before he came to this extremity, he tried more than once, to perſuade the queen to conſent to the divorce; but all his endeavours proving ineffectual, he granted the archbiſhop the leave he deſired. The queen was, therefore, cited to appear, at Dunſtable, in the neighbourhood of the place where ſhe reſided, the 20th of May; but as ſhe refuſed to appear, the archbiſhop gave ſentence the 23d of the ſame month, declaring the king's marriage with Catharine null, as being contrary to the law of God. On the 28th, at Lambeth, by another ſentence, he confirmed the king's marriage with Ann Bullen, and on the firſt of June the new queen was crowned. 1533.

Cranmer cites the queen, and upon her not appearing pronounces ſentence, Act. Pub. and confirms the king's ſecond marriage.

Thus, ended this famous proceſs, the iſſue whereof afforded no leſs matter for divers reflections, than the beginning, every one reaſoning, as ſwayed by prejudice or intereſt. Thoſe who were againſt the king, took notice of his error, in eſpouſing a ſecond wife, before his firſt marriage was legally diſſolved. Moreover, they ſaid, that of all the prelates in England, Cranmer was the laſt that ſhould have been choſen for judge, ſince he had ſo openly declared againſt the firſt marriage. That his partiality was apparent, not only in his haſte to give ſentence, but alſo in his confirming the king's ſecond marriage, which had been conſummated, whilſt the firſt ſtill ſubſiſted.

Reflections on the king's conduct. Burnet.

Reaſons alledged for the king.

Thoſe who were for the king, affirmed, the ſentence was but a mere formality, which rendered not the marriage void, but only declared it ſo. That it ſufficed, the ſentence was conformable to the determinations of the Engliſh clergy, and all the univerſities, in Europe, and to the ſentiments of the pope himſelf, who would have nulled the marriage, had he not been biaſſed by worldly conſiderations. They juſtified Cranmer, by alledging, that having changed his character, ſince his declaring for the divorce, that declaration ought not to hinder him from being judge, no more than a lawyer when he comes to ſit on the bench, is debarred the trying of cauſes in which he formerly gave counſel. That tho' there were ſome default, in the form, it could not be denied, the ſentence was juſt, in itſelf, which was ſufficient to quiet the king's conſcience, who alone was concerned in the affair. As for the new queen, no fault could be found with her conduct, ſince ſhe proved not with child, till after her marriage, whether the king eſpouſed her in November laſt year, or, in the January following. As for queen Catharine, it could not be thought ſtrange, that ſhe ſhould maintain the validity of her ſecond marriage; but it was juſtly wondered at, ſhe ſhould ſo obſtinately deny the conſummation of the firſt,

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1533. which was proved by all poſſible evidence. But as moſt people were then biaſſed on one ſide or other, we are not to judge of this affair, by what was publiſhed in thoſe days, but by reaſon and equity; let us, therefore, briefly conſider it in that view, independently of the prejudices cauſed by the conſequences. It will not, perhaps, be unacceptable to the reader, to ſee here a ſhort recapitulation of the conduct of the chief actors in this ſcene. I ſhall confine myſelf to this, without fully examining the proceſs, which is not ſo much the buſineſs of a hiſtorian, as of a divine or civilian.

Remarks upon the proceſs of the divorce, and the conduct of the principal parties.

Upon the king.

It is almoſt impoſſible to know, poſitively, whether Henry, when he undertook the affair of the divorce, was convinced, that his marriage was contrary to the law of God, or, at leaſt, really troubled in conſcience, upon that account; all that can be ſaid in his favour, is, that he himſelf affirmed as much, and none but the ſearcher of all hearts can know, whether he thought as he ſpoke. It cannot be denied, that the ſole conſideration of ſuch a marriage, is, of itſelf, capable of breeding ſuch ſcruples, eſpecially, as the king's might be confirmed by the archbiſhop of Canterbury's, and the biſhop of Lincoln's, his confeſſor; but, on the other hand, it may be conjectured, from ſeveral circumſtances, that it was only a pretence to put away Catharine, and marry Ann Bullen. In the firſt place, he had lived 18 years with the queen, without ſhewing any ſcruples. In the ſecond place, if he was not in love with Ann Bullen, when his ſcruples firſt ſeiſed him, it cannot be denied, he was very much ſo, when he moſt ardently preſſed the affair of the divorce; ſo it may be conjectured, that his love might turn into belief, what, at firſt, was only a doubt. In the third place, very probably, it was cardinal Wolſey that inſpired, by himſelf, or another, the king with theſe ſcruples, to be revenged of the emperor and the queen. This bold and daring miniſter imagined, either the affair would eaſily ſucceed, conſidering his great credit at the court of Rome, or, in caſe of oppoſition, it would be no more difficult on this than on ſeveral other occaſions, to cauſe the king to alter his mind; but Henry's love unexpectedly happening, Wolſey found he had taken wrong meaſures. Beſides, the determinations of the univerſities did not a little contribute, without doubt, to confirm the king in his opinion. However, without farther inquiry, whether Henry was ſatisfied of the juſtice of his cauſe, let us conſider, in few words, how he behaved in ſo nice an affair. He ſuppoſed, that Julius II. could not grant a diſpenſation for his marriage, and conſequently the marriage was void of it ſelf; and yet, he thought he wanted Clement VII's bull to declare it ſo. Herein was a contradiction, which could not but greatly embarraſs him; for, if Julius's diſpenſation was null by the law of God, it was needleſs to revoke it; and, if a revocation was neceſſary, conſequently it was good till revoked. Thus, Henry was bound, till the pope ſhould pleaſe to decide the point. Wherefore, when Cranmer had given him another notion of this affair, by intimating to him, that, independently of the power aſſumed by the pope, the chief thing was to be aſſured of the right, by the opinions of the learned, he cried out in a tranſport of joy, "he had got, at laſt, the "right ſow by the ear;" that is, he found in Cranmer's advice, a ſolution of the difficulties, he could not get clear of, in following the doubtful principle of the pope's power, becauſe its extent was not ſettled. He reſolved, therefore, to procure the opinions of the univerſities; but, at length, weighing the conſequences of a rupture with Rome, he reſumed the firſt way, and applied again to the pope. By this he wronged his cauſe very much; for, in taking the pope for judge, it was no longer in his power to limit the authority he was willing to acknowledge; but he was excuſable, ſince it was hardly poſſible to throw off, at once, his prejudice, with reſpect to the papal power, whereof he had not, at firſt, ſo clear an idea, as afterwards. Then, finding the pope acted only from worldly conſiderations, which hindered him from giving him the ſatisfaction he required, he returned to the way he had left; ſo, proceeding upon his own conviction, and the determinations of the univerſities, he cauſed his marriage to be declared null, without regarding the pope's authority, which he was reſolved to forſake. I omit the reaſons he alledged to prove the neceſſity of his divorce, That of conſcience was, doubtleſs, the beſt, if ſincere. That relating to the uncertainty of the ſucceſſion was proper to demand a ſentence. but not to ground the divorce upon, becauſe the divorce ſuppoſed the marriage void, which was to be judged.

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A remark on the pope.

Let us now conſider the pope's conduct, where we find nothing ſavouring of Chriſt's vicar. Clement VII. never examined the caſe, by the maxims of religion, juſtice, or equity, but always with regard to his own or family's intereſt. If he had attended to what religion required, he would have examined, whether Henry's marriage was contrary to the law of God, and whether, in that caſe, a pope had power to grant a diſpenſation. If he had been convinced, that Julius II. aſſumed a right, which belonged not to him, he ſhould have readily granted Henry the bull he demanded; but, if, on the contrary, he was perſuaded, the marriage was agreeable to the divine law, or not being ſo, it was in the power of a pope to grant a diſpenſation, he would have confirmed it, and tried to remove the king's ſcruples, without ſeeking ſo many evaſions; which was the duty of a pope. But inſtead of acting in this manner, he conſidered only what good or hurt might accrue to him, from the king's demand, independently of the juſtice or injuſtice of the thing. Whilſt he was priſoner in the caſtle of St. Angelo, or fugitive at Orvieto, and thought he ſtood in need of Henry, he poſſitively promiſed to content him. Afterwards, he only amuſed him, till, by the emperor's means, he had recovered Florence. As ſoon as he was in poſſeſſion of that ſtate, which he had ſo much deſired, he avocated the proceſs to Rome, but, in all appearance,

1533. with intent never to decide it, if he could help it; becauſe, whilſt the two parties remained uncertain of the deciſion, he made himſelf neceſſary to both. Can it, therefore, be ſaid, there was any ſign of juſtice or religion in his proceedings? Certainly, if Henry was to blame, as it is pretended, to feign ſcruples, on purpoſe to gratify his paſſion, Clement was no leſs ſo, not to try to reclaim him before the affair was began, or to content him, in caſe his ſcruples were well grounded. Tho' Henry had acted only through paſſion, which is, however, very uncertain, he would have been much more excuſable than the pope, who, in the poſt he filled, ought to have proceeded upon very different principles.

Remarks on the emperor.

As for the emperor, he undoubtedly acted, in this affair, from motives of honour, intereſt, and policy, without juſtice or religion being concerned in his proceedings. He looked upon the queen of England, his aunt's divorce, as a diſhonour, which added to his intereſt to create Henry troubles, who was in ſtrict alliance with France, was but too capable of inducing him to obſtruct it, to the utmoſt of his power.

On queen Catharine.

As for queen Catharine, very probably, ſhe acted with ſincerity. As ſhe believed the pope's authority unlimited, ſhe thought herſelf the king's lawful wife, and in that belief, did not think herſelf obliged to reſign her right to another, on pretence of the king her husband's ſcruples, which, in her opinion, were groundleſs; beſides, ſhe could not own her marriage null, without greatly injuring her daughter, the princeſs Mary. Tho' ſhe had been convinced her marriage was not lawful in itſelf, ſhe believed the pope had power to render it valid, being ready, however, to ſubmit to the ſame authority as ſoon as it ſhould be declared. Nevertheleſs, ſhe may be juſtly ſuſpected of having taken a falſe oath, to make her cauſe better.

On Ann Bullen.

Much has been ſaid againſt Ann Bullen; but without inſiſting upon Sander's invectives, which have been ſufficiently refuted *, ſhe can be charged, before marriage, but with one ſingle fault, viz. her yielding to the king, before his marriage with Catharine was nulled. But it was very difficult for a young lady of her rank, to have reſolution enough to reſiſt the temptation of being a queen, if ſhe could be ſo lawfully, as it is likely the king made her believe. However, it cannot be ſaid, ſhe yielded to the king's deſires before her marriage; for he eſpouſed her, at the lateſt, in January, and ſhe was not brought to bed till September; ſo there is nothing in that which can give occaſion for any ſuſpicion.

As for the reſt, who were concerned in this affair, as the cardinals, and the king's, and the emperor's miniſters, it may be affirmed, they acted only from worldly views, without any regard to religion. 1533.

On the pope's, the king's, and the emperor's agents.

It cannot be ſaid, the univerſities of France and England, decided the queſtions propoſed, with entire freedom, ſince it is known what an influence ſovereigns have upon the actions of their ſubjects, when they are concerned. As to the univerſities of Italy, both parties accuſed one another of having corrupted them, the one by money, and the other by menaces. As for the Engliſh clergy, they had lately received ſuch a check, that they had reaſon to dread giving the king a freſh occaſion of anger. But it cannot be thence inferred, that they decided contrary to their ſentiments, ſince it often happens, the truth is not oppoſite to our intereſt. The ſame may be ſaid of Cranmer, who being now tinctured with Luther's doctrine, could not look upon Julius's diſpenſation as capable of rendering a marriage valid, which in itſelf, was null and repugnant to the law of God. Indeed, he may have earneſtly embraced this opportunity, to give a mortal wound to the papal authority, in order to promote the reformation; but it cannot be affirmed, that he acted againſt his knowledge, in pronouncing the ſentence of divorce; at leaſt, his whole behaviour was directly oppoſite to ſuch obliquities.

On the univerſities.

On Cranmer.

By what has been ſaid, it may be eaſily perceived, that in this affair, which was properly a caſe of conſcience, very few of the actors had any but political views, without much regard to the precepts of religion. Nevertheleſs, God who directs all the actions of men, without their knowing very often themſelves to what they may tend, drew from the proceedings of Henry, Clement, and Charles, the end he deſigned, that is, the reformation of the church of England, as will be ſeen in the ſequel. If any one deſires fully to examine the caſe of Henry VIII's divorce, he would do well to caſt off all prejudice, and take care not to be miſled by the authors who have wrote on this ſubject; but, if a man is contented with examining it hiſtorically, he is to conſider only the political views of the principal actors.

Catharine remains inflexible. Burnet.

The ſentence of divorce being made publick, Henry took care to acquaint Catharine with it, by the lord Mountjoy, who tried, in vain, to perſuade her to ſubmit; for ſhe ſtill remained inflexible, affirming, ſhe would be the king's wife, till the pope had nulled the marriage. This anſwer being brought to the king, he ordered her to be ſtiled

* Sanders, has aſſured the world, that the king liking her mother, ſent her husband, Sir Thomas Bullen, ambaſſador to France, and, in his abſence, begot Ann Bullen upon his wife. At his return, he ſued a divorce againſt her, in the archbiſhop's court; but the king letting him know ſhe was with child by him, he was, upon the king's deſire, reconciled to his wife. Thus, Ann Bullen, tho' ſhe went under the name of Sir Thomas's daughter, yet was of the king's begetting. As he deſcribes her, ſhe was ill-ſhaped and ugly, had ſix fingers, a gag-tooth, and a tumour under her chin. At 15 years of age, he affirms, both her father's butler and chaplain lay with her; and when in France, ſhe led ſuch a diſſolute life, that ſhe was called the Engliſh Hackney. That the French king liking her, ſhe was called the King's Mule. But returning to England, ſhe gained the king's affection by the appearance of a ſevere virtue, with which ſhe diſguiſed herſelf. The ſame author adds, that the king had likewiſe enjoyed her ſiſter, with a great deal more to the diſgrace of this lady and her family. Hence we may ſee to what a height of rancour and malice bigotry and blind zeal in religious matters, are capable of carrying a man! Burnet.

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1533. only Princeſs Dowager of Wales; but ſhe refuſed to be ſerved by any that would not treat her as queen, and the king thought not fit to remove ſuch as would ſhew her that reſpect. Soon after, he notified his divorce, and new marriage, to all the ſovereigns, and particularly to the emperor, who coldly told the Engliſh ambaſſador, he would conſider what he was to do in the caſe.

The pope nulls the archbiſhop's ſentence. Herbert.

The news of the king's marriage, and the archbiſhop of Canterbury's ſentence, having reached Rome, the pope was extremely angry with Henry, and the more, as a copy of his book, againſt the papal authority, had now appeared, in Rome itſelf. The cardinals of the imperial faction improving this occaſion, very earneſtly preſſed him to give ſentence againſt the king, remonſtrating to him, that if he reſented not ſuch an affront, the authority of the holy ſee would be at an end. Theſe remonſtrances produced their effect; for the pope nulled the archbiſhop's ſentence, and declared, that the king, himſelf, was liable to excommunication, unleſs, by September next, he reſtored the cauſe to its former ſtate. He contented himſelf, for this time, with only menacing him, becauſe he did not yet deſpair of reclaiming him, by the king of France's means, with whom he was going to confer, at Marſeilles.

The pope's deſign in the interview of Marſeilles.

The pope's aim, in this interview, was, firſt to celebrate the nuptials between Catharine, his niece, and the duke of Orleans. In the next place, to deviſe with Francis ſome expedient, to adjuſt his differences with the king of England, or, if that could not be done, to diſengage Francis from Henry's intereſt. Francis wiſhed, with all his heart, that ſome way might be found to reconcile them, becauſe he hoped to join in a league with both, the more eaſily to recover the duchy of Milan. Henry had uſed his utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade him from this interview, being apprehenſive it would produce between Francis and Clement an union, which could not but be to his prejudice. He had ever reckoned, that Francis would act in concert with him, to frighten the pope, and that their threats would induce him, at laſt, to give him the ſatisfaction he required; but perceiving he could not prevail, he had publiſhed his marriage. From that time, he was fully bent to widen the breach with Rome, unleſs the pope and the king of France ſhould find, during their interview, ſome ſatisfactory expedient, for which he was very willing to wait. In the interim, he ſent the duke of Norfolk in ambaſſy to Francis, with orders to accompany him to Marſeilles, and ſee whether there was yet any hopes of agreement.

The duke of Norfolk coming to the French court, the 1ſt of July, waited upon the king, who was then on his journey to Marſeilles, intending, however, to make ſome ſtay in Languedoc, before he went to the congreſs. He accompanied him ſome time, but hearing, the beginning of Auguſt, what was done at Rome, againſt the king, his maſter, would have returned, imagining his preſence would be of little ſervice, at Marſeilles. Nevertheleſs, at the king of France's ſollicitation, he contented himſelf with ſending the lord Rochfort for freſh inſtructions from the king, who, immediately, recalled him. However, Francis ſo artfully managed Henry, that he perſuaded him to ſend ſome perſon to Marſeilles, to be a witneſs of what ſhould paſs at the interview. Henry made choice of Stephen Gardiner, Sir John Wallop, and Sir Francis Brian, with Edmund Bonner, a very proper perſon to execute the orders he gave him.

The duke of Orleans's marriage.

The pope and Francis met at Marſeilles, the beginning of October, and within a few days, the duke of Orleans conſummated his marriage with Catharine de Medici. This affair being ended, Francis ſollicited the pope, in behalf of the king of England, and prevailed with him, at laſt, to give Henry entire ſatisfaction; but, to ſave the honour of the holy ſee, he would judge the cauſe himſelf, in a conſiſtory, from which the cardinals of the emperor's faction ſhould be excluded. Thus far, all went very well; but Bonner, to whom, doubtleſs, it was not thought fit to diſcover this ſecret, demanding an audience of the pope, acquainted him with the king his maſter's appeal to the next general council, from the ſentence given, or to be given againſt him. The pope told him, before he declared himſelf, he would adviſe with the cardinals that were with him. Some days after, having ſent for Bonner, he gave him for anſwer, that, according to the opinion of the cardinals, the appeal was unlawful. Bonner, without, being ſurpriſed at this reply, acquainted him, in the ſame manner, with the like appeal of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, from the ſentence which nulled his judgment for the divorce. This put the pope into ſuch a rage, that he talked of throwing Bonner into a cauldron of melted lead. Guicciardini affirms, Francis was ſo offended with Bonner's inſolence, that he offered the pope to do all that lay in his power, to procure him ſatisfaction for this affront. But if this be true, it was only a mere compliment.

The biſhop of Paris is ſent to Henry, with freſh expedients. Herbert.

Clement departed from Marſeilles, the 12th of November, as much pleaſed with Francis, as he was diſſatisfied with Henry. In the interim, Francis not deſpairing, yet to adjuſt this affair, ſent into England John de Bellay, biſhop of Paris, to propound new expedients to the king. This prelate, who had reſided, ſome time, at the court of England, as ambaſſador, wrought ſo with Henry, that he perſuaded him, at length, to agree to an expedient he propoſed to him. So, pleaſed with having obtained more than he durſt have expected, he very readily undertook to carry the good news, himſelf, to the pope, tho' it was then in the depth of winter; and he found the pope inclined to do what he could, to end the affair amicably, and drew from him a poſitive promiſe, that the cauſe ſhould be judged, at Cambray, by ſuch as Henry ſhould have no reaſon to except againſt. But Clement, not truſting entirely to a verbal promiſe, deſired to have it under the king's

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1533. own hand, that he approved of what was concerted; moreover, to avoid all delays and evaſions, he fixed the day for the return of the courier, who was to be ſent into England.

This weighty affair being, thus, upon the point of concluſion, the emperor's agents were very urgent with the pope, to revoke his engagement; but he told them he had given his word. However, they repeated their inſtances with ſuch earneſtneſs, that, at length, they got him to promiſe, if Henry's anſwer came not by the time appointed, he ſhould think himſelf diſengaged. The courier not returning on the day appointed, the Imperialiſts preſſed the pope to give ſentence againſt Henry, repreſenting to him, that he was amuſed, and threatning him with the emperor's reſentment. In ſhort, they ſo ardently ſollicited him, that tho' the biſhop of Paris only deſired a delay of ſix days, he could not obtain it. The pope, frighted by the threats of the Imperialiſts, was ſo entirely devoted to them, that what ſhould have been done, according to the uſual forms, in three conſiſtories, was done in one. In a word, the pope, without ſtaying for an anſwer from England, publiſhed a ſentence, declaring Henry's marriage with Catharine good and lawful, and requiring him to take his wife again, with denunciation of cenſures, in caſe of diſobedience. Two days after came the courier, with full powers for the biſhop of Paris, as the pope had deſired. Several cardinals moved to revoke what had been done; but the emperor's party preſſed him ſo cloſely, that the motion was rejected. Thus, the pope, who had amuſed the king for ſix years, by affected delays, could not be perſuaded to grant him ſix days, and by this precipitation, was the cauſe of the Romiſh church's loſs of the kingdom of England.

The pope publiſhes a ſentence againſt Henry.

It muſt, however, be confeſs'd, that it is very difficult to conceive what the king's view was, in the agreement he pretended to make with the pope. Can it be ſuppoſed he meant to quit his newly acquired title of ſupreme head of the church of England? But he appeared ſo jealous, during the reſt of his days, of this ſupremacy, which kept the clergy in awe, whereas before, the clergy depended more on the pope, than on him, that there is no likelihood he would think of parting with this prerogative. And yet, how could the king's ſupremacy ſubſiſt, in caſe he agreed with the pope? Or, how could the pope reſolve to content him, with reſpect to his divorce, without requiring him to reſign his ſupremacy? Certainly, it is impoſſible to reconcile theſe two things; which gives occaſion to ſuſpect, the king acted not with ſincerity, in his pretended agreement with the pope, and after having juſtified his divorce, by the ſentence he would have obtained from him, meant to drop him there, and withdraw from his obedience. This ſuſpicion is confirmed, by what paſſed in England, at the very time the king diſpatched the courier to Rome, with the engagement the pope had deſired. I have obſerved, that the biſhop of Paris went poſt from London, about the end of December; 1533. that upon his arrival at Rome, he ſent a courier to the king, to acquaint him with what he had obtained of the pope; and that the king ſent back the ſame courier with his approbation. Now, what ſpeed ſoever the biſhop and courier could make, it is impoſſible the courier could return to Rome before the middle of January; but at the very time the king diſpatched the courier, he held, at Weſtminſter, a parliament, where acts were paſſed directly contrary to the agreement he ſeemed to deſire.

A remark on the king's conduct.

1534. A parliament. Hall.

The parliament meeting the 15th of January, 1534, opened the ſeſſion, with repealing the ſtatute of Henry IV, againſt hereticks. This was not with deſign to exempt them from the penalties, in that ſtatute, ſince it was enacted in this, that they ſhould be burned, but only to hinder the clergy from being ſole judges in cauſes of this nature. That was the real intent of the new act, whereby, for the future, hereticks were to be proſecuted and tried, according to the laws of the land, without any regard to the canon law.

An act to take from the clergy the cognizance of hereſy.

By another ſtatute, which the parliament paſſed, at the ſame time, it was enacted, firſt, that all convocations ſhould be called, for the future, by the king's writ. Secondly, that the king ſhould name 32 perſons, 16 of both houſes of parliament, and as many of the clergy, to examine the canons and conſtitutions of the church, with power to abrogate or confirm ſuch as they thought fit. As it is certain the parliament acted, by the directions of the court, it may eaſily be conceived, the king was not much inclined to agree with the pope, tho' by the engagement he did ſend, or had already ſent, to Rome, he ſeemed reſolved.

Another ſtatute, whereby the king is impowered to name 32 commiſſioners to reform the canons.

Here is another argument of the little regard Henry had for the pope, at the very time he was going to obtain all his deſires. Before the news came to England of the ſentence againſt the king, the parliament paſſed an act of attainder, againſt Elizabeth Barton, commonly called the holy maid of Kent, who, pretending to be inſpired, foretold, that "if the king married Ann Bullen, he ſhould "not be a king a month longer." This nun having been wrought upon, and inſtructed by a certain curate, counterfeited the propheteſs, and mixed, with her predictions, invectives againſt the king's proceedings, in the affair of the divorce, and menaces againſt his chief counſellors. Several Franciſcans countenanced her pretended revelations, ſo that ſhe was in great repute with the people; nay, archbiſhop Warham, Sir Thomas More, and John Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, were deceived with the reſt. But, at length, the nun, and her accomplices, being apprehended, by the king's order, the affair was ſo carefully examined, that the whole contrivance was diſcovered, and the counterfeit propheteſs condemned to die, with her corrupters. However, as the affair had made a great noiſe, the king was pleaſed it ſhould be brought before the parliament, to render their condemnation more authentick. Sanders would fain reckon this

An act of attainder againſt Elizabeth Barton. Hall.

1534. this nun and her accomplices for martyrs, tho' their own confeſſions ſufficiently juſtified their condemnation. If the king had really intended to be reconciled to the court of Rome, nothing could be more unſeaſonable, than to paſs this act, when the affair of the divorce, ſeemed to be upon the point of being adjuſted, to his ſatisfaction.

The king and parliament offended at the news of the pope's ſentence. Herbert.

Whilſt the parliament was employed, in theſe matters, Henry received news of the ſentence, given and publiſhed againſt him, at Rome, with all the circumſtances, demonſtrating the little regard the pope had for his perſon and dignity. Theſe haſty proceedings convincing him, there was nothing more to be expected from Rome, he no longer delayed to execute his reſolution, to break off all correſpondence with the pope; and the parliament was no leſs offended than the king, with the pope's conduct. So, the whole legiſlature, being in the ſame mind, reſolved, utterly, to aboliſh the papal authority, in England. After what Clement had done, there was no other way; it was neceſſary either to withſtand him vigorouſly, or prepare to indure all the ſeverities and indignities, to which England was liable, in the reigns of Henry II, and John Lackland. But the times were altered; for the Engliſh were no longer willing to ſubmit to the baſe actions required, by the popes, of their anceſtors, neither was the king's intereſt different from that of his ſubjects. Thus, every one being equally tired of the pope's yoke, it was deemed more honourable to demoliſh, at once, that formidable power, under which the kingdom had ſo long groaned, than vainly to expect, it would, of itſelf, be reduced within due bounds. It may be eaſily judged, the favourers of the new religion were not ſparing of their pains, to bring things to this ſtate. The reſolution that had been taken was quickly put in execution. In a few days, an act was paſſed, containing ſundry articles, all tending to the ſame point.

An act aboliſhing the papal authority.

The firſt, confirmed the ſtatute, for aboliſhing the annates, or firſt-fruits.

By the ſecond, it was enacted, that for the future, the pope ſhall have nothing to do, in the nominating or preſenting of biſhops; but that, when a biſhoprick ſhall become vacant, the king ſhall ſend to the chapter, a Conge d'elire, and in caſe the election ſhall not be over, within 12 days after the licenſe, it ſhall belong to the king. That the biſhop elect, ſhall ſwear fealty to the king, and then be recommended by his majeſty, to the archbiſhop to be conſecrated. That if the biſhop elect, or archbiſhop, refuſe to obey the contents of this act, they ſhall be liable to the penalty of Præmunire. Moreover, all perſons were expreſly forbid, to apply to the biſhop of Rome, for bulls, palls, and the like.

Stat. c. 21. By another act, were aboliſhed, Peterpence, all procurations, delegations, expeditions of bulls, and diſpenſations coming from the court of Rome; and the archbiſhop of Canterbury was appointed to grant all ſuch diſpenſations, &c. as ſhould not be contrary to the law of God, on condition, that part of the money, thence ariſing, ſhould be paid into the king's exchequer. Moreover, all religious houſes, exempt and not exempt, ſhould be ſubject to the archbiſhop's viſitation. 1534.

Stat. c. 22. By another act, it was enacted, that the king's marriage with Catharine, widow of his brother, prince Arthur, ſhould be held null and void, and that ſhe ſhould be reputed only princeſs dowager of Wales. On the contrary, the king's marriage with Ann Bullen, is declared valid, and the ſucceſſion to the crown ſettled upon their iſſue. Moreover, it is ſaid, that any perſon of what quality ſoever, who ſhall ſpeak or write againſt the king's marriage, ſhall be adjudged a traytor to the king and ſtate, and that all the king's ſubjects, without diſtinction, ſhall be obliged to ſwear, they will obſerve and maintain the contents of this act. After this, follows a liſt of the marriages forbid by the law of God, among which, is that of a man with his brother's widow; and it was enacted, that no ſuch marriages ſhould be allowed for the future, and that ſuch as were then in being, ſhould be diſſolved.

The people rejoice at it.

Thus, was the papal authority aboliſhed, in England, by act of parliament. Indeed, there were few biſhops and abbots preſent when the act paſſed. However, there was but one ſingle biſhop who refuſed to ſet his name to it, becauſe they made a great difference between ſubmitting to an act paſſed, by a lawful authority, and giving their vote for it. The generality of the people expreſſed great joy, to ſee themſelves freed from a yoke, which neither they nor their forefathers could bear. None but the monks exclaimed againſt it, and drew upon themſelves the king's indignation, the effects whereof they afterwards felt. Thoſe who wiſhed for the reformation, were highly pleaſed to ſee the main obſtacle removed, believing the reſt would quickly follow. But this reformation, which they ſo impatiently expected, made not, in this reign, all the progreſs, they imagined they had reaſon to hope.

Oath taken by the ſubjects, according to the act. Act. Pub.

The parliament breaking up, the 30th of March, after all the members had ſworn to obſerve what was enjoined, in the fore-mentioned act, the king ſent commiſſioners throughout the kingdom, to adminiſter the ſame oath to all his ſubjects. The Collection of the Publick Acts, contains the oaths of ſeveral abbots and fryers, of all orders, to this effect: That they would be faithful to the king, the queen, their heirs and ſucceſſors; that they owned the king for ſupreme head of the church of England; that the biſhop of Rome has no more juriſdiction than any other biſhop; that they renounced his obedience; that they would preach, ſincerely, doctrines agreeable to the holy ſcriptures; that, in their prayers, they would pray, firſt, for the king, as ſupreme head of the church of England, then for the queen, and her iſſue, and laſtly, for the archbiſhop of Canterbury. Some time after, Lee, archbiſhop of York,

1534. certified, by a writing of the 5th of May, that in the convocation of his province, it was declared, the pope had no more power in England, than any other biſhop. Only John Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, and Sir Thomas More, late chancellor, refuſed to ſign the act of parliament, which, as has been ſeen, contained three principal articles; the ſucceſſion of the crown, the nullity of the king's firſt marriage, with the validity of his ſecond, and the aboliſhment of the papal authority. They offered to ſign the firſt article; but for the other two, they ſaid, their conſcience would not ſuffer them to conſent to them, whereupon, they were committed to the tower.

Henry acquaints Catharine with the act of parliament. Herbert.

Whilſt theſe oaths were adminiſtring, throughout the kingdom, the king ſent the archbiſhop of York, and the biſhop of Durham, to tell Catharine, ſhe muſt forbear aſſuming the title of queen, and lay before her the reaſons that moved the parliament to deprive her of it; but ſhe anſwered, ſhe believed her marriage, with the king, good, and lawful, and ſhould hold it as ſuch, to her dying day; that ſhe had never conſummated her marriage with prince Arthur, and they who affirmed it, ſpoke not the truth; that ſhe was not bound to ſubmit to the archbiſhop of Canterbury's ſentence, ſince the pope had nulled it, and decreed the contrary; that the king's marriage with Ann, was not valid, as being made during the appeal; that ſhe was not obliged to ſubmit to the acts of the parliament, not being the king's ſubject, but his wife; that beſides, theſe acts were made by the king's ſubjects, upon an affair wherein he was party.

The queen's anſwer.

Negotiation between Francis and Henry fruitleſs. Herbert.

Tho' Henry would have been very glad of Catharine's ſubmiſſion, to what the parliament had enacted, it was not her obſtinacy that gave him the moſt uneaſineſs. The emperor having undertaken to execute the pope's ſentence, Henry was naturally to expect to be attacked by that powerful enemy. In order, therefore, to prevent him, or to put himſelf in a ſtate of defence, he deſired to make a league with Francis, by a new treaty, which ſhould render their union more effectual, for their common defence. Francis ſeemed very ready to comply, but meant that all the terms ſhould be to his advantage, and to make Henry ſubſervient to his deſigns elſewhere; for he had ſtill an eye upon the duchy of Milan, as upon what belonged to him of right, and had been unjuſtly taken from him, and deſigned to recover it, tho' he had expreſly renounced it, by the treaty of Cambray. To this end, he had ſacrificed the honour of his houſe, in marrying his ſecond ſon, to a baſtard-branch of the family of the Medici, becauſe he did not think he could proceed without the pope; but, on the other hand, he was afraid of loſing the fruit of that alliance, by uniting too cloſely with the king of England, whom the pope could now conſider, but as an open enemy. In this perplexity, he endeavoured to perſuade Henry to act only privately, by ſending large ſums to the German Proteſtants, to foment the diſſention between them and the emperor, and embroil him ſo, as to hinder him from thinking of Italy. Henry did not abſolutely reject the propoſal; for he was very willing, to aſſiſt the Proteſtants, with a good ſum of money; but pretended withal, that Francis ſhould attack Navarre, with a powerful army, whilſt, on his part, he carried war into Flanders. But Francis could not reſolve to join ſo openly with England, for fear of offending the pope; beſides, he turned all his thoughts to the Milaneſe, where an accident, about the end of the laſt year, gave him an opportunity to carry his arms. As this accident was the occaſion or pretence of a new war, between the emperor and the king of France, it will be neceſſary, briefly, to mention it. 1534.

The duke of Milan beheads Merveilles the king of France's envoy. Bellay.

Franceſco Sforza was no ſooner reſtored to Milan, upon very hard terms, but he wiſhed to be freed from the emperor's yoke, and the obligation to pay him the ſum he had promiſed. Francis having ſome knowledge of Sforza's diſpoſition, believed he ſhould cheriſh it, in hopes of reaping by it, one day, ſome advantage. But, as Sforza greatly feared to give the emperor ſuſpicion, and, conſequently, the affair was to be managed very privately, Francis found means to keep, at Milan, an envoy, who could not be ſuſpected. He choſe for that purpoſe, a Milaneſe gentleman, called Merveilles, who having been, formerly, baniſhed from Milan, by Ludovico the Black, had lived in France ever ſince. The troubles of the Milaneſe being entirely ended, by the peace of Cambray, Merveilles returned home, with a letter of credence for the duke, to which the duke ſent an anſwer, receiving the gentleman as envoy of France, tho', in publick, he treated him not as ſuch. However ſecret Merveilles's negotiation might be, the emperor had ſome notice of it, and made great complaints to the duke, who, to remove all ſuſpicion, reſolved to ſacrifice to him this envoy. Accordingly, he ſuborned a perſon to pick a quarrel with Merveilles, which ended in the murder of the party employed, who was killed by Merveilles's ſervants, without, however, their maſter's being preſent. Whereupon, Merveilles was committed to priſon, and, two days after, beheaded, without any one being ſuffered to ſpeak with him. Francis hearing of it, wrote a threatening letter to the duke, and acquainted all his allies, with what had happened. The duke would have excuſed himſelf, by denying that Merveilles was, at Milan, as envoy. What he ſaid was true, in reſpect to the publick; but he could not diſown his own letter to the king, in anſwer to the letter of credence. When the French ambaſſador informed the emperor of the outrage committed, at Milan, upon Merveilles, he coldly replied, he could not conceive, how the king of France could be affected, with the death of a ſubject of the duke of Milan, whom his ſovereign had puniſhed, according to his deſerts. This anſwer made the king believe, the emperor was concerned in Merveilles's death, which was a freſh cauſe of diſguſt,

and

1534. and inflamed his deſire of revenge. But, on the other hand, he was not ſorry the ſatisfaction he demanded was refuſed, becauſe he intended to take occaſion, from thence, to enter the Milaneſe, ſword in hand. To that purpoſe, he ordered a levy of Lanſquenets, in Germany, and demanded paſſage of the duke of Savoy, to go and chaſtiſe the duke of Milan; but that prince, fearing to diſpleaſe the emperor, would not grant it; for which reaſon Francis, who could not enter the Milaneſe, but by paſſing through the duke of Savoy's dominions, reſolved to make war upon him, uſing, for pretence, certain claims, he had, in right of Louiſa, his mother, to the inheritance of the late duke of Savoy. Till every thing was ready to begin this war, he ſpent the whole year in divers negotiations, tending to create the emperor troubles, and diſable him to aſſiſt the duke of Savoy.

Clement VII's death.

Whilſt Francis was, thus, employed, the ſituation of the affairs of Italy was ſomething changed, by the death of Clement VII, who was carried off by a fit of ſickneſs, the 25th of September. The 12th of October following, cardinal Farneſe was choſen pope, and aſſumed the name of Paul III.

Paul III. ſucceeds him. Guicciard.

The affairs of Germany. Sleidan.

There were, likewiſe, this year, in Germany, ſome alterations, which put the affairs of the Proteſtants in a tolerable ſituation. The landgrave of Heſſe defeated king Ferdinand's army, commanded by the count Palatine, and reſtored the duke of Wirtemberg to his dominions. Ferdinand, not being able, any longer, to reſiſt the landgrave, was forced to agree to the duke's reſtoration; but withal obtained, that both the duke and the landgrave, ſhould acknowledge him for king of the Romans. Soon after, the elector of Saxony acknowledged him alſo, having firſt got a promiſe from him, that he would not ſuffer any perſon to be moleſted in the empire, on the account of religion.

Henry is bent to ſtand to the rupture with the pope. Burnet.

Clement VII's death cauſed no alteration, in the meaſures taken by the court of England, to ſhake off, entirely, the pope's yoke. Matters had been carried too far, ever to recede. Beſides, the king not having much to fear from abroad, by reaſon of the troubles, the emperor was like to be involved in, and his ſubjects being inclined to ſupport him, it would have been imprudent to neglect ſo favourable a juncture, and leave his work unfiniſhed. So, the parliament meeting the 3d of November, paſſed ſeveral material acts, of which it will ſuffice to relate the ſubſtance, in order to ſhew, they all tended to the ſame point, that is, to break all the bonds which had ſerved to hold the Engliſh, in ſubjection to the popes.

Divers acts paſſed upon that occaſion.

I. Act confirms the king's title of head of the church.

The firſt act confirmed, the king's title of ſupreme head of the church of England, already given him by the clergy. Tho' Henry had very willingly accepted this title from the clergy, nay, had not left them the liberty to refuſe it, he ſeemed, however, to doubt, whether he ſhould receive it, when offered by the parliament. He was pleaſed, firſt, to adviſe with his council, and conſult ſome of the biſhops, whether out of ſcruple, or to ſhew it was not extorted. They whom he conſulted having ſatisfied him, that the authority aſſumed by the biſhop of Rome, over the whole church, had no foundation in ſcripture, he baniſhed all his ſcruples, if it be true that he had any, and from thenceforward, took all occaſions to improve the prerogatives which flowed from this new title. 1534.

II. Treaſon to ſpeak evil of the king.

By a ſecond act, it was declared treaſon to ſpeak, write, or imagine any thing againſt the king or queen.

III. Concerning ſanctuaries.

The third, debarred perſons accuſed of treaſon, of the benefit of ſanctuary.

IV. Form of oath.

By a fourth, the parliament preſcribed a form of oath, concerning the ſucceſſion, to be taken by all the king's ſubjects, and annulled all former oaths upon that head.

V. Grants the firſt-fruits and tenths to the king.

The fifth was very grievous to the clergy, as it gave the king the annates and firſt-fruits of the benefices; whereas, by the act already paſſed, the eccleſiaſticks were in hopes of being ever freed from that burden. Moreover, by the ſame act, the yearly revenue of the tenth part of all livings, was granted to the king.

VI. Suffragan biſhops.

By a ſixth ſtatute, proviſion was made for 25 ſuffragan biſhops, each of whom was to depend on his dioceſan, who was to preſent two to the king, for him to chuſe one. Thus, was revived, in the church of England, the uſe of Chorepiſcopi, introduced into the primitive church, but, afterwards, diſcontinued, for ſeveral centuries.

Fiſher and More are condemned by the parliament. Burnet.

Laſtly, the parliament condemned Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, and Sir Thomas More, to perpetual impriſonment, and confiſcated all their eſtates, for refuſing to take the oath, enjoined by the act, of the former ſeſſion. This ſentence was conſidered, by ſome, as very unjuſt, whilſt others admired, in the ſame, the effects of God's juſtice upon perſons, that had been violent perſecutors of the Lutherans.

A general pardon. Burnet.

Before the parliament broke up, the king granted a general pardon, from which, however, Fiſher and More were excluded.

A proclamation againſt the name of pope. Stow.

Soon after, the king iſſued out a proclamation, forbidding to give the biſhop of Rome the name of pope, and commanding that name to be razed out of all books, to deſtroy the remembrance of it, if poſſible. Then the biſhops, voluntarily, ſwore to renounce, expreſly, all obedience to the biſhop of Rome. Gardiner, now biſhop of Wincheſter, was not the laſt to take this oath, tho', in his ſoul, he abhorred it, as very unjuſt; but a blind condeſcenſion for the king, in this reſpect, was, then, the only means to preſerve his favour; beſides, Gardiner was thereby enabled to croſs, upon other points, the reformers, who daily gained ground.

The progreſs of the reformation in England. Burnet.

It was not only in Germany, that the reformation had made ſome progreſs, but, alſo, in many other places. In England, it had been countenanced, in ſome meaſure, by cardinal Wolſey, as, during his miniſtry, no perſon was proſecuted for hereſy, tho' the clergy wanted not occaſions to exerciſe their uſual ſeverities,

1534. severities, had they been left to take their own course. After Wolsey's disgrace, Sir Thomas More, being made chancellor, persuaded the king, that what did him the most injury, at the court of Rome, was, the report of his being a favourer of the innovators, and to remove this false imputation, the most infallible way, was, to shew a zeal for religion. Henry following this advice, ordered, the laws against hereticks to be rigorously executed, and, very strictly, prohibited the importing any of their books into the kingdom; but this prohibition was not capable of hindering several, of Luther's treatises, from being brought into England, with Tindal's translation of the new testament, who was retired into Flanders. The bishop of London having notice of it, caused some copies to be seised, and publickly burnt by the hangman. But this was so far from hindering the reformation, that it rather turned to its advantage. Many persons, full of indignation, at this impious act, inferred, that the scriptures were contrary to the religion generally professed, since the clergy took such care to hinder the bible from being read, and that, alone, raised their desire to read it. On the other hand, the dislike the English had taken to the pope, greatly increased, by the reading of the Lutheran writings.

The bible burnt in London. Hall.

A persecution in England. Burnet.

As the reformation gained ground, the zeal of its enemies, was inflamed against such as embraced it; for, whilst More was chancellor, he spared no pains to destroy them utterly. Many suffered martyrdom, with a wonderful constancy, which very much contributed to strengthen their brethren. At length, the king having to manage the German Protestants, because he might, afterwards, want them, suspended More's persecution. On the other hand, Ann Bullen very much mollified the king, in that respect; archbishop Cranmer contributed to it, likewise, to the utmost of his power, and Thomas Cromwell, now in great esteem with the king, seconded their endeavours, as far as in him lay. But they had a strong party against them, consisting of the duke of Norfolk, Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, Longland, bishop of Lincoln, almost all the churchmen, who had any access to the court, and those who, when they preached before the king, filled their sermons with invectives against the reformation. All these had gained Henry's confidence, by their compliance, in the affair of the divorce, and the supremacy, tho', in the last, they acted contrary to their sentiments. By this condescension, they were enabled, effectually, to oppose the reformers, in all the articles which concerned not the pope, and, especially, in that of the real presence, which the king deemed unquestionable, and thought so all his life. In spite of all this, the heads of the reformed despaired not of inclining him, by degrees, to a farther reformation, because of the connection, the articles of religion have, one with another; besides, their party grew stronger every day, by the junction of such as read the holy scriptures, and the religious books which were handed about, notwithstanding the king's prohibition. Nothing shews more the number and strength of that party, than the readiness wherewith the parliament passed the acts, which tended to lessen the clergy's power, and shake off the papal yoke. 1534.

Francis I. seems to favour the reformation.

The reformation made, likewise, some progress, in France, the king himself expressing an inclination for the doctrine of the Protestants, which was, privately, countenanced, by his sister Margaret, queen of Navarre; but the cardinals of Tournon and Lorrain, who were in great credit with him, dissuaded him from it, so earnestly, that they gained him, at last, nay, made him a violent persecutor.

Peace between England and Scotland. Act. Pub.

Before I close what relates to the events of the year 1534, I must not forget to mention, that a twelve-month's truce, concluded the last year, between England and Scotland, was turned into a peace, the 11th of May, this year. By the treaty, the peace was to last till the death of one of the two monarchs, and Henry might, without breaking it, keep the Douglasses, in England.

1535. An ambassy of France, to sift Henry. Bellay.

In the beginning of the year 1535, Francis I. sent an ambassy to Henry, under pretence of discharging the duty of a good friend and ally, but, in reality, to try to deceive him, by feigning to acquaint him with his secrets, and ask his advice. The occasion of the ambassy was this; the emperor having resolved to carry his arms, into Africa, had a mind to amuse Francis, lest, in his absence, he should attack the duke of Savoy, and so open a way to the duchy of Milan, as he seemed to intend. To that purpose, he had dispatched an ambassador to him, with orders to propose a marriage, between his third daughter, and Philip, prince of Spain; and another between the dauphin and Mary, daughter of Henry and Catharine of Arragon; Moreover, he had offered him a pension of 100,000 crowns for the duke of Orleans, upon the duchy of Milan, and the duchy itself, after the death of Francesco Sforza, who had no heirs. It was evident, these overtures were designed only to amuse Francis, who considered them, himself, upon no other foot; neverrheless, he imagined they would serve to procure him some advantage from Henry, if he let him know he was courted by the emperor. To this end, he sent into England, admiral Chabot Seigneur de Brion, on pretence, to advise with the king upon these offers; but his chief view was, to make him uneasy, and induce him to offer some advantageous proposals. It appeared, in the sequel, he would have persuaded him to things, which were very far from his thoughts. The admiral having discharged his commission, Henry answered, he much wondered, the emperor should pretend to marry his daughter, over whom he neither had, nor ever should have any right or power; that it was manifest, he only sought to break the union between France and England, and, therefore, he hoped the king of France would not

1535. not be ſo much his own enemy, as to hearken to ſuch overtures. Soon after, he ſent orders to his ambaſſador, at Paris, to tell Francis, he would give Elizabeth, his daughter and heir, to the duke of Angouleſme, his third ſon, upon the following conditions; that Francis himſelf, his three ſons, the princes of the blood, the principal nobility of France, the parliaments, and univerſities, ſhould ſolemnly promiſe to cauſe to be revoked the ſentence given againſt him, by the biſhop of Rome; that the duke of Angouleſme ſhould be ſent into England, to be educated; that, in caſe, by his marriage, he ſhould come to the crown of England, the duchy of Angouleſme ſhould be independent of the crown of France. Theſe conditions were afterwards mitigated, and Francis I. ſeemed to agree to them; but he required, in his turn, that Henry ſhould aſſiſt him in the war of Savoy, and forgive him the perpetual annuity of 100,000 crowns, which he was bound to pay by a treaty. Henry perceiving Francis's inſincerity, told the admiral, that inſtead of forgiving the penſion, he expected, the king, his maſter, ſhould pay the arrears, and clear by the time appointed, all his other debts. This anſwer put an end to the negotiation, which, probably, was undertaken only to ſound Henry, concerning the penſion.

Francis's projects.

Francis's grand project, was, to recover the duchy of Milan, under colour of revenging the affront done him, by Sforza; but to execute this deſign, it was neceſſary to raiſe the emperor troubles, which ſhould hinder him from aſſiſting that duchy. There were four ſeveral quarters from whence he hoped to embroil the emperor; firſt, from the pope and princes of Italy; ſecondly, in Germany, by means of the league of Smalcald; thirdly, by fomenting diſcord between Henry and the emperor; laſtly, by drawing the Turks into Germany. In order to all this, he had married his ſon, the duke of Orleans, to Catharine de Medici; lodged 100,000 crowns, in the hands of the duke of Bavaria, to be ready upon occaſion; perſuaded Henry to end the affair of the divorce, in the manner we have ſeen; and had ſecret agents, at Conſtantinople, to treat of an alliance with Soliman, emperor of the Turks. But moſt of theſe expedients, which he thought infallible, had, proved unſucceſsful. The firſt had miſcarried by the death of Clement VII, and by the election of a new pope, whom it was not eaſy to gain to his intereſt. The king of the Romans had fruſtrated the ſecond, by agreeing with the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Heſſe, and the duke of Wirtemberg. As for the third, he could not hope much from thence, becauſe the king of England's intention was not to make war upon the emperor, but, only to ſtand upon the defenſive. Conſequently, it was, in the emperor's power to keep him quiet, by not attacking him firſt. The Turks, therefore, alone, could, properly, be ſubſervient to his projects. But, to rely upon them, it was neceſſary to commence the war in Italy, otherwiſe it was not likely, Soliman would be perſuaded to begin it in Hungary. Upon this account he continued, at Conſtantinople, a negotiation, which was diſcovered by a letter intercepted by the duke of Urbino, who ſent it, immediately, to the emperor. In the interim, Francis ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution to attack the duke of Savoy, and open a paſſage to the Milaneſe; for he reckoned, the peace of Germany could not hold long; that the emperor and Henry would never live in a good underſtanding; and that, when once the war was begun, the pope, the potentates of Italy, the king of England, would readily aſſiſt, to reduce the power of the houſe of Auſtria, within due bounds. Above all, he depended upon the princes of the league of Smalcald, fancying they would embrace this opportunity, to free themſelves from their uneaſineſs, cauſed by the advancement of that houſe. To this end, he continued his intrigues with them, and pretended to be ſo far enclined to their religion, that he was going to invite Melancthon into France, to confer with him. But withal, he plainly ſhewed he acted only upon political views, ſince he cauſed to be burnt, in France, thoſe that ſeparated from the church of Rome. In the interim, as there was ſome difference between Luther and Calvin, about religion, and as thoſe that were burnt, in France, were Calviniſts, the rigid Lutherans, not conſidering them as their brethren, imagined Francis might treat them with the utmoſt ſeverity, without loſing his regard for the Lutheran religion. Francis reſolving to uſe his endeavours to re-conquer the duchy of Milan, attacked the duke of Savoy, and in the firſt campaign, took from him Savoy and la Breſſe. 1535.

Deſigns of Charles V.

Whilſt Francis was labouring to accompliſh his deſigns, Charles V. was forming vaſt projects, which tended to no leſs than eſtabliſhing his dominion over all Europe. Indeed, France and England being cloſely united together, could have oppoſed a ſtrong fence againſt his ambition; but he did not deſpair to diſunite them, in the end. That was his chief care, whilſt on one hand, he excited the Iriſh to a rebellion, and the king of Scotland to a rupture with England. But whilſt he was endeavouring to embroil his enemies, in hopes of finding his account in it, he was himſelf uneaſy with regard to Soliman, who threatened Germany, under pretence of ſupporting the intereſts of John de Zapol, whom he had cauſed to be crowned king of Hungary. On the other hand, he ſaw with extreme concern, the great progreſs of Haradin Barbaroſſa, the famous corſair, who after expelling Muley Haſſam, had made himſelf king of Tunis. Such a neighbour could not but diſquiet him, becauſe, to hinder him from ravaging the coaſts of Spain, Naples and Sicily, it would have been neceſſary, conſtantly, to maintain a fleet in the Mediterranean, which could not be done without a great expence, and this would have diſconcerted his other deſigns. So, conſidering the war, he had reſolved to wage with Haradin, as the moſt urgent affair, he made this ſummer, an expedition into Africa,

The emperor's expedition to Africa. Herbert.

1535. frica, where he took the fort of la Goulette; after which, he became maſter of Tunis, and reſtored Muley Haſſem.

Henry's diſpoſition, as to religion.

Henry gladly ſaw the emperor engaging in wars, which, probably, would keep him long employed; whereupon, he reſolved to improve this interval, to compleat the regulation of his domeſtick affairs, which were yet in a very doubtful ſtate. He had aboliſhed the papal authority, and been declared ſupreme head of the church of England, by acts of parliament; but tho' by the conſtitution of the government, theſe acts ſeemed to be above all contradiction, it was, however, but too true, that this was not ſufficient. As religion was concerned, and conſcience cannot be compelled, the ſtatutes themſelves wanted to be ſupported by force, that an outward obedience, at leaſt, might be paid them. It is certain, the uniformity, which appeared in the determinations of the parliament and clergy, was, in many, the effect of fear, rather than of inward perſuaſion; nay ſome, as Fiſher and More, were ſo hardy, as, openly, to diſapprove theſe ordinances, and notwithſtanding the ſeverity exerciſed upon them, ſtill perſiſted in the ſame opinion. It is true, theſe inſtances of rigour, to perſons of ſuch diſtinction, made people ſilent; but were not capable of convincing them of the reaſonableneſs of the ſtatutes. Thus, tho' the king found no publick oppoſition, it was eaſy for him to ſee, that an obedience proceeding from fear, could laſt no longer than compulſion ſubſiſted. On the other hand, he beheld, with concern, the triumph of the Proteſtants, who imagined, that after aboliſhing the papal authority, he was going to renounce all the errors they combated, tho' nothing was farther from his thoughts. In the interim, it was every where publiſhed, that he was upon the point of forſaking the antient religion; ſome aſſerting it out of malice, to render him odious; and others, becauſe they wiſhed it. To clear himſelf, therefore, from theſe imputations, at the very time he refuſed to recogniſe the pope's authority, he ordered thoſe, who were called Sacramentarians, to be burnt. By this conduct, he made himſelf hateful to the Catholicks and Proteſtants. As for the Proteſtants, he bore their ill-will without much concern; beſidss that, he feared them not, he approved of their doctrine, the articles only that oppoſed the papal authority, and their ſentiments of the fryers, with whom he was extremely incenſed, becauſe they laboured, with all their power, to alienate from him, the affections of his people. It is true, he valued and loved Cranmer and Cromwell, with ſome others, who countenanced the reformation; but he did not look upon them as Proteſtants. He believed them men of ſolid virtue and piety, who, preſerving the eſſential doctrines of religion, were deſirous of reforming the abuſes crept into the church. But, as among theſe abuſes, he himſelf acknowledged only what concerned the pope and the fryers, he imagined the reformers kept within the ſame bounds. They who perfectly knew him, took care not to diſcover all their thoughts; but, by conforming themſelves to his ſentiments, on theſe two articles, they hoped to induce him, by degrees, to advance the reformation, when by their pains he ſhould become more enlightened; for which ſon, the reformation began, in England, with theſe two points. As to the others, which had no relation to theſe, they were not meddled with, during this reign, or, at leaſt, but ſlightly; and the reaſon is, becauſe Henry would never ſuffer his ſubjects to go greater lengths than himſelf. But to ſpeak the truth, his underſtanding was always directed by his intereſt; for if all the changes made in religion, in his reign, be examined, they will all be found to concur directly to eſtabliſh an abſolute power over his ſubjects; which was ever the principal, and, perhaps, the ſole motive of his proceedings, when he perceived the rupture with Rome to be an admirable means to that end. Hence the enemies of the reformation took occaſion to ſay, it was eſtabliſhed, in England, on political views. This may be true, if the perſon of Henry VIII, be only conſidered; but, it does not follow, that they who promoted and embraced it, acted upon the like motive. Beſides, what was the reformation in Henry VIII's days? Only a bare renouncing of the papal power, whilſt thoſe were burnt that would have carried it farther. So, let what will be ſaid of Henry's perſon, and his motives to throw off the papal yoke, I do not ſee that the Proteſtants are much concerned, to undertake his defence. 1535.

Henry finding that many of his ſubjects approved not his conduct, would have been very glad to take from them the pretence they uſed, of the ſentence publiſhed againſt him, by the pope. To this purpoſe, he would have engaged all France to join with him, in procuring a revocation; but that method was impracticable, and a reconciliation with the court of Rome no leſs ſo. He could never have reſolved to part with the title of head of the church of England, and the pope would never have conſented to an agreement, unleſs things were reſtored to their antient ſtate; ſo Henry, ſeeing himſelf obliged to purſue his point, reſolved to overcome by force, the obſtinacy of ſuch of his ſubjects, as refuſed to ſubmit to the laws lately enacted. But on the other hand, deſiring to purge himſelf of the imputation of hereſy, wherewith he was charged, he affected to puniſh ſeverely, thoſe that embraced the new opinions. In this ſort of medium, which pleaſed neither party, he paſſed the reſidue of his days. But this is ſaying too little; for it muſt be farther added, that conſidering himſelf as a pattern for his ſubjects, he compelled them to keep within the ſame bounds, and would not ſuffer them to believe more or leſs, than himſelf.

It was impoſſible, that after ſuch a reſolution Henry ſhould not live in a continual miſtruſt of his ſubjects, which obliged him to have always an eye upon what paſſed in the kingdom. Moreover, he had likewiſe to guard againſt the emperor's attacks, who had openly threatened

1535. threatened him. He was, ſenſible, if he were once engaged in a war, thoſe that durſt not look him in the face, during his proſperity, would not ſcruple to declare againſt him, if his arms were unſucceſsful. The king of Scotland, his nephew, was the perſon moſt to be feared. As for the king of France, who profeſſed himſelf his friend, and, indeed, was much obliged to him, he had ſhewn too plainly, how ſelf-intereſted his friendſhip was, to be relied on. They both intended to embroil the emperor, but with different views. Each meant to make his ally ſubſervient to his deſigns, and to improve the advantages which flowed from their union. Thus, Henry ſaw no reſſource but in his own ſubjects, among whom, however, there were many male-contents. But as he had acted for ſome time, with great haughtineſs, he found, if he relaxed on this occaſion, it would certainly be aſcribed either to his ſcruples, or to a ſenſe of his weakneſs, than which nothing could be more prejudicial to him. This conſideration, joined to his ſtern and haughty temper, rendered him altogether untractable. From thenceforward, he became fierce, cruel, inſenſible of his people's calamities, and executing without mercy, the laws dictated by himſelf to his parliament. In ſhort, he may, in ſome manner be ſaid, to be no longer the ſame king that had before reigned. All that can be alledged in his vindication, is, that he was often provoked by perſons, who, endeavouring to alienate the hearts of his ſubjects, attacked him in the moſt ſenſible part, becauſe his whole reliance was upon the aſſiſtance of his people.

The reaſon of the great ſubmiſſion of the Engliſh to Henry.

It will, doubtleſs, be ſurpriſing to ſee, in this reign, the Engliſh ſo patient and ſubmiſſive to their ſovereign's pleaſure, that hardly do we find, from the beginning of the affair of the divorce, that the parliament refuſed him any thing, tho' his demands were very extraordinary. But it is eaſy to diſcover the reaſon. Religion was the ſole cauſe. The king, as it was obſerved, kept a ſort of medium, with regard to religion; but, as no man could believe it poſſible for him, to remain long, in that ſituation, thoſe who deſired the reformation, imagined they could not do better than comply with him in all things, to induce him to advance it, by degrees; and, in like manner, the friends of the old religion, ſeeing ſuch beginnings, were afraid he would proceed, and their oppoſition but make him finiſh his work the ſooner. So, each party ſtriving to gain him to their intereſt, there reſulted for him an authority, which none of his predeceſſors had ever enjoyed, and which he could not have uſurped, in any other circumſtances, without hazarding his crown But both parties were alike deceived; for Henry kept in the ſame medium, all the reſt of his life, and made them both feel the ſad effects of that abſolute power they had ſo eaſily ſuffered him to aſſume. It is true, he was always ſo prudent, as not to act contrary to law; but he made uſe of his power to procure ſuch laws as he pleaſed, and then executed them without mercy. This will frequently be ſeen, in the ſequel. But after ſhewing Henry's character and motives, his actions muſt be related, which will confirm what has been obſerved. 1535.

The monks become odious to the king.

Tho' the acts concerning the king's marriage, and the papal power, bore the ſeal of the publick authority, they were very far from being univerſally approved. As they were not aſcribed ſo much to the two houſes, as to the king, on whom it was that the whole blame was caſt. Among all the male-contents, the monks were the moſt open, by their attempts to blacken him in the minds of the people. They could not bear his ſetting himſelf up in the pope's room, whom they had always conſidered, and ſtill did conſider, as their true head, notwithſtanding the ſtatutes made againſt him. Theſe were the men that cauſed the pretended Kentiſh propheteſs to ſay, if the king put away queen Catharine, and married another, he ſhould die in a month, and come to a tragical end. A Franciſcan, named Peto, preaching before the king, was ſo hardy as to tell him to his face, "That God's judgments "were ready to fall upon his head; that he "was always ſurrounded with a croud of lying "prophets, who foretold him good ſucceſs; "but for himſelf, like another Micaiah, he "warned him, that the dogs ſhould lick his "blood, as they had done Ahab's." This frier's inſolence, and the daily reports of the invectives, which were every where ſpread againſt him, provoked him extremely againſt them, as well as againſt thoſe that had the boldneſs to ſpeak opprobriouſly of the acts of parliament. However, he was very patient for ſome time, imagining that people would, at length, be calmed; but when he ſaw they did not ceaſe to aſperſe him, with all ſorts of calumnies, he called a council, to conſider how he ſhould behave towards thoſe who affected to contradict the laws, and ſpeak evil of him. Some of the council were for taking no notice of theſe offences, for fear too great a ſeverity ſhould have a quite contrary effect to what he deſired; but others repreſented to him the ill conſequences of ſuch a conduct. They ſhewed him, that theſe people's view was, to ſtir up the people againſt him, to give the biſhop of Rome opportunity to aſſert his pretended authority, and, therefore, they were for putting the laws in execution, with the utmoſt rigour. The king himſelf was of this opinion, as moſt agreeable to his fierce and ſtern temper, which could not bear contradiction; beſides, he ſaw to what he ſhould be reduced, in the end, if his enemies ſucceeded in their project to render him odious to the people. It is not, therefore, very ſtrange, that ſeeing himſelf, thus, provoked, he reſolved to treat with rigour people, who laboured with all their power to ruin him.

The inſolence of a Franciſcan. Burnet.

Priors and monks executed with ſome Proteſtants. Hall.

The reſolution being taken of executing the laws, without mercy, certain priors, monks, and others, who had been too free with the new ſtatutes, were apprehended, tried, and executed, according to the utmoſt rigour of the laws; but, at the ſame time, the king fearing left this ſeverity ſhould be aſcribed to the inclination, he was charged with, for the new religion,

1535. religion, affected to uſe the ſame rigour to thoſe who had openly embraced the reformation, and put them to death with the others; and, at laſt, to keep every one in awe, by an example which ſhould make the boldeſt tremble, he reſolved to deliver up to the rigour of the laws, Fiſher and More, then priſoners in the tower. To this end, Fiſher was required to take the oath of ſupremacy, it being ſuppoſed he would refuſe it, as he did, indeed. About the ſame time Paul III. created him cardinal, tho' he had declared, that, if the cardinal's hat was laid at his feet, he would not ſtoop to take it up. But the pope, whoſe view was to encourage ſuch as oppoſed the king, conferred, however, that dignity upon him, with the pompous elogy, that he conſidered him as the cardinal of cardinals. This unſeaſonable honour haſtened, in all likelihood, Fiſher's death, who being condemned, was executed the 22d of June, a month after his being made cardinal, and ſome days before the hat, ſent him by the pope, came to London. After that, Sir Thomas More being required to take the ſame oath, refuſed to reply, ſaying, "The "act of parliament is like a ſword with two "edges; for if a man anſwer one way, it "will deſtroy the ſoul, and if he anſwer ano-"ther, it will deſtroy the body." Upon his refuſal, he was condemned and executed. He was a man of great learning, and excellent parts, but ſo addicted to jeſting, that even the preſence of death could not make him lay aſide his uſual facetiouſneſs; for, when upon the point of being executed, he had laid his head on the block to receive the blow, he perceived, his beard was got under his chin; whereupon, haſtily riſing up, he bid the executioner ſtay a little, till he had put his beard aſide, ſince having committed no treaſon, it was not juſt it ſhould be cut off.

Fiſher is executed. Burnet.

Sir Thomas More is executed.

Paul III. excommunicates Henry, without publiſhing it. Herbert.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, in England, pope Paul III, ſtill kept ſome correſpondence with Sir Gregory Caſſali, who was at Rome, tho' without character. The pope earneſtly wiſhed, that ſome expedient might be found to heal the breach made by Clement VII's too great precipitation, and conferred from time to time with Caſſali. But when news came of the execution of the monks, and of Fiſher and More, for denying the king's ſupremacy, he deſpaired of ſucceeding. He perceived there was no more ceremony to be uſed, ſince all regard for him was thrown off in England, and a ſettled deſign ſhewn of ſupporting what had been done. So, to maintain the honour of his ſee, he drew up a thundering bull, excommunicating Henry, and abſolving his ſubjects from their oath. Moreover, he ordered all the eccleſiaſticks to depart his dominions, and the nobility to take arms againſt him. He put the kingdom under an interdict, and forbid all Chriſtians to have any commerce with the Engliſh. He annulled all the treaties made by foreign princes, with Henry, before his marriage with Ann Bullen, declaring their iſſue already born, or to be born, illegitimate. In the interim, as he was ſenſible, theſe ſpiritual thunders would produce no great effect, unleſs ſupported with temporal arms, which were not yet ready, he deferred the publiſhing of this bull, to a more convenient ſeaſon. 1535.

But, tho' the bull was not publiſhed, as no great care was taken to conceal it, it quickly came to Henry's knowledge; whereupon, he reſolved to join with the Proteſtants of Germany, and keep the emperor employed in that country. He, therefore, diſpatched Edward Fox to the league of Smalcald, whilſt Francis made uſe, for the ſame purpoſe, of William du Bellay, lord of Langeais. But it was very difficult for a good and hearty union to be formed between theſe two monarchs, and the Proteſtants of Germany. The Proteſtants meant only to preſerve the liberty of profeſſing their religion unmoleſted, whereas the ſole view of Francis and Henry was, to excite them againſt the emperor, without any regard to the Proteſtant religion, which they were perſecuting in their kingdoms. It is true, to gain the Proteſtants, they feigned an inclination for their religion, and a deſire to eſtabliſh it in their dominions; nay, Henry very much improved the conformity of his ſentiments with theirs, concerning the papal authority; but the rigour wherewith theſe two monarchs treated ſuch of their ſubjects as had embraced the new religion, deſtroyed whatever their ambaſſadors could ſay. For this reaſon, the the Proteſtants always inſiſted upon ſettling the points which concerned religion, and continued to require, that Henry ſhould openly delare for the Augsburg confeſſion, that their union might be built on a ſolid foundation. Henry feigned to approve of what they propoſed, and to make them believe it the more, wiſhed them to ſend ſome of their divines to confer with thoſe of England. But he never really intended to conform himſelf to their notions; for he rather wanted the Germans, as well as the Engliſh, to learn of him what they were to believe; and for this cauſe, the project of the propoſed union was never executed. However, this negotiation made the pope and the emperor very uneaſy, who plainly ſaw, that in attacking Henry, there was danger of really engaging him to unite with the league of Smalcald.

An ambaſſy to the Proteſtants of Germany. Herbert.

But Henry did not depend ſo much upon foreign aſſiſtance, as upon his own ſtrength. In the interim, as his ſubjects were daily corrupted by the monks, who inſinuated to them, that he was going to overturn all religion, he reſolved to take all poſſible precautions, to prevent the pernicious deſigns of theſe dangerous adverſaries. To this end, it was moved in the council, whether it would not be proper to ſuppreſs, at once, all the monaſteries. This queſtion was debated with great warmth, by reaſon of the two contrary parties in the council. Cranmer and Cromwell looked upon the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries, as a great ſtep to the reformation; but, on the other hand, the duke of Norfolk, the biſhops of Wincheſt, Lincoln and others, who had with reluctance ſubſcribed to what had been done againſt the pope, could not reſolve to conſent to this ſuppreſſion; for they ſaw, after that, the

Henry lays before the council the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries. Burnet.

1535. the kingdom would be irrecoverably loſt to the pope, without reckoning that the diſſolution of the monaſteries might produce yet greater effects, with regard to religion. The king having heard the arguments on both ſides, found he ſhould not be able to ſuppreſs the monaſteries all at once, without giving offence to the greateſt part of his ſubjects; he, therefore, reſolved with himſelf, to accompliſh it by degrees, and to begin with a thing abſolutely neceſſary; viz. to remove the people's prejudice, in favour of the monks. To this end, he ordered a general viſitation of the monaſteries, to know perfectly the titles of their eſtates, the behaviour of the fryers and nuns; how the rules of each order were obſerved, and other things of the like nature. He did not queſtion, this viſitation would diſcover ſeveral conſiderable abuſes, which, being made publick, would ſenſibly diminiſh the people's veneration for the religious, and pave the way to his deſign. He was extremely incenſed with the monks, whom he looked upon as diſturbers of his repoſe. On the other hand, the hopes of profiting by their eſtates, did not a little contribute, without doubt, towards his puſhing this affair with great earneſtneſs. Thomas Cromwell was choſen to manage this inquiry, by the name of viſitor-general. This choice was a plain indication of the king's intent, ſince he employed a perſon who was utterly averſe to the monks. Cromwell having appointed ſubſtitutes, or commiſſioners, gave them very particular inſtructions, under 86 articles, and the viſitation began in October. It may be eaſily judged, that among ſo great a number of monaſteries as were in the kingdom, moſt of which had never been viſited but very negligently, many were found abounding with irregularities, as well in reſpect of the lives of the fryers and nuns, as in regard to the obſervance of the rule, and the management of the temporalities. The viſitors, who were not their friends, and, doubtleſs, had orders to terrify them, told them, they were going to be expoſed to the king's utmoſt ſeverity, and the rigour of the law. Then, they ſuggeſted to them, that to ſave themſelves harmleſs, and withal to hide their diſorders, the beſt way was to reſign their houſes to the king, who, upon that conſideration, would take care to provide for each, in particular. A good number of priors being terrified by the viſitors, choſe to follow their advice, their monks agreeing to it, ſome to avoid puniſhment, others to enjoy their liberty, and ſome for want of reſolution to reſiſt. The reports of the commiſſioners were publiſhed, that all might be ſatisfied, the king had not without reaſon and neceſſity, ordered this general viſitation. The truth is, in ſome monaſteries were diſcovered monſtrous diſorders and horrible crimes, not only with reſpect to the debaucheries of the fryers and nuns, but chiefly on the account of the images and relicks, for which a ſhameful trade was driven to enrich the monaſteries, by cheriſhing the people's ſuperſtition. This occaſioned an ordinance of the king, who, as ſupreme head of the church of England, diſcharged from their vows ſuch as were profeſſed under 24 years of age, and allowed all the reſt to quit their houſes, and live like ſeculars, if they pleaſed. But as moſt were accuſtomed to an idle life, and perceived, when they forſook their monaſteries, they ſhould be forced to work for their livelihood, the liberty given them by the king, produced no great effect. Beſides, there were, doubtleſs, many, who, out of conſcience, thought not proper to uſe it. So, Henry was obliged to take other meaſures. 1535.

He orders the monaſteries to be viſited. Burnet.

It was but this year, that cardinal Campegio loſt the biſhoprick of Salisbury, which was given to Nicolas Shaxton, a friend to the reformers. Soon after, the ſee of Worceſter was taken from Ghinucci, an Italian, and conferred on Hugh Latimer, a great friend to Cranmer. John Hilſey was promoted to the ſee of Rocheſter, vacant by the death of Fiſher, and Edward Fox to that of Hereford.

Change of ſome biſhops. Act. Pub.

Several abbots and priors ſurrender their houſes to the king. Burnet.

Among all the king's enemies, or enviers, none gave him more uneaſineſs than his nephew, the king of Scotland, and not without reaſon. During the whole time of that prince's minority, Henry had fomented the troubles of Scotland, and even ſhewn, that his deſigns tended to become maſter of that kingdom. James was fully informed, and tho' he ſhewed great regard for the king, his uncle, he let him ſee, however, he did not conſider him as a friend. Henry, therefore, was in danger, that, if the innovations in religion cauſed diſturbances in the kingdom, the king of Scotland would take occaſion to be revenged, by aſſiſting the male-contents. This fear was the more juſt, as the emperor knowing the king of Scotland's diſpoſition, had already laboured to inſpire him with ſuſpicions and jealouſies of France and England; nay, he would have concluded a league with him, as I obſerved, had not Francis broken his meaſures, by procuring a peace between England and Scotland. But notwithſtanding this peace, Henry was always in diſtruſt of that quarter; and, to make himſelf eaſy, he formed the project, to inſtill into the king of Scotland the reſolution to follow his example, and renounce the pope's obedience. He conſidered this as a ſure means to preſerve, between the two kingdoms, a ſtrict union, which would be very advantageous in his preſent circumſtances. He ſent him, therefore, in the firſt place, a long letter, declaring the reaſons of his conduct, with regard to the pope. Then, he diſpatched an ambaſſador, to propoſe an interview, fancying that a conference with him, would produce a greater effect, than whatever he ſhould ſay to him, by letter or ambaſſy. But tho' the reformation had already crept into Scotland, James had no inclination to embrace it. So, the eccleſiaſticks, about his perſon, eaſily diſſuaded him from accepting the interview, where they were afraid ſome things might paſs very prejudicial to their religion. In the interim, James, not being willing openly to refuſe the conference, deſired by the king, his uncle, gave him hopes of his

Henry tries to perſuade the king of Scotland to renounce the pope. Buchanan.

1535. consent, after certain difficulties, purposely raised, were removed; but, at the same time, he demanded of the pope, a brief, to forbid his having any interview with the king of England. When the brief came, he gave the king, his uncle, notice of it, who, having prepared for his journey, was extremely offended at this refusal. Hence sprung a quarrel between them, which I shall have occasion to mention hereafter.

Death of the duke of Milan. Herbert.

Before I conclude the year 1535, I must not forget to relate an event, which very much changed the face of the affairs of Europe; I mean the death of Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, which happened in the month of October. As this prince left no issue by Catharine of Denmark, the emperor's niece, whom he had lately married, the duchy of Milan, as fief of the empire, was fallen to the emperor, to be disposed of as he pleased. So, the fears and jealousies of the pope, the king of France, and the Venetians, were revived on this occasion; each of these potentates having cause to fear the emperor would keep Milan for himself, or give it to his brother, the king of the Romans. In that case, Italy would of course, fall again into slavery, and the king of France lose his hopes of recovering that duchy. To make them easy, the emperor declared he had no design to keep Milan, but intended to present some prince with it, who should cause no suspicion to those that were concerned to preserve the peace of Italy. Afterwards, he wisely made use of it for a lure to amuse the king of France; but in reality he never desired to dispossess himself of it *.

1536. Death of queen Catharine. Burnet.

Queen Catharine ended her days the beginning of the year 1536. Tho' her virtue had gained her an universal esteem, she died, however, little lamented by the publick, because she equally embarrassed her friends and enemies. Before she expired, she dictated a very tender letter to the king, who seemed to be extremely moved with it †; but, in all appearance, his grief was of no long continuance. He was very fond of her, when first married, her mildness and modesty having a greater influence upon him, than she could expect from her beauty, which was not extraordinary. In time, his affection abating, he treated her with indifference, tho' ever with much civility. At last, after he had resolved to put her away, her obstinate refusal to comply with his will, made him consider her as an enemy. Accordingly, he used her rigorously when the sentence of divorce was pronounced, even to the not suffering her to keep servants, who treated her as a queen. At last, he publickly forbid to give her that title, tho' he was forced to connive at her disobedience.

1536. A parliament meets.

The parliament meeting the 4th of February, finished the work begun, by abolishing every thing relating to the pope's power, not to leave the least pretence to acknowledge his authority. But the king had a farther view, viz. to suppress the monasteries, as well to be revenged of the monks, and prevent their ill designs, as to procure their estates. In all appearance, the late visitation of the monasteries had convinced him, that the monks were as unserviceable to religion, as prejudicial to his affairs, in his present circumstances.

Reasons of altering the ecclesiastical constitutions.

As among the constitutions observed in the church of England, there were not a few that had a manifest relation to the papal authority, it was absolutely necessary to annul them, and make others, which should have for foundation, the king's supremacy. The parliament had already passed an act, empowering the king to nominate 32 commissioners to examine such as were to be abolished; but the king had not hastened this nomination, because, by this confusion, his authority was much more extensive. Indeed, the papal power was abolished by act of parliament, and yet it still subsisted in the constitutions, which, not being abrogated, threw the clergy into great perplexities, because they knew not what to do. But this was what the king desired, that the clergy might be more at his devotion, since he could equally prosecute them as guilty, whether they did or did not observe them. The parliament taking this contrariety into consideration, would have cured it, by confirming the power formerly given the king, to appoint commissioners to alter these constitutions. This was a sort of reproach for his negligence, in that respect; but he feigned not to mind it, and left the affair in the same state it was.

An act for suppressing the lesser monasteries. Act. Pub.

He had another thing in his thoughts, which affected him much more, viz. to execute his design upon the monks. In this session, he represented to the parliament, that the great number of monasteries in the kingdom, were a burden to the state, and earnestly desired them to remedy the evil, by such means as they should judge proper. Whereupon it was enacted, that all houses of 200 pounds a year, and under, should be suppressed, and their effects given to the king. Of this sort there were 376, and a revenue of 32000 pounds a year, fell to the crown, with above 100,000 pounds worth of plate, goods, ornaments of the churches, and the like. A new court was erected, called the court of the augmentation of the king's revenue, which was to take cognizance of all matters concern-

* This year, Wales, which had, hitherto, been only a province to the English nation, was incorporated, united, and annexed for ever to the realm of England.

† In the title she called him, my most dear lord, king, and husband, and concluded with saying, I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things. "She advised him to look to the health of his soul. She for-"gave him all the troubles he had cast her into. She recommended their daughter Mary to him, desiring he would "be a loving father to her. She also desired he would provide matches for her maids, who were but three; and "that he would give her servants one year's wages more than was due to them." She was a devout and pious princess, and led a severe life. In her greatness she wrought much with her own hand, and kept her women well employed about her, as appeared when the two legates came once to speak with her. She came out to them with a skein of silk about her neck, and told them she had been within at work with her maids. Few such queens now a-days! Burnet.

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1536. ing this new acquiſition. The erecting of a court for ſo ſmall a revenue, was a clear evidence, the king had no deſign to ſtop there, but intended to ſeiſe the revenues of all the monaſteries, in the kingdom.

A reſolution to let the people have the bible in Engliſh. Burnet.

The convocation ſitting, as uſual, at the ſame time with the parliament, a motion was made there, that there ſhould be a tranſlation of the bible in Engliſh, to be ſet up in all churches, and the ſame was approved of. It muſt be obſerved, the king's intent was only to ſhew the people, there was nothing contrary to the holy ſcriptures, in what was done againſt the pope; but Cranmer, Cromwell, and the reſt of the reformers, had much farther views; for they hoped, when the bible was in the hands of the people, they would ſee their error in many other things, which, hitherto, had been deemed eſſential to religion. But they took care to hide their deſigns from the king, knowing how contrary they were to his; for Henry was abſolutely againſt all reformation of doctrine, and, conſequently, they were to bring him inſenſibly, and by degrees, to what they deſired. They partly ſucceeded, but they fell extremely ſhort of what they had expected, at firſt; however, they thought it very conſiderable to obtain his conſent, that it ſhould be moved in the convocation, to give the people the bible, in Engliſh, and to have cauſed the motion to be approved. As there was then no other Engliſh verſion of the bible but Tindal's, made, at Antwerp, without the publick authority, the convocation petitioned the king for a good tranſlation, which he was pleaſed to take upon himſelf.

The parliament is diſſolved. Burnet.

Henry having obtained of the parliament all he deſired, thought it time to diſſolve it, which he did the 14th of April, after having continued it ſix years. Never had parliament held ſo long, ſince the beginning of the monarchy.

The care Henry took, to ſecure himſelf from the cabals of the Monks, and his other domeſtick enemies, did not prevent him from thinking of his foreign affairs, and of means to avoid the emperor's attacks. Francis was invading Savoy, and it was but too manifeſt, that his intent was to open a paſſage into the Milaneſe. But, as this was a great undertaking, conſidering the then ſituation of France, the emperor could not believe, he had engaged in it, without being firſt ſure of Henry's aſſiſtance. Wherefore, he reſolved to uſe his utmoſt endeavours, to break their union. From the death of Sforza, he had continued a private negotiation with Francis, to reſign the duchy of Milan to one of his ſons, and acted ſo artfully, that the treaty ſeemed to be very near a concluſion. This could not but inſpire Henry with jealouſy; for he plainly ſaw, if the negotiation ended to the king of France's ſatisfaction, he would be regardleſs of his intereſts. On the other hand, the emperor no ſooner heard of the death of his aunt, qeeen Catharine, but he ſent and offered Henry to renew their alliance, with a mutual oblivion of all that was paſſed. But, leſt he ſhould be taken at his word, he required 1536. three conditions, which left him the liberty to prolong the affair as much as he pleaſed, his view being only to ſow diviſion between Francis and Henry, by making them ſuſpicious of each other. The firſt of theſe conditions was, that Henry ſhould be reconciled to the pope, to which end, he offered his mediation. By the ſecond, he demanded a powerful aſſiſtance againſt the Turks. By the third, that, purſuant to their treaty, in 1518, he ſhould join with him, in the defence of Milan, againſt the attacks of the French king. Henry anſwered, that what had been done againſt the pope, could not be revoked; that as ſoon as Chriſtendom ſhould be in peace, he would act againſt the Infidels, as became a Chriſtian prince; that he was ready to renew his alliance with the emperor, provided it was done without prejudice to the king of France, his ally, that being friend of both, he might be better enabled to labour the reconciliation, or, if he could not ſucceed, to aſſiſt him that ſhould be unjuſtly attacked; that as to the reſt, he refuſed not to agree with the emperor, provided he would own the rupture came from him. The emperor perceiving Henry was upon his guard, thought not fit to puſh this affair any farther. Indeed, Henry could eaſily ſee, his view was to ſet him at variance with France, ſince, at the very time theſe things paſſed, Francis imparted to him the private negotiation, concerning the duchy of Milan. Moreover, he warned him, that the emperor intended to force him to return to the pope's obedience, and, it was only upon that condition, he offered to reſign the Milaneſe.

Henry tries to ſide with the league of Smalcald. Sleidan.

All theſe proceedings of the emperor, convincing Henry that he ſought occaſion to attack him, he reſolved to purſue his negotiation with the Proteſtants of Germany, to make him a diverſion in that country, which ſhould break his meaſures, with regard to England. To this ſame end, he had ſent Edward Fox to them, laſt year; but they would not be his dupes, not imagining, as he would feign have made them believe, that he was inclined to their faith, whilſt he ordered their brethren to be burnt, in England. So, not to be engaged, by faint hopes, to be ſubſervient to his deſigns, at their expence, they delivered, to his ambaſſador, the terms on which, they were willing to be ſtrictly united with him. The terms were, that he ſhould embrace the Augsburg confeſſion, and defend it, with all his power, in a free council; that he ſhould approve of no place for holding the council, without their conſent; that if the pope called a council at his own pleaſure, Henry ſhould join with them, in proteſting againſt it; that he ſhould accept the title of Protector of the League; that he ſhould never return to the pope's obedience; that he ſhould not aſſiſt their enemies; that he ſhould find 100,000 crowns, for the occaſions of the league, and 200,000, if the war laſted any time; and, laſtly, they added, that when he

1536. he ſhould have declared himſelf upon theſe articles, they would ſend ambaſſadors, and agree with him upon the reſt.

Henry is at a loſs about the propoſals.

Theſe propoſals threw Henry into ſome perplexity; for he ſaw, the ſole view of the Proteſtants, was, to ſupport their religion, and, that, however, was the thing which diſturbed him the leaſt, being by no means ſatisfied with the Augsburg confeſſion, and yet he perceived, in caſe he openly rejected it, there was no likelihood of his being able to join with the league of Smalcald. On the other hand, it was his intereſt to continue this negotiation, as well becauſe the Proteſtants might be ſerviceable to him, as to keep the emperor in awe, by that conſideration. So his intereſt required, that, he ſhould, favourably, hear theſe propoſitions; but withal, he reſolved to inſert, in his reply, ſomething which ſhould afford him occaſion to break, if he thought proper. He anſwered, therefore, that he was willing to furniſh the ſum required, in caſe a league, of which he would treat with their ambaſſadors, ſhould be concluded between him and the Proteſtants; that tho' he was ſenſible, to what the title of Protector of the League would expoſe him, he was content to accept it, provided there were, between him and them, a conformity of doctrine, otherwiſe he could not engage to defend a faith, of whoſe truth he was not convinced; that, therefore, he deſired them to ſend commiſſioners, with powers, to mitigate ſome articles of the Augsburg confeſſion, which he could not approve. Moreover, as to the ſupplies, he required, that the engagement ſhould be mutual, whether he or they were attacked. In fine, he demanded an authentick approbation of his divorce; and their promiſe to juſtify it, in a council. Theſe propoſals, on both ſides, were of a nature to keep a treaty long on foot. But, tho' the members of the league of Smalcald ſaw no great likelihood of a ſtrict union, they appointed, however, Sturmius, Draco, Bucer, and Melancthon, to go and confer with Henry, and his divines. It was eſpecially provided, in their inſtructions, that nothing ſhould be concluded to the prejudice of the emperor or empire. This negotiation was interrupted by the death of Ann Bullen, which happened ſoon after, and, which very much altered the face of affairs, as well as the king's mind, in reſpect to the reformation, which ſhe openly countenanced.

The king falls in love with Jane Seymour, and grows jealous of the queen. Herbert.

The king was poſſeſſed, at the ſame time, with two paſſions, a violent love for Jane Seymour, maid of honour to the queen, and an extreme jealouſy of his wife. Very likely, the latter was a conſequence of the former. When Ann Bullen's enemies found, ſhe no longer held in the king's heart the place ſhe had formerly enjoyed, inſtead of fearing to accuſe her of unfaithfulneſs to the king, her ſpouſe, they believed they ſhould pleaſe that ſpouſe, who began to be himſelf unfaithful. It is certain, the king had loſt that affection for the queen, which made him ſurmount ſo many obſtacles to poſſeſs her; whether enjoyment had quenched this firſt flame, or the queen's indiſcretions given the king cauſe to ſuſpect her, he ſo gave himſelf over to jealouſy, that it was not in his power to overcome it, or, perhaps, he never much endeavoured it. However this be, the occaſion was this. The queen had a great friendſhip for her brother, the lord Rochford, but could not indure his wife, who lived very ill with her husband, and had an infamous character, as will evidently appear hereafter. It was this lady that whiſpered in the king's ear, the firſt report that the queen was unfaithful, and had a criminal commerce with her brother, the lord Rochford. Theſe ſeeds fell upon a ſoil already prepared to receive them; for the king, now prejudiced by his paſſion for Jane Seymour, was overjoyed to find in the pretended unfaithfulneſs of the queen, a means to procure the poſſeſſion of the perſon he loved. As ſoon as queen Ann's enemies ſaw how the king ſtood affected towards her, they took care to ruin her quite, in his favour, by accuſing her of ſundry intrigues with her own domeſticks. Theſe enemies were the ſame, with thoſe of the reformation. They imagined, ſhe had put the king upon all his proceedings againſt the pope, on purpoſe to favour the new religion. But tho' ſhe had not done this, it was ſufficient to heat her, that ſhe had been the cauſe, by inſpiring the king with love, ſince that had occaſioned Catharine's divorce, and conſequently all the innovations in religion. Policy might likewiſe enter into their project; for they were ſenſible, ſo long as Ann lived, ſhe would be an invincible obſtacle, to a reconciliation with Rome, whereas if ſhe were dead, they hoped, all difficulties would be eaſily removed. The duke of Norfolk, inwardly burned with a deſire to ſee religion again eſtabliſhed upon the ſame foot it was before theſe alterations, tho', like a good courtier, he took care not to diſcover it to his maſter. His quality, zeal, and credit, had made him head of the party of the old religion, and, as he had the king's ear, he could eaſily do ill offices to the contrary party; the king's jealouſy of the queen, was, too fair an occaſion to be neglected, ſince he could at once ſerve his party, and make his court to his maſter. So, it is commonly believed, this lord contributed moſt to the queen's ruin, becauſe among all her enemies, he had moſt acceſs to the king. But, however, whether it was he, or another, the king was inſpired with a jealouſy which threw him into a ſort of fury. This is not very ſtrange, conſidering his temper, the moſt impetuous and moſt impatient that ever was. The queen was accuſed of a criminal commerce, not only with the lord Rochford, her brother, but alſo with Henry Norris, groom of the ſtole, Francis Weſton and William Brereton of the king's privy chamber, and one Mark Smeton, a muſician. It muſt be confeſſed, the queen had ſome indiſcreet ways, which the king never minded, whilſt he was not prejudiced againſt her, but which afterwards were too capable of confirming his ſuſpicions; beſides, as ſoon as he hearkened to what was ſaid againſt

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Motives of the queen's enemies to ſacrifice her. Burnet.

She is accuſed of adultery and inceſt. Burnet.

1536. gainſt her, probably, her enemies were very diligent to give an ill turn to her moſt innocent words or actions. Without doubt, Hen- was ſome time tormented with jealouſy, before he diſcovered it, but, at laſt, it broke out at the ſolemn juſts, held at Greenwich, from whence he ſuddenly withdrew, with ſigns of great anger, the cauſe whereof could not be gueſſed. It is likely, he had obſerved ſomething that confirmed his ſuſpicions, of which none but himſelf took notice. Sanders ſays, the queen dropping her handkerchief, one of her gallants took it up, and wiped his face with it; but this author is the only perſon that relates this circumſtance. However this be, the king was no ſooner gone from the juſts, but he ordered the lord Rochford, Norris, Weſton, Brereton, and Smeton to be arreſted; and, at the ſame time the queen was confined to her chamber, and the next day conveyed to the tower. But what plainly ſhewed the deſign of her enemies to deſtroy her, was their procuring an order for the archbiſhop of Canterbury to retire to his palace, at Lambeth, for fear, if he could ſpeak with the king, he would find occaſion to vindicate her.

She is apprehended. Burnet.

Snares are laid for her. Burnet.

It is not ſurpriſing, this princeſs, in her ſad condition ſhould be diſordered, and having none to adviſe with, ſhould be enſnared by her enemies. Her uncle's lady, the lady Bullen, was appointed to lie in her chamber, with whom ſhe was at great variance, and from this lady, who was placed there to watch her, it came to be known, that during her confinement, ſhe ſaid ſome things which helped to confirm the king's ſuſpicions. However, upon her examination, ſhe poſitively denied, ſhe had ever been falſe to the king; only when ſhe was told that Norris, Weſton, Brereton and Smeton had accuſed her, tho' ſhe might have eaſily ſeen it was purely to draw from her ſome confeſſion, ſhe believed ſhe ought not to conceal certain things which had paſſed between her and them. She ſaid concerning Norris, that asking him one day why he did not go on with his marriage, he anſwered, there was no haſte; whereupon, ſhe ſaid, ſhe plainly ſaw he was in hopes of having her, in caſe the king died. This ſeems to argue there was ſome familiarity between her and Norris; otherwiſe, ſuppoſing the truth of the fact, it is hard to conceive that a queen ſhould think of talking, thus, to one of her domeſticks.

As for Smeton, the muſician, ſhe ſaid, he was never in her chamber but twice; that the laſt time ſhe ſaw him there, ſhe asked him why he was ſo ſad; and that in her converſation with him, he had the boldneſs to tell her, "No, no, madam, a look ſuffices me."

As for Weſton, ſhe owned he had taken the liberty to tell her, he loved her, and that ſhe thereupon defied him.

But after all, the queſtion is to know, whether the regiſters from whence this examination is taken are true, or whether the examination was impartially written. Indeed, this doubt alone is not ſufficient to clear the queen; but then, when it is conſidered, ſhe had for adverſary a husband who was king, and jealous even to madneſs, very likely, they who were employed to examine her, gave her words ſuch a turn and ſenſe, as favoured the king's deſigns, by pretending to ſet down the ſubſtance of her anſwers inſtead of her very words. 1536.

As for the lord Rochford, all the evidence for his pretended familiarity with the queen, his ſiſter, amounted to no more, than that he was once ſeen leaning on her bed.

Depoſition of the complices. Burnet.

When theſe men were examined, Norris ſwore he believed the queen innocent, and perſiſted in his aſſeveration to his laſt breath. Smeton confeſſed, he had known the queen, carnally, three times; but he was never confronted with her; nay, he was condemned before ſhe was brought to her tryal, that he might not be a witneſs. This makes very much for the queen, ſince it is not likely ſuch an evidence would have been voluntarily neglected, had it been deemed as good as it appears to be; but, probably, it was feared that Smeton would retract, or the queen confound him, if brought face to face with her. The reſt pleaded not guilty; yet, however, were condemned and executed.

The queen is condemned with the lord Rochford. Hall.

Three days after, the queen and the lord Rochford, her brother, were tried by their peers, the duke of Norfolk being lord high-ſteward for that occaſion. The queen was accuſed of proſtituting herſelf to her brother, and four other men, and conſpiring the king's death; but this laſt charge being without any foundation, it was not thought proper to inſiſt upon it. The queen and the lorn Rochford pleaded not guilty, and yet were condemned, without its being ever known upon what evidence the ſentence was grounded. Judgment was given, that the lord Rochford ſhould be beheaded and quartered; but, as for the queen, ſhe was condemned to be burnt or beheaded, at the king's pleaſure.

Remarks on the ſentence.

Very probably, the king believed the queen guilty, and under his preſent prejudice, ſigns and tokens were to him as good proofs; but can the ſame thing be ſaid of the peers who condemned her? Did their conſcience ſuffer them to condemn a queen to death, upon bare ſurmiſes? I ſay ſurmiſes, ſince had there been ſolid proofs, they would very likely have been publiſhed, in order to juſtify a ſentence of this nature, which was unprecedented, in England. Such reſerve was not afterwards uſed with regard to another of Henry's queens, who was really guilty of the like crime. All that can be ſaid in favour of thoſe who paſſed ſentence on Ann Bullen, is, that their dread of turning againſt themſelves the king's fury, if they complied not with his humour, made them conſider ſigns as real proofs. It is obſervable, there were but 26 peers preſent at the tryal, tho' there were then 53, in England, as appears by the ſummons to parliament directed to them ſoon after. This gives occaſion to conjecture, that, according to the method introduced by cardinal Wolſey, in the condemnation of the duke of Buckingham, care was taken to remove thoſe, who were ſuſpected not to have ſo much complaiſance as to gratify the king's paſſion, at the expence of their conſci-

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The queen is beheaded. Hall.

ence. As for Dr. Burnet's saying, in his Hiſtory, that Ann Bullen's father was among her judges, it is known he retracted it afterwards.

The ſentence was executed the 19th of May. Ann ſuffered death with great conſtancy, after a ſhort ſpeech to thoſe that were preſent, wherein ſhe neither confeſſed, nor denied the crime, for which ſhe was condemned; contenting herſelf with acknowledging her obligations to the king, with praying for him, and deſiring the prayers of the people for herſelf. It is generally believed, her fear of drawing the king's anger on her daughter Elizabeth, prevented her from inſiſting upon her own innocence; for, as ſhe knew the king's temper perfectly, and could not vindicate herſelf, without charging him with injuſtice, ſhe was afraid Elizabeth would become the ſacrifice of the king her father's reſentment. However, this was the tragical end of Ann Bullen, whom ſome have vehemently defamed, and whoſe conduct others have as carefully juſtified, without any poſſibility yet of knowing, for certain, whether ſhe was guilty or innocent. The enemies to her daughter Elizabeth, and the reformation, have blackened her reputation as much as poſſible, imagining thereby to give a mortal wound to the Proteſtant religion. For a contrary reaſon, the Proteſtants have forgot nothing that could conduce to give of her, a quite different idea. But both have reaſoned upon a falſe principle, ſince the goodneſs of a religion depends not upon the life and converſation of the profeſſors. For my part, if I may ſpeak my opinion, I can never believe, the peers, her judges, had ſufficient evidence to condemn her, as guilty of defiling the king's bed. However, it cannot be denied, that by ſome familiarities unbecoming a queen, ſhe gave too great an advantage over her. As ſhe was young and handſome, without doubt ſhe was not diſpleaſed to ſee the effect of her beauty upon all ſorts of people, imagining that the love ſhe inſpired them with, greatly heightened her merit. We ſee too many ladies liable to this infirmity. Be this as it will, it is certain, the ſpirit of party, has not a little contributed to the diverſity of opinions, concerning the queen. Had ſhe not countenanced the reformation, ſhe would have, undoubtedly, fewer accuſers among the Catholicks, and had ſhe led the king to perſecute the reformed, not many of theſe would undertake her vindication. This is the way of the world. People are innocent or guilty, according to the party they are of. But beſides this general cauſe, a particular reaſon may alſo be found in the carriage of Ann Bullen. She was of a very gay temper, which had charmed the king, but which, after ſome years of enjoyment, ſerved only to raiſe his jealouſy. On the other hand, it cannot be denied ſhe had very good qualities, and, particularly, great charity to the poor, to whom, a few days before her diſgrace, ſhe had given 2000 pounds. A circumſtance in the ſtory of her death, ſhews, likewiſe, ſhe had a very tender conſcience. After ſhe was condemned, ſhe fell upon her knees to the lady Bullen, her ſiſter-in-law, and conjured her, for God's ſake, to tell the princeſs Mary, ſhe begged her pardon for her ill-uſage of her. This charity, and this tenderneſs of conſcience, would little become a woman, who ſhould have had a ſhameful and criminal commerce with four men and her own brother; but they would be very conſiſtent with great indiſcretion and a little coquetry. 1536.

Henry nulls his marriage with Ann Bullen. Hall.

Tho' the king had procured the queen's condemnation, he was not ſatisfied; for he was pleaſed to give her, before ſhe died, a freſh cauſe of mortification, by annulling their marriage. To this end, he cauſed her to be turned ſo many ways, that, at laſt, ſhe confeſſed a contract between her and the lord Percy, now earl of Northumberland, tho' that lord proteſted, upon his ſalvation, there never was any formal promiſe of marriage between them. It was believed this confeſſion was drawn from her, by an intimation, that the king would, on no other condition, be prevailed with to mitigate that cruel part of her ſentence of being burnt, into the milder part of being beheaded. However this be, upon this ſame confeſſion, the archbiſhop of Canterbury was forced to paſs a ſentence of divorce between the king and her, and declare their daughter Elizabeth, illegitimate. What is moſt ſtrange in the king's proceedings, is, the artifice he uſed, in cauſing the queen to be condemned before her marriage was nulled. Had the ſentence of divorce been paſſed before the tryal, ſhe could not have been condemned for adultery, ſince her marriage with the king muſt have been conſidered only as a concubinage. But Henry had acquired ſuch an abſolute ſway, over his ſubjects, that his will was the ſole meaſure of juſtice and law; nay, he ſo little regarded the publick, and his own reputation, that he married Jane Seymour the next day after Ann Bullen's death; wherein he expreſſed a paſſion which ſerved greatly to juſtify the deceaſed queen.

The king marries Jane Seymour. Hall.

The death of Ann Bullen revived the hopes of Mary, the king's daughter, by his firſt wife Catharine. Her attachment to the queen, her mother, and her obſtinate refuſal to ſubmit to the late acts of parliament, had quite thrown her out of the king's favour, who could not bear contradiction. But the late event cauſing the friends of Rome, to imagine the king might be reconciled to the pope, they adviſed Mary to accommodate herſelf to the times, for fear of loſing the fruit, this change might produce. As there was nothing now that obſtructed the union of the king with the emperor, it was hoped the act, which declared her illegitimate, might be repealed, provided ſhe made her ſubmiſſion to the king, her father. To this end, ſhe reſolved to write a very humble and reſpectful letter to the king, proteſting, for the future, ſhe would have no other ſentiments but his. But Henry not ſatisfied with a ſubmiſſion expreſſed in ſuch general terms, inſiſted, before he reſtored her to favour, upon her ſigning certain articles, which ſhe had, hitherto, rejected; viz. the ſupremacy, the renunciation of the biſhop

The princeſs Mary reconciled to the king. Herbert.

of

1536. of Rome, and the unlawfulneſs of her mother's marriage. Mary tried all poſſible ways to be excuſed; but, at length, finding the king remained inflexible, ſhe ſigned them, tho' contrary to her opinion, in hopes that the ill ſhe committed in acting againſt her conſcience, might be productive of much good. As for the princeſs Elizabeth, then about three years old, ſhe was diveſted of the title of Princeſs of Wales, which ſhe had enjoyed from her birth. However, the king ſtill continued to educate her, at court, with all the care and tenderneſs of a father.

A parliament. A new act of ſucceſſion. Hall.

A new parliament meeting the 8th of June, an act was paſſed to ſettle the ſucceſſion, that made, after their marriage, being void by the ſentence of divorce between the king and Ann Bullen. By this new act, the other was repealed, and the iſſue of the king's two firſt marriages declared illegitimate, and diſabled from ever inheriting the crown; moreover the act confirmed Ann Bullen's ſentence, as being grounded upon very juſt cauſes, and ſettled the crown, after the king's death, upon the iſſue of queen Jane, or of any other queen whom he might afterwards marry. Finally, they gave the king full power to declare the ſucceſſion to the crown, either by his letters patents under the great ſeal, or by his laſt will, ſigned with his hand; and, if any ſo deſigned to ſucceed in default of others, ſhould endeavour to uſurp upon thoſe before them, or to exclude them, they were declared traytors, as were alſo thoſe who ſhould maintain the lawfulneſs of the former marriages. Hence it may be eaſily gueſſed, with what an abſolute ſway Henry then ruled, ſince, without any examination, the parliament approved of all his actions, and granted him even more than he deſired, by giving him power to ſettle the order of his ſucceſſors. By that, it was in the king's power to replace Mary and Elizabeth in ſuch order, as he pleaſed, or exclude them entirely. This is a clear evidence, that the parliament had not juſtice and equity ſo much in view, as pleaſing the king.

The pope tries to make up matters with Henry. Burnet.

When pope Paul III. heard of Ann Bullen's death, he entertained hopes of a revocation of what had been done, in England; and, therefore, declared his thoughts to Sir Gregory Caſſali, formerly the king's ambaſſador, and after ſome excuſes concerning the ſentence of excommunication which he had given, but was not yet publiſhed, told him, he would willingly cloſe with any expedients that ſhould be deemed proper, to procure a good agreement between the king and him. But Henry, who, ſome few years before, would have done much to obtain the pope's favour, was now of another mind; nothing being capable of inducing him to diſpoſſeſs himſelf of the authority acquired over the clergy, as well as over the reſt of his ſubjects, and which rendered his power more extenſive than he expected, at firſt. On the contrary, entirely to deſtroy the pope's expectations, he cauſed the parliament to confirm, by two new acts, whatever had been done againſt him. By the firſt, all perſons were to incur the pains of a Præmunire, who endeavoured to reſtore, in England, the authority of the biſhop of Rome; and all officers both civil and eccleſiaſtical were commanded, under ſevere penalties, to puniſh thoſe who ſhould dare to violate this ſtatute. The ſecond nulled and aboliſhed all diſpenſations, immunities, and privileges, flowing from the court of Rome, ſaving to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the power of confirming what ſhould not be contrary to the law of God, or common decency, which confirmation was to paſs under the great ſeal.

Statutes againſt the pope. Burnet.

1536.

In this ſeſſion, two conſiderable acts were alſo paſſed, but which related not to religion. By the firſt, it was forbid, under ſevere penalties, to marry in the next degrees of the blood-royal, without the king's licenſe firſt had. This ſtatute was made on account of Thomas Howard, the duke of Norfolk's brother, to whom Margret Douglaſs, the king's niece, and daughter to the queen of Scotland, then living in the Engliſh court, had plighted her faith, without acquainting the king, her uncle. Henry offended at their boldneſs, ſent them both to the tower, and to prevent the like for the future, procured the foremention ed act. By the ſecond, it was provided, that all uſurpations of the parliament upon the royal authority, before the king was 24 years of age, might be repealed by letters patents under the great ſeal. Thus, both houſes of parliament employed their whole authority, to give the ſovereign a power, which his predeceſſors had never enjoyed, as if they had been aſſembled for that purpoſe.

Another about the marriage of the king's relations.

The clergy approve of the king's divorce. Burnet.

But it was not only with reſpect to the civil government, that the bounds of the royal authority were enlarged; for the clergy, unwilling to yield to the parliament, in that point, uſed the ſame endeavours to become agreeable to the king, by approving all his proceedings.

The convocation being met, at the ſame time, confirmed the ſentence of the invalidity of the king's marriage with Ann Bullen, upon the ſame ground which had ſerved to procure it, viz. a pre-contract with the lord Percy, tho' that lord denied it upon oath.

Complaints againſt the reformers. Burnet.

A few days after, the lower houſe of convocation ſent to the upper houſe 67 opinions, which they thought worthy to be condemned; and, at the ſame time, the deputies made great complaints againſt thoſe who were for making innovations in religion. Theſe complaints were levelled, at Cranmer, Cromwell, Shaxton, Latimer, and ſome others, who were noted as heads or promoters of the reformation, tho' they were not named *; and care was taken, to mix with theſe 67 opinions, moſtly drawn from the doctrine of the Lutherans, ſeveral tenets of the old Lollards and the Anabaptiſts, to inſinuate, that thoſe who were complained of, embraced them all alike; the enemies of the reformers hoping to make them forfeit the king's favour, who affected a

* Burnet obſerves, that Cranmer promoted the reformation prudently and ſolidly; Latimer, zealouſly and ſimply; Shaxton, with much indiſcreet pride and vanity.

great

1536. great rigour againſt ſuch as were termed hereticks. After the death of Ann Bullen, they ſcarce doubted that all whom ſhe had loved or protected, would ſhare in her ruin; but they were diſappointed in their expectations; for Cranmer and Cromwell were never more in the king's favour, who even gave preſently after to Cromwell, a freſh mark of his eſteem, by conſtituting him his vice-gerent in all eccleſiaſtical matters. So, the convocation's complaints, inſtead of being prejudicial to the reformation, or reformers, ſeem rather to have increaſed the credit of the two heads. This was quickly perceived, when it was ſeen that they had perſuaded the king to advance the reformation, by retrenching, in the publick worſhip, ſuch ceremonies as were not founded upon the word of God. This reſolution being taken, the king acquainted the convocation, that he wiſhed them to examine the ceremonies, to the end ſuch as were uſeleſs and inſignificant, might be retrenched.

Articles propoſed by the king to the clergy. Hollingſh.

But thoſe who were againſt the reformation, had a much greater cauſe to be alarmed, when ſome days after, Cromwell brought into the upper houſe of convocation, articles drawn by the king himſelf, containing ſundry alterations in the doctrines, with orders to examine them, and report to the king the reſult of their debates. Then it was, that the two parties openly divided, the one to promote, and the other to oppoſe the reformation. Cranmer was at the head of the firſt, being ſupported by Goodrich, biſhop of Ely, Shaxton of Sarum, Latimer of Worceſter, Fox of Hereford, Hilſey of Rocheſter, Barlow of St. David's. Lee, archbiſhop of York, was chief of the ſecond; and with him were Stokeſly, biſhop of London, Tonſtal of Durham, Gardiner of Wincheſter, Longland of Lincoln, Sherburn of Chicheſter, Nix of Norwich, Kite of Carliſle. Theſe, who were private favourers of the pope's intereſt, ſtill hoping a reconciliation with Rome, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed all innovations, for fear the breach ſhould become wider. But this party lay under a great diſadvantage, as Cromwell and Cranmer, who had the king's ear, ſuggeſted to him, that moſt of the abuſes which they deſired to be aboliſhed, directly tended to ſupport the pope's uſurpations. In ſhort, after many debates, the convocation agreed upon certain articles, which were digeſted in form of conſtitutions, the ſubſtance whereof was as follows:

Conſtitutions made by the clergy. Herbert.

I. The holy ſcriptures are laid down as the foundation of faith, jointly with the three creeds, the Apoſtles, the Nicene, and Athanaſian, and the four firſt general councils.

II. The neceſſity of baptiſm is eſtabliſhed in the ſecond, which forbids alſo, to repeat it.

III. In the third, penance is reckoned neceſſary to ſalvation, conſiſting of contrition, auricular confeſſion, and amendment of life.

IV. The fourth eſtabliſhes, as a fundamental doctrine, the real preſence of Chriſt's body, in the euchariſt.

V. In the fifth, it is ſaid, that juſtification is attained by regeneration, which conſiſts of contrition, faith, and charity.

VI. It is appointed in the ſixth, that images ſhould ſtand in the churches, but that incenſing, kneeling, and offering to them, people ſhould not do it to the image, but to God and his honour. 1536.

VII. In the ſeventh, ſaints are to be honoured, but without believing, ſuch things are to be obtained at their hands, as belongs only to God to beſtow.

VIII. In the eighth, ſaints are to be prayed to, provided it be done without ſuperſtition. The days ſet apart for their memories are to be obſerved; unleſs the king ſhould leſſen the number of them, which if he did, it is to be obeyed.

IX. The ceremonies uſed in the church, are to be retained, as the veſtments of the prieſts, holy-water, holy-bread, bearing candles on Candlemas-day, giving aſhes on Aſh-wedneſday, bearing palms on Palm-ſunday, creeping to the croſs on Good-friday, and kiſſing it, hollowing the font, and other exorciſms and benedictions.

X. The tenth declares it good to pray for the dead, but that it is neceſſary to correct the abuſes advanced under the pretence of purgatory, the pope's pardons, maſſes ſold in certain places, or before certain images. In fine, that ſince the ſtate and place of ſouls after death, are unknown, they ought to be recommended to God's mercy, in general terms only.

The king approves them.

Theſe conſtitutions being preſented to the king, who corrected them in ſeveral places, were ſigned by Cromwell, Cranmer, 17 biſhops, 40 abbots and priors, and 50 archdeacons and proctors of the lower houſe of convocation, among whom was Polydore Virgil, archdeacon of Wells, author of a Hiſtory of England, publiſhed afterwards by the king's order. Their publication occaſioned great variety of cenſures. Thoſe that deſired a reformation had gained ſome ground, with reſpect to images and purgatory, but, chiefly in, that the ſcriptures were made the ſtandard of faith, becauſe they hoped from that principal, to draw one day very great conſequences. But the determinations concerning auricular confeſſion, and the real preſence of Chriſt's body, in the euchariſt, troubled them extremely; for not only were theſe articles directly contrary to their ſentiments, but they ſaw how difficult it would be to meddle with them again, by reaſon of the king's prejudice, who believed them unqueſtionable. The other party were under an unſpeakable conſternation, to ſee articles ſo long ſince determined, brought under examination, the papal authority aboliſhed, and the exiſtance of purgatory called in queſtion. Thus theſe conſtitutions pleaſed neither party. The one thought the reformers had acted too faintly in not advancing the reformation, and could not forbear blaming their compliance, in ſuffering doctrines ſo repugnant to truth, to be eſtabliſhed. But it was anſwered, that every thing could not to be done at once, and that it would have been imprudent, obſtinately, to require that the errors, the people were not yet ſenſible of, ſhould be ſuddenly retrenched.

The opinions of the two parties upon theſe articles. Burnet.

The

1536. The other party were very angry, alſo, with the biſhops, for ſo baſely abandoning truths, embraced for ſo many ages, by the Catholick church. But, indeed, it was not in the power of either to act otherwiſe; for the king himſelf managed the whole, having ſettled in his cabinet-council, what he thought fit to alter or keep. But there was not any in this council that dared to oppoſe his opinion, or believed it prudent to combat his ſentiments, for fear a too great oppoſition, ſhould produce a quite contrary effect; and, all that could be done, was to try to enlighten the king gently and inſenſibly, without ſtriving to bring him, by a ſort of compulſion, to what was thought reaſonable.

The king being cited to a council, adviſes with the convocation. Burnet.

Before the convocation broke up, the king communicated to both houſes, a ſummons he had received to a council, which was to meet, at Mantua. The pope, without conſulting him, had called this council, in concert with the emperor, and was to preſide by his legates. So Henry might well expect to loſe his cauſe before ſuch a council, had he been ſo unwiſe as to ſubmit to its deciſions. Indeed, he had appealed from the pope to a general council; but there are many queries to be reſolved, in order to know whether this called at Mantua, was lawful, and fortified with a ſufficient authority. In the interim, before he anſwered the ſummons, he was pleaſed to adviſe with the clergy, who, after mature deliberation,

The clergy's anſwer. Burnet.

preſented to him a writing to this effect; that a true and lawful general council, was a very good means to preſerve the peace and union of the church; but before a council was called, it was neceſſary to conſider, firſt, who had authority to call it; ſecondly, whether the reaſons for calling it were weighty; thirdly, who ſhould aſſiſt as judges; fourthly, what ſhould be the order of proceedings; fifthly, what doctrines were to be diſcuſſed. Then, it was declared, that neither the pope nor any prince in the world, had power to call a general council, without the conſent of all the ſovereigns, in Chriſtendom. According to this declaration, Henry publiſhed a proteſtation againſt the

The king proteſts againſt the council of Mantua.

council, which was to meet at Mantua, ſpeaking very plainly and freely of the deſigns and conduct of the pope; and concluded with ſaying, that he could not conſider as free and general, a council where the biſhop of Rome ſhould preſide, which ſhould meet in a ſuſpected place, and which muſt be compoſed only of a ſmall number of prelates, till the war between the emperor and France was ended.

The parliament is prorogued.

The 18th of July, the parliament was prorogued, after a ſeſſion but of 40 days, wherein, however, ſeveral acts of moment were paſſed.

Reginald Pole falls out with the king. Burnet.

At this time cardinal Pole was in high repute for his learning and eloquence. His name was de la Pole, but every were, except in England, he is ſo well known by that of Polus, that he cannot be called by any other, without danger of confounding the reader. He was deſcended of Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, and favourite to Richard II*. From that time, this family had been continually advanced, ſo that in the reign of Henry VI, the earl of Suffolk was honoured with the title of duke. After that, a lord of this family married a daughter of the duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV. Of this marriage was born, among other children, Reginald de la Pole, or Polus, the cardinal I am ſpeaking of, who, conſequently, was couſin to the king. Being a younger brother, he was deſigned for the church, for which alſo his natural quallities rendered him very proper. In his younger years, he made ſo great progreſs in all the ſciences, that the king intending to raiſe him to the higheſt dignities of the church, conferring on him the deanery of Exeter, with ſeveral other benefices, that he might go and finiſh his ſtudies abroad. He went firſt to Paris, where he ſtaid ſome years, and forfeited, in ſome meaſure, the king's favour, for refuſing to concur with his agents, in procuring the determinations of the French univerſities, in the affair of the divorce. Notwithſtanding this, he returned into England, where he aſſiſted as dean of Exeter, at the convocation, which acknowledged the king ſupreme head of the church of England. There is even reaſon to preſume, he was not of the number of thoſe who oppoſed this new title, becauſe he kept his deanery ſeveral years after. At length, he travelled into Italy, and lived ſome time at Padua, where he contracted a friendſhip with Bembo, Sadoletti, and other celebrated wits. The reputation he accquired in that country, made the king deſirous to recall him, intending to reward his merit, which was univerſally known; but Pole ſtill declined, on ſome pretence or other, to comply with the king's deſire. At laſt, finding delays could prevail no longer, he was forced to write to the king the true reaſon of his refuſal, which was, he could not approve either of his divorce, or ſeparation from the apoſtolick ſee. Henry, who was extremely deſirous to gain him, ſent him a writing, containing his apology, and the reaſons of his proceedings againſt the pope. Upon which Pole wrote his book De Unitate Eccleſiaſtica, wherein he takes the liberty to ſpeak of the king, in very offenſive terms, comparing him to Nebuchadnezzar, and exhorting the emperor and the reſt of the princes, to turn their arms againſt him. He was not ſatisfied with ſending him his book, in manuſcript, but cauſed it to be printed and publiſhed. Henry provoked, as may be eaſily judged, at ſuch a violent and diſreſpectful behaviour, tried to allure him into England, by writing to him, how much he eſteemed his book, deſiring him withal to come and explain ſome difficult paſſages, by word of mouth; but Pole took care not to be, thus, inſnared. So the king perceiving this artifice took no effect, diveſted him of all his dignities, the loſs whereof was amply repaired by the pope and the emperor. Some time after, he was rewarded with a cardinal's hat. He thereby became ſtill more attached to the pope's intereſt, and a greater enemy to the king, who not being able to reach his perſon, made

* Cardinal Pole was no ways related to de la Pole, duke of Suffolk. The cardinal's father Sir Richard Pole, knight of the Garter, was a Welſhman, and married Margaret, daughter to the duke of Clarence.

1536. his family and kindred feel the effects of his indignation.

The ſuppreſſion of the leſſer monaſteries. Burnet.

The ſuppreſſion of the leſſer monaſteries, enacted in the laſt ſeſſion of the late parliament, was not executed till Auguſt, tho' the commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe, had received their inſtructions, in April. Probably, the king had a mind to ſee the iſſue of the new parliament, before they proceeded. As their report was ſuppreſſed in the reign of queen Mary, it cannot poſitively be ſaid, what it contained. Thus much is certain, the adherents of the pope, and the old religion, accuſed them of committing numberleſs extortions and robberies, and of making falſe reports of what they diſcovered, in this viſitation, to leſſen the horror of their oppreſſions. This may be partly true; nay, it is not unlikely, that theſe men, either from a deſire to make their court to the king, or from a greedineſs to enrich themſelves, exceeded their inſtructions; and, on the other hand, it is alſo probable, their accuſers highly aggravated the crimes laid to their charge. However this be, immenſe numbers were extremely diſpleaſed at the ſuppreſſion of ſo many religious houſes, which were had in great veneration. All the friers of theſe ſuppreſſed houſes, who wiſhed to become ſecular, had a diſpenſation from the king, and the reſt were removed to the larger monaſteries, which were untouched. The churches and cloyſters were pulled down, and the materials ſold to the king's uſe.

Abundance of people diſcontented. Burnet.

It may be eaſily judged, the monks ſpared no pains to excite the people to rebel. They found it the more eaſy, as great diſcontents reigned every where; for the nobility and gentry took it very ill, that the king ſhould have the lands of the ſuppreſſed monaſteries, moſt part whereof were founded by their anceſtors; beſides, they were deprived of the conveniency of providing for their younger children, when they had too many, and of lodging, as they travelled, in theſe houſes, where they were always well entertained. The poor murmured ſtill louder, becauſe multitudes lived by the alms, which were daily diſtributed in theſe houſes. In ſhort, the devout bigots thought, the ſouls of their anceſtors muſt now lie in purgatory, ſince ſo many maſſes, which were ſaid for their deliverance, were aboliſhed, by the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries.

The diſorders of the ſuppreſſed houſes publiſhed. Burnet.

The court hearing of theſe murmurs, endeavoured to compoſe them, by publiſhing the diſorders, diſcovered in theſe houſes; but this ſignified nothing. Beſides, that theſe reports were deemed very much aggravated, it was ſaid, why were not theſe abuſes ſeverely puniſhed, and reformed, without deſtroying whole houſes for ever? At laſt, Cromwell found an expedient to allay theſe diſcontents, in great meaſure, by adviſing the king, to ſell the lands of the ſuppreſſed monaſteries, at very eaſy rates, and oblige the purchaſers, under ſevere penalties, to keep up the wonted hoſpitality. But this expedient was not capable of entirely appeaſing the murmurs of the people, tho' the king ſtrove to give them ſome ſatisfaction, by re-endowing 31 of theſe houſes. 1536.

Injunctions to the clergy. Herbert.

Whilſt people were in this fermentation, the king publiſhed, in the name of the vice-gerent, ſome injunctions to regulate the behaviour of perſons, in holy orders, many of whom led very irregular lives. Theſe injunctions, contained nothing but what had been ordained by ſeveral ſynods, and yet the clergy were extremely offended, becauſe they could not endure to ſee themſelves ſubject to the orders of the vice-gerent, by whom, they ſaid, they were going to be inſlaved, much more than by the pope. Thus, the inferior clergy, the monks, and the bigots, being equally concerned, in what had been done, and in what, very probably, was intended to be done, inſpired thoſe on whom they had any influence, with a ſpirit of rebellion, which quickly broke out into a flame.

An inſurrection in Lincolnſhire. Hall.

The firſt riſing was in Lincolnſhire, where Dr. Mackerel, prior of Barlings, drew after him a great body of men, whom he headed, under the name of Captain Cobler. The rebels ſent their grievances to the king, in a very humble manner, telling him, they acknowledged his ſupremacy, and were content he ſhould enjoy the tenths and firſt-fruits of the livings, but, withal, prayed him, to adviſe with his nobility, concerning the redreſs of their grievances. This was taxing the king, indirectly, with following the counſels of Thomas Cromwell, who was of a mean extraction. Theſe grievances were, that he had ſuppreſſed a great number of monaſteries; that large ſubſidies had been granted, by parliament, without any occaſion; that he admitted into his council, perſons of mean birth, whoſe ſole view was to enrich themſelves, inſtead of conſulting the good of the ſtate; that ſeveral biſhops had ſubverted the antient faith, and embraced new doctrines, at all times condemned by the church; and, that having ſeen ſo many religious houſes plundered, they were afraid the churches would undergo the ſame fate.

The king's manifeſto. Speed.

The king returned an anſwer to theſe grievances, in a large manifeſto. But, as his reaſons were grounded upon principles, not admitted by the male-contents, the manifeſto had no great effect. In the interim, the king was greatly embarraſſed; his troops were few, and he had certain advice, that a like inſurrection was preparing in Yorkſhire, and other neighbouring counties. He ordered, however, the duke of Suffolk to march, tho' with very few troops, and try to ſtop the progreſs of the rebels; but the duke finding himſelf too weak, thought it more proper, to endeavour to appeaſe the commotion, by way of nogotiation, than by arms. So, when he ſent to the male-contents, the king's reply to their grievances, he took occaſion to let them know, they ſhould not deſpair of pardon. Upon which, ſome of their heads privately ſent him word, they had joined with the rebels only to reclaim them, wherein they hoped to ſucceed, provided the king would

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1536. be pleaſed to grant them a general pardon. The duke diſliked not this overture, which afforded him an opportunity to write to the king, and ſollicit him in their behalf, offering, however, to march againſt the rebels, if he was ordered. At the ſame time, the king received news, that the Yorkſhire-men had taken arms, and as he feared the others would join them, made haſte and iſſued out a proclamation, granting an abſolute pardon to all that ſhould return to their homes. The proclamation ſucceeded, according to expectation; for the rebels, immediately, diſperſed, and ſo freed the king from great perplexity. Some, however, choſe rather to join the Yorkſhire rebels, than accept of the pardon.

A more dangerous rebellion in Yorkſhire. Stow.

The inſurrection of Yorkſhire, was much more dangerous, than that of Lincolnſhire. This laſt ſeemed to have been accidental and ſudden; the other was, in purſuance of a ſettled deſign, wherein were concerned ſeveral perſons of note, who only waited, before they declared, to ſee how the people, in general, were diſpoſed. One Robert Aske, a man of good judgment, headed the male-contents of thoſe parts, where the diſtance of the court, and the neighbourhood of Scotland, rendered the people more bold than elſewhere, beſides, that the monks had ever been in more credit, in the northern counties, than in all the reſt of the kingdom. Since July, Aske had tried to gain the lord Dacres, who had amuſed him, ſome time, with hopes that his negotiation would ſucceed. Probably, this lord ſent the king the firſt notice of the plot. At laſt, the male-contents took arms, and aſſembled, in very great numbers, about the end of Auguſt, juſt after the Lincolnſhire rebellion broke out. When they ſaw themſelves ſtrong enough, they would not ſuffer the lords and gentlemen to remain neuter, at home, but forced them either to fly, or join with them, and ſwear they would be true to the cauſe, for which they intended to fight. This cauſe was, properly, religion, as they plainly intimated, by putting a crucifix in their banners; beſides, they re-eſtabliſhed the monks, in ſome of the ſuppreſſed monaſteries. As they met with no oppoſition, becauſe the king's forces were employed againſt the rebels of Lincolnſhire, they made great progreſs, at firſt, and ſtill much greater, after Richmondſhire, Lancaſhire, the biſhoprick of Durham, and the county of Weſtmoreland, engaged on their ſide. George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, was the only perſon that ventured to take arms for the king, without receiving his commiſſion, tho' he was not ignorant, that, at ſuch a juncture, his proceedings might be miſinterpreted. But, as he meant well, he hoped the king would forgive a fault committed, purely, for his ſervice; and, indeed, the king ſent him a commiſſion, conſtituting him his lieutenant againſt the rebels. At the ſame time, he ordered the duke of Suffolk not to ſtir from Lincolnſhire, leſt the male-contents there, ſhould think of joining thoſe of the north. Moreover, he gave commiſſions to ſeveral lords to levy troops, whilſt, on his part, he aſſembled as many as poſſible, in order to form an army, the command whereof he deſigned for the duke of Norfolk; but, either from the backwardneſs of the people, or for ſome other reaſon, the army was not ſufficiently numerous to reſiſt the rebels. 1536.

The archbiſhop of York, and the lord d'Arcy, ſurrender Pontefract, and are ſuſpected. Herbert.

Whilſt the king was making his preparations, Aske was not idle; for he approached Pontefract-caſtle, where the archbiſhop of York, and Thomas, lord d'Arcy, were, and forced them to ſurrender the place. As theſe two lords were reckoned well-affected to the pope, many believed they were not ſorry, that the want of proviſions furniſhed them with a pretence to deliver Pontefract to the rebels, and march, with them, in their other expeditions. Soon after, Aske took alſo York and Hull, and, by fair or foul means, obliged all the nobility of the country to join his army. Thus, this affair grew, daily, more important, and the court became apprehenſive, that the reſt of the kingdom would follow the example of the northern counties; and this apprehenſion was the more juſt, as, at the ſame time, there were, in all parts, men who made it their buſineſs, to ſpread reports capable of inciting the whole nation to rebel, by putting them in fear of the utter ſubverſion of the religion they had, hitherto, profeſſed.

The king tries to amuſe the rebels.

In the interim, the king choſe to amuſe the rebels, till his army was ready. The 20th of October, he ſent a herald with a proclamation, to be read to the troops. Aske gave the herald audience, ſitting in ſtate, with the archbiſhop on the one hand, and the lord d'Arcy on the other; but when he heard the contents of the proclamation, he ſent him away, without ſuffering him to publiſh it. Henry finding matters were in an ill way, diſpatched the duke of Norfolk, with what troops he had aſſembled, which were to be joined by thoſe commanded by the earl of Shrewsbury, and ſome others, levied in haſte, by the marqueſs of Exeter. But theſe three ſmall bodies bore no proportion to the forces of the rebels. So the king found himſelf obliged to publiſh a proclamation, commanding all the nobility to meet him, at Northampton, the 7th of November. In the interim, Aske, at the head of 30,000 men, advanced towards Doncaſter, where the duke of Norfolk, the marqueſs of Exeter, and the earl of Shrewsbury, were encamped, with 5000 men only, and having no other refuge, but to defend the paſs of the river, between the two armies; but, as it was fordable, in ſeveral places, they would, doubtleſs, have been extremely embarraſſed, if a great rain, which fell very ſeaſonably, had not made the river unpaſſable. This was, certainly, a very fortunate accident for the king; for, if his troops had been defeated, on this occaſion, as it was very likely, conſidering their ſmall number, it would have done him an unſpeakable damage.

Sentiments and conduct of the duke of Norfolk.

I have before obſerved, that the duke of Norfolk approved not of the alterations made in religion; and, therefore, it could not but be very diſagreeable to him to command the king's

1536. king's army, againſt people who had taken arms, in a cauſe which he could not diſlike. In the interim, he ſaw himſelf in a very dangerous ſituation, ſince he was as much afraid of conquering as of being conquered. In the firſt caſe, a victory over the rebels would infallibly ruin the party he ſecretly favoured. In the ſecond caſe, he ran the riſque of being ſuſpected by the king, and forfeiting his favour. Happily for him, his inability to hurt the rebels, freed him from this embarraſſment, by affording him a pretence to proceed with them, by way of negotiation. As he held intelligence with ſome of their leaders, he ſo ordered it, by their means, that they came to a reſolution to preſent a very humble petition to the king; that done, they acquainted the duke with it, intreating him to ſecond it, with his intereſt. The duke readily granted their requeſt; but told them, that to obtain a favourable anſwer from the king, there muſt be a ceſſation of arms, during which he took upon him to go himſelf and preſent their petition. This propoſal being accepted, the ceſſation was concluded, and the duke departed for London. At ſuch a juncture, this ceſſation was very advantageous to the king, becauſe his army being very weak, he wanted time to raiſe more forces. For this very cauſe, many of the rebels ſeeing that, contrary to all reaſon, the king had leiſure given him to aſſemble his troops, and imagining they were betrayed by their leaders, withdrew to their homes.

Henry tries to gain time. Herbert.

The diſcord which began to ſpread among the rebels, gave the king ſome hopes of coming off, upon eaſy terms; and, therefore, he delayed ſending an anſwer to their petition, expecting their army would diſperſe, by degrees. But the leaders perceiving, at length, that the court purpoſely prolonged the negotiation, and that thoſe delays muſt utterly ruin their affairs, renewed their hoſtilities, and reſolved once more to attack the royal army. Had this reſolution been executed, it would have, probably, changed the face of affairs very much; but another great rain ſo ſwelled the river which parted the two armies, that it was not poſſible for them to paſs it. The king hearing of this, thought it neceſſary to give them ſome ſort of ſatisfaction, for fear they ſhould execute their reſolution before he was ready. To this end, he ſent them an anſwer to their petition; but it was expreſſed in ſuch general terms, that they could not depend upon what was promiſed therein; and at the ſame time, he propoſed, that if they would ſend 300 deputies to Doncaſter, commiſſioners ſhould meet them there, and treat of a peace. His view was to gain time, in hopes the 300 deputies would diſagree, and their diſſention, by prolonging the negotiation, give him time to prepare his army. A few days after, the duke of Notfolk returning to Doncaſter, ſent word to the rebels, that he had brought them a general pardon, 10 only excepted, ſix of whom were named, and four not; but this pardon was unanimouſly rejected, becauſe the ſix perſons named, were ſome of the heads, and every one was in fear of being one of the four whom the king had reſerved; and indeed, the king had no other view than to ſow diſcord among them, and make way for the treaty at Doncaſter, which they accepted, at laſt, and ſent their 300 deputies thither. The court had expected, theſe deputies would never agree about their demands, and ſo would afford the time that was wanted; but, as it was eaſy for the leaders to diſcover the court's intention, they gave the deputies their inſtructions in writing, from which they were not to depart. Theſe inſtructions contained 10 demands, which the deputies made, at the conference held, at Doncaſter, the 6th of December. 1536.

The rebels demands. Burnet.

I. They demanded a general pardon, without any exception.

II. That a parliament ſhould be held at York.

III. That a court of juſtice ſhould be erected there, that the inhabitants of the northern counties might not be brought to London upon any law-ſuit.

IV. That ſome acts of the late parliaments, which were too grievous to the people, ſhould be repealed.

V. That the princeſs Mary ſhould be declared legitimate.

VI. That the papal authority ſhould be reeſtabliſhed upon the old foot.

VII. That the ſuppreſſed monaſteries ſhould be reſtored to their former ſtate.

VIII. That the Lutherans, and all innovators in religion, ſhould be puniſhed ſeverely.

IX. That Thomas Cromwell, and Audley, lord chancellor, ſhould be removed from the council, and excluded from the next parliament.

X. That Lee and Leighton, viſitors of the monaſteries, ſhould be impriſoned, and brought to account for their briberies and extortions.

The conference breaks up.

As the deputies had not power to qualify theſe demands, ſo the king's commiſſioners were not authorized to grant them; the king took care not to deſtroy, in a moment, the work of many years. Thus, the conference ended, without any fruit. The duke of Norfolk was very ſorry to ſee, that the affair was like to be decided by arms. He heartily wiſhed, the king would grant the rebels all their demands; but knew too well, his humour and character, to venture to make him ſuch a propoſal. In the interim, he was extremely embarraſſed; for he muſt either betray the king's intereſt, or reſolve to fight the rebels, contrary to his own inclination, and with great danger of a defeat; at leaſt, he could not avoid, purſuant to the intent of the court, to prolong the affair till the king was ready to march, and then he ſaw, the ruin of the rebels was inevitable. In this perplexity, he choſe to write to the king, that the number of the rebels daily increaſing, there was danger of their making ſome attempt, which it would be difficult to reſiſt; and, therefore, to prevent the threatened miſchief, it was his opinion, if his highneſs pleaſed, that ſome of their demands ſhould be granted. Upon this letter,

1536. letter, the king impowered him to offer them a general pardon, without exception, and promiſe them, in his name, that the next parliament ſhould be held in the north; but withal, he ordered him not to make uſe of theſe remedies, except in extremity, and when there was no other reſſource. The duke receiving theſe powers, thought proper to uſe them without delay, ſince it was the only way to free him from his preſent embarraſſment; for he was unwilling, openly, to betray the king's intereſts, and, on the other hand, did not care to be inſtrumental, in the rebels deſtruction, whoſe ſentiments he approved, tho' he durſt not ſhew it. So, after having, by his correſpondents, prevailed with the leaders to comply with the king's offers, the agreement was concluded, and every man returned to his home, to the great ſorrow of the monks and bigots, who had expected quite another thing from their efforts, to excite the people to rebel. But this agreement hindered not the friers and eccleſiaſticks of thoſe parts, from continuing to foment, among the people, a ſpirit of rebellion, which broke out again, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. Something muſt now be ſaid of the emperor's affairs, with the king of France, wherein all Europe was concerned.

The affairs between the emperor and Francis. Bellay.

When Francis I. began the war, in Savoy, about the end of the laſt year, the emperor was, in Sicily, upon his return from his Tunis expedition, but unable to aſſiſt the duke of Savoy. This made him chuſe to try to cool the king of France's ardour, by a negotiation, till he could aſſiſt his ally. The death of Franceſco Sforza, which happened in the interim, furniſhed him with an opportunity. He intimated to the French ambaſſador reſiding, at his court, that he would not diſpoſe of the duchy of Milan, till he knew the king of France's ſentiments. Francis being informed of it, demanded the duchy for his ſecond ſon, the duke of Orleans, and the emperor put him in hopes, he would give it to his third ſon, the duke of Angouleſme, upon certain terms, which left it in his power to prolong the negotiation, as much as he pleaſed; and, indeed, he amuſed him in this manner, till April, 1536, one while inſiſting upon the perſon of the duke of Angouleſme, another while ſeeming inclined to confer the duchy on the duke of Orleans. Francis willing to end this affair, and knowing, the emperor intended to go to Rome, ſent the cardinal of Lorrain for a poſitive anſwer, but left the events of the war ſhould bring ſome obſtacle to this negotiation, he ordered admiral Brion, who commanded in Piedmont, to ceaſe hoſtilities.

The emperor arrives at Rome.

He offers, before the pope and cardinals, to decide his quarrel with the French king, in ſingle combat.

Whilſt the cardinal of Lorrain was on his journey, the emperor arriving at Rome, went, a few days after, to a publick conſiſtory, which was aſſembled at his requeſt; and there, before the pope and the cardinals, he inveighed againſt the king of France, intimating, he was the ſole author of the wars that had afflicted Europe, ever ſince his acceſſion to the throne. He thence took occaſion to ſay, that inſtead of ſhedding ſo much innocent blood, it would be better to decide their quarrel by ſingle combat, with ſword and poignard, in their ſhirts, in ſome iſland, or in a boat; but the next day, the French ambaſſador demanding whether he deſigned to challenge the king, his maſter, he anſwered, he had no ſuch intention, but meant only, that the expedient he propoſed, ſeemed to him more reaſonable than a war. 1536.

He prepares his forces.

Some time after, the emperor being at Sienna, the cardinal of Lorrain waited on him, and in his audiences, diſcovered he had never intended to give the duchy of Milan to a prince of the royal family of France; wherefore, he wrote to the king, that he was to expect war. And, indeed, the emperor was now aſſembling all his forces, propoſing to bring three armies into the field, one in Piedmont, which he intended to command, in perſon, another in Picardy, and a third in Champagne. This deſign was already ſo publick, that Francis could not be ignorant of it; ſo, believing the emperor meant to make his moſt powerful effort in Picardy, he recalled the greateſt part of his army, in Piedmont, having ordered Turin, and his other conqueſts in that country, to be well ſtored with ammunition.

The emperor marches into Provence.

The French troops quitting Piedmont, the emperor cauſed Turin to be inveſted, and during the ſiege, headed his army, and marched towards Provence. Francis, who was then at Lyons, ſpeedily provided Marſeilles with neceſſaries, and ordered two camps to be fortified, one at Cavaillon, commanded by the marſhal de Montmorency, the other at Valence, where he came himſelf. There he received the ſad news of the death of his ſon, the dauphin, poiſoned by Montecuculli.

The emperor beſieges Marſeilles, and raiſes the ſiege.

The emperor having entered Provence, took Aix, and then laid ſiege to Marſeilles, which was begun the 25th of Auguſt, and raiſed the 9th of September. He had ſo ill taken his meaſures, that not knowing how to ſubſiſt his army, in Provence, he was forced to retire in the utmoſt diſorder, not without danger of being defeated in his retreat, if Francis had thought proper to attack him. He came to Genoa the 2d of October, and imbarqued for Spain. This was the ſucceſs of the Provence expedition, which he had been long meditating, and by means of which he hoped to give a mortal wound to France.

Campaign in Picardy.

Whilſt the emperor was waging war in Provence, the count of Naſſau entered Picardy with an army of 30,000 men, and took Guiſe by ſtorm; after that, he beſieged Peronne, which was relieved by the duke of Guiſe.

Marriage of the king of Scotland with Magdalen of France. Buchanan.

Francis returning to Paris, with unſpeakable ſatisfaction, at having diſappointed the emperor's deſigns, met upon the way James V, king of Scotland, who was come to demand his daughter Magdalen, in marriage. He was not without great difficulty prevailed with to grant his requeſt, becauſe the princeſs being ſickly, it was thought marriage would but ſhorten her days. However, the king of Scotland expreſſing a very earneſt deſire for the marriage, it was concluded, in December, and the nuptials were celebrated the 1ſt of January,

1537. nuary, 1537. Let us return now to the affairs of England.

Henry breaks his word with the rebels. Herbert.

The northern rebellion was appeaſed, but in ſuch a manner, that the cauſe ſtill ſubſiſted, the male-contents having received no redreſs of their grievances, except only that the king had promiſed to call a parliament in the north, which he never intended to do. The pretence he uſed was, that they left in the monaſteries the monks, they had reſtored; but this was a precarious excuſe, if ever there was one, ſince it was not their buſineſs to turn them out, but the king's, who had the power in his own hands, whereas they had nothing more to ſay, after quitting their arms. The king knowing how the people of the north ſtood affected, ordered the duke of Norfolk to remain there with his army, to keep them in awe. So the duke was employed for ſome time, with cauſing perſons of all conditions to ſwear to be true to the king, a very improper remedy for ſuch ſort of evils, ſince the ſame compulſion which extorts oaths from a diſcontented people, ſerves alſo for pretence to break them upon occaſion. In the interim, Aske, who had commanded the rebels, was ordered to court, where he was well received; but the lord d'Arcy, who had not ſo readily obeyed the like order, was ſent to the tower, upon his arrival at London.

A new inſurrection puniſhed. Hall.

Soon after, two gentlemen of the north, Nicholas Muſgrave and Thomas Tilby, put themſelves at the head of 8000 male-contents, and appeared before Carliſle, in order to take the city; but being repulſed, and thereupon ſuddenly attacked by the duke of Norfolk, they were entirely routed. Muſgrave had the good fortune to eſcape, but Tilby and 74 others, taken with him, were hanged on the walls of Carliſle. Sir Francis Bigod and one Halam, with another body of rebels, attempted, at the ſame time, to ſurpriſe Hull; but were made priſoners themſelves, and executed.

Aske and the lord d'Arcy executed. Herbert.

Theſe attempts rendered the king ſo fierce, that he put to death Aske and the lord d'Arcy, notwithſtanding the general pardon to appeaſe the firſt inſurrection. The lord d'Arcy accuſed the duke of Norfolk of favouring the rebels, which, perhaps, was too true; but the duke cleared himſelf, or rather, the king thought not fit, ſtrictly, to examine this accuſation. In the interim, as he knew, the emperor was contriving ſome plot in Ireland, he gave order that Thomas Fitz-gerald, ſon of the late earl of Kildare, and five of his uncles, after a long impriſonment at London, ſhould ſuffer death for a terror to the Iriſh; but the earl of Kildare's youngeſt ſon had the good fortune to eſcape, and fled, for refuge, to cardinal Pole.

Six of the families of Kildare put to death. Hall.

The king ſtrives to ſuppreſs all the monaſteries. Burnet.

The king could not be perſuaded but that it was the monks, who moſt contributed to preſerve and foment the people's diſcontents. He conſidered them as the chief authors of the late inſurrections, and, conſequently, as his perſonal enemies. He believed to ſee in their behaviour, that if they had power, they would not ſpare him, and, therefore, he projected their ruin, to prevent their deſigns. 1537. Herein he found two conſiderable advantages, the one to free himſelf from his enemies, and the other to enjoy their ſpoils. It is not to be doubted, this laſt conſideration had alſo a ſhare in his project of vengeance upon them; for the ſuppreſſion of the leſſer monaſteries having only whetted his appetite, he reſolved to ſuppreſs all the reſt, and ſeiſe their immenſe poſſeſſions; and the more eaſily to accompliſh his project, he uſed the ſame means, he had practiſed to ſuppreſs the leſſer monaſteries; that is, he appointed a very ſtrict viſitation of thoſe that remained, not queſtioning but the diſcoveries which ſhould be made, would promote his deſign.

The birth of prince Edward. Hall. The death of queen Jane.

The 12th of October, the queen was delivered of a prince, who was called Edward; but his birth coſt his mother her life, who died two days after her delivery. As the king had cauſed his two daughters, by his former marriages, to be declared illegitimate, nothing could be more acceptable than the birth of a ſon, who put the ſucceſſion of the crown out of all diſpute; and, therefore, in a few days, he conferred on him, as his heir apparent, the title of prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter. At the ſame time, he created Edward Seymour, the queen's brother, and the new-born prince's uncle, earl of Hertford.

The war continues between the emperor and Francis. Bellay. A truce for Picardy and Italy.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, in England, the war ſtill continued between the emperor and the king of France, but was interrupted, in Picardy, by a ſix months truce, concluded in July, which was followed by another, in November, for Italy. As by the laſt truce, it was agreed that each ſhould keep what he poſſeſſed, the duke of Savoy remained equally deſpoiled by his enemies, and by thoſe he had called to his aſſiſtance; the common fate of petty princes!

The death of the queen of Scotland. Buchanan.

The queen of Scotland died, in July, to the great joy of thoſe who dreaded the progreſs of the reformation, becauſe that princeſs had been educated, by her aunt, the queen of Navarre. Buchanan affirms, the cuſtom of wearing mourning was firſt introduced into Scotland, on occaſion of her death, which cuſtom, tho' of 40 years ſtanding, was, however, not yet eſtabliſhed in his time. James V. removed the uneaſineſs of thoſe, who were afraid of his being biaſſed by the deceaſed queen, in favour of the new religion, by demanding, in marriage, Mary of Guiſe, ſiſter to the duke of Guiſe, and the cardinal of Lorrain.

Diviſions in Germany, about religion. Sleidan.

The affairs of religion daily grew more important, in a great part of Europe, by reaſon of the progreſs of the reformation. Thoſe who had embraced it, wiſhed only to live in quiet, with liberty of conſcience; but this was what the old religion would never allow them; for the glory of God, and zeal for the intereſts of the church, ſerved for pretence, to this refuſal. But the real cauſes were, firſt, the pride of moſt men, who cannot bear to be told that their opinions are wrong; ſecondly, the temporal intereſt of the clergy, who, wherever the

1537. the reformation was eſtabliſhed, ſaw themſelves deprived of their rich benefices, the revenues of the church being applied by the reformed, to uſes very different from thoſe in which they had, hitherto, been employed; thirdly, the pope's intereſts, who daily loſt his ſubjects, his revenues, his credit, his authority. There was another particular cauſe, in Germany, which inflamed the troubles, occaſioned by religion, and that was, the emperor and his brother, the king of the Romans, had formed a deſign to uſe the pretence of obliging the Proteſtants to re-enter the pale of the church; for this reaſon, inſtead of healing, they fomented the diviſions to the utmoſt of their power. The Proteſtants complained, among other things, that a council was called at Mantua, contrary to an expreſs promiſe that it ſhould be in Germany; beſides, they meant not to ſubmit to the deciſions of a council, where the pope preſided, and which, as they perceived, would be far from being free. The emperor amuſed them with evaſive anſwers, till things ſhould be ready to attack them. In the interim, the pope, having deferred the opening of the council from May to November, charged, in that interval, the cardinals Contarini, Sadoletti, Pole, Bembo, all perſons of great reputation, to examine wherein the church wanted reformation. Theſe able divines found nothing amiſs, as to the doctrines. They only drew up, as to diſcipline, a liſt of ſundry trifles, which, in their opinion, deſerved to be rectified. To theſe alone they thought the reformation ought to be confined.

The emperor's deſigns.

In the interim, the emperor was very ſeriouſly thinking of the affairs of Germany, tho' he took great care to conceive his deſigns from the Proteſtants; and in order to free himſelf from all other incumbrances, and attack them with advantage, he had concluded the truce with Francis, in hopes it would ſoon be followed by a peace. He perceived, the Smalcaldick league would be an everlaſting obſtacle to the execution of his vaſt projects, by Francis's and Henry's endeavours to gain it to their intereſts. So, his chief view was to diſſolve that league, that he might, afterwards, proceed againſt England, with all the forces of Spain, Italy, Germany, and the Low-Countries.

1538. Final reſolution to ſuppreſs all the monaſteries. Herbert.

Henry eaſily judged, Charles V. and Francis I, had agreed to a truce, only in order to conclude a peace very ſoon, which would rob him of the aſſiſtance of France. So, finding he had no refuge but in his own forces, in caſe of attack, he conſidered early of means to prevent inſurrections, at home, which muſt have greatly embarraſſed him, if he ſhould be engaged in a foreign war. He knew, the monks hated him mortally. They were the perſons that inſpired the Engliſh with a ſpirit of rebellion, the more dangerous, as religion was the principal cauſe. So, to deprive the pope and the emperor of ſuch a ſupport, in his own realm, he reſolved to ſuppreſs all the religious houſes, ſtill remaining in England. He had a farther motive, which was not inconſiderable, viz. to have a fund ſufficient to maintain the war, without being forced to over-burden his ſubjects. But as the ſuppreſſion of part of the monaſteries had already occaſioned troubles in the kingdom, it was likely, the ſuppreſſion of all would raiſe ſtill greater; wherefore, he believed he ſhould prevent all commotions, by removing the people's veneration for the monks. To this end, the report of the laſt viſitation being brought to him, he ordered it to be, immediately, publiſhed. Very probably, the facts inſerted concerning the diſorderly lives of the friers and nuns, were ſet forth ſo as to be ſubſervient to the king's deſigns; but what conduced moſt to recover people out of their ſuperſtitious fondneſs for the religious houſes, was the diſcovery of the frauds committed there, with reſpect to relicks and images. Had the buſineſs been only the debaucheries of the monks and nuns, it might have been objected, that it ſufficed to make ſtrict inquiry of thoſe who were guilty, and to puniſh them ſeverely; but for the pious frauds, as they are called, it could hardly be thought, but that the whole ſociety was concerned. For this reaſon, therefore, the king, to make them as viſible as the ſun, took care publickly to expoſe the counterfeit relicks found in the monaſteries, and the ſprings by which the images of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, or any of the ſaints, were made to move, which was looked upon, by the ignorant multitude, as the effect of a divine power. If the reader deſires to ſee a particular account of theſe pious impoſtures, he will find it, tho' withal very ſhort, in the Hiſtory of the Reformation of England. Theſe frauds being thus detected, whatever had ſerved to engage the people in ſuperſtition, was, by the king's order, burnt in publick; but what grieved the votaries moſt, was, to ſee the bones of Thomas Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury, publickly burnt. They accuſed the king of acting from a motive of a ſacrilegious avarice, in order, to have a pretence, to ſeiſe the rich ſhrine of that ſaint, whereon, beſides other precious ſtones, was a very fine diamond, offered in 1179, by Henry I, king of France, when he came, in pilgrimage, to Canterbury *. This proceeding, ſo exaſperated the adherents of the old religion, that they wrote, in a virulent manner, to Rome, againſt the king, comparing him to the greateſt tyrants that ever lived. Whereupon, at Rome, and other places, numberleſs ſatyrs were penned, which painted Henry as the moſt execrable of men, to thoſe who were not uſed to the hyperbolical expreſſions of the Italians. The king had

Becket's bones burnt, and his ſhrine ſeiſed. Herbert.

* For 300 years he was accounted one of the greateſt ſaints in heaven, as appears from the accounts of the leger-books of the offerings to the three greateſt altars in Chriſt's Church, in Canterbury. In one year there was offered at Chriſt's altar, 3 l. 2 s. 6 d. At the Virgin's altar, 63 l. 5 s. 6 d. But at St. Thomas's, 832 l. 12 s. 3 d. The next year the odds grew greater; at Chriſt's altar not a penny; at the Virgin's only 4 l. 1 s. 8 d; but at St. Thomas's, 954 l. 6 s. 3 d. Stow.

his

1538. his ſpies at Rome, who, acquainting him with what was publiſhed againſt him, told him, withal, that to cardinal Pole the informations ſent from England were, generally, addreſſed, and that his ſtile was viſible in ſome of the ſatyrs. This ſo highly incenſed the king, againſt the cardinal, that he made all his family and friends feel the effects, inſomuch, that he would ſooner have pardoned any crime, than a correſpondence with him. It is ſtrange that the cardinal, who ſeemed, otherwiſe, very prudent and moderate, ſhould ſo give way to his zeal, or his paſſion againſt the king, that he feared not, by ſo unadviſed a behaviour, to expoſe his friends to Henry's utmoſt reſentment. His obſtinacy, in this reſpect, was ſo great, that, at length, he was the occaſion of his mother's loſing her head on the ſcaffold, as will be ſeen hereafter.

Paul III. publiſhes a bull againſt the king. Burnet.

All the king's proceedings convincing the pope, that he was to expect no change in him, he publiſhed, at length, the bull of excommunication, drawn and ſigned, in 1535; moreover, he tried to excite all the princes of Chriſtendom againſt Henry, and offered the kingdom of England, to the king of Scotland; nay, Pole maintained, in a book, publiſhed ſoon after, that it was more meritorious to fight againſt Henry, than againſt the Turk; but the pope's thunders had ſo loſt their force, in England, that the bull cauſed no commotion, or if it produced any affect, it was quite contrary to what the pope expected. Henry being more provoked with him, took ſo good precautions to hinder him from executing his deſigns, that he thereby advanced the reformation much more than he intended. As ſoon as he had heard of the bull's being publiſhed, he required the biſhops and abbots to ſwear again to renounce the papal authority; and, at the ſame time, the new tranſlation of the bible being preſented to him, he ordered 1500 copies to be printed, and ſet up in the principal churches, being ſatisfied that nothing would be found there to ſupport the exhorbitant power aſſumed by the pope, over all Chriſtendom.

Henry orders the new verſion of the bible to be printed. Burnet.

The vice-gerent's injunctions about images. Burnet.

Soon after, an injunction was publiſhed by the vice-gerent, to teach the people the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the ten commandments, in Engliſh; moreover, all incumbents were ordered to inſtruct the people, by declaring they muſt not truſt in other men's works, but in their own; and that relicks, beads, and the like, were unneceſſary to ſalvation. They were alſo to take down all images, to which offerings were wont to be made, and to ſuffer no candles to be ſet up before any image, except our Saviour's. In fine, they were to ſuppreſs all the Ora pro nobis's, which were added to the prayers addreſſed to the ſaints.

The ſubmiſſion of the Engliſh to the king's will. Burnet.

This injunction was deemed a mortal wound to the old religion, whoſe adherents were in the utmoſt conſternation; but no man dared to ſtir, ſo abſolute a ſway had the king acquired over his ſubjects; nay, the moſt diſcontented affected a blind ſubmiſſion to his will, knowing the leaſt ſuſpicion would ruin them.

1538. Gardiner puts the king upon proſecuting the reformed. Burnet.

Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, was now returned from his ambaſſy to France. He was one of the zealous adherents of the old religion; nay, he was ſuſpected of being privately reconciled to the pope, and of holding correſpondence with the emperor; but he artfully diſſembled his ſentiments, that he perſuaded the king, it was only the devices of his enemies, on purpoſe to ruin him. However, it is certain, tho' the king ſeemed ſatisfied, he had no great eſteem for him, and yet ſuffered him to be near him, on account of his extreme ſubmiſſion. His blind condeſcenſion to the king's will, afforded him many opportunities to ſerve the party he privately favoured; and the king conſidering him not as a ſuſpected perſon, ſince he ſo readily complied with his orders, freely liſtened to him, when he ſpoke againſt the Sacramentarians, being ſtill extremely prepoſſeſſed in favour of the doctrine of the real preſence of Chriſt's body, in the ſacrament. Then Gardiner could explain his ſentiments without fear, becauſe they agreed with the king's. He inſinuated to him, that ſo long as he left that doctrine untouched, he would never be accuſed of changing his religion, but would rather be extolled for having purged it, in preſerving the eſſentials. Thus, Gardiner engaged him to perſecute the Sacramentarians, not ſo much from a religious as from a political motive. He knew the king's temper to be impatient of contradiction; and, therefore, by engaging him to maintain a doctrine, which thoſe of a new religion could not admit, he hoped their reſiſtance would provoke him againſt them, and thereby he would be more eaſily led to be reconciled to the pope; that is to ſay properly, he employed, to alienate the king from the Proteſtants, the ſame means they uſed to prejudice him againſt their adverſaries. But neither could ſucceed; for Henry reformed himſelf but by halves, and was never reconciled to the court of Rome; and as he was grown abſolute, he would never ſuffer his ſubjects to go farther than himſelf, but compelled them to ſtop where he was pleaſed to ſtop, equally ſevere, or rather unmerciful, to thoſe who refuſed to follow him, and to thoſe who would go beyond him. This year he ſhewed an inſtance of his rigour, capable of making the reformers deſpair of any farther progreſs.

Henry diſputes publickly with Lambert.

One John Nicolſon, alias Lambert, being informed againſt, as a Sacramentarian, the king convened a great aſſembly, in Weſtminſter-hall, where he was pleaſed himſelf, to diſpute, publickly, with the party accuſed. The match was by no means equal; Lambert ſtood alone without a ſecond; but the king was ſurrounded with a croud of perſons, who applauded his arguments, and deemed them invincible; whereas none dared to approve what Lambert urged. The diſpute ended with the king's putting it to the choice of the unfortunate Lambert, either to abjure his opinion, or be burnt. But whatever advantage the king ſeemed to have, he may be ſaid to be vanquiſhed, ſince he was forced to fly to ſo rigorous a method to convince his adverſary, after flattering himſelf to perſuade him by dint of

1538. of reaſon; otherwiſe, probably, he would not have engaged in the diſpute. However, he ſucceeded not by this extraordinary way, ſince Lambert choſe rather to die than to abjure the opinion he ſtill believed. Henry had no occaſion to be flattered. He had but too good a conceipt of himſelf. Nevertheleſs, Gardiner and the reſt of his party took occaſion from this diſpute, to extol him above the moſt learned divines of the age. They inſpired him with ſuch an opinion of his learning, that he thought his notions ought to be a ſtandard to all; but contrary to the expectations of his flatterers, this conceipt of himſelf was no leſs fatal to them than to the other party, ſince he reſolved to puniſh ſeverely and indifferently, all who dared to ſwerve from what he himſelf deemed reaſonable.

Negotiations with the German Proteſtants. Herbert.

About this time the emperor concluded with France, a 10 years truce, of which I ſhall ſpeak preſently. Henry, not doubting, it was in order to invade him, conſidered of means to raiſe him troubles, which ſhould divert him from his purpoſe. The Smalcaldick league furniſhed him with a good opportunity; but the preſervation of the Augsburg confeſſion, being the ſole foundation of that league, he did not ſee that he could poſſibly join in it, to ſupport a religion, all whoſe articles were not approved by him. So his deſign was either to bring the Proteſtants to conclude with him a general league, which ſhould not be limited to the defence of their religion, or prevail with them to be ſatisfied with the reformation he had himſelf introduced into England. To this end, he ſent ambaſſadors, with inſtructions to ſee who were the confederates, and in caſe the league was confined to religion only, to deſire them to ſend ſome of their ableſt divines, to try, whether a common religion might not be agreed upon. The Proteſtants anſwered, their league conſiſted of 26 imperial cities, and 24 princes, among whom the king of Denmark was lately admitted; that, at preſent, they could not be without their divines, but deſired him to declare himſelf poſitively upon the propoſition made him, of embracing the Augsburg confeſſion. Some time after, they ſent ambaſſadors capable of diſputing upon the points of religion; but this ambaſſy was fruitleſs; for Henry found in the Germans, men of a very different ſtamp from his own ſubjects, and little inclined to compliance. They would not allow him communion in one kind, private maſſes, auricular confeſſion, celibacy of prieſts, and gave him their reaſons in writing; to which he anſwered, tho' to very little purpoſe. As he could not put the ſame choice to them as he had done to Lambert, he was forced to diſmiſs them, without any concluſion, being as little ſatisfied with them, as they were with him.

The intereſt of the reformers declines at court. Burnet.

In the interim, the intereſt of the reformers began viſibly to decline at court, ſince the queen's death. There were only Cromwell and Cranmer that ſupported it, by their credit and merit. The firſt, however, was accuſed of being too ſelf-intereſted, and of thinking much more of his own, than of the concerns of religion. As to the reſt of the lower rank, there were few of eminent note. Shaxton, biſhop of Sarum, was proud and litigious; Latimer, biſhop of Worceſter, was deſpiſed for his weakneſs and ſimplicity; Barlow, who had been prior of Biſham, and afterwards biſhop of St. Aſaph, had no great judgment. In general, the preachers of the new religion ſuffered themſelves to be carried away with an indiſcreet zeal, and without conſidering the king's temper, followed the motions of their conſcience, let what would be the conſequence. So, never troubling themſelves about the effects of their zeal, they publickly preached doctrines, not yet approved by the king, which very much conduced to prejudice him againſt them, and all others who deſired to advance the reformation. 1538.

Bonner made biſhop of Hereford, and then of London. Burnet.

In the interim, Edward Fox, biſhop of Hereford, departing this life, the reformers thought to do a good act, in procuring Edmund Bonner that ſee, who had been ambaſſador, in Spain, and afterwards, in France, from whence he was latley recalled, at the inſtance of Francis I, who was not pleaſed with him. Soon after, they cauſed him to be promoted to the ſee of London, vacant by the death of Stokeſly; but they were greatly miſtaken in their choice, ſince this ſame prelate, who was ſo much obliged to them, became afterwards one of their moſt mortal enemies.

Cranmer and Cromwell project to marry the king with a Proteſtant. Herbert.

At length, Cromwell and Cranmer ſeeing their party decay, and, that the king began to liſten to the enemies of the reformation, in ſuch a manner, as made them dread the conſequences, deemed it neceſſary to ſupport their party, by means of a queen, who ſhould afford them protection. They had happily experienced, how much Ann Bullen and Jane Seymour had helped to ſoften the king's temper towards the reformed, and they did not queſtion, that in caſe they could give him a wife, of the like diſpoſition, ſhe would produce the ſame effect; for this reaſon, they turned their eyes towards Germany, and Cromwell undertook to negotiate a marriage between the king and Ann of Cleve, ſiſter to the duke of Cleve and the ducheſs of Saxony. We ſhall ſee, next year, the ſucceſs of this negotiation, after a brief mention of the foreign affairs.

The truce between the emperor and Francis is prolonged. Mezerai.

The emperor's and the king of France's forces were too equal, for either to expect any great advantages from a war they were left to wage all alone. Francis had ill taken his meaſures, in imagining that Henry would declare for him, that the potentates of Italy would endeavour to ſhake off the emperor's yoke, and that the Proteſtants of Germany would embrace the opportunity of the war, to eſtabliſh the liberty of conſcience, to which they aſpired, and of which they were threatened to be deprived; but nothing of all this happening, he ſaw himſelf charged alone, with almoſt an inſupportable burden. On the other hand, the emperor was afraid, Francis would, at length, unite all theſe powers againſt him, and the emperor of the Turks improve ſo favourable a juncture, to invade Germany. The pope alſo feared the ſame thing, and that the

1538. coasts of Italy would be infested by the Infidels. This, added to the desire of being revenged of the king of England, put him upon seeking means to procure a peace between the emperor and the king of France, that Henry, being left alone, might be more easily invaded. To this end, he proposed to the two hostile monarchs a meeting, at Nice, where he offered to come and act as mediator. This proposal being accepted, they all three met at that place, about the middle of June, the pope conferring sometimes with the one, sometimes with the other, without the two monarchs ever seeing each other, during the whole negotiation. The pope had his reasons for hindering them from conferring together, but by his means; for he had a mind to treat, privately, of a marriage between Octavian Farnese, his nephew, and Margaret, the emperor's natural daughter, widow of Alexander de Medici, and, indeed, the project succeeded to his wish.

Truce for 10 years.

In the interim, as the peace between the emperor and the king of France could not be effected, by reason of the many difficulties which occurred, the pope obtained, of the two monarchs, at last, their consent to a ten year's truce, which was, almost, as effectual as a peace. The truce being concluded, Paul III, immediately, thought of means to form a league against the Turks. But, as several reasons hindered the kings of France and England from coming into it, he was forced to conclude it with the emperor, the king of the Romans, and the Venetians.

Francis I. slights Henry. Herbert.

When Francis had nothing more to fear from the emperor, he grew very cool to Henry, tho' he had extremely carressed him, so long as he stood in need of him. Henry was exceedingly incensed, and shewed his resentment, by ordering Bonner, in his return from Spain, to stop at the French court, and demand an English rebel, who was retired into France, and the arrears of his pension, there being now four years due. Bonner, who was naturally very bold, delivered his message so haughtily, that Francis, offended at his insolence, sent an express to Henry, to know, whether he had ordered his ambassador to use such language, and to desire Bonner might be recalled. Henry thought fit to comply with his demand; but, it appeared, he was not very angry with Bonner, since, at his arrival, he promoted him, as has been said, to the see of Hereford, and soon after, to that of London.

Cardinal Pole labours to raise the king troubles. Herbert.

Whilst Henry used all possible precautions to secure himself, from the attacks of his enemies, cardinal Pole was labouring, with all his power, by means of his correspondents in England, to alienate from him, the hearts of his subjects, by publishing every where, that he had subverted all religion, to set up his own fictions. This accusation was the most sensible wound that could be given the king, since he pretended, religion consisted not in the things he had changed, but in those he had retained. This is what he strove to demonstrate to the people, because he plainly perceived, the general accusation, of 1538. having subverted religion, could not but greatly poison their allegiance. Accordingly, Pole, and his emissaries, chiefly insisted upon this, in order to raise disturbances in the kingdom. Several have thought, the cardinal had some private views, which concerned not religion. He was of the house of York, by his mother, and is said, also, to have an inclination for the princess Mary, and to bestir himself thus, in order to marry, and set her on the throne, in the room of her father; at least there is reason to suspect, his extraordinary zeal was fortified by some hidden views, and that, in acting for the pope, he was labouring his own advancement. But this is only conjecture. However, Sir Jeffrey Pole, near relation of the cardinal, privately acquainted the king, that he held correspondence with Henry Courtney, marques of Exeter, grandson to Edward IV; with Henry Pole, lord Montague; with Sir Edward Nevil, and with Sir Nicholas Carew, master of the horse, and knight of the Garter; and that his instruments were, a priest and a marriner. Upon this information, these persons were apprehended, condemned and executed, but the informer was pardoned, as a reward for his intelligence. No other circumstances of their tryals are known, but their corresponding with Pole; an unpardonable crime, as the king then stood affected to that cardinal.

Suffragan bishops. Act. Pub.

During the course of this year, Henry established several suffragan bishops. He required also, of all the religious, a new oath, whereby they expresly renounced the papal authority, and acknowledged the king's supremacy. There were some that refused to swear, but I know not in what manner their obstinacy was punished.

The council is removed to Vicenza. Bellay.

The pope and the emperor being then employed in their preparation against the Turk, his holiness made use of that pretence, to put off the meeting of the council, to the 1st of May, 1540, and, at the same time, removed it from Mantua to Vicenza.

The new queen arrives in Scotland.

The marriage between the king of Scotland, and Mary of Lorrain, being concluded, this year, the new queen came to Scotland, about the middle of June.

1539. The surrenders of the monasteries to the king. Burnet.

The last visitation of the monasteries tended only, as has been observed, to seek apparent reasons to suppress them. The king had now resolved it, and the enormities, true or false, of the monks, were only a cover for his revenge, and, perhaps, for his avarice. The visitation being over, he sent into the several counties, commissioners to receive the surrenders, the abbots and priors were to make of their houses. There are extant, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, many of these surrenders, which tho' very involuntary, contained, however, the feigned reasons which had moved the monks, and their superiors, to resign, of their own accord, all their lands to the king. In some, they were made to say only, they were induced thereto, by just and reasonable causes; but in others, of greater length, they were made to alledge, "That "what

1539. "what they had, hitherto, obſerved, conſiſted "only in dumb ceremonies, and conſtitutions of the biſhops of Rome, and other foreign potentates, who had taken no care of their inſtruction, or, to reform the many abuſes which had, hitherto, prevailed, in their houſes; but that deſiring to live, for the future, according to the rule preſcribed by Chriſt, the evangeliſts, and the apoſtles, they deemed it expedient for them to be governed by the king, their ſupreme head on earth; that, therefore, they ſubmitted themſelves to his mercy, and ſurrendered to him their houſes, with all things belonging thereto; that they beſought him to grant, to each of them, a penſion, for their ſubſiſtance, and an expreſs licenſe to take a ſecular habit, and be admitted into livings, like other eccleſiaſticks." Others ſaid, "They had conſidered, that Chriſtianity conſiſted not in the practice of ceremonies, in wearing black, grey, or white habits, and in nodding with the head, wearing cords, with great knots about their middle, and the like, wherein they had been inſtructed and ſeduced; but that the true way of ſerving God was taught in the goſpel; and, therefore, deſiring, for the future, to walk by that good rule, they ſubmitted themſelves to the ſupreme head of the church of England, and renouncing all ſuperſtitions, and foreign traditions, they reſigned their houſes to the king, with all things thereunto belonging." Others ſurrendered their houſes by way of agreement, between them and the king, for the cauſes ſpecified in the deed itſelf. But there are not, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, any deeds of this kind, at full length, where any of theſe cauſes may be ſeen. It can only be gathered from what ſome authors ſay, that theſe cauſes were, either the houſes were overwhelmed with debts, or the revenues had been ill managed, or there had been comitted, crimes deſerving a ſevere puniſhment, from which they were exempted, on account of the ſurrender. Be this as it will, the king having reſolved, at any rate, to ſuppreſs all the monaſteries, the oppoſition of the abbots, priors and monks, would have been ineffectual. Accordingly, perceiving plainly, that by fair means or foul, they ſhould be forced to ſubmit to his will, the greateſt part thought it moſt prudent to do it, with a good grace, and make the beſt bargain they could for themſelves. The abbot, or prior, with the chief monks of each houſe, being gained beforehand, either by promiſes or threats, the reſt had hardly courage enough to make a fruitleſs reſiſtance.

The firſt ſuppreſſion of the leſſer monaſteries, was done by act of parliament; but the king was pleaſed this ſhould appear, to be entirely voluntary, as if the abbots, priors and monks, had been induced of themſelves, 1539. to ſurrender their houſes. A thing, however, ſo notoriouſly falſe, that not a ſoul could be ignorant how forced theſe ſurrenders were. It muſt be confeſſed, that, herein, Henry ſtrangely abuſed the abſolute power he had acquired over his ſubjects, of whom not a man dared, publickly, to find fault with his conduct, and ſtill leſs, openly, to oppoſe his will; however, he uſed artifice, to make this ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries, to be received with leſs concern. Whilſt the commiſſioners were receiving the ſurrenders, he called a parliament, for the 28th of April; and, at the ſame time, he cauſed a report to be ſpread, that the kingdom was going to be invaded. He confirmed the report, by going, in perſon, to viſit the coaſts, by commanding forts and redoubts to be built, in ſeveral places, and, by giving preſſing orders to fit out a fleet, and keep the troops in a readineſs to march, upon the firſt notice. The intent of all theſe proceedings was, to let the people ſee, that the parliament would be obliged to lay heavy taxes, to reſiſt the pretended invaſion; but that the king, acquiring a large revenue, by the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries, would have no occaſion for a ſubſidy. The yearly value of the religious houſes, amounted to 161,100 pounds ſterling, according to the rate they had been laſt farmed at *. But it muſt be obſerved, the abbots and priors foreſeeing the impending ſtorm, had ſet the rents very low, and raiſed the fines very high, that they might have wherewithal to ſubſiſt, when they ſhould be out of their houſes. The king pretended not to mind it, being, on the contrary, very glad, the people were not acquainted with the whole profit, which accrued to him from theſe ſuppreſſions. Beſides the rents of the lands, belonging to the monaſteries, the king had, moreover, a very conſiderable ſum ariſing from the church-ornaments, plate, goods, lead, bells, materials, which he thought not proper to have valued; but it may be judged of by this ſingle article, viz. that in the abbey of St. Edmundsbury alone, there was found 5000 marks of gold and ſilver, in bullion.

The revenues of the ſuppreſſed monaſteries. Burnet.

The ruin of the monks was a great occaſion of joy and triumph, to thoſe who had, already, embraced the reformation, or who wiſhed it could be embraced without danger. But they had not cauſe long to rejoice; for Henry reſolving to ſhew, that in aboliſhing the papal authority, and deſtroying the monaſteries, he had not changed his religion, gave, very ſoon, an unqueſtionable proof of it. The parliament meeting, the 28th of April, immediately, made, by the direction of the court, a law, entitled, "An Act for "aboliſhing diverſity of opinions in certain "articles, concerning Chriſtian religion". This is the law, that is more commonly

Henry ſhews he intends not to alter religion. Burnet.

* They were given in at 152,517 pounds, 18 ſhillings and 10 pence. Stevens's Hiſtory of Taxes. The number of monaſteries ſuppreſſed, firſt and laſt, in England and Wales, according to Cambden, were 643, together with 90 colleges, 2374 chantries, and free chapels, and 110 hoſpitals. Herbert.

known,

1539. known, by the name of the bloody ſtatute. The penalty of burning, or hanging, was enacted againſt thoſe,

I. Who by word or writing, denied tranſubſtantiation.

II. Who maintained, that communion in both kinds was neceſſary.

III. Or, that it was lawful for prieſts to marry.

IV. Or, that vows of chaſtity may be broken.

V. Or, that private maſſes are unprofitable.

VI. Or, laſtly, that auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary to ſalvation.

The laws concerning religion, ſerve to increaſe the king's authority.

By this, and ſome former laws, which ſettled what was to be believed, in matters of religion, all the ſubjects were, almoſt, equally liable to the pains enacted therein. Indeed, this laſt law, with thoſe that were made before againſt the pope's authority, contained the king's belief, but not the nation's; for there was hardly a perſon in the kingdom, but what believed either more or leſs, and yet no one dared, openly, to ſwerve from it, either to the right or left. The reformed, however, were the greateſt ſufferers by it, and, indeed, it was levelled againſt them; for Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, was the real author of it. He had intimated to the king, that it was the only means to hinder a league from being formed againſt him; that what he had aboliſhed, not being eſſential to religion, nor conſidered as ſuch, by the generality of Chriſtians, no man, of ſound judgment, could deem him heretical, ſo long as he maintained theſe ſix articles, which, entirely, diſtinguiſhed true Catholicks from ſectaries and innovators. This was, really, taking the king by his weak ſide; but, beſides this motive, the king had another, which was no leſs powerful, viz. by adding this law, to thoſe already made againſt the pope, he rendered his ſubjects ſo dependent upon him, that there was ſcarce a man but what was obnoxious to be called to an account. So the pope's friends, and the reformed, were equally in his power; and, conſequently, they were equally concerned not to diſpleaſe him, in any thing, but rather, blindly, to ſubmit to his will. Cranmer, alone, ventured publickly, and for three days together, to argue againſt the bill, before it paſſed; but, as ſoon as it had received the ſeal of the publick authority, he ſent away his wife, into Germany, till better times.

The parliament grants the lands of the monaſteries to the king. Burnet.

By another act, the parliament granted to the king, the lands of the religious houſes, which were ſuppoſed to have been, freely, ſurrendered to him. So, this ſtatute was rather a confirmation of what had been done, than an ordinance for the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries. As the king had intimated, that he intended to employ the revenues, he had acquired, in uſeful foundations, the parliament paſſed a bill, for giving him power to erect new biſhopricks.

Never was parliament more devoted to the king's will; for they were not ſatisfied, with approving whatever the king had done, but alſo, whatever he might do for the future. It was enacted, this ſeſſion, that the ſame obedience ſhould be paid to the king's proclamations, or to the orders of the council, during a minority, as to the acts of parliament. It was pretended, that caſes might happen where the king had not time to call a parliament, and yet it was neceſſary, for the good of the realm, that his orders ſhould be executed, otherwiſe there might be danger of falling into great inconveniencies. Thus, to avoid a poſſible, but withal an uncommon inconvenience, another, much more conſiderable, was run into, by giving the ſovereign a deſpotick power; for, if his orders were to be obeyed, without the concurrence of the parliament, he had no occaſion to call one, if he did not think it proper. It is true, there were ſome limitations in this act, as, that no perſon ſhould be deprived of life, or eſtate, by vertue of the king's proclamation, nor any laws or cuſtoms broken, or ſubverted thereby; but theſe reſtrictions were ſo ambiguouſly expreſſed, that it was eaſy for the king to evade them. Upon this act were grounded the great changes of religion, in the non-age of Edward VI. 1539. An extraordinary act, for increaſing the royal power.

In this ſame ſeſſion, the parliament paſſed an act, to regulate the precedency of the officers of ſtate; by which Cromwell, the king's vice-gerent, in eccleſiaſtical affairs, tho' a lockſmith's ſon, had the precedence of all perſons, next the royal family. Another, about precedency.

Laſtly, the parliament confirmed the ſentence of death paſſed upon the marqueſs of Exeter, and the reſt who had been executed, for holding a correſpondence with cardinal Pole; moreover, for the ſame reaſon, they attainted the counteſs of Salisbury, the cardinal's mother, and the marchioneſs of Exeter, without bringing them to a tryal. This laſt act met with great oppoſition, in the parliament, many objecting, that to condemn perſons unheard, was a breach of the moſt ſacred and unalterable rules of juſtice; but Cromwell, having ſent for the judges to his houſe, asked them, whether the parliament had power to condemn perſons accuſed, without a hearing? The judges anſwered, it was a nice and dangerous queſtion; that equity, juſtice, and all ſorts of laws, required, that the accuſed ſhould be heard; that, however, the parliament being the ſupreme court of the realm, from which there could be no appeal, the validity of their ſentences, of what nature ſoever they were, could not be queſtioned. This was ſaying, in other words, that the parliament would, therein, commit an injuſtice, for which they could not be called to an account. Cromwell having reported to the parliament the opinion of the judges, the two ladies, of the blood royal, were condemned to die, by a ſentence which eſtabliſhed a precedent, the moſt pernicious that had ever been ſeen in England, and which proved fatal to its author, as will appear. In the interim, the king granted a full pardon to the marchioneſs of Exeter, and a reprieve to the counteſs. The ſentence againſt the marqueſs of Exeter, &c. is confirmed. Counteſs of Sarum. and marchioneſs of Exeter, attainted. Burnet.

1539. countess of Salisbury, who was not executed till two years after. Thus, the king daily acquired some fresh degree of authority; and it might be said he usurped it not, since it was given him by the parliament, if the circumstances of the times had not rendered the very parliament slaves to his will.

The king takes care to encourage Cranmer. Burnet.

Cranmer had strenuously opposed the law of the six articles, and such an opposition would have infallibly ruined any other person but that prelate; but the king had an esteem for him, which could not be easily changed, because he was persuaded the archbishop acted according to the dictates of his conscience, whereas he had a quite contrary notion of the rest of his ministers and courtiers. Their blind compliance, served only to make him despise them, tho' he liked to reap the advantage of their baseness. So having a real esteem and sincere affection for Cranmer, and imagining, he must have been extremely mortified, that the act had passed contrary to his opinion, and even apprehensive of having displeased him by his opposition, he sent the duke of Norfolk to encourage him, and assure him of his constant kindness. Cranmer very thankfully received this testimony of the king's esteem and goodness. Soon after, the king talked with him himself, concerning the law of the six articles, and was pleased that he explained to him the reasons which led him to oppose it; nay, he ordered him to put all his arguments in writing, tho' by the statute itself, it was a crime worthy of burning; but Cranmer, trusting to the king's equity, drew up a memorial, which he intended to give him. This writing being accidentally lost, was found by one who was going to carry it to the king, if Cromwell had not prevented him. Dr. Burnet represents this to be an unexpected and happy escape for Cranmer; but since the king himself ordered him to compose this writing, the danger does not seem to be so great, unless it be supposed the king would have condemned him unheard. But this supposition destroys itself, by the particular esteem the king had for him.

Shaxton and Latimer resign their sees, and are sent to the tower. Act. Pub.

Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury, and Latimer of Worcester, were not treated so favourably. As they could not resolve to approve of the law of the six articles, they believed that in resigning their bishopricks, they should be less exposed to the attacks of their enemies. But they did not come off so easily; for they had no sooner put the instruments of resignation into the king's hands, but they were presented, as having spoken against the six articles, and committed to the tower.

An inquiry of those who rejected the six articles. Burnet.

When the parliament broke up, the king sent commissioners into the several counties, to make inquiry of those who were against the six articles, being determined rigorously to execute the statute. As Cromwell and Cranmer could not but be suspected, in this affair, the enemies of the reformation easily made the king sensible, that to leave to them the nomination of these commissioners, would be labouring in vain; and, indeed, persons who strongly opposed the act, were very unfit to see it executed, as the king desired. Some of the contrary party, therefore, were appointed, who 1539. discharged their commission with such immoderate zeal and passion, that they frustrated the designs of those who employed them. In the city of London alone, there were within few days, above 500 persons thrown into prison, and involved in the breach of the statute; nay, the king was shewn, that, contrary to his intention, the commissioners had laid snares for these prisoners, to oblige them to discover opinions which they intended to conceal, in obedience to the laws. Besides, since in so short a space, such numbers were imprisoned in London, it was easy to judge how many there might be in all the rest of the kingdom, and of what ill consequence to execute the law upon numberless persons of all ages and sexes. This, the chancellor, who was no enemy to the reformation, represented to the king, and prevailed with him to pardon all the prisoners. From this time to Cromwell's death, the proceedings upon this act were suspended, tho' it still subsisted, and might have been executed, if the king had pleased. Thus, every thing was regulated by the king's will, who hastened or retarded the execution of the laws, according to the times and persons. This gained him a blind condescension from both parties, every one having to fear his own ruin, according to the king's humour and disposition. It is certain, those that desired a reformation, were constrained to feign an approbation of many things, which in their hearts they detested, and that Cromwell and Cranmer, who had most access to the king, dared to press him only indirectly to advance the work already begun. Hence they preserved their credit, and were enabled to do their party service. Their adversaries took the same course, and went still greater lengths in their compliance, well knowing it was the only way to gain the king's confidence. Bonner, bishop of London, tho' a favourer of the pope, and persuaded that the king had no spiritual authority, took a commission from him, which adjudged to him both the spiritual and temporal power of his bishoprick, during his good pleasure. After this, the excessive power which the king daily acquired must not be thought strange, since every one strove to submit to his will. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was one of the principal favourers of the old religion, to which he was very serviceable, by a profound dissimulation. He expressed great zeal to execute as well the act of the six articles, as those made against the pope. He thereby maintained his credit, tho' the king had but little esteem for him.

The value of what the suppression of the monasteries produced. Burnet.

The actual suppression of the monasteries was begun and ended, in the course of this year. The commissioners appointed for that purpose, settled every thing relating thereto; they awarded pensions to the abbots, priors, monks, and nuns, for their livelihood; they valued the plate, goods, ornaments of the priests, of the altars, of the churches, and ordered what buildings should be demolished, and what left standing. I have already observed that the rents of all the suppressed monasteries amounted to 160,100 pounds sterling;

1539. but, if it be true, that this valuation was made only upon the foot of the laſt leaſes, and that theſe were not above the tenth part of the real value, as ſome affirm, it follows that theſe rents were worth above 1,600,000 pounds, beſides the ready money, which accrued to the king by the ſale of the effects. Here was wherewithal to make uſeful foundations to the church and ſtate, had all theſe riches been employed that way. The king ſeemed, at firſt, to have formed ſuch a deſign; nay, it was what had ſerved for the principal ground of the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries; but the greedineſs of the courtiers and favourites allowed but a very ſmall part to be expended on things uſeful and neceſſary. Henry had, at firſt, reſolved to erect 18 new biſhopricks, but as the money was laviſhed away, he found reaſons to reduce them to a much ſmaller number. In a word, he contented himſelf with founding ſix, and eſtabliſhing canons in ſome cathedrals, which the monks had poſſeſſed; and in all this, he employed but a revenue of 8000 pounds. He laid out, likewiſe, part of the money in fortifying ſome ports, and all the reſt was ſquandered away in preſents, and other needleſs expences. For this cauſe, he could not avoid the blame of having plundered the church; whereas, had he employed the beſt part of theſe lands in things uſeful to the church and ſtate, he would have gained the bleſſings of his ſubjects, and their poſterity. As to the parliament, they are inexcuſable for having put into the king's hands ſuch immenſe riches, deſigned for pious uſes, without taking care how they were to be employed. This is no ſlender evidence of what has been already obſerved, that the parliaments met in this reign, only to be inſtrumental in gratifying the king's paſſions, without ever examining either the motives or conſequences of what he required. Henry had alſo formed the project of founding a college for young ſtudents, that they might be qualified for the ſervice of the ſtate, either in ambaſſies, or other affairs of the government; but this project miſcarried, with many others, becauſe the king having ſold the lands of the ſuppreſſed abbies, was very loth to put to ſuch uſes the ready money raiſed by the ſale. He choſe rather to laviſh it upon his pleaſures, or his courtiers, who uſed all ſorts of artifices, condeſcenſions, and baſe flatteries, to procure ſome part of theſe vaſt treaſures.

Remarks upon the conduct of the parliament.

The Proteſtants avoid the emperor's ſnares, Sleidan.

Whilſt Henry was employed in his domeſtick affairs, he had an eye, however, to what paſſed abroad. The emperor feigned, the laſt year, a firm deſign to adjuſt the religious differences which occaſioned troubles, in Germany. But this was only to draw money from the Proteſtants, to be expended in his war with the Turk; for, he expected, that upon the bare hopes, he was pleaſed to give them, of redreſſing their grievances, they would on his account drain themſelves of men and money, and ſo become leſs formidable. But the Proteſtants would not ſuffer themſelves to be deceived to ſuch a degree; for they plainly replied to his demand, that they could do nothing for him, without ſufficient ſecurity of being left in peace.

Henry finding that a rupture between the emperor and the Proteſtants, was not very remote, ſent freſh ambaſſadors to Germany, to ſtrengthen the reſolutions of the Smalcaldick league, by hopes of his coming into it, and being declared protector. But the Germans had now diſcovered his deſign, which was to amuſe them, and keep the emperor in continual fear of his uniting with them; they returned, therefore, the ſame anſwer as before, that the ſole intent of their league was to maintain the Augsburg confeſſion, and if the king refuſed to admit that confeſſion, it was in vain to treat of other points; that, moreover, they heard, with extreme grief, that he perſecuted, in his realm, ſuch as held the ſame opinions with them, on ſundry articles of religion, and, therefore, ſo long as the act of the ſix articles ſubſiſted, there was no likelihood that he really intended to join with them. Melancthon even wrote him a letter, in very ſtrong, tho' reſpectful terms, to ſhew him the unreaſonableneſs of that ſtatute. 1539. and Henry's.

Gardiner diverts the king from his deſigns to join with the Proteſtants. Burnet.

Henry, to whom all was obedient, in England, and whoſe will was a law, was offended at the firmneſs of the German princes. On the other hand, Gardiner, who dreaded of all things, the king's union with the Smalcaldick league, failed not to uſe this occaſion to divert him from it, by flattering his vanity. He repreſented to him, that it was very ſtrange, petty princes ſhould pretend to be a pattern to a great monarch, and dictate to the moſt learned prince, in Europe, in matters of religion; adding, that whatever the Proteſtants might pretend, they would never approve of the ſupremacy, in England, becauſe it would be a tacit engagement to own, that his emperor had the ſame right, in Germany. This was falſe reaſoning, ſince there was a wide difference between the authority which the king had over his ſubjects, and that which the emperor could claim over the ſovereigns and free cities of Germany. However, he attained his ends, that is, he begot a great coldneſs between the king and the Proteſtants.

Bibles are ſet up in the churches.

Gardiner's artifices might have been more prejudicial to the reformation, if, on the other ſide, the reformers had not raiſed a counter-battery, of which they made wonderful uſe. The king was ſo jealous of his ſupremacy, that he neglected nothing to ſupport it. Indeed, the abſolute power acquired over his ſubjects, placed him above all oppoſition, but he wiſhed, of all things, the nation was convinced of the juſtice of that prerogative. Hence the reformers took occaſion to remonſtrate to him, that nothing but the reading of the holy ſcriptures could undeceive the people, of their falſe notion of the papal authority. By this means, they had already obtained, that there ſhould be a bible faſtened, with a chain, in every church, to be freely peruſed by all perſons; but as many ſcrupled, publickly, to read the ſcriptures, for fear of being ſuſpected of hereſy, Cranmer, meeting with a favourable opportunity, repreſented to the king, that it was neceſſary to give his ſubjects leave to have a bible in their houſes, inſinuating to him,

1539. him, that every one having liberty to read it, would eaſily be convinced, that the pope's pretended authority had no foundation in the ſcriptures. This was an innocent ſtratagem, to procure the people an opportunity to inſtruct themſelves, in many other articles, tho' the king had only one in view. Gardiner readily perceived the conſequence of the archbiſhop's requeſt, and ſeeing the king inclined to grant it, did all he could to divert it; for he diſputed upon this ſubject with Cranmer, in the king's preſence, who heard them very attentively; at laſt, perceiving ſolid learning in what Cranmer ſaid, and nothing but vanity in the reaſonings of his adverſary, he ſuddenly roſe up, ſaying to Gardiner, that ſuch a novice as he, was not fit to contend with an old experienced general. Soon after, he iſſued out a proclamation, declaring, he was deſirous to have his ſubjects attain the knowledge of true religion, in God's word; and, therefore, he would take care they ſhould have an exact tranſlation of the bible. However, he forbid, in order to prevent the inconveniencies which might ariſe from the difference of the verſions, the ſelling of any bible but what ſhould be approved by the vice-gerent.

The emperor croſſes France to go to Gaunt. Burnet.

About the end of this year, was ſeen a freſh effect of the mutual confidence, which appeared between Charles V, and Francis I. A mutiny ariſing in Gaunt, by reaſon of a tax laid upon wine, by the governor of the Low-Countries, the mutineers applied to the king of France, to implore his protection, and even offered to ſubmit to him; but he did not think proper to accept of their offers. On the contrary, he informed the emperor of what was plotting againſt him. This ſeems ſomething ſtrange, conſidering that, hitherto, he had never profeſſed much generoſity to that monarch; but the reaſon of this proceeding was, the emperor ſtill allured him with the hopes of the duchy of Milan, and ſo diverted him from the thoughts of recovering it by arms. However this be, the emperor's preſence in Flanders, being alone capable of appeaſing the ſedition of Gaunt, he was at ſome loſs which way to get thither in time. It was dangerous going by ſea, as well on account of the ſeaſon, as becauſe he had no fleet to convoy him. The way thro' Italy was no ſafer, by reaſon he could not afterwards croſs Germany, without paſſing thro' the territories of the Proteſtant princes. There remained no other way but by France, which he reſolved upon, tho' he had as much reaſon to ſuſpect that kingdom, as Germany. But he hoped to amuſe the king, by means of the duchy of Milan, as he did in effect. He ſet out, therefore, and entered France with a ſmall train, upon the bare ſecurity of a ſafe-conduct; nay, he refuſed to take in hoſtage, the dauphin, and his brother, the duke of Orleans, who came and received him at Bayonne, offering to ſtay in Spain ſo long as he ſhould be in the king's dominions. Wherever he came, the ſame reſpect was paid him as to the king himſelf, and he arrived at Paris the 1ſt of January, 1540.

Henry's marriage with Ann of Cleves, being, at length, concluded, by Cromwell's diligence, who had been charged with the negotiation, the princeſs arrived, in England, about the end of the year, 1539, at the time the emperor was travelling through France, in his way to the Low-Countries. Henry receiving advice of her arrival, at Rocheſter, went down incognito, being very impatient to ſee whether he had been deceived; but, to his ſorrow, he found her very different from what her picture, drawn by Hans Holbin, had cauſed him to expect. This firſt ſight gave him ſuch an averſion for her, that he would have immediately broke off the marriage, if he had not been prevented by ſtrong reaſons. The ſame conſiderations which had made him conclude it, ſubſiſted, and there were others which obliged him to conſummate it. The duke of Cleves was the emperor's neighbour, in Flanders, and had alſo a pretenſion as well as he, to the duchy of Guelders, after the death of the duke of that name; and conſequently, in caſe of a war between the emperor and England, that prince could give the emperor a very troubleſome diverſion, in Flanders. On the other hand, his ſiſter was married to the duke of Saxony, head of the Smalcaldick league, with whom it was of great moment to the king, to live in a good underſtanding. But this was not all; for the emperor, then in France, was labouring with all his power to diſengage Francis I, from the intereſts of England; nay, Henry had private intelligence, that the emperor offered to give the duchy of Milan to the duke of Orleans, upon that conſideration. If, therefore, in ſuch a juncture, he had ſent back the princeſs of Cleves, without marrying her, he ran the hazard of an entire rupture with the princes of the Smalcaldick league, at a time when he ſaw himſelf upon the point of being forſaken by the king of France, who, by degrees, forgot the aſſiſtance he had received from him, in his moſt urgent occaſions. So, lamenting his misfortune to be forced to marry a princeſs, for whom he had conceived an averſion, he reſolved to make this ſacrifice the 6th of January, 1540. But he was ſtill leſs pleaſed after his marriage, than before, and from that very moment was determined to be divorced from her. He concealed his ſentiments, however, as much as poſſible, tho' it was eaſy for all to ſee his vexation and trouble. Cromwell, who had drawn him into this marriage, quickly felt the effects of his reſentment, tho' the king was exceeding careful to hide it from him.

1539. The king's marriage with Ann of Cleves is concluded. Hall. She arrives in England. Stow.

The king diſlikes her.

1540. He marries her, however, Hall.

and bears Cromwell an ill-will. Burnet.

The parliament meeting the 12th of April, Cromwell made a ſpeech to both houſes, informing them, that the king ſeeing, with extreme concern, ſo great diviſion among his ſubjects, in matters of religion, had appointed commiſſioners to examine the points in diſpute, that the articles of faith might be fixed without reſpect of parties, by the word of God; that he was very deſirous his people ſhould have the knowledge of the truth; but then he was reſolved to puniſh, without mercy,

A parliament. Hall.

1540. cy, ſuch as ſhould preſume to prefer their private, before the eſtabliſhed, opinions. The commiſſioners named by the king, were approved of, and had orders to begin this examination without delay. Two days after the king created Cromwell, earl of Eſſex.

Cromwell created earl of Eſſex.

Knights of St. John ſuppreſſed. Hall.

During this ſeſſion, the parliament ſuppreſſed the order of the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem, who are now called knights of Malta. Their dependence on the pope and the emperor, was the cauſe, or pretence, of their ruin. There is no doubt, the deſire of enjoying their ſpoils, induced alſo the king to procure their ſuppreſſion; and, indeed, the parliament gave him all their lands, as they had given him thoſe of the abbies. Tho' they had large revenues both in Ireland and England, the king allowed, however, but 3000 pounds for their maintenance, after their ſuppreſſion. The affair being ended, the parliament was prorogued to the 25th of May.

Cromwell's diſgrace. Burnet.

A few days after, there fell upon Cromwell, a ſtorm, which, probably, had been gathering ſome time before. This miniſter had many enemies, and enviers. He was ſon of a farrier or lock-ſmith; and tho' his birth was ſo mean, he was raiſed to great honour, even to the having the precedence of all the lords in the kingdom, except the royal family. All the nobility envied him; and the whole popiſh party alſo hated him mortally, deeming him the firſt adviſer of the ſuppreſſion of the abbies, and one of the principal encouragers of the king, to all the innovations he had made in religion. Among theſe, who were very numerous, the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner were the perſons that could do him moſt hurt, becauſe they had free acceſs to the king. Theſe two courtiers perceiving the king's coldneſs for the new queen, doubted not of his ill-will to Cromwell, for engaging him in this marriage, and reſolved to make uſe of this occaſion to ruin him. They hoped, when he was removed, it would not be impoſſible to procure an agreement between the emperor and the king, and then, a reconciliation with the pope, which Cromwell had always oppoſed, to the utmoſt of his power. Two other things greatly contributed alſo, to the downfal of this miniſter. The king had always employed him, in his correſpondence with the Smalcaldick league, and ſo long as he thought he wanted that league, he could not be without his aſſiſtance; but growing cold, at length, to the German princes, as I before obſerved, and knowing, the dreaded union between Charles V, and Francis I, was only a chimera, and, conſequently, he ſhould have no need of Germany, Cromwell became leſs neceſſary. The ſecond thing which helped to ruin Cromwell was, the king fell in love with Catharine Howard, the duke of Norfolk's niece. Norfolk finding his credit conſiderably increaſed, made uſe of it to procure the miniſter's deſtruction; and as ſoon as he had a fair opportunity, he repreſented to the king,

The duke of Norfolk ſtirs up the king againſt Cromwell.

"That there were many male-contents in the "kingdom, and good men could not be perſuaded that a prince like him, would willingly give any occaſion of diſcontent to his 1540. "people; that they inferred from thence, he "muſt have been ill-ſerved by his miniſter, "who, doubtleſs, had abuſed his confidence; "that as the people ſeemed diſſatisfied, only "with regard to religion, it was natural to "think this happened through the vice-gerent's fault, whoſe conduct, perhaps, it "would be proper to examine; that he was "accuſed, by the publick, of many things, "which, if true, rendered him the moſt guilty of all others, conſidering the favours "heaped on him, by the king; that beſides, "tho' no particular fact could be proved upon him, it was, however, a very great "crime to rob the king of the hearts of good "part of his ſubjects; that he took the freedom, therefore, to tell him, in order to "quiet their minds, there was no better way "than to ſacrifice to them ſo odious a miniſter." Theſe inſinuations, which were, doubtleſs, ſeconded by Gardiner, and other enemies of Cromwell, produced, at length, the deſired effect. The king, prejudiced againſt him, reſolved to diſpatch him out of the way, without knowing yet of what he was guilty. But he found in his death a double advantage. Firſt, he diſcovered his reſentment againſt him, on account of the marriage, he had drawn him into; ſecondly, he believed to make his people a ſacrifice, capable of ſilencing all their murmurs. This reſolution being taken, and the parliament meeting the 13th of June, the duke of Norfolk accuſed Cromwell of high-treaſon, at the council-board, and received orders to arreſt him, and ſend him to the tower. This illuſtrious priſoner had the common fate of all diſgraced miniſters. In a moment, he was forſaken by all but his friend Cranmer, who, alone, ventured to write to the king, in his favour, tho' to no purpoſe.

Cromwell's death is decreed.

He is condemned without being heard. Burnet.

Cromwell being in the tower, the articles of his impeachment were drawn, conſiſting in generals, of which not ſo much as the leaſt proof was offered to be given; for the king knew, if his proceſs was made according to the uſual forms, he might produce warrants, which would fully clear him, and which could not be diſclaimed; and for this reaſon, it was thought proper to bring his affair before the parliament, and cauſe a bill of attainder to be paſſed againſt him, without allowing him to make his defence. In this manner, had he himſelf proceeded, in the affair of the marchioneſs of Exeter and the counteſs of Salisbury, and, therefore, could not think it ſtrange the ſame thing ſhould be practiſed in his caſe. The parliament, ever ſlaves to the king, deemed the impeachment juſt, tho' deſtitute of proof. So by an act, declaring him attainted and convicted of hereſy and treaſon, he was condemned as a traytor and heretick, the parliament leaving it to the king's choice to make him ſuffer the puniſhment of either of thoſe crimes. This, joined to ſome other foregoing, as well as following inſtances, ſhew to what height the king had carried his authority, ſince to diſcover his will was ſufficient to be,

immediately,

1540. immediately, obeyed, even by thoſe, whoſe buſineſs and intereſt it chiefly was, to reduce his power within due bounds. The execution of the ſentence was deferred, till after the ſeſſion of the parliament.

The king is determined to null his marriage. Stow.

Henry was ſo tired of his queen, that he could not bear the vexation to ſee himſelf engaged for the reſt of his life, in ſo diſagreeable a marriage; wherefore, he reſolved to divorce her, let what would be the conſequence, eſpecially, as the reaſons which induced him to marry her, no longer ſubſiſted. He had loſt all hopes of making a league with the Proteſtants of Germany, and his fears of the emperor were vaniſhed, ſince he ſaw every thing tending to a rupture between him and France. He only wanted a pretence to demand a divorce, and give ſome colour to the proceedings of the clergy and parliament, of whoſe concurrence he was ſure, however ſlight the pretence might be. He found one, in a pre-contract between the queen and the duke of Lorrain's ſon; but this contract was ſo ſlight, that the conſequences were to be much preſſed, to make it ſerve for the foundation of diſſolving Ann's marriage with the king. The duke of Cleves and the duke of Lorrain had, formerly, it ſeems, in a treaty, agreed upon a marriage between Ann of Cleves and the prince of Lorrain, both minors. This agreement had never been confirmed by the parties, when of age. On the contrary, the ambaſſador of the duke of Gueldres, who acted as mediator in that treaty, declared, afterwards, by an authentick inſtrument, that this article was deemed null. However, when Henry's marriage with Ann, was concluded, this pre-engagement raiſed a difficulty. But the ambaſſadors of Saxony and Cleves poſitively promiſed to clear that point, and put it out of all doubt, as ſoon as the princeſs ſhould arrive in England. Ann being come to Greenwich, the king, who liked her not, inſiſted upon this ſame point, in order to ſend her back. For that purpoſe, he called a council, and ſending for the ambaſſadors, the explanation, they had promiſed, was demanded; but they had brought nothing with them, looking upon this difficulty, as little material. In the interim, the council telling them that good proofs were expected, and not bare words, they offered to produce, within three months, an authentick abſtract from the chancery of Cleves, to prove what they had alledged. This alone would not have been capable of inducing the king to proceed, if, as has been ſaid, there had not been ſtrong reaſons to cauſe him to accompliſh his marriage; ſo, the council was of opinion, that if there were no other objection, the marriage might be lawfully ſolemniſed. The abſtract from the chancery of Cleves being come, great exceptions were found to it, upon the ambiguity of the word eſpouſals, becauſe it was not expreſſed whether they were eſpouſals, by the words of the preſent, or of the future tenſe; but as the king would not yet commence the affair of his divorce, he cauſed the abſtract to be kept, in order to make uſe of it when there ſhould be occaſion; wherefore upon this, he reſolved to found his divorce.

1540. The parliament prays the king to examine the validity of his marriage. Hall.

The parliament, after a prorogation of ſome days, meeting again, Henry ſent the queen to Richmond. A few days after, a motion was made in the houſe of lords, to preſent an addreſs to the king, to deſire him to ſuffer his marriage to be tried. After what has been ſeen, it can't be imagined, any lord would be ſo hardy as to dare to make ſuch a motion, unleſs he was ſure of the king's approbation. So, the motion being aſſented to, the lords deſired the concurrence of the commons; after which, they went in a body to preſent their addreſs to the king. Henry proteſted to them, that he ſought only the glory of God, the good of his people, and the declaration of truth. Then he agreed, that the affair ſhould be referred to the clergy, who, immediately, appointed commiſſioners to examine the witneſſes; and all that could be gathered from the king's own diſpoſition, and thoſe of the witneſſes, was, that there had been a pre-contract between the queen and the prince of Lorrain, which was not ſufficiently cleared; that the king having eſpouſed the queen againſt his will, had not given an inward conſent to his marriage, without which, it was affirmed, his promiſes could not be obligatory, a man's act being only what is inward; that the king had never conſummated the marriage; that the whole nation had a great intereſt in the king's having more iſſue, which they ſaw he could never have by the queen.

Extraordinary reaſons alledged for the divorce. Burnet.

The king muſt have had a very ill opinion of the convocation, the parliament, and the publick, to alledge ſuch extraordinary cauſes of his divorce. The firſt had been diſcuſſed before the celebration of the marriage, and the council was of opinion, it could be no juſt impediment; and, as to the ſecond, if that maxim took place, contracts would be of no uſe, ſince one of the parties might ſay, he had not given an inward conſent. This would be eſtabliſhing, without remedy, inſincerity, fraud and perfidiouſneſs, in the higheſt degree; and as for the third, the king had, doubtleſs, forgot what he had alledged, in the proceſs of his divorce, with Catharine; for he then maintained, purſuant to his clergy's opinion, that the conſummation of Arthur's marriage with Catharine, was not neceſſary to render it valid, but, that the bare conſent of the parties made it compleat. The fourth was of no greater weight, ſince there was no neceſſity of nulling the marriage, under colour that the king was not pleaſed to lie with the queen; beſides, he had now an heir. In ſhort, his word muſt be taken, when he ſaid, he had not conſummated his marriage; his word, who ſued for the divorce, and who uſed this argument to obtain it. In the interim, the clergy thought theſe reaſons ſolid, and paſſed a ſentence of divorce upon them, and the parliament were ſo abject, as to proſtitute themſelves to the king's paſſion, and confirm the ſentence. There is no diſtinction to be made here, ſince neither in the convocation, nor in

Sentence of divorce. Burnet.

1540. the parliament, was there one ſingle vote againſt the divorce; ſo much did every one dread to incur the king's diſpleaſure. This is a remarkable evidence of what I have often intimated, that in every thing tranſacted in England, during the latter part of Henry VIII's reign, the parliament and clergy ought to be conſidered only, as the king's inſtruments to gratify his paſſions. To him is due the praiſe of whatever was good and uſeful, and he it is that ought to be blamed for whatever was amiſs. However, the parliament and clergy are inexcuſable for not having endeavoured to ſupport the cauſe of juſtice and truth, when they believed them to be oppreſſed.

Ann conſents to the divorce. Hall.

The queen was not much troubled at what had been done, in her abſence, and even without her being examined. Probably, ſhe had entertained no great affection for a ſpouſe, who had never given her any token of his love. However, tho' the king had thought it needleſs to ask her approbation, when he was meditating the divorce, becauſe then the clergy and parliament only were concerned, whom he knew to be at his devotion, he demanded her conſent to what had been done, thinking, no doubt, the better to juſtify himſelf to the world; and at the ſame time, he offered, by letters patents, to declare her his adopted ſiſter, with a penſion of 4000 pounds a year, and her choice, either to live in England, or return home. She agreed to all, without ſollicitation, and choſe to live in England, where ſhe hoped to paſs her time more agreeably than at Cleves, in her brother's court; beſides, it is likely ſhe believed her penſion would be more ſecure, if ſhe remained in England, than if ſhe lived abroad. Every thing being thus ſettled, ſhe wrote to the duke, her brother, that ſhe approved of the divorce, and deſired him to live in good underſtanding with the king.

An act to moderate the pains of one of the ſix articles. Burnet.

This grand affair being finiſhed, the parliament paſſed an act to moderate one of the ſix articles, in the bloody ſtatute. This article, as the other five, made it death for the prieſts to break the vow of chaſtity; but by this laſt act, the pains of death were turned to forfeiture of goods.

Proofs of the ſlaviſh attachment of the parliament.

All the reſt of this reign will be only a continued ſeries of ſenſible proofs of the ſlaviſh ſubjection the Engliſh nation was reduced to; but in this very ſeſſion of parliament, there are three, which ought not to be paſſed over in ſilence.

The parliament confirms whatever the king ſhall pleaſe to to enjoin, in matters of religion.

The commiſſioners appointed by the king, purſuant to an act of parliament, to examine the doctrines of religion, having drawn a long memorial, and ſet down certain articles, as undeniable and abſolutely neceſſary, it was moved in the houſe of lords, to paſs into a law, what theſe commiſſioners had already done, and whatever they ſhould do for the future, by order of the king. This motion being received, a bill was brought in, immediately, and, when paſſed, ſent down to the commons, who agreeing to it, ſent it up again the next day. By this ſtatute, it was enacted, that not only the memorial drawn by the commiſſioners, provided it were approved by the king, but likewiſe whatever the king ſhould enjoin for the future, in matters of religion, ſhould be believed and obeyed by all his ſubjects. This was inveſting the king, with the infallibility taken from the pope. Greater ſigns of ſlavery can hardly be ſeen, ſince the parliament gave the king power over conſcience, after having in a manner rendered him maſter of life and fortune. Moreover, a clauſe was inſerted in this act, which under colour of limiting the king's authority, ſenſibly enlarged it, viz. "That nothing ſhould be "done or determined, by vertue of this act, "which was contrary to the law of the realm." Theſe contradictory clauſes, in the ſame ſtatute, rendered the king arbiter of the lives of his ſubjects, ſince on the one hand, they were enjoined to ſubmit to the king's will, in matters of religion, without knowing, however, what he would pleaſe to preſcribe, and on the other, were forbid to do any thing contrary to the laws. Conſequently, in caſe the king commanded any thing contrary to the law, they were liable to be proſecuted, by vertue of this ſtatute, whether againſt law, they obeyed the king, or, in obedience to the law, refuſed to comply with his will. The acts paſſed, in this reign, are full of ſuch contradictions, which were not inſerted without deſign. 1540.

A law about marriage, in favour of the king.

The parliament paſſed another bill, which carried no leſs marks of ſervitude. It was enacted, that a marriage already conſummated, ſhould not be annulled, on pretence of precontract, or any other impediment not mentioned in the law of God. Without doubt the parliament had, or, perhaps, feigned to have, forgot, that the king's marriage with Ann Bullen was annulled by reaſon of a precontract, and upon this ſame foundation, during this very ſeſſion, they had approved the diſſolution of his marriage with Ann of Cleves. It is true, the king declared, it was not conſummated; but Catharine of Arragon proteſted the ſame thing, with reſpect to her marriage with prince Arthur, and yet it was decided, that a party concerned ſhould not be believed even upon oath, when there were preſumptions to the contrary. Theſe were real contradictions, but not minded by the king, his view being to legitimate the princeſs Elizabeth by vertue of the former branch of the act, and to remove, by the latter, the impediments in the canon law, to his intended marriage with Catharine Howard, who was couſin-german to Ann Bullen.

Money granted to the king by the clergy. Burnet.

Before the parliament broke up, the clergy of the province of Canterbury, aſſembled in convocation, offered the king a ſubſidy of four ſhillings in the pound, of all eccleſiaſtical preferments, to be paid in two years, in acknowledgment, as they ſaid in their addreſs, of his care to free the church of England from the tyranny of the pope. The king gladly accepted their preſent, which was readily confirmed by the parliament. But this was not ſufficient for the king's occaſions; for in a few days, he demanded alſo an aid of money of the commons. Tho' for ſome time, the parliament had been want to ſubmit, without examination

1540. on to king's pleaſure, this demand met with ſome ſort of oppoſition in the lower houſe. And, indeed, it could not but ſeem ſtrange, coſidering the king was in peace with all the world, and beſides, he could not be imagined to have already conſumed the money, procured by the ſuppreſſion of the abbies. Some of the commons repreſented, that, if in time of peace, and within the ſpace of one year, the king had ſpent ſuch immenſe ſums, there was nothing more to do, but to give him all the lands in the kingdom, which too would not ſuffice for the expence of few years. But theſe ſpeeches had no great effect. It was replied, by the king's party, that he had laid out vaſt ſums in ſecuring the coaſts, and that the keeping his ſubjects in peace and plenty, coſt him more than the moſt burthenſome war. Theſe reaſons, tho' very weak, paſſed for inconteſtable, and the commons granted the king a ſubſidy, as large as if he had been actually engaged in a dangerous war. This is a third proof of the parliament's ſlavery. In the interim, the people could not conceive what was become of all the money the king had lately received, and which ſhould have ſupplied his neceſſities for many years.

The parliament is diſolved. Burnet.

This parliament, which had given the king ſo great teſtimonies of a boundleſs compliance, was diſſolved the 24th of July. But the king was pleaſed, firſt, to requite his ſubjects, with a free and general pardon, as it was called, tho' the exceptions limited the benefit to few perſons. All thoſe were excluded, who had been condemned for denying the king's ſupremacy, or for tranſgreſſing ſome one of the ſix articles of the bloody ſtatute, and even thoſe who were only accuſed of theſe crimes, which were then unpardonable. The counteſs of Salisbury, cardinal Pole's mother, and Thomas Cromwell were excepted by name.

Cromwell's execution. Hall.

As Cromwell's execution had been deferred, he was in ſome hopes of obtaining his pardon, and the more, as having wrote to the king, a very ſubmiſſive letter, he was ſo moved with it, that he cauſed it to be thrice read; but the ſollicitations of the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner, ſeconded by thoſe of Catharine Howard, who acted in their favour, rendered the endeavours of the priſoner fruitleſs. The king ſigned a warrant to cut off his head, the 28th of July, about ſix weeks after his condemnation. As Cromwell left a ſon, of whom he was very fond, he would ſay nothing on the ſcaffold, that might do him a prejudice, contenting himſelf with ſhewing, that he willingly ſubmitted to the ſentence the law had paſſed on him, praying for the king's proſperity, and declaring he died in the profeſſion of the Catholick religion. Theſe laſt words were variouſly interpreted, according to the paſſions and prejudices of the two parties, in matters of religion. Tho' it was certain, Cromwell * had lived in the opinions of the Lutherans, the contrary party maintained, he recanted at his death, and that by the Catholick religion, was to be underſtood, the old religion, profeſſed in the kingdom, before all the innovations. The others pretended, theſe words ought to be taken in a more general ſenſe, and, at moſt, to ſignify only religion which was then eſtabliſhed. However this be, the care Cromwell took, when he came to die, to ſay nothing that might offend the king, turned to his ſon Gregory's advantage, who was this very year created a peer of the realm, by the title of lord Cromwell. The office of vice-gerent, enjoyed by the father, died with him, no one deſiring a poſt ſo obnoxious to envy, and ſo fatal to the firſt poſſeſſor; beſides, the duke of Norfolk and the biſhop of Wincheſter, who were then in great credit, took care not to ſollicit the king, to fill a place, which would engage the perſon who held it, to uſe all his intereſt to hinder a reconcilation with Rome. 1540.

Several perſons of both religions executed. Hall.

Some days after Cromwell's death, was ſeen, at London, a ſight, which very much perplexed both parties. This was a company of people condemned and executed all together; ſome for denying the king's ſupremacy; others for maintaining the Lutheran doctrines. Among theſe laſt were Robert Barnes, doctor of divinity, Thomas Gerard, parſon of Hony-lane, and William Jerome, vicar of Stepney. Theſe three being impeached before the parliament, were condemned to be burned, upon a general accuſation of ſowing hereſy, perverting the ſcriptures, and maintaining errors deſtructive of religion, without the act's mentioning any particulars, and in all appearance, without the parliament's examining the proofs. By the ſame act were condemned to ſuffer the ſame puniſhment, four men, one of whom was accuſed of maintaining the papal authority; another for holding correſpondence with cardinal Pole; a third for deſigning to ſurpriſe Calais; a fourth for harbouring a rebel; and laſtly, three more convicted of denying the king's ſupremacy. All theſe were burned or hanged, at the ſame time and place. It is to be preſumed, they were not admitted to ſpeak for themſelves, ſince Barnes, after a declaration of his faith to the people, asked the ſheriff whether he knew why he was to ſuffer. The ſheriff anſwering, he did not, he turned to the ſtake, and ſaid, the puniſhment he was going to ſuffer, plainly taught him the crime of which he was ſuppoſed to be guilty. He prayed, however, for the king, and even for Gardiner, whom he ſuſpected to be the author of his death. The biſhop endeavoured to clear himſelf by a printed apology; but had the misfortune not to be believed.

Catharine Howard declared queen. Herbert.

On the 8th of Auguſt, Catharine Howard, the duke of Norfolk's niece, was declared queen, the king having privately married her ſome time before. She was ſo devoted to the

* He obtained ſucceſſively, the offices and dignities of privy councellor, maſter of the jewel-houſe, clerk of the hanaper, principal ſecretary of ſtate, juſtice of the foreſts, maſter of the rolls, lord privy-ſeal, baron, the king's vice-gerent in ſpirituals, knight of the Garter, earl of Eſſex, great chamberlain of England. He carried his greatneſs with wonderful temper and moderation, and was thankful to mean perſons of his old acquaintance. Burnet. Herbert.

duke,

1540. duke, her uncle, and the biſhop of Wincheſter, that ſhe was entirely guided by their counſels; and as ſhe had a great aſcendent over the king, very likely ſhe would have induced him to give himſelf over to the guidance of theſe two miniſters, who were preparing to procure, by her means, great alterations in religion, had not her fall, which will be preſently related, confounded their projects. However, they improved as much as poſſible, ſo favourable a juncture, to ſtrike at the reformation and the reformed. Certainly Cranmer was then in a very dangerous ſituation; for he could not doubt, that the authors of Cromwell's ruin, deſired his deſtruction with the ſame ardour, nay, were privately working it, complaints of him being already heard in ſeveral places, and even a member of parliament ſaid openly in the houſe, he was the protector and head of the innovators. Theſe things would have, doubtleſs, taken effect, had his enemies had a little more time to prepare all their plots; but as they knew the king had a real eſteem for him, they intended to proceed, by degrees, plainly perceiving, they could not without danger to themſelves, preſs his ruin, ſo directly as Cromwell's; beſides, there was but one article which gave them any advantage upon Cranmer, viz. religion, in which too he had been very cautious, well knowing that the way to advance the reformation under ſuch a prince as Henry, was not directly to oppoſe his will.

Expoſition of the Chriſtian doctrine, which every one was obliged to receive. Burnet.

The change produced, at court, by Cromwell's diſgrace, and the new queen's advancement, was quickly perceived. The commiſſioners appointed to draw up a declaration of the Chriſtian doctrine, having preſented their work to the king, he ordered it to be immediately publiſhed. Tho' this declaration corrected ſundry abuſes, the popiſh party had ſo prevailed, that inſtead of promoting, it ſenſibly put back, the reformation, as it is eaſy to ſee by the abſtract Dr. Burnet gives of this book, in his Hiſtory of the Reformation of England. However, as ſeveral principles were laid down, which might be of great uſe in a more favourable juncture, the reformers were glad, in hopes theſe principles would ſerve one day to deſtroy the errors advanced in the declaration. On the other hand, the popiſh party thought they had gained much, becauſe they ſaw doctrines laid down, to which, probably, the reformers would never conſent, and hoped this oppoſition would draw the king's indignation upon their whole party; and as for themſelves, having always had an abſolute compliance for the king, they intended to purſue the ſame courſe, in order to put him entirely into the diſpoſition they deſired. Other commiſſioners, who were ordered to reform the Miſſals, made ſo ſlight alterations, that excepting a few razures of thoſe collects, in which the pope was prayed for, there was nothing changed, nor was it neceſſary to re-print the maſs-books. Thus, by the credit of the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner, ſupported by the new queen, archbiſhop Cranmer, and thoſe of his party, ſaw a ſtorm approaching, which, probably, would overwhelm them all. Perhaps, it was very fortunate for them, that the king was diverted ſome time, by other affairs, from his attention to what concerned religion. 1540.

The emperor's paſſage through France, ſeemed, at firſt, to create a ſincere reconciliation between him and Francis. During his ſtay, at Paris, he poſitively promiſed to give the duchy of Milan to the duke of Orleans; but when Francis preſſed him to ſign an inſtrument of inveſtiture, he replied, ſuch an act would be looked upon as extorted, if dated in France, and that it was more honourable for him and the king too, that it ſhould be ſigned in ſome town of Flanders. Afterwards, when he was out of France, he found ſome freſh excuſe not to perform his promiſe. In the interim, he ſubdued the Gantois, and puniſhed them ſeverely for the trouble they had given him of a journey to Flanders. After that, when Francis claimed his promiſe, he clogged it with ſuch reſtrictions, that it was eaſy to perceive he had no mind to part with a country, by which Spain had a communication with his other dominions, in Italy and Germany. Francis vexed to be thus deceived, turned out of favour chancellor Poyet, and conſtable Montmorency, who had adviſed him to take the emperor's word. The emperor breaks his word with Francis. Bellay.

About the end of the year 1540, there were ſome beginnings of a quarrel between Francis and Henry, which ended, at length, in a war. Francis ordered a fortreſs to be built at Ardres, and a bridge to be made over to the Engliſh pale; but the governor of Calais not ſuffering this incroachment, ſent a detachment of his garriſon, and beat down the bridge. The French re-built it, and the Engliſh demoliſhed it a ſecond time; whereupon, the king of France ordering marſhal de Biez to raiſe troops, in Picardy, Henry re-inforced the garriſon of Calais, and repaired the fortifications. In the interim, the two kings, willing to avoid a rupture upon ſo ſlight an occaſion, agreed to ſend commiſſioners upon the ſpot, with powers to adjuſt the difference; but this conference producing no good effect, each provided for his defence, in caſe of an attack. The beginning of a quarrel between Francis and Henry. Herbert.

It was this year, that the famous jeſuitical order was founded, by a bull of Paul III, dated the 27th of September. The order of the Jeſuites.

1541. The uneaſineſs the emperor had given Henry, for ſome time, was now almoſt vaniſhed, ſince Francis had been diſappointed, in the affair of Milan; for Henry knew, ſufficiently, that prince's temper and character, to foreſee, without much difficulty, that he would ſoon break with the emperor. A war between theſe two monarchs, could not but be advantageous to Henry; for it would, of courſe, procure him quiet, and enable him to preſerve an equality of power between them, which was the firmeſt foundation of his own and his kingdom's ſecurity. So fearing nothing from the pope, or the emperor, or the king of France, or his own ſubjects, whoſe attempts muſt be in vain, without a foreign aid, he confined himſelf, wholly to his domeſtick Henry fears nothing from the emperor and pope.

1541. domeſtick affairs. He had, chiefly, two things in view; the firſt, was, to preſerve, and even enlarge the authority he had acquired; the ſecond, to take care that no alterations ſhould be made in religion, but ſuch as he, himſelf, judged reaſonable. Theſe were the two affairs which wholly employed him. As he was poſitively bent upon theſe two points, and the parliament durſt not oppoſe his will, it may be eaſily judged, that none of his miniſters had the courage to contradict him, in any thing. So, it was himſelf, alone, that ordered every thing, according to his fancy, his council only approving his motions. However, there were in the council, as well as in the kingdom, two oppoſite parties, with reſpect to religion; but every one had, always, his eyes upon the king, to try to diſcover his thoughts, for fear of combating his opinion.

Cranmer's character. Burnet.

Archbiſhop Cranmer was at the head of the party, who wiſhed for a greater reformation. He was ſtill very much eſteemed by the king, eſpecially on account of his integrity; but ſincerity, which he profeſſed, rendered him unfit for political affairs, in a court, where, inſtead of hearkening to reaſon, juſtice, and equity, the king's inclination, only, was to be conſidered.

Audley's.

Chancellor Audley was a perſon of good ſenſe. He ſerved the reformers, when he could without danger; but he was too much a courtier, to inſiſt upon what he judged reaſonable, if the king was againſt it.

The duke of Norfolk's.

The duke of Norfolk, was as eminent for his merit, as for his birth. He was reckoned a good general, but was, ſtill, a better courtier. Ever ſubmiſſive to the king's will, he outwardly approved whatever he was pleaſed to command him; but, in private, he grieved at all the late innovations in religion, and could not endure, either the reformation, or the reformed. He would have been glad, to ſee the king reconciled to the pope; but, the ſmall hopes of their reconciliation, made him very cautious how he offended ſo unforgiving a maſter; nevertheleſs, as the king was not always in the ſame diſpoſition, the duke found frequent occaſion to ſerve his party, eſpecially, in the puniſhment of thoſe who diſliked the ſix articles, and were ſo hardy, as, publickly, to ſhew it. In ſhort, he was as head of the favourers of the pope, and the old religion; but he, carefully, concealed from the king, his inclination for the former; and as for the latter, he ſhewed his zeal only, in ſupporting what the king had retained.

Gardiner's.

Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, was in the ſame ſentiments, and behaved in the ſame manner; but he was very far from being ſo much eſteemed by the king, who made uſe of him, however, becauſe he was pliant and dextrous, and had an extenſive knowledge of foreign affairs. As this knowledge rendered him of greater inſight, than the reſt of the miniſters, he, ſometimes, engaged the king in proceedings, the conſequences whereof, might be advantageous to his party, and of which the king, himſelf, did not always know the motive. By a blind ſubmiſſion to the king's will, he kept himſelf in ſome degree of favour, being convinced himſelf, and having alſo convinced his friends, that this compliance was the only means, to procure a revocation of what had been done againſt the pope. 1541.

Bonner's.

Bonner, biſhop of London, was alſo one of the heads of the ſame party, but, however, always ready to ſacrifice every thing to his fortune. He was naturally bold, paſſionate, and exceſſively cruel, as he plainly ſhewed, upon many occaſions. As he was of very little merit, he ſupported himſelf by making court to thoſe who were in favour, and, by taking the king's will for the rule of his actions.

The queen's.

Queen Catharine, blindly followed the direction of the duke of Norfolk, her uncle, and uſed what power ſhe had, over the king, to ſupport the credit of the enemies of the reformation.

Such was the ſituation of the court, when the king, freed from his foreign affairs, was wholly employed in his domeſtick concerns. However, the kingdom was in profound tranquillity, becauſe the terror with which people were ſeiſed, ſilenced all contradiction. In December, the laſt year, he began the foundation of the new biſhopricks, by converting the abbey of Weſtminſter into a biſhop's ſee. In this year, 1541, he founded three more, Cheſter, Glouceſter, and Peterborough, and the next year Oxford, and Briſtol. Theſe foundations, and ſome others of little conſequence, were the only charitable uſes to which he applied the immenſe riches acquired, by the ſuppreſſion of the abbies. His courtiers magnified theſe pious acts, whilſt others took notice of the little proportion betwe 7 or 8000 pounds a year, employed in theſe uſes, and what was acquired by the ruin of near 700 religious houſes.

Six new biſhopricks. Act. Pub.

The king declares hereticks, all thoſe who refuſe the expoſition. Herbert.

In the interim, Henry had a mind to ſhew his zeal for religion, as if his ſole view was, to procure the eternal ſalvation of his people. The book of the expoſition of Chriſtian faith being printed, he prefixed an ordinance, declaring all thoſe to be hereticks, who believed more, or leſs, than was contained in that book. However, as it was not poſſible that all ſhould conform to it, and it does not appear, any perſon ſuffered, upon that account, in the courſe of this year, it is likely, the king had intimated, that he deſired not his ordinance to be, rigorouſly, executed.

Francis prepares to make war upon the emperor. P. Daniel.

Whilſt Henry was congratulating himſelf upon triumphing over the pope, and enjoying a tranquillity, which the court of Rome had, in vain, attempted to diſturb, the eyes of all Europe were fixed, upon what paſſed between the emperor, and Francis I, and upon the preparations in Turkey. The war, between the emperor and Francis, was going to be renewed, but very unſeaſonably for the emperor, when Soliman was preparing to invade Hungary, on occaſion of the death of John de Zapol, competitor of the king of the Romans. Theſe two princes, after long contending for the crown of Hungary, being, at laſt, tired of war, were agreed, that Zapol ſhould hold, during his life, what he poſſeſſed,

1541. with the title of king, but, after his death, the crown ſhould deſcend to Ferdinand. Zapol dying, and leaving a ſon, called Stephen, under the guardianſhip of his mother, Ferdinand expected, that the treaty ſhould be executed, and would have taken poſſeſſion of all Hungary; but young Zapol's mother, implored Soliman's protection, which he readily granted, intending to improve this diſſention, to become maſter of Hungary, and penetrate, afterwards, into the imperial territories.

The emperor's artifice to divert Soliman from invading Hungary.

The emperor ſeeing Hungary threatened, with a powerful invaſion, which might be of fatal conſequence to Germany, uſed all his art to pacify the Proteſtants, without giving them, however, any ſatisfaction, endeavouring only to amuſe them, and obtain ſome aſſiſtance againſt the Turk. On the other hand, he laboured to perſuade Soliman, that he was in perfect union with the kings of France and England, that the dread of a general league, of the Chriſtian princes, might divert him from his deſign; wherefore, he tried to amuſe Francis, with putting him in hopes, he would give the Low-Countries to his ſecond ſon, and erect them into a kingdom; and, at the ſame time, he gave the Ottoman port to underſtand, this affair was, in a manner, concluded. Francis fell not into the ſnare; but hearing from all parts, that the emperor's miniſters, every where, gave out, the negotiation was on the point of concluſion, he reſolved to ſend an ambaſſador to Venice, and another to Conſtantinople, to undeceive the emperor of the Turks, and the ſenate of Venice. He choſe, for theſe ambaſſies, Rincon and Fregoſa, who ſet out, in order to paſs through Italy; but the marqueſs of Guaſto, governor of Milan, receiving advice, that they were to embarque, at Turin, and go down the Po, cauſed them to be ſo narrowly watched, that they were murdered in the boat. Francis made great noiſe about this aſſaſſination; but the emperor gave him no ſatisfaction; which was a freſh occaſion of the rupture between the two monarchs.

The Interim granted in Germany, to the Proteſtants. Sleidan.

About the ſame time, the emperor called a diet, at Ratisbon, for the 5th of April. As it was then no proper juncture to diſturb the Proteſtants, the diet reſolved, at laſt, to grant them a ſecond delay, which was called the Interim, that they might continue quiet, and, more readily, engage to furniſh ſupplies againſt the Turks.

The battle of Buda, gained by the Turks.

In the interim, the king of the Romans ordered Buda, capital of Hungary, to be inveſted, in hopes of taking it before the Turks ſhould arrive; but, the ſiege proving more difficult than was expected, the Turks had time to relieve it, and give the Germans battle, over whom they obtained a ſignal victory. Soon after, Soliman coming to Hungary, made his entry into Buda, and, under pretence of taking young Zapol under his protection, became maſter of the city, and great part of the kingdom.

In the mean while, the emperor, having ended the diet, inſtead of marching into Hungary, to aſſiſt the king, his brother, took the rout of Italy, and, embarquing, at Portovenere, with an army of 20,000 men, ſailed for Africa, to make war upon Barbaroſſa, who had made himſelf king of Algiers. This proceeding gave occaſion for many ſpeculations. It was ridiculed in the French court, as if, inſtead of fighting the Turks, he had ſought a pretence to fly from them. But as the African expedition was projected the beginning of the year, and the troops were now on the coaſt of Italy, it is certain, he would not have had time to relieve the king of the Romans, if he had attempted to march his army into Hungary. However this be, he landed his army, near Algiers, the 22d of October; but two days after, a ſudden and violent ſtorm deſtroyed part of his fleet, which accident obliged him to re-embarque, the beginning of November, after having loſt good part of his troops and ſhips. It is pretended, Francis, out of meer generoſity, would not proclaim war againſt him, whilſt employed in this expedition. It is, however, difficult to believe that Francis, who actually held intelligence with Soliman, and, afterwards, ſcrupled not to make uſe of the aſſiſtance of the Turks, ſhould ſtick at interrupting the emperor's projects againſt the Infidels of Africa. 1541. The emperor's expedition into Africa. Mezerai.

The affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

Henry ſaw, with pleaſure, that the king of France, and the Turks, were going to find the emperor employment, which would hinder him from thinking of England; but tho' he was eaſy in that reſpect, he was, however, in ſome pain, with regard to the king of Scotland, who, tho' his nephew had no reaſon to love him, and could eaſily aſſiſt the Engliſh male-contents, who were very numerous, in the northern counties. Henry was afraid, alſo, that a religious zeal would carry that prince, to undertake ſomething againſt him, becauſe he began to ſuffer himſelf to be governed by the churchmen, who, under colour of perſuading him to deſtroy hereſy, ſtrongly attached him to the pope's intereſt. The reformed had, now, been burned many years, in Scotland; but theſe puniſhments cauſed, there, the ſame effects as elſewhere, that is, they increaſed, inſtead of leſſening the number, and yet the clergy were, ſtill, obſtinately bent to root them out, with fire and ſword. James V, was a prince much addicted to his pleaſures, and very greedy of money; beſides, he had ſeveral natural ſons, whom he could not inrich as he wiſhed, becauſe he had exhauſted his treaſure, in needleſs expences. There were two parties in his court, whereof the one favoured the king of England, and the reformed, and the other, chiefly conſiſting of churchmen, was entirely againſt Henry, and continually ſtrove to induce the king to extirpate all, who ſwerved from the old religion. The former endeavoured to perſuade him, to imitate the king of England, his uncle, and ſecure a large revenue, by the ſuppreſſion of the abbies. The latter repreſented to him, that, by ſtrictly executing the laws againſt hereticks, he would raiſe, by forfeited eſtates, above 100,000 crowns a year. After ſome conſideration,

James

1541. James cloſed with the laſt advice, and ſuffering the clergy to take their own courſe, there followed, in Scotland, a violent perſecution *.

Henry reſumes his deſign of gaining the king of Scotland. Buchanan.

Henry perceiving the king, his nephew, to be, thus, governed by perſons wholly addicted to the court of Rome, feared he would, at laſt, be led to unite againſt him, with the pope and emperor. This apprehenſion ſeemed to him the more juſt, as he could hardly rely any longer on the aſſiſtance of the king of France, who was wont to direct the court of Scotland, becauſe that ancient ally was grown extremely cold to him; whereupon, he reſolved to uſe all his art to gain the king, his nephew, and perſuade him to break, like him, with the pope. To this end, he ſent ambaſſadors to deſire an interview at York, not queſtioning, that in an amicable conference, he ſhould have eloquence enough to perſuade him to what he pleaſed. James accepted the overture, and promiſed to come to York, where Henry went and expected him; but the Scotch eccleſiaſticks, and their whole party, ſo beſtirred themſelves, to prevent this interview, the conſequence whereof they perceived, that they ſucceeded, at laſt, and prevailed with the king to find ſome pretence to be excuſed.

Henry goes and ſtays for him at York. Burnet.

In the interim, Henry, who knew nothing of this change, impatiently waited, at York, for the day appointed for the interview. In this interval, he iſſued out a proclamation, that all who had been aggrieved for want of juſtice, by any of his former miniſters, ſhould come to him and his council for redreſs. His view was to throw all paſt miſcarriages on Cromwell, and put his ſubjects, particularly the northern people, in hopes of better times; but whilſt he was preparing for the king of Scotland's reception, he received letters of excuſe, that he could not have the honour of waiting upon him. He was extremely provoked, and this refuſal, which he deemed an affront, ſoon after cauſed a breach between the two kingdoms; but his vexation, at this affair, was not comparable to the unexpected affliction he met with, upon his return to London.

The queen's lewdneſs is diſcovered. Hollingſh.

Since his laſt marriage, he daily bleſſed God for the happineſs he enjoyed with his queen, and upon all occaſions, publickly teſtified his extreme ſatisfaction; nay, during his journey to York, deſiring to give God thanks, in a manner ſuitable to the ſentiments of his heart, he ordered his confeſſor to draw up a particular thankſgiving, and prayed him to join with him in the ſame. All this ſhewed his eſteem and tender affection for the queen, who ſeemed to have the ſame fondneſs for him; but when he came to London, he heard things, which it would have been well for him never to have known. Whilſt he was at York, one John Laſſels came to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who remained at London, and told him, that his ſiſter, an old ſervant of the ducheſs dowager of Norfolk, under whoſe care the queen was brought up, ſaid to him, that the queen had been very lewd before, and ſince her marriage, and that two men, among others, viz. Dirham and Mannock, had often enjoyed her. Cranmer communicating the ſecret to the lord chancellor and other privy-counſellors, it was agreed, that the archbiſhop ſhould inform the king of it, as ſoon as he returned to London, tho' they were not ignorant of the danger they expoſed themſelves to, if the accuſation could not be proved; but on this occaſion it was no leſs dangerous to be ſilent. 1541.

Cranmer informs the king of it. Burnet.

Cranmer not knowing how to execute his commiſſion, choſe to ſet it down in writing, and put it in the king's hands, deſiring him to read it in private. Henry took it, at firſt, for a calumny, reſolving in himſelf to puniſh the authors ſeverely; nay, it was with this view only, that he was pleaſed thoroughly to examine the matter, tho' with all poſſible ſecrecy, for fear of vexing the queen. He ordered, therefore, the lord privy-ſeal to examine Laſſels in private. Laſſels boldly ſtood to what he had ſaid, upon his ſiſter's report, who alſo confirmed what ſhe had told her brother. Upon theſe depoſitions, ſome pretence was uſed to arreſt Dirham and Mannock, who diſcovered, in their examination, more circumſtances than were deſired. They confeſſed not only, that they had lain with the queen, but alſo that three court ladies, her confidents, were commonly eye-witneſſes to her lewd practices. One of the three was, the lady Rochford, who accuſed the lord Rochford, her Husband, of a criminal commerce with queen Ann Bullen, his ſiſter. They farther depoſed, that the king being at Lincoln, one Culpeper, by the lady Rochford's means, was brought into the queen's chamber, at 11 a clock in the night, and ſtaid there till four in the morning, and that, when he went away, the queen gave him a gold chain and a rich cap. Moreover, the queen had taken Dirham into her ſervice, which ſhewed ſhe intended to continue the ſame courſe of life. The queen, at firſt, denied all; but in a ſecond examination ſhe confeſſed, that before marriage, ſhe had proſtituted herſelf to ſeveral men. This confeſſion ſhook the king's reſolution, who lamenting his misfortune, could not forbear burſting out into tears. In ſhort, after Dirham, Mannock, and Culpeper were condemned to die, he was pleaſed the queen's impeachment ſhould be brought before the parliament, which met the 16th of January, the next year, 1542.

1542. An act of attainder againſt the queen, and her complices. Burnet.

The commiſſioners named by the parliament to examine the queen, reported, that

* George Buchanan, the famous Scotch hiſtorian, was in danger, at this time, and would have died with the reſt, had not he eſcaped out of priſon. See his Hiſtory of Scotland, l. 14. The ſharpneſs of his Poems againſt the clergy was the cauſe of his confinement. He went beyond ſea, and lived 20 years in exile, and was forced to teach ſchool moſt part of the time. In his writings there appears not only all the beauty and graces of the Latin tongue, but a great vigour of mind, and quickneſs of thought. His ſtile is ſo natural and nervous, and his reflections on things ſo ſolid, beſides his immortal poems, that he is juſtly ſtiled the beſt of our modern authors. Burnet.

the

1542. the facts ſhe was accuſed of, were ſufficiently proved; whereupon both houſes declared her guilty, and petitioned the king, that ſhe might be puniſhed with death, together with the lady Rochford, complice of her lewd practices, the ducheſs dowager of Norfolk, the lord William Howard and his lady, the counteſs of Bridgewater, five other women, and four men, for miſpriſion of treaſon, in concealing what they knew of the queen's vicious life. Here again may be obſerved, the ſervitude of the parliament, who did not dare to condemn the queen and her complices, without knowing whether the king would be pleaſed to ſuffer them to be puniſhed. They did not proceed in this manner, with regard to Ann Bullen and the lord Rochford, becauſe the king's authority was not arrived to that height, as at the time I am ſpeaking of. The king conſenting they ſhould be puniſhed, they were condemned to die, by an act of attainder. There was alſo a very extraordinary clauſe in the act, declaring, "That whoever knew any "thing of the incontinence of a queen, ſhould "reveal it, under the pains of treaſon; that "if the king, or his ſucceſſors, ſhould intend "to marry a woman as a virgin, if ſhe, not "being ſo, did not declare the ſame to the "king, it ſhould be high treaſon; and all "who knew it, and did not reveal it, were "guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon; that if the "queen or the princeſs of Wales ſhould pro-"cure any by meſſages or words, to know her "carnally; or any other by meſſages or words "ſhould ſollicit them; they, their counſellors "and abettors, are to be adjudged high "traytors."

The queen is beheaded. Hall.

Henry giving his aſſent to the act, by his letters patents, the queen and the lady Rochford were beheaded, on tower-hill, the 12th of February. The queen ſtood to what ſhe had confeſſed, concerning the miſcarriages of her former life, before ſhe was married; but denied, upon her ſalvation, that ſhe had ever defiled the king's bed. As for the lady Rochford, ſhe died unlamented by all; but her death and infamy ſerved, at leaſt, to raiſe again the reputation of the lord Rochford, her husband, and of queen Ann Bullen, whoſe death ſhe procured by her evidence, which her own condemnation cauſed to be univerſally ſuſpected.

The act of parliament is cenſured. Burnet.

The extreme ſeverity of the parliament to the queen's relations, was much cenſured by the publick. It was thought unnatural to puniſh a grandmother for not diſcovering her grand-daughter's incontinence. Accordingly, the king moderated the ſeverity, by pardoning her, and moſt of thoſe who were condemned, ſome of whom, however, remained long in priſon. As for the laſt clauſe, which made it treaſon for a woman, courted by the king, not to reveal the loſs of her virginity, it was turned into ridicule. People jeſtingly ſaid, the kings of England, for the future, could only marry widows, there being no reputed maid, who would run the hazard of being attainted of treaſon, in caſe the king happened not to like her.

This affair being ended, the parliament confirmed an act paſſed in Ireland, whereby that iſland was erected into a kingdom; and, from thenceforward, the kings of England inſerted among their titles, that of king of Ireland, whereas before they were ſtiled only lords.

1542. Ireland is erected into a kingdom. Herbert.

Before the parliament broke up, the king began in ſome meaſure to ſhew his intention to ſeiſe the colleges and hoſpitals, as he had done the abbies. But the execution of this deſign was very difficult; for, by the local ſtatutes of moſt of them, the governors, preſidents, or any of the fellows, had no power to ſurrender the lands belonging to their houſes, without the conſent of the whole ſociety; ſo it was not eaſy to gain whole bodies of men, who were ſo much concerned to keep the revenues, on which they ſubſiſted. It is true, the king had prevailed with ſome, who were not bound by ſuch expreſs ſtatutes, to reſign their houſes to him; but, as he had his eye upon all, an expedient was to be found, for the reſt to follow this example, without breaking their oath. To this end, all the local ſtatutes of colleges and hoſpitals were annulled by act of parliament, and the governors, preſidents, and fellows were no more to be ſworn to the obſervance thereof. This obſtacle being removed, a few more were ſurrendered to the king; but this affair was not entirely finiſhed till 1545, by a much ſhorter method.

The king deſigns to ſurpriſe the colleges and hoſpitals. Burnet.

An act to pave the way.

A diſpute concerning the verſion of the bible. Burnet.

Whilſt the king's affairs were, thus, doing, in the parliament, the convocation, which ſat at the ſame time, were much divided about the new tranſlation of the bible, that was going to be publiſhed; many affirming, it was full of faults, and to ſuffer it to be read before it was reviſed, would be very injurious to the people. Gardiner moved this diſpute, in hopes this reviſal would take up ſome time, and the king, in the interim, alter his mind. His party was ſo numerous, that he would have carried his point, if Cranmer, who perceived his deſign, had not moved the king to refer the peruſing of the tranſlation to the two univerſities, where he had much more intereſt than in the convocation. Several biſhops ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, and ſome even entered a proteſtation againſt it; but all ſignified nothing, ſince the king declared it to be his pleaſure; nay, he granted, the 12th of March, a privilege to a London bookſeller to print the bible in Engliſh. This gives occaſion to preſume, the univerſities reviſed not the tranſlation, ſince it was impoſſible they ſhould have examined it, in ſo ſhort a ſpace.

The king wants the commons to offer him a ſubſidy. Stow.

The king wanted money for the war with Scotland, on which he was entirely bent, but durſt not ask the commons; not that he doubted of ſucceſs, but was afraid of alienating the hearts of his ſubjects, who were much more tender of matters of intereſt, than of all others. He wiſhed the commons would voluntarily offer him money, without being asked; and, it was in order to gain their affection, that he commanded a ſheriff to be impriſoned for arreſting a member of parliament, and offered to leave it to them to puniſh him as

1542. as they thought fit. On the other hand, he every where borrowed money to let them ſee his neceſſity; but, for once, the commons feigned not to underſtand this language, being unwilling to introduce the pernicious cuſtom of granting the king ſubſidies unasked; beſides, as they were yet ignorant of the deſign of a war with Scotland, they ſaw no occaſion to offer him money. So, the parliament broke up without granting the king any thing, except the act concerning the colleges and hoſpitals; which was a ſeed, the fruit whereof he was to gather in due ſeaſon.

Henry endeavours to hinder the king of France from aſſiſting Scotland. Herbert.

The war with Scotland being reſolved, Henry ſent Sir William Paget to France, to ſound Francis I, and try to hinder him, by ſome treaty, from aſſiſting the king of Scotland. The ambaſſador's inſtructions were, to demand of the king of France, that the treaty of perpetual peace between France and England, ſhould be renewed. Francis eaſily perceived, there was ſome hidden myſtery in this overture. As he knew Henry was diſpleaſed with the king of Scotland, he did not doubt that he deſired the peace to be renewed, on purpoſe to inſert in the new treaty, ſome article to tie up his hands, and prevent him from aiding his ally. He anſwered, therefore, that it was needleſs to renew a treaty, the conditions whereof the king of England had not performed. The ambaſſador anſwered, there was no ſort of terms in the treaty of peace, and, conſequently, his maſter could not be accuſed of breaking them. But this diſpute was entirely founded on a miſtake; for the ambaſſador underſtood by the treaty of peace, a private treaty of one ſingle article; viz. that there ſhould be a perpetual peace between France and England; but Francis meant ſome other treaties, ſigned the ſame day, and which belonged to the firſt, tho' this was written apart. It was this ſeparate treaty which Henry wanted to renew, imagining he ſhould thereby hinder Francis from aſſiſting the king of Scotland. But Francis did not deſign that, under this pretence, Henry ſhould be ſuffered to cruſh an antient ally of France, and France not be able to oppoſe it; on the contrary, he deemed it a manifeſt breach of the peace, to attack his allies, without any juſt cauſe. In the interim, as neither would mention the king of Scotland, tho' both had him in their thoughts, Francis, to embarraſs Henry, demanded, purſuant to the former treaties, his aſſiſtance to recover the Milaneſe. Henry required, on his part, that Francis, according to his promiſe, ſhould aboliſh the papal authority in France. Theſe reciprocal demands were more apt to produce a breach, than a renewal of the treaties. Beſides, the Engliſh had already begun hoſtilities, by ſeiſing ſome French ſhips which were ſuppoſed to be pyrates, and the French had detained ſome Engliſh veſſels by way of repriſal. So, the ambaſſador having taken his leave without effecting any thing, reported to his maſter, that the king of France was ill-affected to him; that is, he would not, without oppoſing it, ſuffer the king of Scotland to be oppreſſed. This was the meaning of Francis's being ill-affected to England, he being, at that time, very far from wiſhing a war with the Engliſh, ſince he was juſt going to begin another, which he much more deſired. 1542.

Ambaſſy of France to the diet, of no effect. Sleidan.

Francis was ſo provoked at all the emperor's artifices, that, to proclaim war againſt him, he only ſtaid to ſee him ſo embroiled with the Smalcaldick league, that there ſhould be no more hopes of agreement. To foment this diſſention, he had ſent ambaſſadors to the diet aſſembled at Spire, in February, under colour of clearing himſelf from the pretended calumnies he was aſperſed with, and particularly from the imputation of making an alliance with the Turks. His ambaſſadors complained to the diet, in very ſtrong terms, of the murder of Rincon and Fregoſa, pretending that Rincon was ſent to Conſtantinople, only to diſſuade Soliman from his deſign of carrying war into Germany. However, in the ſequel of their diſcourſe, they would have perſuaded the German princes, that it was their intereſt to fortify their frontier towns, and abandon Hungary to the Turks. So their preſence at the diet, having produced no great effect, they were returned very diſſatisfied.

The pope offers a council at Trent. Herbert.

Soon after their departure, the pope's nuncio offered to the diet, in his maſter's name, a council at Trent. The Catholicks gladly accepted the offer, and thanked the nuncio; but the Proteſtants rejected it, becauſe they would not have a council called by their adverſary, and in a ſuſpicious place, ſince the city of Trent belonged to the king of the Romans. The diet, however, ended to the emperor's and Ferdinand's ſatisfaction, after having unanimouſly reſolved to give them a powerful aſſiſtance, under the conduct of the elector of Brandenburg.

The calling of the council of Trent.

Tho' the Proteſtants refuſed the pope's offer, Paul III. called a council at Trent, for November following, by a bull of the 22d of May; but this was only to amuſe the world; for he knew, that when a war between the emperor and France, was going to commence, there would be obſtacles enough to hinder the council from aſſembling.

Francis invades the emperor in five places. Bellay.

And, indeed, at this very time Francis I. was bringing five armies into the field, to attack the emperor in five places at once; viz. in Rouſillon, Luxemburgh, Piedmont, Flanders, and Brabant. But the ſucceſs anſwered not his expectations; for the great effort he made this year, to invade his enemy, ſerved only to diſable him to do the like again, when he came himſelf to be attacked. The dauphin beſieged Perpignan, in vain; the duke of Orleans, his brother, took Luxemburgh and Montmedy; but theſe places were retaken before the end of the campaign; and, as for the other three armies, they performed nothing conſiderable.

Heny reſolves upon a war with Scotland. Buchanan.

Whilſt Francis was vainly endeavouring to be revenged of the emperor, Henry came to a final reſolution to make war upon Scotland. He had been in hopes, that in the expected conference with the king, his nephew, he

1542. ſhould perſuade him to renounce the papal authority, and was extremely concerned to ſee himſelf diſappointed. This affair ſeemed to him of the utmoſt importance, becauſe not having much to fear from abroad, where the naval forces were not comparable to his, Scotland was the only country which could give him any uneaſineſs. From thence alone could the Engliſh male-contents receive any ſuccours, and he remembred with terror, the danger he ſhould have run when the rebels were in arms in the north, had they been ſupported by a Scotch army. In his war, therefore, upon Scotland, his view was not to make conqueſts, but to bend the king of Scotland to his will, by force, ſince he could not do it by fear means; which he deemed abſolutely neceſſary, in order to procure a ſettled peace. At the time of the northern rebellion, the junctures were very favourable to him; for, being then in ſtrict union with France, king James could not engage to ſupport the Engliſh male-contents without Francis's conſent, who inſtead of approving ſuch a deſign, would have rather diverted him from it; but affairs were now upon another foot, ſince Henry could no longer rely upon the king of France's friendſhip. It is true, that prince was not to be much feared, whilſt at war with the emperor; but he conſidered, that the equality of theſe two monarch's forces would, probably, oblige them to make peace very ſoon, and this peace, in which no doubt the pope would interpoſe, neceſſarily be to his prejudice; nay, it was a queſtion whether it would not occaſion a league againſt him, and the king of Scotland join in it. In that caſe, England could be invaded in the north, with more eaſe, as the northern counties were moſt inclined to rebel. It was, therefore, of very great conſequence to Henry, to gain the king of Scotland to his intereſt, ſince, being ſecured from that ſide, an invaſion was not to be much feared, which he looked upon as impoſſible, conſidering the ſuperiority of his naval forces.

He intended to make uſe of two ways to gain the king of Scotland, in the propoſed conference. The firſt way was, to ſhew him, that it was in his power to ſecure to him the ſucceſſion of the crown of England, after his ſon Edward, or remove him from it, ſince, by the act of parliament made for that purpoſe, he could call to the ſucceſſion, his daughters Mary and Elizabeth, or exclude them for ever. In the former caſe, king James could not pretend to the crown, till after the poſterity of theſe two princeſſes was extinct; but in the latter caſe, he came immediately after prince Edward. As, therefore, to gain two degrees, was a conſiderable advantage for the king of Scotland, Henry hoped he would not be ſo unwiſe as to ſlight it. The ſecond way he deſigned to make uſe of, to win that prince, was to lay before him the advantages which would accrue to him, in caſe he renounced the pope, as well by reaſon of the facility this would give him, to ſucceed to the crown of England, if there ſhould be occaſion, as by the riches he would acquire in ſuppreſſing the monaſteries of Scotland. As James was very greedy of money, Henry did not queſtion ſucceeding by this ſecond means, tho' the firſt ſhould prove ineffectual. He was, therefore, extremely vexed to ſee himſelf diſappointed of his hopes, by the king his nephew's refuſal to meet him at York. He found the new queen had too grat an influence over him, and even ſuſpected it to be the effect of the intrigues of the pope, the emperor, and perhaps, the king of France. So, deſpairing to ſucceed in his project, by fair means, he reſolved to try to accompliſh it by force. 1542.

The deſign of the war.

Scotland was little able to reſiſt England, without the aſſiſtance of France; but Francis was ſo employed, that there was no likelihood of his interpoſing in the quarrel; Henry hoped therefore, if he could gain, at firſt, ſome advantage, he ſhould render the Scots leſs intractable, and more eaſily diſpoſe the king, his nephew, to hearken to his propoſals. Thus, the war he intended to wage with Scotland, was properly deſigned to oblige the Scots to a compliance with his deſires, and not founded upon caprice only, or to be revenged of the affront he received, as the hiſtorians pretend. However, as he could not diſcover the real motives, without doing himſelf a prejudice, he pretended a violation of the truce, James's denial of ſome lands of ſmall value, lying on the frontiers, and his reception of ſome Engliſh rebels. But as all this was not very capable of deceiving the world, he bethought himſelf of reviving the old pretenſions of the kings of England, to the ſovereignty of Scotland. To that purpoſe, he ſet out a long declaration, in which was inſerted the memorial largely ſpoken of, in the reigns of Edward I, and Henry VII, containing the pretended proofs of the homage, Scotland had formerly paid to England. This declaration was, however, ſo ambiguouſly expreſſed, that it plainly appeared, Henry was willing to have it in his power to quit his pretenſions, without injuring his honour. It is entirely needleſs to repeat the contents of the memorial; it will ſuffice to obſerve, that the Engliſh writers ſpeak of it, as if the ſovereignty of the kings of England over Scotland was there demonſtrated, and the bare citation of it ſufficient to carry the cauſe. Doctor Burnet, tho' a Scotchman, ſeems to give into this opinion, univerſally ſpread in England, ſince he ſpeaks of this memorial in his Hiſtory of the Reformation, without making any remarks. Perhaps, he did not think proper to combat the ſentiments of the Engliſh without any neceſſity, in reſpect to his Hiſtory.

A war with Scotland. Herbert.

Henry publiſhed not his declaration, till his army, was juſt entering Scotland. His deſign was to ſurpriſe the Scots, which he believed the more eaſy, as there appeared to be no juſt cauſe of breach between the two kingdoms. However, king James hearing that ſoldiers were raiſing in England, put himſelf in a poſture of defence, in caſe he ſhould be attacked. In the interim, he ſent two ambaſſadors to the king, his uncle, to ſee to content him, if poſſible, or, at leaſt, to gain time, till the king of

1542. of France could aſſiſt him. Theſe ambaſſadors were long detained, at the court of England, upon frivolous pretences, and whilſt Henry was making his preparations, he gave them no anſwer; nay, they were not ſuffered to return, but with the army, which was to enter their country, commanded by the duke of Norfolk, and where they were as priſoners. Two other ambaſſadors of Scotland, who were going to London, meeting the Engliſh upon their march, were alſo detained, till the army arrived at Berwick.

Buchanan. Burnet. Hall.

In the interim, king James hearing the duke of Norfolk was marching towards the north, at the head of 20,000 men, ſent a body of 10,000 to the frontiers, commanded by George Gordon, expecting the reſt of the troops, who were marching from ſeveral parts to join him. But Gordon could not hinder the duke of Norfolk from entering Scotland, about the end of October, and ravaging the country north of the Tweed. After this ſhort expedition, the Engliſh army retired to Berwick, the ſeaſon which was now very bad, preventing them from advancing any farther. In the mean time, king James ordered the lord Maxwell to march with 15000 men, whilſt the Engliſh were retiring to Berwick. The Scots pretend, upon the news of Maxwell's march, the Engliſh retreated in ſuch confuſion, that they might have been eaſily defeated, if, Gordon had ventured to attack them, and that the king was extremely angry with him for this diſappointment. However this be, James heading his army, in perſon, held a council of war, and appeared fully reſolved to give battle, let what would be the conſequence. But he was alone of that opinion. On the contrary, the danger to which the kingdom would be expoſed, in caſe of a defeat, was ſtrongly repreſented to him. In ſhort, as he would not alter his reſolution, the generals and nobles told him, they would not obey him, if, without any neceſſity, he obſtinately expoſed the kingdom to ſo manifeſt a hazard. This oppoſition threw him into a fury. He ſwore he would puniſh their diſobedience, and called them all traytors, ſince they hindered him from obtaining, as he thought, a certain victory. Cardinal Beaton inſpired him with this notion, by telling him, it was impoſſible for ſuch hereticks as the Engliſh, to conquer him. The truth is, James was a little diſturbed in his fancy, ever ſince he had unjuſtly put to death a nephew of the duke of Albany, whoſe apparition was ever preſent to his imagination. So being extremely troubled to be thus diſobeyed, he left the command of the army to the lord Maxwell, with orders to march towards the enemy, and remained himſelf within diſtance to joyn him, in caſe there was occaſion to fight. But a few days after, as he was extremely incenſed with his generals, and grealy miſtruſted them, he gave a commiſſion, in ſorm, to Oliver Sinclair, his minion, to command the army. The new general, very unfit for ſuch a poſt, repairing to the camp, cauſed his patent to be publickly read, at which all were offended. This bred ſuch diſcontent among the troops, that they began to disband, when a body of 500 Engliſh horſe appeared on a hill, where they were poſted to watch the motions of the enemy. This ſight increaſed the confuſion among the Scotch troops, who imagined the whole Engliſh army was approaching to give battle. In this condition, being without a general, ſince Maxwell's commiſſion was revoked, and none would obey Sinclair, they choſe to retire in a fright, which permitted them not to look back, and obſerve the ſmall number of their enemies. The Engliſh horſe ſeeing them fly, with ſuch precipitation, cloſely purſued them, and without meeting any reſiſtance, ſlew great numbers, took priſoners ſeven lords, 200 gentlemen, 800 ſoldiers, with 24 pieces of ordnance. Never was victory ſo eaſily won. Among the chief priſoners were, the earls of Glencairn and Caſſilis, the lords Maxwell, Somerville, Oliphant, Gray, and Oliver Sinclair, the king's favourite.

1542.

The rout of the Scotch army. Buchanan.

The news of this rout, threw king James into a diſmal melancholy, to which he was already too much inclined. He fancied, his generals and nobles had betrayed him, and, in this belief, reſolved to put moſt of them to death. His vexation was ſtill increaſed, upon hearing that a herald, ſent by the duke of Norfolk, was murdered by an Engliſh refugee. He, immediately, apprehended the ill conſequences of ſuch an accident, after his late misfortune. So imagining it would be impoſſible to free himſelf from his preſent embarraſſment, he could not withſtand his immoderate grief, which brought him to his grave, the 14th of December, 1542. His death happened ſeven days after the birth of a princeſs, called Mary, of whom his queen was delivered, and who was his only heir. A little before, he loſt two ſons in one day.

The death of the king of Scotland. Buchanan. Hall.

The king of Scotland is reſolved to fight.

The nobles refuſe to follow him. Buchanan.

Henry not knowing what paſſed in Scotland, had ordered the Scotch priſoners to be brought to London, where they arrived the 19th of December; and the next day, they were conducted thro' the city from the tower where they had been confined, to Weſtminſter, where the king was pleaſed to ſee and talk with them. He expoſtulated with them, for having, by their pernicious counſels, perſuaded their king to quarrel with him, and told them they juſtly bore the puniſhment of a war, raiſed by themſelves. Nevertheleſs, as he intended to make uſe of them to procure ſuch a peace as he deſired, he ended his diſcourſe with ſome obliging expreſſions, and granted them more liberty, by putting them in the cuſtody of ſeveral noblemen. The earl of Caſſilis had the good fortune to fall into the hands of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and to receive from him, during his ſhort ſtay at London, ſuch inſtructions as induced him to embrace the reformation, when he returned to his own country.

Henry orders the priſoners to be brought to London. Hall. Stow.

A few days after, the news of the birth of Mary, princeſs of Scotland, and of the king her father's death arriving together, Henry thought it a favourable juncture to unite Scotland to England, by marrying his ſon Edward to the new queen of Scotland. He cauſed the captive

He projects a match between his ſon and the new queen of Scotland.

1542. tive lords to be ſounded, and finding them inclined to ſecond the overture, ſet them at liberty, on condition they would give hoſtages for their return, in caſe the project of the marriage did not ſucceed. This condition being accepted, they were conducted to Newcaſtle, from whence they returned into their country. We ſhall ſee, preſently, what was the iſſue of this project.

1543. The parliament; grants the king a ſubſidy. Herbert.

The parliament of England meeting the 22d of January, granted the king a ſubſidy, as well for his charges in the war with Scotland, as for his other occaſions. By that was meant, a war with France, of which there was no longer room to doubt, ſince the king was upon the point of concluding a league with the emperor. The union which was going to be formed between theſe two monarchs, was like to be ſo favourable to the adherents of Rome and the old religion, that they queſtioned not but the deſtruction of the reformation, in England, was approaching. However, at this very time they had the mortification to ſee an act of parliament paſſed, which much checked their hopes. This act, moved, and at length obtained by Cranmer, ran, that lords, gentlemen, merchants, might have, in their houſes, an Engliſh bible, with ſome other religious books, mentioned in the act, for the inſtruction of their families; but it was expreſly forbid to print, ſell, buy, or keep any other religious books, and to preach or ſpeak againſt the ordinance of the year 1540. There was alſo a very conſiderable clauſe, in this ſtatute, that the offenders, if eccleſiaſticks, ſhould not be condemned to be burnt, till the third offence; and the puniſhment of the laity, not extend beyond forfeiture of goods and chattels, and perpetual impriſonment. Moreover, the act allowed the party accuſed, to bring witneſſes for his own purgation, which had never been practiſed before, in the caſe of hereſy. Laſtly, it was enacted, that the accuſed ſhould be tried within a year, at fartheſt, after the indictment. But on the other hand, the law of the ſix articles was confirmed, and the parliament left it in the king's power to annul or alter the act, at his pleaſure. By this laſt clauſe, the king ſtill continued to be maſter of the lives of the reformed, ſince by repealing this act, he could proſecute them upon the former ſtatutes.

Henry concludes a league with the emperor. Act. Pub.

A fortnight after the parliament broke up, Henry concluded with the emperor, a league, which, however, was not publiſhed till June. It was not the intereſt of England, that the king ſhould join with the emperor to render him more powerful, he being already but too potent. On the contrary, it would have been much more proper, in order to keep the balance even, to have aſſiſted France; at leaſt, it is undeniable, that a neutrality would have been advantageous to the Engliſh. But the king's paſſion ran counter to the nation's intereſt. He was extremely diſſatisfied with Francis, upon ſeveral accounts. In the firſt place, he obſerved in him a great indifference for his concerns, ever ſince he had not wanted his aſſiſtance. Secondly, he perceived, at length, that all his promiſes to renounce, like him, the papal authority, tended only to amuſe him. He knew, Francis, on ſeveral occaſions, had blamed his conduct, with reſpect to religion; and ridiculed his marriages. In the next place, he paid neither the yearly penſion of 100,000 crowns, nor that of 10,000 for the ſalt of Brouage, tho' bound by divers treaties. As for the debt of 2,000,000, Francis, indeed, could produce acquittances for good part of that ſum, but then Henry had received no money, the acquittances being in lieu of the ſuccours he had voluntarily promiſed to lend him, in his former wars. However, there was a round ſum ſtill left unpaid, and the debtor never endeavoured to ſatisfy him. Moreover, Henry had preſented the king of France with what was due to him from the emperor, ſolely on condition he would perform the treaties, and complained, Francis had not been punctual. But what moſt offended Henry, was, the obſtacles Francis had raiſed him, in Scotland, by means of a faction, which openly oppoſed his deſigns. Here was ſufficient cauſe for a breach, if the nation's intereſt had been the ſame with the king's; but in ſuch an oppoſition, ſeldom does it happen that the people's advantage prevails over the ſovereign's. Henry reſolved, therefore, to make the king of France ſenſible, that it was worth his while to have ſhewn a greater regard for him, and to this end, choſe to be reconciled with the emperor, and join in a league with him. 1543.

The advantages of this league on the emperor's ſide.

Charles V. deſired nothing more earneſtly; for he plainly ſaw, that with the aſſiſtance of England, he ſhould ſoon bring the king of France to reaſon, and deſtroy all his hopes of recovering Milan by arms. His conſtant fear of Henry's uniting with France and the German Proteſtants, cauſed him to conſider the alliance with England, as what would enable him to accompliſh his ambitious deſigns. He found his account much better in hindering Francis from ſetting foot again in Italy, and, in ſubduing the Proteſtants, than in executing, or rather in trying to execute the pope's ſentence againſt Henry; an undertaking which, probably, would not have ended to his honour. Beſides, the death of queen Catharine, his aunt, had much leſſened, and it may be entirely ſtifled, his deſire to revenge her. So, at the very time he was complaining to all the princes of Europe, that Francis held private intelligence with the Infidels, he ſcrupled not to court the alliance of an excommunicated king, who, according to the principles of the Romiſh church, ought not to have been looked upon with leſs horror than the Turk. One ſingle difficulty retarded the concluſion of this alliance. The emperor would have Mary, queen Catharine's daughter, acknowledged for legitimate, which Henry obſtinately refuſed; nay, he could not grant it without condemning his divorce with Catharine, and all his proceedings upon that occaſion. He promiſed, however, that purſuant to the power granted him by parliament, he would give Mary a place in the ſucceſſion; but would never conſent, this article ſhould be inſerted in the treaty. The emperor's

1543. emperor's friends, in England, adviſed him to be ſatisfied with this verbal promiſe, apprehenſive as they were that the league, from whence they expected great advantages, would be delayed by this obſtacle. Bonner, biſhop of London, who had been ſent into Spain for this negotiation, willingly and ardently endeavoured to accompliſh it, in hopes, that an union between the emperor and the king, would re-eſtabliſh religion, in England, upon the ſame foot as before the divorce.

The treaty of league between the emperor and Henry. Act. Pub.

The treaty was, therefore, concluded at London, the 11th of February, 1543. It contained a league for England only, with what Henry held in Picardy; and on the emperor's part, for the provinces of the Low-Countries under his dominion, without any mention of Spain or Germany. The league was to this effect:

That the emperor and the king of England ſhould ſend ambaſſadors to the king of France, to declare to him, that by his ſollicitations only the Turks had invaded Chriſtendom; that, therefore, the two confederate monarchs exhorted him to break his alliance with the Infidels, to hold them for enemies, and renounce his correſpondence with them. That they demanded, moreover, he ſhould ſatisfy the damages done to Chriſtendom, by his calling in thoſe cruel enemies; that he ſhould give over the war he had begun in ſeveral places, that the emperor might apply himſelf to the defence of Chriſtendom; that he ſhould cauſe the town of Maran, taken by the Turks, to be reſtored to king Ferdinand, and to the emperor, Caſtro-novo, which they had beſieged with the aſſiſtance of 12 French gallies; that he ſhould repair the loſſes the Germans had ſuſtained by the Turkiſh invaſion; and laſtly, that he ſhould ſatisfy the king of England for whatever he owed him, and give him ſecurity for the payment of the 100,000 crowns.

After theſe preliminaries, the two confederate monarchs agreed, that they would not make peace or truce, but upon theſe conditions; that Francis ſhould pay the king of England whatever was due to him, and for ſecurity of the yearly penſion, ſurrender into his hands the earldom of Ponthieu, Boulogne, Montreuil, Ardres and Terouenne, free from all homage, for which, however, Henry ſhould conſent that the annual revenues thence ariſing, ſhould be in lieu of the penſion; moreover, that Francis ſhould reſtore to the emperor, the duchy of Burgundy.

That, if the king of France ſhould delay but 10 days to accept theſe conditions, the two confederate monarchs ſhould proclaim war againſt him, with a declaration that they would never make peace, till the king of England was in poſſeſſion of Normandy, Guienne, and the kingdom of France, and the emperor of Abbeville, Amiens, Bray, Corbeil, Peronne, Ham, St. Quintin, and the whole duchy of Burgundy.

Laſtly, They agreed, that each ſhould take the field, and invade France with 25000 men, of whom 5000 ſhould be cavalry.

* This is Buchanan's character of him. Rapin.

1543. Theſe were vaſt projects; but theſe princes were too wiſe to imagine, that with 25000 men each, they were able to conquer France; wherefore, it is likely they agreed in the treaty, to bring into the field ſo ſmall a number of troops, only to engage Francis to make preparations accordingly. And, indeed, we ſhall ſee hereafter, that they invaded France with above 100,000 men. 1543.

Henry's chief view.

One of the chief reaſons why Henry joined in a league with the emperor, was to find the king of France ſo much employment at home, that it ſhould not be in his power to break his meaſures, for the union of Scotland with England, by a marriage between Mary and prince Edward. Henry had this affair extremely at heart, and very juſtly, as it is eaſy to imagine; but unhappily for him, there was a queen dowager, in Scotland, of the houſe of Lorrain, and a cardinal archbiſhop of St. Andrews, who being both devoted to France and the pope, laboured with all their power to defeat his projects. As the affairs of Scotland will be very ſoon intermixt with thoſe of England, it is abſolutely neceſſary to ſee what paſſed in that country, after the deceaſe of James V, without which it would be very difficult to underſtand what will be ſaid hereafter.

The affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

After the death of James V, Scotland was in a very ill ſituation. The late king had not ſettled the regency during his daughter's minority. The next heir to Mary, was James Hamilton, earl of Arran, a perſon of a very mean genius, a lover of books and eaſe, but little capable of managing the publick affairs, and ſtill leſs thoſe of war*. He had ſhewn ſome inclination for the new religion, and thereby rendered himſelf as much ſuſpected and odious to the clergy, as agreeable to thoſe who had embraced the reformation. The queen dowager, ſiſter to the cardinal of Lorrain and the duke of Guiſe, had an extreme averſion to the reformed; and this averſion was cheriſhed, by cardinal Beaton, archbiſhop of St. Andrews, a violent and cruel man, who had already given ſeveral proofs of his barbarous temper, towards thoſe who embraced the new religion. Moſt of the lords who, by their counſels, could have ſupported the ſtate in ſuch a juncture, where either ſlain in the late rout, or in the hands of the Engliſh. But tho' they had been alive, or in Scotland, it would have been very difficult to ſucceed; for there had long been ſuch a diviſion among the nobles, that what one moved was ſure to be oppoſed by another. This was the conſequence of the factions, raiſed by the kings of France and England, in the kingdom, and which were continued by different opinions in religion. To all theſe evils was added that of a war againſt a powerful neighbour, who had juſt gained a very conſiderable advantage, and could eaſily improve the conſternation, all Scotland was under.

In the midſt of this confuſion, cardinal Beaton ſeeing none able to withſtand him, formed the deſign of ſeiſing the regency. To this end, he forged a will for the late king, wherein he

1543. was appointed regent or viceroy, during Mary's minority, with three counſellors, or aſſiſtants, of whom the earl of Arran was one, and cauſed it to be publiſhed, till the parliament ſhould meet and confirm it. In the interim, he ſtrove by all ſorts of ways, to gain proper perſons to ſupport him, as well among the people, as among the great men. The queen dowager was the firſt that declared for him.

But, whilſt the cardinal was labouring to ſtrengthen his party, the friends and relations of the earl of Arran, were earneſtly ſolliciting him, not to yield the regency to one who had no right to it. They repreſented to him, that the will, on which the cardinal grounded his pretenſions, was a forgery, becauſe the late king never valued him, ſo as to commit the regency to him, to the prejudice of the princes of the blood; that it was a contrivance to deſtroy the Hamiltons, with their whole party, and hinder the progreſs of the reformation; that the cardinal was known to be a man of ill principles, of little or no conſcience, cruel, and ſuperſtitious, and, if once he had the power in his hand, the flames of perſecution would quickly be kindled, all over the kingdom, not only againſt the reformed, but againſt all, in general, who would not, blindly, ſubmit to his orders; that, infallibly, the princes of the blood, and the chief of the nobles, would be firſt ſacrificed to his ambition and jealouſy. The earl of Arran was of a peaceable temper, and without ambition; for, if he had followed his own inclination, he would have left the cardinal, quietly, to enjoy the authority he had uſurped; but his friends having, in a manner, forced him, by their remonſtrances, to proſecute the right due to his birth, he reſolved to demand the regency, and ſhew the forgery of the pretended will, on which the cardinal reſted.

Hall. Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, the priſoners, who had been releaſed, came to Scotland, and, with them, Archibald Douglaſs, earl of Angus, and William Douglaſs, his brother, who had been 15 years exiles, in England. By their arrival, the earl of Arran's party was, conſiderably, ſtrengthened, whereas the cardinal loſt many followers, who had joined with him more out of fear than affection. It was publickly ſaid, that the earl of Arran's right was indiſputable, tho' the king had capriciouſly diſpoſed of the regency, in favour of the cardinal, which, however, was incredible. The parliament meeting, in March, the will was examined, and, the forgery being detected, the cardinal was removed, and, the earl of Arran declared regent, with, almoſt, unanimous conſent. It was not without reaſon, that moſt of the lords and nobles, were deſirous to free themſelves from the dominion of cardinal Beaton; for, before the parliament met, a paper was found, written with the king's own hand, wherein were ſet down, the names of 300 lords and gentlemen, whom he had reſolved to diſpatch. As moſt of theſe, proſcribed perſons, were of the reformed religion, or favoured the reformation, it was not doubted, that the cardinal had, greatly, contributed, to put the king upon this barbarous reſolution, by repreſenting to him, that thoſe who had refuſed to fight againſt the Engliſh, were ſecret friends of the king of England, and favourers of the new opinions. It is certain, many of the nobility were of the reformed religion, or well-wiſhers to the reformation. The earl of Arran was of this number, and upon that account was ſo well ſupported, when he demanded the regency, becauſe thoſe of the new religion intended to make him their protector; but this was an ill choice, the earl's unactive and timorous temper rendering him very unfit to ſupport the party, who put themſelves under his protection. 1543.

Whilſt the parliament was ſitting, Henry ſent an ambaſſador to Scotland, to propoſe the marriage of prince Edward, his ſon, with the young queen, according to the agreement with the captive lords. The ambaſſador was furniſhed with a good ſum of money, to facilitate the negotiation, Henry knowing, by experience, how effectual that means was in Scotland. The queen and cardinal Beaton, uſed all their credit and addreſs, to cauſe the overture to be rejected; but, as their party was too weak, to balance the king of England's, the cardinal made it his buſineſs, to confound all the conferences held upon this occaſion, by long ſpeeches, affected diſputes, invectives againſt the contrary party, with deſign to raiſe quarrels, which would obſtruct the concluſion of this affair. His artifices being, at laſt, perceived, he was confined to a room, till the debates were ended. The moment the cardinal no longer appeared, the king of England's propoſal was accepted, without much difficulty, and the parliament appointed ambaſſadors to go and treat, at London, with the king, concerning a peace, and the marriage. George Douglaſs, the earl of Angus's brother, and ſome other lords, were charged with this negotiation, which ended, at length, in two treaties, concluded at London, the 1ſt of July, 1543. The firſt was, to ſettle a good and firm peace between the two kingdoms; and the ſecond, for the marriage of prince Edward, with the young queen of Scotland. Henry did all he could, to have Mary put into his hands; but the Scotch ambaſſadors not conſenting, it was, at laſt, agreed, ſhe ſhould not be brought into England, till ſhe was 10 years of age; that, in the interim, the parliament of Scotland ſhould appoint four lords, to take care of her education, and Henry might add a fifth, of his own nation, to convey his advices to the governors; that the parliament of Scotland ſhould give the king ſix hoſtages of diſtinction, for ſecurity, that the marriage ſhould be conſummated.

Henry propoſes to the Scots, the marriage of their queen with prince Edward. Hall.

A treaty between England and Scotland. Act. Pub.

This affair being ended, the cardinal had a little more liberty granted him, by being given in cuſtody to the lord Seaton; but that lord, ſuffering himſelf to be corrupted by his priſoner, afforded him means to make his eſcape. As ſoon as he was at liberty, he uſed all Buchanan.

1543. all his art to break the treaties with England, wherein he was, powerfully, aſſiſted by the queen dowager; and, as they were both firmly attached to France, and the old religion, they could not ſee, without extreme grief, the alliance lately concluded with a prince, whom they looked upon as a heretick, and whoſe intereſts had, for ſome time, been contrary to thoſe of Francis I. They plainly perceived, this alliance was capable of producing great alterations, as well in church, as ſtate, and would, infallibly, deſtroy the antient union between France and Scotland. To prevent this, the cardinal aſſembled, at his houſe, the heads of the clergy, and repreſenting to them, that religion was in danger, he obtained a large contribution, to aſſiſt him, to ſupport it. This money ſerved him to maintain his creatures, and gain ſome of the contrary party. In a word, he ſo well caballed, that he, quickly, put things in extreme confuſion. By his ſollicitations, and intrigues, he ſo managed, that the priſoners, who had been releaſed, reſolved not to go and redeem their hoſtages. The earl of Caſſilis, alone, could not be prevailed with, upon any conſideration to break his word. In ſhort, the cardinal's party being grown very numerous, by his liberalities, ſtrongly oppoſed the ſending of the hoſtages promiſed to the king of England, by the treaty. Beſides this, the cardinal reſolving, at any rate, to ſet the two nations at variance, cauſed the Engliſh ambaſſador to be highly affronted, by ſome of his party, and his ſervants to be inſulted. But the ambaſſador, knowing how deſirous the king, his maſter, was, that the treaties ſhould be executed, bore all with patience, for fear of raiſing an unſeaſonable quarrel, which he ſaw to be the cardinal's deſign. Thus, the cardinal had brought things to ſuch a paſs, that the regent, who wanted reſolution, tried, in vain, to ſtop theſe violent proceedings, ſince his commands were, openly, diſobeyed.

At laſt, the day being come, that the three hoſtages were to be delivered, the Engliſh ambaſſador demanded them of the regent, complaining, withal, of the affronts he had received. The regent told him, "He was "very ſorry any diſreſpect had been ſhewn "to his perſon, and character, and would "give him, at a more convenient ſeaſon, "what ſatisfaction he deſired, but, at preſent, it was no proper juncture; that he "was, himſelf, witneſs of the troubles raiſed "by the cardinal, and how contemptible the "authority of the government was rendered, "by that prelate's cabals; as for the hoſtages, it was no longer in his power to put "them into his hands, ſince the cardinal, and "his whole party, were againſt it, who were, "now, grown too ſtrong to be compelled." The ambaſſador was, ſufficiently, convinced of the truth of what the regent ſaid; and, as he ſaw little appearance of a change in favour of the king, his maſter, he contented himſelf with ſummoning the priſoners to return to England, according to their promiſe. But in that, he ſucceeded no better; for they refuſed to return, tho' they were releaſed only upon parole. The earl of Caſſilis, alone, abhorring the perfidiouſneſs of his fellow-priſoners, ſet out for London, and put himſelf into the king's hands. This action met with its due reward; for Henry very civilly received the earl, commending his faithfulneſs, and, making him rich preſents, diſmiſſed him without ranſom. In the interim, finding his party in Scotland was neither very ſtrong, nor firm enough to his intereſt, he reſolved to proclaim war with that kingdom. He might eaſily have ſubdued it, ſome months before, if he would have taken advantage of the conſternation of the Scots, after their defeat, and the death of their ſovereign. 1543.

The queen and the cardinal, having accompliſhed their enterpriſe, with reſpect to a rupture with England, conſidered of means to procure the government of the kingdom, by ſupplanting the earl of Arran, head of the contrary faction. Indeed, they did not much fear the earl, as they had lately ſhewn; but he bore the title of regent, and very poſſibly, by the counſels of the able men of his party, and the king of England's aſſiſtance, he might find means, in the end, to make himſelf formidable. The war, Henry had juſt proclaimed againſt Scotland, afforded them an opportunity to execute their project. They repreſented to the king of France, "That it was "almoſt impoſſible for Scotland, to maintain "a war againſt England, without a powerful "aſſiſtance from him; that the earl of Arran, regent of the kingdom, favoured the "Engliſh; and, inſtead of oppoſing them, "would certainly make uſe of them, to "eſtabliſh his authority, and compleat the "queen's projected marriage; that, probably, "this marriage would break the old alliance "between France and Scotland, and produce a "ſtrict union between Scotland and England; "that he might plainly ſee, how much he "was, himſelf, concerned in a war, which, "as it would, infallibly, be unſucceſsful, "would cauſe him to loſe Scotland; that, "indeed, they perceived how difficult it was "for him to aſſiſt them, when he wanted all "his forces againſt the emperor; but they "had deviſed an expedient to gain time, in "breaking the meaſures of the contrary party. The expedient was, that he ſhould "ſend over Matthew Stuart, earl of Lenox, who was in France, that they might "oppoſe him to the Hamiltons, whoſe ſworn "enemy he was, becauſe they had killed his "father; that this lord, being in Scotland, "would be, immediately, acknowledged for "head of the party, againſt the regent, and, "by the aſſiſtance they were ready to ſend "him, would become ſo ſuperior, that it "would not be poſſible for the regent to execute his deſigns, in favour of England." The better to perſuade the earl of Lenox to come to Scotland, they put him in hopes of marrying the queen dowager, and of being placed on the throne, in caſe the young queen died before ſhe was married. They told him, this would be ſo much the eaſier, as before the

The queen and cardinal's artifices to ſeiſe the government. Burnet.

1543. the birth of Mary, the late king had deſigned him for his ſucceſſor, tho' farther removed than the earl of Arran, becauſe he looked upon this laſt as a baſtard, by reaſon of the unlawfulneſs of his father's marriage. Theſe remonſtrances had the deſired effect. Francis I, glad to ſtrengthen his party in Scotland, without being forced to ſend great ſupplies, ſent away the earl of Lenox, with all ſpeed, promiſing him his protection.

The cardinal hinders the regent from having the queen's perſon in his power.

In the interim, the regent having ſome notice of this project, reſolved to ſupport himſelf, by becoming maſter of the queen's perſon, then in the caſtle of Limnuch, or Linlithgoe; but as he was not ſecret enough, the cardinal, who was informed of it, came to Linlithgoe well attended, in order to hinder the queen's removal. Soon after, the earl of Lenox arrived from France, and after ſaluting the regent, withdrew to his own houſe where he aſſembled his friends, to conſult with them what was beſt to be done. He acquainted them with the motives of his return, and the hopes given him of being put in poſſeſſion of the regency, the queen-mother, if the young queen happened to die. The friends he conſulted, being all enemies to the regent, they unanimouſly adviſed him to improve the preſent opportunity, and each made him an offer of his perſon, his eſtate, his vaſſals, and his friends. So the earl being determined to purſue his point, drew together 4000 men, and putting himſelf at their head, came to the queen, under pretence of guarding her againſt the attempts of the regent, for fear ſhe ſhould be delivered to the enemies of the kingdom. Indeed, the earl of Arran had reſolved to ſecure her, nay, was preparing to execute his deſign; but when he found himſelf prevented, and conſidered, the queen could not be got out of the hands of the earl of Lenox, without coming to an open war, he ſent to treat of an agreement. Lenox conſented, on condition the queen ſhould for the future, be educated in Sterling-caſtle, and four neutral lords, whom both parties could equally truſt, appointed to guard her, and take care of her education. The four lords being choſen and approved of, the queen was removed to Sterling-caſtle, where, a few days after, ſhe was crowned.

The regent fides with the queen and the cardinal.

The regent ſeeing the party of his enemies daily gathered ſtrength, believed himſelf unable to withſtand the ſtorm, which was forming againſt him; ſo, his courage and reſolution failing him, when moſt wanted, he choſe to give way to the torrent, rather than ſtrive, in vain, as he thought, to reſiſt it. Perſuaded as he was, that he ſhould be too weak to oppoſe the queen-mother and the cardinal, he believed he ought to alter his meaſures, and ſtrictly unite with them. But even here, he met with difficulties, which he could not ſurmount, without acting againſt his conſcience; for he had, hitherto, almoſt openly profeſſed the new religion; but the queen and the cardinal, as they could not reſolve to be reconciled to him, ſo long as he was engaged in the party of the reformed, managed him ſo well, that, at laſt, they perſuaded him to abjure, in the church of the Franciſcans, at Sterling. By this action, he loſt all his old friends, and was reduced to depend upon the contrary party, with whom the cardinal had more power than himſelf. From thenceforward, he was wholly guided by the counſels of that prelate, who was the true regent, whilſt the earl, that bore the name, was only the ſhadow. 1543.

The queen and the cardinal try to ſend back the earl of Lenox to France.

When the queen and the cardinal, were poſſeſſed of the government, they were at a loſs about the earl of Lenox, to whom they were no longer willing to perform their promiſe; ſo their chief care was to be rid of this lord, who greatly embarraſſed them. They agreed, therefore, to deſire the king of France to recall him, and whilſt an anſwer was expected, the queen ſhould continue to cheriſh his hopes, but withal ſhould uſe ſundry artifices to put off her marriage, concerning which he began to be very urgent with her. This project was executed, as it had been reſolved. The queen, for ſome time, amuſed her lover, who, not ſuſpecting what was contriving againſt him, ſpent his time in procuring her diverſions, imagining, that would haſten his marriage; but the queen ſtill found ſome freſh excuſe to defer it. This behaviour, at laſt, bred in him ſuſpicions, which were confirmed by ſome friend of greater penetration, or better informed than himſelf. He heard the queen and the cardinal had wrote to the court of France, that nothing could be more prejudicial to the king's intereſt, than his ſtay in Scotland, ſince they had gained the regent to their ſide.

The earl of Lenox takes up arms.

Lenox was ſo provoked, at being, thus, mocked, that he ſwore to be revenged, and without taking leave of the queen and the cardinal, retired to Dunbarton. In the interim, Francis, who was not yet informed of the alterations, in Scotland, ſent 30,000 crowns to the earl of Lenox, to be diſtributed among thoſe of the party, or to gain ſome of their adverſaries. By theſe means, the court of France had long maintained a faction, in Scotland, whilſt the court of England oppoſed her by the ſame methods. This money arriving, when Lenox was at Dunbarton, he ſent part to the lords, who had the care of the young queen, and gave ſome to his own friends; but the cardinal had none, tho' he had flattered himſelf with having the beſt ſhare, and expected it with impatience. He was ſo very angry, that he perſuaded the regent, to raiſe an army and ſurpriſe Glaſcow, where Lenox was retired with his money. The preparations which were making, at court, tho' under other pretences, giving the earl of Lenox ſuſpicion they were deſigned againſt him, he reſolved to put himſelf in a poſture of defence. It was not difficult for him to draw forces together. The cardinal had many enemies, and the regent had loſt his friends, ſince they had been forſaken by him. So, the regent's levies were made very ſlowly, whilſt the earl's viſibly increaſed; for, within a few days, he raiſed 10,000 men, and ſent the cardinal word, he would ſave him the trouble of coming to Glaſcow. The cardinal received this defiance, with

1543. with a ſeeming contempt, and pretended to purſue his enterpriſe; but it was not his intention to come to a battle. He did not ſufficiently rely on the regent's experience, who was no warrior; beſides, he foreſaw, that by prolonging the time, he ſhould oblige his enemy to diſmiſs his troops, becauſe he wanted wherewithal to keep them long on foot.

The cardinal has all the power under the regent's name.

What the cardinal had foreſeen came to paſs; for the earl of Lenox finding himſelf deſtitute of money, and ſeeing the deſertion was great in his army, was forced, at laſt, to accept a peace that was offered him. He came to Edinburgh, where he was outwardly reconciled with the regent and the cardinal; after which, they went together to Sterling; but a few days after, having notice that the court had ill deſigns againſt him, he privately withdrew, and returning to Glaſcow, furniſhed the biſhop's palace, with a garriſon and ammunition, and ſhut himſelf up in Dunbarton. There he was informed, that the king of France had been ſo prejudiced againſt him, that there was no hope of obtaining his aſſiſtance for the future. Such was the ſituation of the affairs of Scotland, when Henry reſolved to renew the war againſt that kingdom. We muſt now ſee what paſſed in England.

The king's ſixth marriage. Herbert.

In July, Henry married his ſixth wife, the lady Catharine Parr, widow of John Nevil, lord Latimer, verifying what was only ſaid in raillery, upon the act paſſed in 1541, that the king muſt marry a widow. The new queen was a favourer of the reformed; but ſhe was to proceed with great caution, not to offend a husband, whoſe abſolute will it was, that none ſhould believe, but what was believed by himſelf; for which reaſon ſhe durſt not, juſt after her marriage, intercede for three Proteſtants, who were burnt at Windſor, at the inſtigation of Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter. This prelate never miſſed an opportunity, to exaſperate the king againſt thoſe who refuſed to ſubmit to the ſix articles; but he ſhewed not the ſame zeal againſt thoſe, who were attached to the pope. However, this affair went farther than he deſired, ſince it occaſioned the diſcovery of a plot, formed to ruin ſeveral families, at Windſor, upon falſe accuſations. The king was ſo offended at theſe diabolical practices, that he would have the affair thoroughly examined. The iſſue was, that the contrivers of the plot were carried on horſeback, with their faces to the horſe-tails, and then ſet in the pillory. It is ſaid, Gardiner had a great ſhare in this project; but he was a very crafty man, who knew how to conceal the hand that gave the blow, when he thought it dangerous to ſhow it.

Proteſtants burnt at Windſor. Burnet.

A plot againſt Cranmer. Burnet.

It was eaſy for the enemies of the reformation to perceive, that Cranmer moſt obſtructed the execution of their projects, and they ſhould never ſucceed ſo long as he was in favour with the king; whereupon, they reſolved to apply themſelves, before all things, to his deſtruction, after which, they imagined, the ruin of his whole party would follow of courſe. There were in this undertaking, two contrary things, whereof one ſeemed to promiſe good ſucceſs, and the other rendered the execution very difficult. The firſt was, the king ſeemed fully bent not to ſpare thoſe, who were called hereticks; that is, thoſe who did not entirely conform themſelves to the declaration of faith, lately publiſhed. Now every one knew the archbiſhop was of this number, tho' he uſed great caution not to give his enemies any advantage, either by word or deed. The ſecond was, the king's ſingular eſteem for the archbiſhop, againſt whom ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts had been made. Notwithſtanding this, his enemies thought, if they could convince the king, that Cranmer's opinions were very different from his, it would, in ſome meaſure, incenſe him. After that, they hoped the king would require of him, as of the reſt of his ſubjects, a blind ſubmiſſion, and that Cranmer's oppoſition, would deſtroy the king's affection for him. The buſineſs, therefore, was, to inſpire the king with ſuſpicions, which ſhould induce him to examine what were the archbiſhop's opinions upon religion. To this end, no occaſion was loſt, to hint to the king, that it was in vain, to puniſh hereticks, whilſt their chief ſupporters were ſuffered to live unmoleſted. Henry perceiving Cranmer was aimed at, made no anſwer, hoping his ſilence would demonſtrate, it was, in vain, to try to incenſe him againſt that prelate; but, at laſt, theſe inſinuations were ſo often repeated, that he ſeemed to give ear to them, in order to know their intent. He hearkened, therefore, to whatever was ſaid againſt Cranmer, and deſired to have the intended articles of accuſation, with the names of his accuſers. The duke of Norfolk, the biſhop of Wincheſter, and their party, believed the archbiſhop ruined, ſince the king was pleaſed to examine his conduct; but they took care not to make themſelves parties, their deſign being to appear unconcerned, to ſtrike the ſurer. They cauſed, therefore, the accuſation to be drawn by ſome prebendaries of Canterbury, and certain Kentiſh juſtices of the peace, whom they perſuaded to be his accuſers. The articles being put into the king's hands, he went in his barge to Lambeth, the archbiſhop's palace, on the other ſide of the Thames. Cranmer hearing the king was coming, haſtened down to his ſtairs, to receive him, and by his order went into the barge. When the king was alone with him, he lamented the growth of hereſy, in the kingdom, and told him, he was endeavouring to find out the chief encouragers of it, to puniſh them according to the utmoſt rigour of the law, about which he was come to ask his opinion. Cranmer replied, without any concern, that his zeal was laudable; but intreated him, for God's ſake, to conſider well what hereſy was, leaſt, inſtead of puniſhing hereticks, he fought againſt God. After ſome converſation upon this ſubject, the king told him, at laſt, he was the man, who was accuſed of being the protector and chief encourager of the hereticks, and then gave him the articles of accuſation againſt him. Cranmer peruſing them, fell on his knees, and freely owned to the king, he was ſtill of the ſame

1543.

He is accuſed to the king.

The king informs him of the whole plot and orders him to proceed againſt his accuſers.

1543. same mind he was of, when he opposed the six articles; but that he had done or said nothing against them. Then he humbly desired to be tried by the laws, because he was sure he should never be convicted of transgressing them; whereupon the king asked him, whether it was true that he was married. Cranmer confessed it, but said he had sent his wife to Germany, upon the passing of the act of the six articles. Henry, who had long seen about him only such as dissembled their sentiments, was charmed with the archbishop's candor and sincerity; and instead of being displeased with his confession, he could not forbear admiring his steddiness, which made him dare the greatest danger he had ever been in, and that he so wisely allied it, with an inviolable regard for the laws; wherefore he gave him a very sensible proof of his esteem and affection, in discovering to him the plot, his enemies had laid against him, naming his accusers, and ordering him to proceed against them. Cranmer excused himself; but the king told him, positively, he would be obeyed, and that he should name his judges himself. If Cranmer had been vindictive, he had a fair opportunity of being revenged on those who would have ruined him, and, particularly, on Gardiner, chief contriver of the plot, as appears in letters under his own hand; but he shewed so great backwardness to push this affair, that, at length, the king was tired with pressing him, since he did it so unwillingly. In the interim, he had not the less value for him; for soon after, one of his secret enemies, known for such, by the king, tho' he himself had no suspicion of him, desiring his assistance in a suit he had at court, he went, immediately, and spoke to the king, in his behalf. The king surprised to see him speak for this person, asked him if he knew him well; and upon his replying, that he took him for his Friend; "No, answered the king, "he is your mortal enemy, and I command "you, when you see him next, to call him "knave." Cranmer modestly replyed, such language did not become a bishop; but the king insisted upon his compliance; nevertheless Cranmer found means to be excused, and the king, content with admiring his goodness, would not press him any farther. Thus, the plot, contrived for the archbishop's ruin, served only to indear him the more to the king, and demonstrate to his enemies, how dangerous it was to attack him.

The queen's brother is made earl of Essex. Herbert.

The 23d of December, the king created the lord Parr, the queen's brother, earl of Essex, and conferred on Sir William Parr, her uncle, the title of lord Parr of Horton, with the office of chamberlain to the queen *.

Continuation of the war between the emperor and France. Bellay.

Whilst these things passed, in England, the war between the emperor and the king of France was carrying on, in several places. In the beginning of the campaign, Francis had some advantages, in the Low-Countries, where he took Landrecy, Emery, Bapaume, Maubeuge and Luxemburgh; but the emperor arriving, about the end of the summer, with a strong supply of Spanish troops, Francis, being inferior in number, was obliged to keep at some distance. This gave the emperor an opportunity to invest Landrecy, of which, however, he was forced to raise the siege, upon Francis's finding means to throw in succours; but he made himself amends, by taking Cambray. 1543.

Siege of Nice by the French and the Turks.

At the same time, Barbarossa, admiral of the Turks, coming to Marseilles, the beginning of July, with 110 Turkish gallies, found there the earl of Enghien, of the house of Bourbon, with 22 French gallies,; and, after their junction, they went together, and attacked Nice, the 10th August, and, on the 20th, became masters of the town; but the castle made so brave a defence, that the Turkish admiral, finding he lost both time and reputation, before the place, retired, and wintered in Provence, from whence he returned to Turky, the beginning of the spring. I shall say nothing of the war in Piedmont, because it produced no remarkable event,

1544. The emperor's and Henry's vast projects. Hall.

During this whole campaign, Henry assisted the emperor only with a small body of troops, under the conduct of Sir John Wallop; but they both formed vast projects, for the next year; for they intended to enter France, the one by Champagne, the other by Picardy, each at the head of 40,000 men, and to join about Paris. To execute this project, it was necessary to act with union, and a good understanding. So, Henry could not dispense with performing his promise to the emperor, to give the princess Mary a place in the succession. The parliament meeting the 14th of January, 1544, immediately, passed an act, settling the order of those who could pretend to the crown, after the the king's death. I have frequently observed, that the parliament was held in subjection, and did nothing but what the king pleased. Several instances have been seen, but none more flagrant than the following. In this act, prince Edward was ranked first, with his issue; in the second place, the heirs male, by the king's present, or future marriage, with their issue; in the third place, the princess Mary, and her line; and lastly, the princess Elizabeth, and her heirs. But there was no mention of the king's divorces with the queens, mothers to these two princesses. So notwithstanding the act, which approved and confirmed these divorces, and were never repealed, the parliament seemed to consider these princesses as legitimate, tho', before, they had been declared bastards, and, as such, excluded from the succession. On the other hand, to convince them, they were indebted to the king, their father, for this favour, the act made them liable to such limitations, or

* Also, some of the Irish nobility that came and submitted to king Henry, June 3, were, on July 1, advanced to the following honours; viz. William Boruck, or Bourk, alias Macwilliam, was created earl of Clanreckard, and baron Dunkellyn. Mawer Obrien, earl of Tomon, or Thomond, and baron Insykwyne. And Conaught Obrien, baron of Ibrackayn. Sir Conaught O-Neal came also, and made his submission to king Henry, and was created earl of Tyrone. Rymer's Fœd.

conditions,

1544. conditions, as the king ſhould pleaſe to declare, by his letters patents, on pain of forfeiting the right which was granted them. Moreover, in caſe of diſobedience, on their part, or if they died without heirs, the parliament gave the king power to ſettle the crown on any other, by his letters patents, or his laſt will, ſigned with his own hand. Was not this conſidering theſe two princeſſes as baſtards, ſince their right to the ſucceſſion, was made to depend on the king their father's pleaſure? Without pretending to queſtion the right of the king, and repreſentatives of the nation, to ſettle the ſucceſſion, as they pleaſe, I cannot forbear remarking, that this right was carried, on this occaſion, as far as it can be ſtretched. Suppoſing theſe two princeſſes baſtards, the parliament impowered the king to call them to the throne, contrary to the laws and cuſtoms of the realm, ſince the conqueſt; and, on the other hand, ſuppoſing them legitimate, they left the king free to exclude them from the ſucceſſion, contrary to the ſame laws and cuſtoms, ſince it was in his breaſt, to impoſe on them conditions, impoſſible to be performed. This was a power no king of England had ever enjoyed, and which ſhews, this act flowed not ſo much from the parliament, as from the king himſelf. To palliate, in ſome meaſure, theſe contradictions, care was taken not to mention, in the act, the king's divorces with Catharine and Ann. Only every one was free to gueſs the motives of the act, which was not very difficult, ſince there was no other, than that of complying with the king's will. By a clauſe, in this ſtatute, all perſons were obliged to take a new oath againſt the authority of the biſhop of Rome; which whoſoever refuſed, or ſhould break any of the articles of this act, was to be adjudged a traytor.

The king's title ſettled for ever.

By another act paſſed this ſame ſeſſion, the title of King of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland, was united for ever to the crown of England.

An act to limit the juriſdiction of the eccleſiaſtical courts.

By another it was enacted, that no perſon ſhould be indicted on the ſtatute of the ſix articles, but upon a preſentment by th e oaths of 12 men, before commiſſioners appointed by the king; that no perſon ſhould be impriſoned but upon an indictement; and laſtly, that the preſentment ſhould be made within 40 days after the pretended offence was committed, otherwiſe it ſhould be rejected. Hereby the eccleſiaſtical courts were tied up, in ſome meaſure, from oppreſſing the ſubjects, on pretence of hereſy, ſince the ſame privileges were allowed for that crime, as were enjoyed by the Engliſh, with regard to all other offences.

The parliament declares the king clear of all debts,

Laſtly, the parliament granted the king a ſubſidy, in a manner unheard of before, by enjoining, that thoſe who had lent him money, ſhould be obliged to forgive the debt. However unjuſt this act was, with reſpect to the particular perſons, who had lent the money, the parliament was not ſorry, the king deſired it, in order to put a ſtop to the cuſtom of loans, which in time would have rendered parliaments uſeleſs.

1544. and revive the authority to appoint commiſſioners.

The power formerly granted the king, was alſo revived, during life, of appointing commiſſioners to examine all canons and conſtitutions eccleſiaſteal, and to make the neceſſary alterations, which the king had, hitherto, neglected.

The lord Wriotheſley made chancellor.

Before the end of the ſeſſion, Thomas Wriotheſly, a great friend of the old religion, was made lord chancellor, in the room of the lord Audley, deceaſed.

The war in Piedmont. P. Daniel.

In the beginning of the year, Francis I, ſent into Piedmont, the earl of Enghien, who was but 22 years old, to take the command of the army, in the room of Boutiers, who had not been very ſucceſsful. This young prince engaging the marqueſs of Guaſto, at Ceriſoles, obtained, the 14th of April, a ſignal victory over him, which coſt the Imperialiſts 10,000 men, beſides the wounded and priſoners. In the conſternation the marqueſs of Guaſto was under, after the loſs of the battle, he would have found it very difficult to keep Milan for the emperor, if the earl of Enghien had not been ſtopped in the midſt of his career, by expreſs orders. As the king of France was informed, that the emperor and the king of England were to join and invade him in the center of his dominions, with an army of 80,000 foot, and 22,000 horſe, he deemed it more neceſſary to provide for the defence of his kingdom, than to think of making conqueſts in Italy. For this reaſon, he ordered the earl of Enghien, to ſend him 12000 men of his army. This diminution diſabled the young prince to reap any other advantage from his victory, than the taking of Carignano, which he reduced to the king's obedience.

A war with Scotland. Buchanan.

In the interim, the formidable armies which were to invade France, not being yet ready, Henry reſolved to make uſe of part of his troops, to finiſh the affair of Scotland, which he had ever at heart. Tho' he had declared war againſt Scotland, it was not to make conqueſts upon that kingdom, but ſolely to compel the Scots, by the terror of his arms, to agree to the marriage of their queen, with the prince, his ſon. He could not conceive, that in their preſent circumſtances, they could flatter themſelves with the hopes of ſucceſs, in a war ſo unequal and capable of ruining of Scotland in one ſingle campaign; but cardinal Beaton, an obſtinate man, if ever there was one, who governed in the regent's name, choſe rather to expoſe the kingdom, to become a prey to the Engliſh, than conſent to a peace, which could not be made without ruining his fortune. So Henry ſeeing it was neceſſary to preſs him more cloſely, reſolved to ſend into Scotland, part of the troops deſigned againſt France. The lord Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, and Sir John Dudley, lord Liſle, high-admiral, were appointed for this expedition. The former led the army to Newcaſtle, where the admiral arrived with a fleet and 200 tranſport ſhips, on which the troops embarqued. The earl of Hertford landing near

1544. near Leith, took that town, without difficulty, and then marched directly to Edinburgh, of which he became master, with the same ease. The regent and cardinal had not provided for their defence, imagining the king's menaces would be without effect. The city of Edinburgh, was sacked and burnt; but the English attacked not the castle, for fear of being engaged in too long a siege. After that, they returned to Leith, and burning the town, retired to Berwick the 18th of May. If Henry had resolved to improve his advantages, he would have subdued all Scotland, considering the great consternation of the Scots, upon this invasion. But two reasons prevented him. The first, that he wanted his troops to send them to France, where he intended also to go in person. The second, that his view, was only to let the Scots see, what they were to expect, if they did not speedily resolve to execute the treaty, for their queen's marriage, and he scarce doubted but this method would succeed. In the interim, it must have been thought very strange, that he should court the young queen of Scotland for the prince, his son, in so extraordinary a manner, and the world was of opinion, either he had done too much, or did not do enough.

The earl of Lenox sides with Henry. Buchanan.

Tho' Henry had withdrawn his army out of Scotland, he had not, however, relinquished his project of harrassing the Scots, till he forced them to agree to the marriage. To this end he improved an opportunity to give the regent and the cardinal, fresh disturbances. The earl of Lenox, as I said, having quitted the court, was retired to Dunbarton, the governor whereof was devoted to him, but found himself greatly embarrassed. His friends, in France, had informed him, that the king was exceedingly incensed against him, and accused him of having lavished away the money sent him, to maintain the war against the English. This was in effect what had been hinted to Francis, by the queen dowager, the regent, and the cardinal, who were seconded by the cardinal of Lorrain, and the duke of Guise. In this manner the French historians represent it. The earl, willing to clear himself, had sent a man into France, to acquaint the king with all that had passed in Scotland, since his arrival, and with the present situation of affairs; but the king, prepossessed by the cardinal of Lorrain, refused to give the messenger audience, nay, was going to order him to prison. The earl seeing himself thus forsaken, both by the king of France, and those, who had, at first, joined him, in Scotland, sent to the king of England, to know whether he would take him into his service, with the earl of Glencarn, his intimate friend. Henry received the overture more favourably, than the two lords durst have expected. He promised them his protection, on certain conditions, which he would settle with them, if they would send some trusty person to England. Whereupon the earl of Glencarn came himself to Carlisle, with the bishop of Cathness, brother to the earl of Lenox, and two others. In a few days after their arrival, they concluded with the king's commissioners, a treaty, wherein the earl of Lenox and Glencarn promised; 1544.

The conventions between Henry and the earl of Lenox.

I. That they would cause the pure word of God to be preached, in their territories.

II. That they should hinder, to the utmost of their power, the young queen from being carried out of Scotland, and do their endeavour to deliver her into the hands of the king of England.

III. That they would assist the king, with all their forces, to procure him the direction of the government of Scotland, and the title of protector of the realm.

IV. That the bishop of Cathness, and Hugh Cuningham, should be given in hostage to the king of England.

The king promised on his part;

1. That his army should not oppress their lands.

2. That he would constitute the earl of Lenox, regent of the kingdom, provided he would do nothing without his express consent.

3. That he would give him out of the revenues of the crown, what should be reasonable to support the dignity of regent.

4. That, in case the young queen should die, he would support the earl of Lenox, in obtaining the crown, against the pretensions of the earl of Arran.

5. That he would give the earl of Glencarn an annual pension of 1000 crowns.

6. That he would consent, that Margaret Douglass, his niece, should espouse the earl of Lenox, provided she was willing.

This treaty was signed, at Carlisle, the 17th of May, whilst the English army was quitting Scotland and retiring to Berwick.

Other conventions. Herbert.

Some days after, the earl of Lenox came to the court of England, where the foregoing treaty was confirmed the 26th of June, with the following additional articles.

That the earl of Lenox should surrender to the king, the castle of Dunbritton and the isle of Bute.

That if he married Margaret Douglass, he should assign her an honuorable dower.

That the king engaged, on his part, to assist him, with 500 men, to give him a pension of 1700 marks for himself, and one of 100 marks for George Striveling, governor of Dunbritton.

The earl of Lenox cannot surrender Dunbritton to the king. Herbert.

In consequence of this treaty, the earl of Lenox came to Dunbritton, with 13 ships, and about 600 men. Upon his arrival, he went to the castle with a few followers, to try to persuade the governor to deliver the place to the king of England; but the governor prefering his duty to his affection for the earl, refused to admit the English. This attempt failing, Lenox ravaged the isles of Arran and Bute, where he met with no opposition. Then he made a descent upon Kintyre, and after plundering some villages, sailed to Bristol, where he expected the king's return, who was now in France.

In the interim, the earl of Arran and cardinal Beaton, prosecuted, with the utmost rigour,

1544. Another Engliſh invaſion in Scotland.

rigour, the earl of Lenox's friends, confiſcated their eſtates; but a freſh invaſion of the Engliſh, who, tho' few in number, took Jedborrough, Kelſoe, and Coldingham, cauſed them to ceaſe theſe proceedings, and raiſe an army to enable them to repulſe their enemies. The Scotch army amounting to 8000 men, being ready to march, the queen-dowager, the regent, and the cardinal, led them to Coldingham, where the Engliſh, when they retired, had left a garriſon. But whilſt they were employed in this ſiege, the regent having advice, that the Engliſh were marched from Berwick to relieve the town, was ſeiſed with ſuch a panick, that ſpeedily mounting his horſe, he fled all alone to Dunbar. This haſty flight, threw the whole army into ſuch a conſternation, that there was no hindering the ſoldiers from diſbanding. The earl of Angus, alone reſolved to ſtay, with a few men, and carry off the artillery, which was going to be deſerted. The Scots being diſperſed, the Engliſh ravaged, without mercy, Teviot, March, and Lauderdale, compelling the inhabitants to ſwear allegiance to the king of England. Buchanan adds, that the earl of Angus reviving the regent's courage, they aſſembled ſome troops, and cauſing the Engliſh to fall into an ambuſh, ſlew 800 of their men, and took 1000 priſoners; but there is nothing like this, in the Engliſh hiſtories.

The diet of Spire favourable to the Proteſtants. Sleidan.

Whilſt the king of England was acting againſt Scotland, till things were ready to begin the war, in France, the emperor was at Spire, where he had called a diet, to try to obtain ſome aſſiſtance from the princes of Germany. The Proteſtants, at firſt, ſcrupled very much to aſſiſt him, whilſt he left them expoſed to the inſults of their enemies; but, the moment they obtained a decree, that they ſhould not be diſturbed, in the exerciſe of their religion, they granted whatever was required. This was all they deſired, and it was deemed a ſignal favour to grant it, even with ſuch limitations, and ambiguous clauſes, as would, one day, render it fruitleſs. So the diet broke up, about the end of May, to the mutual ſatisfaction of the ſtates of the empire. The pope alone was offended at the decree, in favour of the Proteſtants, and, to hinder them from long enjoying the toleration granted, till the council ſhould meet, he fixed the opening of the council of Trent, to the 25th of March, 1545.

The emperor takes Luxemburgh. Bellay.

Whilſt the emperor was at Spire, he ordered Luxemburgh to be inveſted, which ſurrendered about the end of May. Then, he headed his army, in perſon, to begin the execution of the projects concerted with Henry. Since the concluſion of the treaty, in February, laſt year, whereby they were, each, to bring into the field, but 25000 men, they had agreed to encreaſe the number of their troops, to invade France with two armies, which, together, were to make above 100,000 men, and to join them about Paris. The emperor's firſt exploits, till the king of England's arrival, were, the taking of Commercy, and Ligny, in le Barrois. After that, he entered Champagne, and beſieged St. Didier, the 8th of July. This place, tho' weak, held out above ſix weeks, and then, was taken by a falſe intelligence, carried to the governor. 1544.

The duke of Norfolk joins the count de Bure. Hall.

The war with Scotland, having prevented Henry from being ready, ſo ſoon as he had promiſed, it was about Whitſuntide before he embarqued part of his army, for Calais, under the conduct of the duke of Norfolk. As for himſelf, he ſtill remained, in England, with the reſt of his troops, till the middle of July. When the duke of Norfolk was beyond ſea, he joined the count de Bure, who commanded 10,000 men of the emperor's troops, and they, jointly, beſieged the town of Montreuil. This was, probably, with the emperor's conſent, who, at the ſame time, laid ſiege to St. Didier. He was in hopes, that place would detain him but few days, and then he ſhould march to Paris, whilſt Henry was advancing to join him. Had this project been executed, according to agreement, Paris, and all the country, as far as the Loire, would have been in great danger, ſince Francis had not above 40,000 men. But the emperor was prepoſterouſly bent upon the ſiege of St. Didier, which ſtaied him, above ſix weeks. In the interim, Henry arriving, at Calais, with the reſt of his army, found, that the emperor's deſign was, to leave him, to march, alone, to Paris, and keep the king of France employed, whilſt he purſued his affairs in Champagne. So, perceiving, that, inſtead of marching to the rendezvous, the emperor was employed in a ſiege, he ordered likewiſe, Boulogne to be inveſted, and came, himſelf, to the ſiege, the 26th of July. By this means their project was ſuſpended, whilſt they, ſeparately, amuſed themſelves with the taking of towns; which error proved the ſafety of France. From thenceforward theſe two princes, mutually, charging one another with non-performance of agreement, had, no longer, any confidence in each other; and, therefore, the emperor, by indirect means, cauſed a peace to be offered to Francis, whilſt Henry, more openly, granted a ſafe-conduct for French ambaſſadors, to come and treat with him, at a league from his camp.

The emperor takes St. Didier. Act. Pub.

In the interim, the emperor, having, at laſt, taken St. Didier, about the middle of Auguſt, ſent to Henry, to march towards Paris, as was agreed. Henry replied, that, ſince he had given the emperor time to take St. Didier, it was but reaſonable, the emperor ſhould ſtay till he had taken Boulogne, which could not be long. After the taking of St. Didier, the emperor advanced to Chateau, Thierri, and filled Paris with terror and confuſion; but Henry's anſwer convincing him, it would be very difficult to execute their projects, during the reſt of the campaign, he renewed his private negotiation with France, which had been ſuſpended. Soon after, he concluded, with France, a ſeparate peace, ſigned at Crepy, the 19th of September, not only without including Henry, but even without acquainting him, for fear of prevention.

The treaty of Crepy, between the emperor and French Mezerai.

1544. Henry was not much ſurpriſed at the emperor's proceedings; for he ought not to have expected leſs from ſuch a friend, who was reconciled to him only in order to do his own buſineſs. It is certain, Charles V, no more than Maximilian and Ferdinand, his paternal and maternal grandfathers, never pretended much to ſincerity, nor was integrity his principal virtue. Henry complained of his breach of faith; but it was eaſy to alledge ſundry reaſons, little capable, however, of balancing the oath he had taken, to conclude neither peace nor truce, without the conſent of his ally. But theſe oaths are generally ſo ill kept, in moſt leagues, that they ſeem to be conſidered only as a ſort of form, not much to be relied upon. Happily for Henry, Boulogne had capitulated the 14th of September, before the treaty of Crepy was ſigned.

Henry complains of the emperor in vain.

Act. Pub. Boulogne ſurrenders by capitulation.

The emperor thought himſelf very politick, in eaſing himſelf of the burden of the war, and leaving Francis and Henry imbroiled. Indeed, it was a great advantage, had it not been acquired by breach of faith. Immediately, after the concluſion of the treaty, he ſent orders to the count de Bure, to raiſe the ſiege of Montreuil, which obliged Henry alſo, to recall the duke of Norfolk. In the ſituation of Henry's affairs, he had nothing to do but retire, for fear the dauphin, who was advancing by long marches, ſhould oblige him to fight with great diſadvantage, or retreat with precipitation. Beſides, that the dauphin was at the head of 40,000 men, he would have found the Engliſh army much leſſened, as well by their loſſes at two ſieges, as by the numerous garriſon they were forced to leave at Boulogne. So, having well ſtored that place, and left admiral Dudley governor, Henry departed for England, the 30th of September, whilſt his troops were returning to Calais.

The dauphin fails in his attempt to ſurpriſe Boulogne. Bellay. Act. Pub.

The dauphin came a few days after, but did not think proper to purſue the Engliſh, who were too far before him, and too near Calais for him to expect to overtake them; wherefore he contented himſelf with trying to ſurpriſe Boulogne, the breaches whereof the Engliſh had not time to repair. He was very like to have ſucceeded in his attempt; for the French were now maſters of the lower-town, where all the Engliſh ordnance lay, when a ſally from the upper-town compelled them to retreat in diſorder. Marſhal Montluc, in his Commentaries, ſpeaks of this action, in a different manner from the Engliſh hiſtorians, tho' he agrees with them, that the French were repulſed. Some days after, a conference was held at Calais, to try to procure a peace between the two monarchs. But the view of the French being to perſuade the Engliſh to reſtore Boulogne, upon the bare hopes of a peace, it is not ſtrange, the conference ſhould be fruitleſs.

Henry fortifies his maritime places. Herbert.

Henry, at his return to England, took care to put in a poſture of defence, the places on the Thames, and on the ſouthern coaſt, imagining Francis would not fail to invade him the next year; and, at the ſame time, he ſent into Scotland, the earl of Lenox, who took Dumfries. 1544.

This year, moſt part of the colleges, collegiate churches, and hoſpitals were ſurrendered to the king by acts and deeds, ſeemingly voluntary, but which were no more ſo than thoſe ſigned by the abbots and priors, when they reſigned their monaſteries.

Colleges and hoſpitals reſigned to the king. Act. Pub.

1545. In the beginning of the year 1545, the marſhal de Biez encamped near Boulogne, in order to raiſe a fort at Portet, to command the harbour of Boulogne; but the earl of Hertford, who had ſucceeded Dudley, ſallying out with a body of troops, diſlodged the marſhal from his poſt, and forced him to put off his project, till another time.

Preparations of France againſt England. Stow.

In the interim, Francis was making great preparations againſt England, in hopes of retaking Boulogne, and even Guiſnes and Calais, in order to expel the Engliſh entirely out of France. To this end he equipped, in the ſeveral ports of France, 150 great ſhips, and 60 ſmaller ones, with 10 hired of the Genoeſe; moreover, he had ordered 25 gallies to be brought from the Levant, in imitation of Lewis XII, who, on the like occaſion, had ſent for four from thence; and, at the ſame time, he prepared to raiſe an army of 40,000 men, with whom he intended to join 12,000 Landſquenets, levied in Germany. His project was, to attack Boulogne by land, and ſo block it up by ſea, that it ſhould be impoſſible for the Engliſh to relieve it. To execute this deſign, he ſent a reinforcement to the marſhal de Biez, ordering him to build at Portet, the fort he had been forced to leave unfiniſhed, being unwilling to approach Boulogne, before this fort was in a ſtate of defence. The marſhal putting him in hopes, the work would be finiſhed by the middle of Auguſt, he came about the end of June, to Havre de Grace, to give orders for an expedition by ſea. His gallies and ſhips arriving ſoon after, he commanded the fleet to ſail towards England; but in ſeeing it depart, he had the vexation to behold one of his largeſt, called the grand Carracon, burnt before his face, ſhe having taken fire, whilſt the anchor was weighing.

Expedition of the French fleet. Hall.

Admiral Annebaut, who commanded the fleet, arrived, the 18th of July, at the Iſle of Wight, in ſight of Portſmouth, where lay the Engliſh fleet of 60 ſhips only. Notwithſtanding the diſproportion between the two fleets, the Engliſh approached the French; but after a ſlight ſkirmiſh retired behind the ſands, with deſign to draw the enemies after them. The French admiral conſulting how they might be attacked, was told, it was an impoſſible thing, becauſe the channel, which led to the place where they lay, was ſo narrow, that hardly could four ſhips ſail abreaſt; that beſides, there was no venturing among the ſands, without pilots. Theſe difficulties obliged the admiral to content himſelf, with provoking the Engliſh to fight, by means of the gallies, in order to draw them from

1545. from their poſt. At firſt the gallies, favoured by a great calm, annoyed the Engliſh ſhips; but a land-breeze ariſing, deprived them of their advantage, and cauſed them to row off, for fear of being run down by the large ſhips. The Engliſh did not purſue them very far, their deſign being to draw the enemies among the ſands, with which they were unacquainted.

Deſcent of the French on the Iſle of Wight. Hall.

At laſt, the French ſeeing the Engliſh would not loſe the advantage of their poſt, landed in three places in the Iſle of Wight; but all this ended only in burning ſome villages. It was moved in a council of war, to fortify and keep the iſland; but it was judged impracticable, chiefly, by reaſon of the time which ſuch a project would neceſſarily require. The admiral, therefore, was ſatisfied with ordering a deſcent on the coaſt of Suſſex, imagining the king, who was at Portſmouth, would ſend out his fleet to aſſiſt the country. But he was miſtaken; for the Engliſh fleet ſtill lay behind the ſands, and the deſcents, which the French made, in three ſeveral places, gained them no conſiderable advantage, becauſe the coaſts were well guarded. In the interim, the Engliſh fleet daily increaſing, conſiſted now of 100 ſail. So, Annebaut ſeeing little hopes of making great progreſs, retired towards France, after having watered at the Iſle of Wight, not without loſing ſome ſoldiers and officers.

It is driven upon the coaſt of England. A ſhort engagement.

Some days after, a ſouth wind blew the French back, towards the coaſt of England, and put their fleet in confuſion, which the Engliſh reſolved to improve, if the wind continued favourable. And, indeed, the two fleets engaged for two hours; but, as the wind was very changeable, each endeavoured to gain it, without engaging, however, too far. At laſt, they parted without much loſs on either ſide; and, thus, ended the greateſt effort France had ever made at ſea.

The deſign of beſieging Boulogne and Guiſnes miſcaries by de Biez's fault. Herbert.

The attempt to fight the Engliſh fleet, or to ravage the coaſt, was not, however, the principal motive of this powerful armament. The taking of Boulogne was the king of France's chief end, and the fleet was properly intended only to block up that place by ſea. But, as the Landſquenets were not yet arrived, and the fort marſhal de Biez was building not finiſhed, Francis was exceedingly vexed to ſee the time proper for executing his projects, inſenſibly ſlide away. At length, hearing the Landſquenets were on the borders, he ſent to view the fort, which, contrary to his expectation, and marſhal de Biez's promiſe, was yet very far from being finiſhed. Beſides, it was built in a different place from what was appointed, and did not command the harbour. The marſhal alledged, if it had been built at Portet, the garriſon would have wanted water; but he affirmed, the fort he was raiſing at Outreau, would be finiſhed in eight days. Whereupon, the king ſent him his whole army, of which he gave him the command, and remained himſelf at Chateau-Montier, about 10 leagues from Boulogne.

The marſhal de Biez lay encamped near the fort, till it was finiſhed, his deſign being 1545. to throw in 10,000 men to awe the garriſon of Boulogne, whilſt he beſieged Guiſnes. But the engineer had ſo ill contrived his work, that after much time ſpent in it, he was forced almoſt to begin again. This occaſioned a delay, which broke all the meaſures that were taken. In the interim, the king haſtened the work the more, as he knew that 10,000 Landſquenets, and 4000 horſe, raiſed for the ſervice of England, were marching for Picardy. In ſhort, the marſhal perceiving the ſeaſon would be too far advanced, before his fort could be put in a ſtate of defence, pretended to have certain advice, that the king of England deſigned to land a ſtrong army, at Calais, to relieve Boulogne by land; this is, at leaſt, what du Bellay imputes to him, in his Memoirs. However, the marſhal leaving the fort unfiniſhed, encamped on mount Lambert, to be ready to oppoſe the ſuccours. But the Engliſh appeared not. As for the Landſquenets, ſent for by Henry from Germany, they returned home, becauſe they received not on the borders the money, they were made to expect. In the interim, the French army continued encamped, without undertaking the ſiege either of Guiſnes or Boulogne, tho' Francis had made ſo great an effort for that purpoſe.

Death of the duke of Orleans Mezerai.

In the interim, the duke of Orleans died, at Chateau-Montier, to the great grief of the king, his father, who, by his death, ſaw the peace with the emperor very much ſhaken, ſince it was properly founded upon that prince's life, as will quickly appear.

The French army being encamped on mount Lambert, within cannon-ſhot of Boulogne, there were ſkirmiſhes every day in the ſpace between the mount and the town. In one of theſe conflicts, the duke d'Aumale, known afterwards by the name of the duke of Guiſe, was wounded with a lance, which entering at the corner of his eye, came out behind his head. This wound, tho' deemed mortal by all, was, however, cured by the great skill of Ambroſe Pare, the king's ſurgeon, who was even forced to draw out with pincers, the head of the lance which remained in the wound. The ſcar in the duke's face, gained him the ſirname of Balafre, or Gaſhed.

The French army ravage Terre d'Oye. Herbert.

The ſeaſon was now ſo advanced, that the ſiege of Boulogne was not practicable; ſo Francis was forced to be contented, with ordering the marſhal de Biez to ravage Terre d'Oye, belonging to the king of England; but the ſudden rains made the country ſo watry, that the marſhal was ſoon obliged to retire with his army. Indeed, the inhabitants were great ſufferers, becauſe the garriſon of Calais, which ſhould have protected them, was unable to reſiſt ſo numerous forces. On the other hand, Briſſac, afterwards marſhal of France, defeated a body of 2000 Engliſh. Theſe were all the damages Henry ſuſtained, during the campaign, from an army of above 200,000 men, which had put his enemy to a prodigious expence. In all like-

1545. likelihood, this expence, and the ill ſucceſs of the campaign, contributed moſt to the peace, which was ſoon after concluded.

Francis's motives to make peace with Henry.

Beſides that France was exhauſted, Francis had ſtill another motive to make peace with England. He was apprehenſive of being ſoon compelled to renew the war with the emperor. By the treaty of Crepy, it was agreed, that the duke of Orleans ſhould marry one of the daughters, either of the emperor, or of the king of the Romans, and on accouut of this marriage, ſhould have the duchy of Milan, or the earldom of Flanders. In conſideration of ſo advantageous a ſettlement for the duke, his ſon, Francis had reſigned above 20 places, which he held in Piedmont, or Montferrat, and relinquiſhed the intereſt of his brother-in-law, the king of Navarre. So, the hopes of the advantages this marriage was to procure, vaniſhing by the death of his ſon, Francis was to find ſome other way to obtain them, or break a treaty now become uſeleſs. For this reaſon, being deſirous to know the emperor's intentions, he ſent admiral Annebaut to Antwerp, to offer him to renew the treaty of peace upon other conditions, ſince the death of the duke of Orleans had rendered thoſe of the treaty of Crepy of no effect. But the emperor plainly intimated, that by the death of that prince, he believed himſelf freed from his engagement, when he told the ambaſſador, he would not attack the king of France, if he was not firſt attacked. Francis eaſily judged by this reply, he ſhould infallibly have a war with the emperor. This, added to the little progreſs he had made during the laſt campaign, made him deſirous of a peace with England.

He got the Proteſtant princes to negotiate for him. Sleidan.

But as he was unwilling to ſue for it, he applied to the princes of the Smalcaldick league, who offered to become mediators. This mediation ſeemed the leſs precarious, as the Proteſtants themſelves were highly concerned to procure a peace between the two kings. They ſaw themſelves upon the brink of being attacked by the emperor, ſince he had made peace with France, and knew moreover, he was negotiating a truce with the Turks. Nothing, therefore, could be more for their advantage, than a good underſtanding between France and England, that both monarchs might be able to protect them. They ſent, therefore, to France, Chriſtopher de Veninger, John Bruno of Nidepont, and John Sturmius; and to England, Lewis Bambach, and John Sleidan, to perform the office of mediators between the two kings, in the name of the league. Theſe ambaſſadors meeting the plenipotentiaries of France and England, between Ardres and Guiſnes, preſently found it was not eaſy to make peace. Francis inſiſted, that Henry ſhould reſtore Boulogne, and Scotland be included in the peace; but Henry abſolutely rejected both theſe articles. Whereupon a truce only was negotiated, but with no better ſucceſs, becauſe Henry would never agree, that the Scots ſhould be compriſed in the treaty. This appears in the primitive inſtructions, ſent to Sir William Paget, one of the Engliſh ambaſſadors, and inſerted in the Collection of the Publick Acts. We find alſo in his inſtructions, that Sir William Paget attempted to bribe Bruno, one of the German mediators, with the offer of a conſiderable penſion, and, in all appearance, the mediator hearkened to his propoſals. In the interim, to obtain the better terms, Henry feigned a deſire to be reconciled with the emperor, and even ſent in ambaſſy to him, the biſhops of Wincheſter and Weſtminſter; but this was only to give a jealouſy to Francis. 1545.

Cranmer procures biſhopricks for his friends. Burnet.

Cranmer took the advantage of Gardiner's abſence to advance the reformation, which he knew that prelate would oppoſe with all his power. Some vacant biſhopricks were, by his means, given to perſons who favoured the reformation, and he had thereby among the biſhops a much ſtronger party than ever; nay, he found means afterwards, to obtain the king's conſent to ſome alterations advantageous to religion. But Gardiner, who was then, at Bruges, with the emperor, having notice of it, ſent the king word, that the pope and emperor being joined in a league againſt the Proteſtants of Germany, the leaſt innovation, in England, with reſpect to religion, would be apt to induce them to give the king of France all the ſatisfaction he could deſire, to engage him in their league, in order to act all together againſt him. This cauſed Cranmer to find more difficulty than he expected.

The death of the duke of Suffolk. Hall.

In Auguſt, this year, Cranmer loſt a good ſupport, by the deceaſe of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, who had always continued in the height of favour. He was Cranmer's friend, and would have willingly agreed to a farther reformation; but he was too much a courtier, to attempt directly to oppoſe the king's will. However, as Henry was not always in the ſame diſpoſition, with regard to religion, this lord did the reformed good ſervice, when he ſaw the king in a favourable ſituation.

Continuation of the war with Scotland. Buchanan.

The war with Scotland was faintly continued on both ſides. Henry's deſign was only to terrify the Scots, and induce them to excute the treaty concerning their queen's marriage. On the other hand, the Scots, had no thoughts of invading England. Nevertheleſs, Francis, who, as was obſerved, had formed vaſt projects againſt England, ſent betimes to the regent an ambaſſador, called la Broſſe, to aſſure him of his protection, and a powerful aid, which was inſtantly to depart. Beſides that a diverſion in Scotland could not but be advantageous to him, he was alſo excited by the Lorrain princes, who were deſirous to ſupport the queen, their ſiſter. So, cauſing the Seigneur de Lorge, count of Mongommeri, to embarque with 5000 men, he ordered him to uſe his utmoſt endeavours, to perſuade the Scots to make a powerful diverſion, on the frontiers of England. Mongommeri arriving in Scotland, the 2d of July, joined his troops with the Scots, and both making together 15000 men, advanced towards the Tweed. For ſome days ſeveral parties paſſed the river, and did ſome damage to the Engliſh; but the French general

1545. ral could never perſuade the Scots to venture with the whole army, beyond the Tweed. On the contrary, upon news that the earl of Hertford was advancing at the head of 12000 men, they haſtily retired, and preſently after diſbanded as uſual. This is all that paſſed, in Scotland, worth notice, during the campaign of 1545.

The parliament grants the king a ſubſidy, and the lands of the colleges, &c. Burnet.

The parliament of England meeting the 23d of November, the convocation continued for two years the ſubſidy given the king for ſix. At the ſame time, the parliament ſuppreſſed by an act, all the colleges and hoſpitals, and gave their lands to the king. The motive, or rather pretence of this ſuppreſſion was, the abuſe of theſe foundations. The parliament deſigned it alſo, towards the expence of the king's wars with France and Scotland. But this not ſufficing, the commons granted him, moreover, a large ſum, and as they were aſſembled only for that purpoſe, they were diſmiſſed the 24th of December. Before the ſeſſion ended, the king came to the houſe of lords in great ſolemnity, and made a fine ſpeech, ſaying, among other things, that never had prince a greater affection for his people, or was more beloved than himſelf. He added many ſuch expreſſions, which, tho' very far, for the moſt part, from the truth, were, however, received by the people, with loud acclamations.

The affairs of Germany. Sleidan.

During this year, the German Proteſtants began to feel the effects of the emperor's late peace with France, and of the truce he was juſt going to conclude with the Turk. Hitherto, they had been uſed ſomewhat gently; but the emperor coming to Worms, where the diet of the empire was held, plainly declared to them, he could not any way diſpenſe with their ſubmitting to the council, which was to meet at Trent. This convinced them, there was, in reality, a deſign to reduce them by force, and the more, as a certain rumour was ſpread of a league between the pope and emperor, which could not but be againſt them. Their ſuſpicions were farther confirmed, by a ſermon preached by a certain Franciſcan, before the emperor, to whom he repreſented in very ſtrong terms, that he could not diſcharge the duty of a good emperor, unleſs he laboured to the utmoſt of his power, to extirpate the Lutherans. They knew, alſo, the emperor had wrote to the king of Poland, to excite him againſt them. Moreover, he ſummoned the archbiſhop of Cologne to appear before him, within 30 days, becauſe he had embraced the reformation, and tried to introduce it into his dioceſe. All this ſhewed plainly, what they were to expect. Nevertheleſs, as the emperor had not yet concluded the truce with the Turk, and as things were not quite ready, he ordered that a new diet ſhould be held at Ratisbon, the following January. But the better to amuſe the Proteſtants, he decreed, that the divines of both parties ſhould come to Ratisbon, a month before the diet, and hold a free conference, that ſomething might be afterwards ſettled in matters of religion. The Roman Catholicks did not like this conference, and the Proteſtants were ſtill leſs pleaſed with it, becauſe they foreſaw that the ſtiffneſs of the divines of both ſides, on the points which would be the ſubject of their conference, would give the emperor and the diet, a pretence to refer the deciſion to the council of Trent. The diet breaking up, the 18th of Auguſt, the emperor returned to the Low-Countries. Some time after he received advice, that the truce with the Turks was concluded. He thereby ſaw himſelf at full liberty to make war upon the Proteſtants, and under that pretence, to ſet about the execution of his project, to become maſter of the empire.

1545.

A remark on the council. Sleidan.

It was, properly, at the inſtance of the Proteſtants only, that the council was to meet; but it was very far from being ſuch a council as they had required. They expected it to be held in Germany, in an unſuſpected place, and it was convened at Trent, a city belonging to the king of the Romans, whom they juſtly conſidered as their enemy. Their deſign was to combat the papal authority, and it was the pope who was to preſide by his legates. They intended to ſhew, that the Romiſh clergy had corrupted religion, both in doctrine and diſcipline, and it was the Romiſh clergy who were to aſſiſt as judges. Nay, it was uncertain, whether they ſhould be allowed to produce their reaſons. In the interim, it was pretended, that out of great condeſcenſion, a council was called for their ſakes, and at their ſollicitation; wherefore, it is no wonder, they ſhould refuſe to ſubmit to ſuch a council, which they as much feared, as they deſired one free and impartial. So the emperor and the Proteſtants acted directly contrary to their firſt proceeding. The Proteſtants rejected a council, after deſiring it with great earneſtneſs, and the emperor, after amuſing them many years on that account, preſſed, with all his power, the meeting of the council of Trent, the authority whereof he intended to make uſe of to oppreſs them. The pope would have been glad to have had no council at all, but finding he was too far engaged with the emperor to recede, had fixed the opening to the 15th of March. After that, he put it off, becauſe on that day, there were too few biſhops at Trent. But he had a much ſtronger reaſon. He was very glad to wait the iſſue of the diet of Worms, in hopes, that vigorous reſolutions would be taken there, againſt the Proteſtants, which would engage both parties in an open war, and furniſh him with a pretence, either to delay the opening of the council, or to remove it to ſome town in Italy. But the emperor, who had now formed his plan, of making uſe of the council's authority to proceed againſt the Proteſtants, cauſed the pope, at laſt, to order it to be opened at Trent, the 13th of December. That day the legates, meeting in the cathedral, declared, the council was aſſembled for three cauſes, to deſtroy hereſy, to reform diſcipline, and to ſettle a laſting peace between Chriſtian princes. This firſt ſeſſion was, properly, held only for the opening of the council. There were ſo few

The opening of the council of Trent. F. Paul.

1545. prelates at Trent, that it would have been ridiculous for ſo ſmall a number of perſons, to pretend to make decrees upon the articles for which the council was called.

1646. The Proteſtants ſeeing a council opened, quite different from what they had required, eaſily perceived no good was to be expected from it. They had the more reaſon to fear it, as the kings of France and England being at war with each other, there was no hopes of aſſiſtance from them. In the interim, tho' the German mediators had not ſucceeded in their negotiation, the peace between France and England, was not more remote. The reaſon was, both monarchs were equally concerned to end a war, which only did them damage, without a poſſibility for either to expect any conſiderable advantage. The war continued, however, during the winter of the year 1546. The earl of Surrey, ſon to the duke of Norfolk, who commanded at Boulogne, having intelligence that the French were conducting a convoy to the fort of Outreau, ſallied out with part of the garriſon, to intercept it; but he ſucceeded ſo ill, that inſtead of taking the convoy, he was himſelf defeated, and forced to retreat in great diſorder. This news extremely troubled the king, who was not wont to receive the like. Whether he thought it owing to the earl's imprudence, or ſuſpected him of ſome hidden deſign, he recalled him, immediately, and ſent the lord Gray to command in his room. A few days after, he ordered the earl of Hertford to depart with about 10,000 men, for fear the French ſhould ſeiſe ſome poſt, and cut off the communication between Boulogne and Calais. And, indeed, that was their deſign. But the earl of Hertford, preventing them by two days only, poſted himſelf at Ambleville, where he ran up two forts, which ſecured the communication. The French having miſſed their aim, encamped on mount Lambert; and as the two armies were not far from each other, there were ſkirmiſhes every day, but which decided nothing. It was equally the intereſt of both kings to run no riſque, for fear of breaking off the negotiation of the peace, which was treating between Ardres and Guiſnes.

Henry and Francis wiſh for a peace. Act. Pub.

The reaſons of both kings, for a peace.

Francis wiſhed for a peace, becauſe his exchequer was drained, by his great and continual expence from the beginning of his reign, and, particularly, by the naval armament of the former campaign. Beſides, as he was juſt entering into a war with the emperor, he wanted ſuch a friend as the king of England. In fine, he perceived, that after his fruitleſs efforts to retake Boulogne, it would be very difficult to recover that place by force. Henry was no leſs deſirous of peace, for ſeveral reaſons. He was grown ſo fat and corpulent, that it was a trouble for him to move; nay, he had occaſion for an engine, with pullies, to lift him up and down ſtairs. This made him extremely uneaſy, and gave him a diſtaſte for buſineſs, ſo that he attended to affairs with ſome reluctance. In the next place he had no farther thoughts of making conqueſts, in Picardy. His ſole view, was, to procure what was due to him, before Boulogne ſhould be reſtored, which was of little uſe to him, ſince Calais could ſerve all his purpoſes. But he had ſtill a more urgent motive to renew his old friendſhip with Francis; for he ſaw the emperor, with the pope's aſſiſtance, upon the point of making war on the Proteſtants, and much queſtioned their ability to withſtand him. In this belief, he was afraid the emperor, after ſubduing Germany, would turn his arms againſt England, with all the forces of the empire, Spain, Italy, and the Low-Countries. He could uſe the pretence of executing the pope's ſentence, and even cauſe a like ſentence to be paſſed by the council of Trent. It was, therefore, not at all advantageous to Henry, to be in war with France. It was rather his intereſt to have Francis's friendſhip, as it was alſo very advantageous to Francis, to be ſecure of Henry's aſſiſtance, in caſe the emperor turned his arms againſt France. 1546.

The obſtacles to the concluſion of this peace, conſiſted in Henry's demand of what was due to him, and in Francis's want of money to content him; beſides, Francis inſiſted upon Boulogne, and upon Scotland's being included in the treaty. Theſe difficulties would have been ſufficient to hinder the concluſion of the peace, if more urgent motives had not induced the monarchs to ſeek expedients to ſurmount them. Henry conſented, at laſt, to the article concerning Scotland, and as to the reſt, a way was found to ſatisfy both. Henry was to keep Boulogne, till he was paid, and Francis promiſed to diſcharge the debt in eight years. Every thing being, thus, ſettled, the peace was ſigned the 7th of June. The treaty ran:

The difficulties of a peace.

That the king of France ſhall pay, regularly, the penſion, due by the treaty of More, of the 30th of Auguſt, 1525, confirmed by ſeveral ſubſequent treaties; as alſo, the penſion of ſalt, contained in a treaty of the 25th of April, 1527, valued, afterwards, at 10,000 crowns a year. But, as Henry pretends, the ſaid penſion, given in lieu of the ſalt, is to be perpetual; and, as Francis maintains, on the contrary, that it is to ceaſe at Henry's death, it is agreed, that the diſpute ſhall be, amicably, decided by umpires; and, if the penſion ſhall be found to be perpetual, Francis ſhall pay it to Henry, and his ſucceſſors, for ever.

A treaty of peace, between France and England Hall.

Moreover, Francis ſhall pay to the king of England, on the feaſt of St. Michael, 1554, or within a fortnight after, the ſum of 2,000,000 of crowns de ſoleil, as well for the arrears of the penſion of the 10,000 crowns, as for Henry's expence in the ſiege of Boulogne, undertaken, ſolely, to procure his money, and in keeping and maintaining that place.

As to the article of 500,000 crowns, which Henry preſented to Francis, on condition he punctually preſerved the treaties, as the two monarchs differ in point of fact, it is agreed, the diſpute ſhall be decided by commiſſioners, appointed on both ſides, within ſuch a time, or by four impartial lawyers, in caſe the commiſſioners end not the affair.

It

1546. It is farther agreed, that Henry ſhall keep Boulogne, with its territories, the limits whereof are ſettled by the treaty, till he receive whatever is due to him.

That when all the ſums ſhall be paid, Boulogne ſhall be reſtored to Francis, and nothing, that is faſtened to the ground, ſhall be impaired, or carried away.

That from the date hereof, to the ſurrender of Boulogne, neither of the two princes ſhall raiſe any fort, or new fortification, within the territory of Boulogne, but thoſe already begun may be finiſhed.

The emperor was included by both parties, in the peace. As for Scotland, Henry agreed, it ſhould be, included, on condition, the Scots gave him no freſh cauſe to make war upon them; and in caſe they did, they were to be deemed included, no otherwiſe than according to the treaty of the 5th of April, 1515.

Henry's advantages in this treaty.

Henry could hardly expect greater advantages, than thoſe he received from this peace, which ſeemed to ſecure him not only the payment of what was due to him, but alſo the yearly and perpetual penſion of 100,000 crowns. But the moſt ſolemn treaties are not always ſufficient ſecurity for the performance of what ſovereigns promiſe. It will appear in the following reigns, that Francis's ſucceſſor, not only broke this treaty with reſpect to Boulogne, and the ſums for which his father was bound, but that even the penſion was never charged in the treaties he made with England.

The peace proclaimed at London.

The peace was very ſolemnly proclaimed, at London, the 13th of June, with a general proceſſion, wherein were carried all the richeſt ſilver croſſes, and the fineſt copes worn, for the greater pomp. But this was the laſt time theſe things appeared in publick; for ſoon after, Henry called them in, together with the church-plate, into his treaſury and wardrobe, without giving any other reaſon than his will and pleaſure.

Charges of the late war. Herbert.

It is ſaid, the late war with France coſt Henry 586,718 pounds ſterling, and the charges of keeping Boulogne eight years, amounted to 755,833 pounds. So large a ſum, which was not to be re-paid under eight years, had conſumed whatever had been granted by the parliament, and received from the chapels, colleges and hoſpitals; ſo that he was forced in the beginning of the year to lay a tax upon his ſubjects, under the name of benevolence, as appears in the Collection of the Publick Acts.

The peace reſtored between the two kings the good underſtanding which had been interrupted ſome years, rather by the artifices of the emperor and his party, in England, than for any juſt cauſe. Catharine de Medici, dauphineſs of France, being, at this time, delivered of a princeſs, and Henry deſiring to ſtand godfather, he called her Elizabeth. Preſently after, the two kings ſent ambaſſadors to each other, to receive the oaths concerning the peace, and choſe for theſe ambaſſies their two high admirals. It is ſaid, that whilſt admiral Annebaut was at London, he began a negotiation about religion, and that the two kings intended to aboliſh the maſs in their dominions. As for Henry, very likely, if he had lived, he would have advanced the reformation; nay, it is certain, that on account of this negotiation, he ordered Cranmer to ſet down in writing how ſuch a change might be effected, and to ſtrengthen all with arguments and paſſages from the ſcriptures. But this project ſoon vaniſhed into ſmoke. Probably, Francis had entered into this negotiation, only becauſe he deſired to be in ſtrict union with Henry, and knew by experience, that the bare propoſal of conforming himſelf to his ſentiments, in point of religion, was a moſt effectual way to ſucceed. But it is not likely he really intended to admit of any reformation, in his kingdom. And, indeed, at this very time he was kindling the flames of perſecution all over France againſt the reformed, of whom 14 this year were burnt at Meaux, and many others at Paris, and in other places; not to mention the maſſacre of Cabrieres and Merindol, for which none were puniſhed. The cardinals of Lorrain and Tournon, his chief miniſters, were too much incenſed againſt the Proteſtants, for any man to believe, that ſo long as they were in favour, the king very ſeriouſly thought of aboliſhing the maſs, in France. 1546.

The emperor prepares to attack the Proteſtants. Sleidan.

Before the peace, between England and France, was ſigned, the Proteſtant princes of Germany, ſeeing themſelves going to be attacked by the emperor, who had, at laſt, taken off the maſk, ſince his peace with France, and truce with the Turks, ſent to Henry, prince Philip, brother to the elector Palatine, to deſire aſſiſtance. It appears, in the king's letter to this prince, extant in the Collection of the Publick Acts, that Henry had ſent to deſire him to come, and the lord Herbert affirms, that Philip aimed at marrying the princeſs Mary. However this be, the king anſwered his demand of aid, by ſeven propoſitions, containing the terms on which he was willing to enter into a defenſive league, with the Proteſtants. But as his propoſitions tended only to render him head, and ſole director of the league, they did not think proper to put themſelves, blindly, into his hands. They only told him, if he would depoſit, ſomewhere in Germany, 100,000 crowns, to ſerve for the defence of the league, they would prefer his alliance to that of Francis. But, finding they offered no advantage for himſelf, he had no ſuch zeal for the Augſburg confeſſion, from which he was yet very remote, as to engage in its protection, without reaping any benefit. The truth is, the Proteſtants were perſuaded, he had no deſire to be really united with them, but intended only to encourage them, for fear they ſhould ſubmit to the emperor, as alſo, to hinder them from putting themſelves under the French king's protection, with whom he had not, yet, peace. For the ſame reaſon it was, that, under colour of continuing the negotiation, he kept the count Palatine at his court, till he ſaw the peace, with France, was near a concluſion.

1545. It was now ſome time ſince the pope and emperor had formed the project of a league, againſt the Proteſtants of Germany. They had agreed upon all the articles; but the emperor had thought proper to defer the ſigning, that he might ſay, he did it merely in his own defence. At laſt, about the middle of June, he ſent the cardinal of Trent to Rome, where the league was ſigned the 26th of the ſame month. The pope promiſed to find for ſix months, 12000 foot, 500 horſe, and 200,000 crowns, for the war in Germany; moreover, he gave the emperor a moiety of one year's revenue of the benefices in Spain, with power to alienate 100,000 crowns-worth of church-lands. This was a demonſtration, that it was a religious war, tho' the emperor affected to publiſh the contrary.

League between the pope and emperor againſt the Proteſtants. Sleidan.

The German war.

The emperor having notice, that the pope's troops were beginning to march; that the count de Bure had forwarded his levies, in the Low-Countries; and duke Maurice of Saxony, whom he had engaged in his party, was ready to act, when there ſhould be occaſion, aſſembled his army about Ratisbon. His deſign was to meet the pope's troops, who were croſſing Tirol, under the conduct of Octaviano Farneſe. At the ſame time, to hinder this junction, the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Heſſe marched the ſame way, with an army of 40,000 men. Without entering into the particulars of this firſt campaign, I ſhall only ſay, in general, that the Proteſtants, tho' ſuperior in number, could not hinder the junction of the Italian troops, not of thoſe of the Low-Countries, with the emperor. The different tempers of the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Heſſe, did not a little contribute towards their taking wrong meaſures. In ſhort, the campaign laſting till November, without either of the two armies deſiring to engage, the elector of Saxony received the ill news, that the king of the Romans and duke Maurice were deſtroying his country, with fire and ſword. This obliging him to march with part of the army, to the relief of his ſubjects, the landgrave, grown too weak by this ſeparation, choſe likewiſe to retire into his dominions. Thus, the emperor meeting with no more oppoſition, took Francfort, Ulm, and ſeveral other towns belonging to the league, which furniſhed him with the money he wanted, for the maintenance of his army.

Continuation of the council of Trent. Herbert.

Whilſt the war was carrying on, in Germany, the council languiſhed at Trent, and proceeded very ſlowly; beſides that the members were very few, they were wholly dependent on the legates, who durſt not themſelves undertake any thing, without orders from Rome. But it was the pope's intereſt to prolong matters, becauſe he hoped, time would procure him, at laſt, ſome occaſion to diſſolve the council, or remove it to Italy. Thus, the council was but an empty name, made uſe of by the pope and emperor for their own private views, and to caſt a miſt before the eyes of the publick.

Religion began alſo to cauſe troubles, in Scotland, or, at leaſt, to produce the ſeeds thereof, by the deſpair to which thoſe that embraced the reformation were driven. Since cardinal Beaton and the earl of Arran had enjoyed the peace, procured them by Francis, they thought only of being revenged on their enemies. Religion furniſhed them with a pretence, becauſe the oppoſite faction almoſt wholly conſiſted of the reformed. In the courſe of this year 1546, they put to death ſeveral perſons for religion, at Perth, St. Andrews, and other places. The regent ſuffered himſelf to be ſo led by the cardinal, that he gloried in delivering to the flames, thoſe whom he had formerly conſidered as his brethren. Among thoſe who were ſacrificed to the furious paſſion of the cardinal, a miniſter called Sephocard, who ſuffered martyrdom, at St. Andrews, was particularly remarkable. This man being condemned to the fire, the regent, at the inſtance of one of his friends, would have ſaved his life, and to that end ſent a note to the cardinal, deſiring him to ſuſpend the execution; but the barbarous prelate, without regarding the regent's requeſt, not only cauſed the ſentence to be executed, but would alſo feed his eyes with the ſad ſpectacle, ſitting in ſtate, in a great window of his caſtle. It is ſaid, that, before he was delivered to the flames, the miniſter told the executioner, "That within few days "the prelate, who beheld him with ſuch "pride from yonder high place, ſhould lie "in the ſame as ignominiouſly, as now he "was ſeen proudly to reſt himſelf." This prediction proved but too true for the cardinal; for preſently after, he was murdered in his own palace, and his body thrown into the ſtreet; but of the very window from whence he looked on, while Sephocard was burning.

1545. Perſecution in Scotland. Buchanan.

1546. The ſtate of religion in England.

As for England, religion was ſtill upon the ſame foot, as the king had been pleaſed to eſtabliſh it. The reformation had made ſome progreſs; but was far from being brought to perfection, and yet the reformed could not forbear hoping, the king himſelf would carry it much farther. In this belief, they thought it prudent not to provoke him, and that they effectually conſulted the welfare of their religion, by remaining in ſilence, and waiting for better times. This is the true reaſon, why there were fewer perſons that ſuffered for religion, in England, than in France. It is not to be queſtioned, that if there had not been hopes of a farther reformation, many people would have openly declared the opinions which theſe hopes induced them to conceal. For much the ſame reaſon, thoſe who retained all the tenets of the old religion, durſt not directly oppoſe the king, for fear their oppoſition ſhould carry him beyond the bounds he ſeemed to have preſcribed to himſelf. From hence ſprung a blind and univerſal complyance with the king's will, and the exceſſive power he had acquired, over all his ſubjects, of which he made a very ill uſe. He had been troubled for ſome time with an old ſore in his leg, which was grown very painful; this, added to his monſtrous corpulency,

1546. lency, which rendered him almoſt unable to ſtir, made him ſo froward and untractable, that none approached him without trembling. He had been always ſtern and ſevere, but was incomparably more ſo towards the end of his days, than in the beginning. Flattery had ſo corrupted his judgment and ſenſe, that he deemed it an unpardonable crime, to contradict his opinions, tho' he changed them himſelf very frequently. I have obſerved, that he treated with admiral Annebaut of aboliſhing the maſs, and changing it into a communion, after the manner of the Proteſtants, and yet ſoon after, Shaxton, who had reſigned the biſhoprick of Salisbury, and been long a priſoner for refuſing to conform to the ſix articles, being accuſed afreſh of denying the real preſence in the ſacrament, the king was pleaſed to have him tried according to the rigour of the law, and he was condemned to be burnt. But this man, who had endured the hardſhips of a long impriſonment, could not behold with the ſame firmneſs the puniſhment prepared for him. The king having ſent the biſhops of London and Worceſter, to perſuade him to recant, he was prevailed upon, and abjuring his pretended hereſy, the king granted him his pardon. He became, afterwards, a cruel perſecutor of the reformed.

Ann Askew burnt. Burnet.

This example was not capable of moving Ann Askew, who was accuſed of the ſame crime, and rigorouſly proſecuted, tho' ſhe had good friends at court, where ſhe was well known. She firmly perſiſted, notwithſtanding all the promiſes to ſave her life, in caſe ſhe would recant. Some court ladies, touched with compaſſion for her, having ſent her ſome money, when in priſon, for her ſubſiſtence, were the occaſion of her being more cruelly tormented. Chancellor Wriotheſley, a great enemy to the earl of Hertford, hoping to draw ſomething out of the priſoner againſt that lord or his counteſs, cauſed her to be racked; nay, 'tis ſaid, he would be preſent himſelf, and obſerving the executioner was moved with pity to the priſoner, threw off his gown, and taking upon him the honourable office, drew the rack ſo ſeverely, that he almoſt tore her aſunder. But this is a fact, that ſcarce ſeems credible. However, the woman's bones being put out of joint, ſhe was carried in a chair to the place of execution, and burnt, with four men condemned for the ſame crime. But to add to their ſufferings, they were made to hear a ſermon preached by Shaxton their falſe brother, who upbraided them with obſtinacy, in very bitter and abuſive terms. All this was not capable of ſhaking their conſtancy, which endured to their laſt breath.

Fox.

Deſigns againſt Cranmer, and the queen. Burnet.

The enemies of the reformation, ſeeing the king incenſed againſt the ſacramentarians, thought it a favourable opportunity to ruin the queen and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, whom they conſidered as the grand protectors of the reformed. Among the ſupporters of the old religion, the chief were, chancellor Wriotheſley, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surrey, his ſon, Bonner, biſhop of London, Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter; and theſe had, doubtleſs, among the courtiers, and the king's ſervants, creatures who failed not to be ſerviceable on occaſion. But whatever project they formed, the archbiſhop of Canterbury was ſtill in their way, who having great influence over the king, commonly broke their meaſures. So, to be entirely freed from this formidable adverſary, they reſolved to complain of him openly to the king, and accuſe him of being the head and protector of the ſacramentarians, and of all, in general, who rejected the ſix articles. This reſolution was executed. The perſon who took upon him to ſpeak to the king, told him, there were evident proofs ready of what was alledged againſt Cranmer, and if he were ſent to the tower, ſo many witneſſes would appear againſt him, that the king would be himſelf ſurpriſed. Henry was not ignorant that Cranmer was againſt the ſix articles, in his mind, ſince he had himſelf frankly owned it; but he really loved him, and, therefore, would not expoſe him to a trial, which muſt have been fatal to him; beſides, he took it very ill, that ſuch pains were taken to deſtroy a man, for whom he had ſo often and ſo openly declared. However, reſolving to ſee how far the malice of his enemies would go, he conſented that he ſhould be the next day called before the council, and ſent to the tower, if they ſaw cauſe. But in the night the king ſent for Cranmer, and telling him what had been reſolved, deſired to know how he meant to anſwer for himſelf. Cranmer thanked the king, and prayed him, that ſince he was to be queſtioned for his religious opinions, judges might be aſſigned him, who underſtood thoſe matters. The king replied, he went the wrong way to ſave his life, for, moſt certainly, his enemies had witneſſes ready to convict him, in ſuch manner, that the judges would be forced to condemn him; and, therefore, ſince he took ſo little care of himſelf, he would look to it. So he ordered him to deſire the council, to uſe him as a privy-counſellor, and, as they would expect to be uſed in the like caſe, that is, that his accuſers might be brought face to face, before he was ſent to the tower; and, if his requeſt was not granted, he was to appeal to the king. At the ſame time, he pulled off his ring, and, giving it to him, ſaid, if his appeal was rejected, he ſhould ſhew the council that token of his protection. Next morning Cranmer coming to the council-door, was ſo long kept waiting, in the lobby, that the king, hearing of this diſreſpect, ſent word, that he ſhould be preſently brought in. It happened as the king foreſaw, ſo that Cranmer was forced, at laſt, to produce the king's ring, which terribly mortified his enemies. Then they all roſe up, and went and informed the king of what had paſſed, who told them, he thought he had a wiſer council than now he found

1546.

Cranmer is openly accuſed. Burnet.

1546. they were, and, laying his hand on his breaſt, ſwore, that he took the archbiſhop to be the moſt faithful ſubject he had. The duke of Norfolk, willing to excuſe the council, ſaid, they meant the archbiſhop no harm, but only to vindicate his innocence by ſuch a tryal as would have freed him from all aſperſions. But the king looking ſternly at him, anſwered, "He would not ſuffer men who were ſo "dear to him, to be, thus, handled with im-"punity. He knew the factions that were "among them, and their malice to one ano-"ther, which he would either extinguiſh, or "very ſpeedily puniſh." Then he commanded them all to be reconciled to the archbiſhop. They, immediately, obeyed, tho' it was but in outward appearance; but for Cranmer, he heartily forgave them, as he plainly ſhewed afterwards.

The queen is accuſed, who, happily, brings herſelf off. Herbert.

It ſeems, ſo great a mortification ſhould have made theſe men more cautious; but their extreme deſire to ſucceed in their plot, would not ſuffer them to deſiſt, with regard to the queen. They perceived, if the king had oppoſed their accuſation of Cranmer, it was not to hinder the execution of the law of the ſix articles, but, from a pure motive of affection for that prelate; that, therefore, their proceedings could not have diſpleaſed him, as to the thing, but, only in reſpect of the perſon. This made them think, they ſhould find it eaſier to deſtroy the queen, becauſe the king would never, willingly, ſuffer, that his own wife ſhould differ from him, in matters of religion. Catharine Parr, who was then on the throne, had gained the king's affection, by her extraordinary care of him, and by giving him, daily, freſh marks of her gratitude. She was a reformer in her heart, and even, ſometimes, took the liberty to have ſermons preached, in her privy-chamber, before ſome of her ladies. It came to the king's ears, but he took no notice of it; nay, he ſuffered her to diſpute, with him, upon religion, imagining, ſhe did it, only, for inſtruction. But, at laſt, theſe diſputes having been carried too far, he expreſſed his diſpleaſure at them, and even began to look more coldly upon the queen, than formerly. This made her enemies fancy it a fair opportunity to work her ruin, whilſt, ignorant of their deſigns, ſhe was ſeeking occaſions to inſpire the king with favourable thoughts of the reformation.

Burnet.

The king firſt vented to Gardiner, his diſpleaſure with the queen. He could not pitch upon a more partial man. Gardiner failed not to cheriſh the king's reſentment, by aggravating the queen's obſtinacy, and her pains to inſtill her notions into the ladies, who ſerved her. The chancellor, who was alſo let into the ſecret, confirmed what Gardiner had ſaid, and hinted to the king, that the queen had encouraged Ann Askew, in her obſtinacy, and even inſinuated, that ſhe was plotting againſt the ſtate. In ſhort, they went ſo far, that articles were drawn againſt her, and ſigned by the king. The chancellor, putting up the paper, careleſly, in his pocket, it dropt from him, and the perſon that found it, carried it to the queen, who, ſeeing the king's hand to ſuch a paper, concluded herſelf loſt. However, being adviſed, by one of her friends, to go to the king, and try to appeaſe him, ſhe came into his room with a ſettled countenance, as if ſhe knew nothing of what had paſſed. The king received her very kindly, and began to talk of religion. She anſwered, theſe things were above her, and ſhe ought to learn of him, what ſhe was to believe. "Not ſo, by St. Mary, ſaid the king, you "are become a doctor, and able to inſtruct "us." The queen, feigning to be ſurpriſed, at his manner of ſpeaking to her, anſwered, very mildly, "She ſaw, with grief he was "offended at the freedom ſhe had, ſome-"times, taken to diſpute with him, in mat-"ters of religion, but ſhe had done it inno-"cently, with the ſole view of diverting him, "knowing what pleaſure he took in talking "of thoſe things, which none underſtood bet-"ter than himſelf; her chief view had been, "not only to make him forget his pain, by "ſuch ſort of diſcourſes, but alſo to receive "inſtruction herſelf, and, indeed, ſhe had "profited much; and if ſhe had ſtarted ob-"jections, it was only to give him occaſion "to clear the difficulties, which were above "a woman's underſtanding." "And is it e-"ven ſo, ſaid the king, then we are friends "again." So he embraced her with great affection, and ſent her away with very tender aſſurances of his conſtant love to her. On the morrow, which was the day appointed for carrying the queen to the tower, the king going to take the air, in the garden, ſent for her, and preſently after came in the chancellor, with 40 of the guard; but the king ſtept aſide to him, and after a little diſcourſe, was heard to call him, in an angry tone, knave, fool, and beaſt. Then he came again to the queen, who, ſeeing him in a paſſion with the chancellor, endeavoured to appeaſe him; but the king told her, ſhe had no reaſon to plead for him.

The king begins to hate the enemies of the reformation. Burnet.

Theſe two attempts, againſt the archbiſhop and the queen, not only proved unſucceſsful, but alſo very prejudicial to the enemies of the reformation; for, from thenceforward, the king could not endure them, being ſatisfied, their chief view was, to overthrow whatever he had eſtabliſhed. Gardiner was turned out of favour, immediately, and the king would not ſuffer him to be preſent in the council.

The king reſolves to put the duke of Norfolk, and the earl of Surrey to death. Burnet.

But a greater ſtorm fell on the duke of Norfolk, and his ſon, the earl of Surrey. Henry almoſt choaked with fat, and perceiving his leg, viſibly, to grow worſe, plainly ſaw he had not long to live. In this belief, he conſidered the duke of Norfolk, and the earl of Surrey, as two lords who could greatly embroil the prince, his ſon, during his minority. The duke of Norfolk was, as it were, the head of the favourers of the pope, and the old religion, tho', like a good courtier, he had, outwardly, complied with all the king's

1546. king's innovations. Henry was contented with this external compliance, tho' he knew he was ever attached to the pope, whoſe party was ſtill very powerful, in England, and that his ſon, the earl of Surrey, was in the ſame ſentiments. This ſufficed to inſpire him with a juſt fear, that, after his death, theſe two lords, aſſiſted by the pope, the emperor, and their friends, would labour to ſet the crown on the head of the princeſs Mary, and ſo, what he had been at ſuch pains to eſtabliſh, during his reign, would be entirely overthrown. And, indeed, he could not queſtion, if that party prevailed, they would deem his divorce, with Catharine of Arragon, null and void. In which caſe, Mary was his only lawful iſſue, and the prince, his ſon, a baſtard. He could hope for no remedy to this evil, from the parliament, having learnt, by long experience, with how much eaſe that body, conſiſting of ſo many members, was carried away with the prevailing party. He thought, therefore, the beſt and ſhorteſt way to prevent theſe miſchiefs, and free himſelf from his fears, was, not to leave theſe two lords behind him, whom he believed capable of diſturbing his ſon's minority, and even of robbing him of the crown. For this ſole reaſon, their ruin was reſolved, after which, ſome pretence was to be found; and this is ſeldom wanting, to thoſe who have the power in their hands. As ſoon as it was perceived, his affection for the father and ſon was grown cold, there were perſons ready to inſinuate, they had pernicious deſigns againſt the ſtate, and only waited his death to put them in execution; that the earl of Surrey had refuſed ſeveral good matches, ſince the loſs of his counteſs, and it was generally reported, he aſpired to the princeſs Mary; that it was not without ſome private reaſon he uſed the arms of St. Edward the Confeſſor, tho' his father had taken them out of his eſcutcheon, but, however, the duke himſelf had left that quarter blank, in order to reſume that at a proper ſeaſon. Upon theſe general accuſations, the king ordered them to be arreſted, and ſent to the tower; after which, care was taken to let the publick know, that they who had any thing to ſay againſt the priſoners, ſhould be graciouſly heard, and the king would pardon all perſons concerned in any plot with them, who would come and make a diſcovery *.

The two univerſities are preſerved. Herbert.

Some time before this affair was begun, the king reſtored the two univerſities, of Oxford and Cambridge, to all their eſtates, rents and privileges, tho' by the act of parliament, which gave the lands of the colleges to the king, they were to be ſuppreſſed. It might be thought very ſtrange, the parliament ſhould not diſtinguiſh theſe two univerſities, from the reſt of the colleges, conſidering their antiquity, and the advantages the kingdom had thence received, and daily did receive, if it had not been now frequently ſeen, that they had long acted, ſolely, by the direction of the court. It is probable, the king remained long doubtful, whether he ſhould diſſolve or preſerve theſe two univerſities, ſince, having received their humble petitions the beginning of the year, he made them wait for his reply till October; nay, it was talked at court, for ſome time, of making great alterations in their charters. But, at laſt, the king reſolved to continue them upon ths ſame foot they had all along been; and, ſoon after, on the 19th of December, he founded Trinity-College, in Cambridge, which is one of the nobleſt foundations, of that kind, in Europe. 1546.

The king ſtrikes Gardiner out of his will. Burnet.

In the interim, diligent ſearch was making by the king's order, after every thing that could ſerve to form an impeachment againſt the duke of Norfolk, and the earl, his ſon; the king, who found himſelf near his end, being abſolutely bent, they ſhould go out of the world before him. In this interval, he ordered his will, made juſt before his late expedition into France, to be brought him, and peruſing it, cauſed Gardiner's name to be ſtruck out of the number of the counſellors appointed for the council of ſtate, during Edward's minority. Sir Anthony Brown, who was preſent, would have ſpoke in the biſhop's behalf; but the king anſwered, he knew Gardiner, and tho' he himſelf could govern him, yet none of thoſe who were to come after him would be able to do it.

Act. Pub.

This will, extant in the Collection of the Publick Acts, is dated December the 30th, 1546, and the king's name is at the bottom, with thoſe of 10 witneſſes; but it is hard to know for certain, whether it was ſigned with the king's own hand. This was afterwards queſtioned. Mr. Rymer, who collected the records, would have done well to have put the thing out of diſpute, and informed the world, whether he had the original in his hands, and and if ſo, whether the king's name was his own hand-writing. This he might have eaſily known, by comparing his name on the will, with his uſual ſignings, of which, doubtleſs, he had ſeveral by him. The importance of this inquiry conſiſts, in that the act of parliament, impowering the king to ſettle the ſucceſſion, ordered, it ſhould be by letters patents under the great ſeal, or by his laſt will, ſigned with his own hand. Now it happened afterwards, that the line of Scotland, not being placed in the order which belonged to them, queſtioned the validity of the will, maintaining, that Henry had not ſigned it with his own hand-writing. Indeed it could be alledged againſt this pretenſion, that the the will being dated a month before the king's death, there was no room to ſuppoſe, Henry was then unable to ſign it. On the

* This year, in the latter end of March, the publick ſtews, which had long been allowed by the ſtate, were ſuppreſſed. Stow. They were a continued row of houſes along the Thames ſide, in Southwark, 18 in number, and diſtinguiſhed by ſigns. In the reign of Henry II, there were ſeveral regulations made, concerning theſe houſes, to be be ſeen in Stow's Survey of London. Cambden thinks, they were called ſtews, from the fiſh-ponds near them, for the fatning and cleanſing pike and tench. Cambden.

other

1546. other hand, it is not impoſſible, that having ordered his will to be tranſcribed the 30th of December, he delayed to ſet his hand, and ſo was prevented by death. But there is moreover a ſtrong preſumption, he did not ſign it with his own hand, viz. he was, very probably, unable to write ſeveral months before his death, doubtleſs, by reaſon his fingers were ſo ſwoln, that he could not hold his pen. This conjecture is confirmed by two papers, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, both prior to the will. The firſt is a power of the 31ſt of Auguſt, 1546, given by Henry to three of his miniſters to ſign in his name, all the royal commiſſions, and acts of grace. The ſecond is a like power of the 16th of October following, to ſome of his council to put the king's ſtamp to, and ſeal with his ſignet, all acts to which the king's hand was required. The reaſon alledged for theſe powers, was taken from the multiplicity of affairs, wherewith the king was overwhelmed; but as he had never leſs than at that time, it is extremely probable, this was only a cloke to hide his indiſpoſition. However as this diſpute, which concerned only the royal family of Scotland, was ended by the acceſſion of that family to the throne of England, it is now of no conſequence; and, therefore, it ſuffices to mention wherein it conſiſted. Here follows the manner, wherein Henry ſettled the ſucceſſion, purſuant to the power given him by act of parliament, in the year 1543.

The Order of the ſucceſſion.

I. Prince Edward and all his poſterity.

II. The children he might have by his preſent queen, or any other whom he ſhould marry after her.

III. The princeſs Mary and her iſſue, provided ſhe married with the aſſent and conſent of the executors of his laſt will and teſtament, or of the major part of thoſe who ſhould then be alive, given under their hands and ſeals. This conſent of the executors, was a condition ſo annexed to the right he granted Mary to ſucceed in her turn, that without it, his intent was, ſhe ſhould entirely forfeit her title to the crown.

IV. The princeſs Elizabeth upon the ſame condition with Mary.

V. Frances Brandon, eldeſt daughter of his ſiſter Mary and the duke of Suffolk.

VI. Eleanor Brandon, Frances's younger ſiſter.

If all theſe perſons ſhould happen to die without heirs, or their iſſue come to fail, it was the king's will, that the crown ſhould go to the next rightful heirs. By that he could mean only Mary, the young queen of Scotland, grand-daughter of his eldeſt ſiſter Margaret, who ought naturally to have preceded the children of the king's younger ſiſter Mary.

Laſtly, he added, that in caſe Mary performed not the condition required of her, the crown ſhould devolve to Elizabeth, as if Mary had died without heirs.

In like manner, if Elizabeth neglected to perform the ſame condition, his intent was, that the crown ſhould go to Frances Brandon, as if Elizabeth had died without iſſue. 1546.

He appointed for executors of his laſt will 13 lords, moſt of whom were privy counſellors, as the archbiſhop of Canterbury, chancellor Wriotheſley, the earl of Hertford, young Edward's uncle, &c. Theſe 13 executors were alſo nominated for the prince his ſucceſſor's privy-council, till he was 18 years of age; moreover, he named certain perſons who were to be called to the council, upon extraordinary occaſions. Executors.

He ordered his executors, to pay, firſt, all his debts, and then to make good all his grants to ſeveral particular perſons. Debts.

He made the prince, his ſon, heir of all his goods, plate, jewels, money, cannons, ammunition, ſhips, with all things belonging thereto, and charged him to be guided by the advice of thoſe who were appointed for his privy-counſellors, till he had attained to 18 years of age. Heir.

He gave till their marriage, to his daughters Mary and Elizabeth, a yearly penſion of 3000 pounds ſterling, and to each a portion of 10,000 pounds or more, if the executors thought proper. Legacies.

He left his queen a legacy of 3000 pounds, either in jewels or plate, as ſhe pleaſed, and 1000 pounds in ready money, beſids her dower.

Laſtly, he gave 500 marks to each of his executors, who were lords, and to the others 300 each.

The moſt extraordinary thing in this will was, the king's paſſing over in ſilence, the poſterity of his eldeſt ſiſter Margaret, or, at leaſt, his placing them after the line of his youngeſt ſiſter Mary. Beſides, the clauſe in his will, which ſaid that after the poſterity of Eleanor Brandon, the crown ſhould go to the next heir, muſt have been favourably explained for this firſt branch, ſince theſe general words were liable to ſundry interpretations. This was the effect of the power, the parliament had given the king, to ſettle the ſucceſſion, or rather to unſettle and put it in a horrible confuſion, if divine Providence had not taken more care of it than he. It is not poſſible to deviſe any other reaſon of his proceedings, than his hatred of the Scots, and his fear that the kingdom of England would one day fall under the dominion of a prince or princeſs of that nation, which, however, all his precautions could not hinder. Remarks on Henry's ſettlement of the ſucceſſion.

1547. Whilſt the king was ordering his will to be tranſcribed, the duke of Norfolk's and the earl of Surrey's proceſs was forming with great warmth. The king being reſolved to diſpatch theſe two lords, nothing was able to ſave them. The ſon was brought to his tryal at Guild-hall, before the lord chancellor, the lord mayor, and other commiſſioners, and put upon an inqueſt of commoners, becauſe he was not a peer of the realm, the duke, his father, being alive. Several witneſſes were examined, whoſe depoſitions the lord Herbert has inſerted in his Hiſtory; but there appears nothing

The earl of Surrey is beheaded. Herbert. Stow. Burnet. Hollingſh.

1547. nothing ſufficient to convict him of high-treaſon, of which he was accuſed. What was chiefly urged againſt him was his giving St. Edward's arms, from whence it was inferred, he aſpired to the throne. However, the king being reſolved he ſhould die, he received ſentence of death, and was beheaded, on tower-hill the 19th of January.

The duke of Norfolk tries in vain to obtain his pardon. Herbert. Burnet.

In the interim, the duke of Norfolk uſed all ſorts of means to obtain the king's pardon. He knew him well enough to be ſenſible, that nothing but an intire ſubmiſſion was capable of appeaſing him. To this end, he wrote him a very humble and ſubmiſſive letter, declaring he could not call to mind he had ever offended him, and intreated him for God's ſake to let him know the cauſe of his diſgrace. He prayed likewiſe, that his accuſers might be brought face to face before his majeſty, or, at leaſt, his council, that his cauſe might be maturely examined. He knew not, he ſaid, that he had offended any man, otherwiſe than in appearing very zealous againſt the Sacramentarians; but therein he had only complied with his majeſty's ſentiments and orders. He concluded with conjuring him, to be ſatisfied with taking all or part of his lands and goods, as he pleaſed, leaving him only a ſubſiſtance.

This letter produced a quite contrary effect to what the duke expected; by clearing himſelf, he accuſed the king of injuſtice, an offence which would not have been eaſily pardoned, tho' his diſtruction had not been reſolved. Herbert. Burnet. The duke ſeeing the king unmoved, ſigned, the 12th of January, before the lord chancellor and ſeveral other privy-counſellors, a writing wherein he confeſſed, "That on ſeveral occaſions he had been guilty of high-treaſon, in concealing from the king that his ſon, the earl of Surrey, bore the arms of St. Edward the Confeſſor, which did only belong to the king: That himſelf had born in the firſt quarter of his arms, ever ſince his father's death, the arms of England, with a difference of the labels of ſilver, which were the proper arms of the king's eldeſt ſon, and of no other. That he owned this to be high-treaſon, by the laws of the realm; and that he ſigned this ſubmiſſion without compulſion, or advice, and and threw himſelf entirely upon the king's mercy."

He is attainted in parliament. Burnet.

Very probably, the duke was induced of himſelf, or by the advice of his friends, to make this confeſſion, in the belief, he ſhould never obtain his pardon, unleſs he confeſſed himſelf guilty, that the king might have room to ſhew mercy. But it was all to no purpoſe; for his ruin was reſolved, and the king was not wont to deſiſt from ſuch reſolutions, when once they were taken. In the interim, as it was eaſy to ſee that the peers, who were the duke's proper judges, could not condemn him upon the evidences which were to be produced againſt him, the king thought he ſhould more eaſily compaſs his ends, by an act of attainder. So the parliament meeting at this time, a bill of attainder was brought into the houſe of lords, and read three times, on the 18th, 19th, and 20th of January, and paſſed. In all likelihood the duke's confeſſion under his own hand, contributed very much to the paſſing of the bill; at leaſt, it ſerved for an excuſe to thoſe who durſt not oppoſe it. The bill being ſent down to the commons, was read thrice, and ſent up alſo paſſed on the 24th of January. According to the method, too frequently practiſed in this reign, it contained only general accuſations, without ſpecifying any thing, except the duke's bearing the arms of England, with three labels of ſilver. It was very ſtrange, that his arms ſhould not have been taken notice of before, which he had born ſo long in the ſight of the king himſelf, and the whole court, which he had received from his anceſtors, and for which he had the opinion of the heralds. The bill having paſſed in both houſes, the lord chancellor, the earl of Hertford, and ſome other lords were commiſſioned under the great-ſeal, to give the royal aſſent; after that a warrant was ſent to the lieutenant of the tower, to cut off the duke's head, the 29th of January. But happily for him, the king died the night before, and the council did not think it adviſeable to begin the new reign, with the execution of one of the greateſt lords of the kingdom. It is to be obſerved, that during all the proceedings both of the court and the parliament, againſt the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Surrey, the archbiſhop of Canterbury withdrew to Croydon, without ever appearing at court. As theſe two lords were juſtly deemed his moſt mortal enemies, he would not be accuſed of being concerned in what was tranſacting againſt them. 1547.

The king's death approaches.

Whilſt theſe proceſſes were forming, the king was ſeiſed in his bed, with an illneſs, which brought him inſenſibly to his end. However, the conſideration of the account he was going to render to God, was not capable of moving him to uſe compaſſion towards two lords, of one of the moſt antient families in England, who had done him great ſervices, and, hitherto, were guilty of no crime which deſerved ſo ſevere a puniſhment. On this occaſion, prevailed, as on many others, paſſion and policy in the king's mind, over juſtice and mercy. He was bent, at any rate, to ſacrifice theſe two lords to his ſon's ſafety, and to eſtabliſh, by their death, all the alterations he had made in religion, being perſuaded they would uſe their utmoſt endeavours to deſtroy them. The ſequel plainly ſhewed, he was not miſtaken with regard to the duke of Norfolk, who ſurvived him. This lord's life, preſerved by a ſort of miracle, was a demonſtration, how vain are humane precautions, when contrary to the decrees of God.

He is warned of his approaching end. Burnet.

The king's illneſs continually increaſed, and no man dared to warn him of his approaching end, every one being afraid, that a prince, who was always approached with trembling, would look upon this charitable warning as a crime, and puniſh it according

1547. to an act of parliament, by which, thoſe who ſhould dare to foretel the king's death, were adjudged traytors. But, at laſt, Sir Anthony Denny, one of his privy-counſellors, had the courage and charity, to warn him, that he had but a few hours to live. The king thanked him, and expreſſed his great grief and horror for all the ſins of his paſt life. Whereupon, Denny asked him, if any clergyman ſhould be ſent for, and he ſaid, if any, it ſhould be the archbiſhop of Canterbury. But Cranmer, being then at Croydon, could not come till the king was ſpeechleſs. He had but juſt time to deſire him, to give ſome ſign of his dying in the faith of Chriſt. The king ſqueezed his hand, and, preſently after, expired, in the night, between the 28th and 29th of January, 1546-7, in the 56th year of his age, having reigned 37 years and 9 months. His death was kept private three days. Probably, the council took time to conſult, whether the duke of Norfolk ſhould be executed. At laſt, after three days, the lord chancellor ſignified to both houſes, that the king was dead, and the parliament thereby diſſolved *. 1547. He dies. Herbert.

Henry ſhews ſigns of repentance. Burnet.

* The reader may ſee Henry's character drawn at length, by the lord Herbert; but, as his life and actions ſufficiently make him known, I ſhall only add, what biſhop Burnet ſays of him, at the end of his firſt volume of the Hiſtory of the Reformation. King Henry VIII, is rather to be reckoned among the great than the good princes. He exerciſed ſo much ſeverity, on men of both perſuaſions, that the writers of both ſides, have laid open his faults, and taxed his cruelty. But, as neither of them were much obliged to him, ſo none have taken ſo much care to ſet forth his good qualities, as his enemies have done to enlarge on his vices. I do not deny, that he is to be numbered among the ill princes, yet, I cannot rank him with the worſt.

The End of VOL. I.

DIRECTIONS

DIRECTIONS concerning the Genealogical Tables.

HISTORY repreſents to us four things, which are eſſential to it: 1. The events: 2. The place where: 3. The time when they happened: 4. The perſons who were the actors. If, therefore, in order to underſtand a Hiſtory perfectly, it is neceſſary to have a knowledge of the country where the ſcene of the actions lies, by means of geography, and of the times wherein they were tranſacted, by chronology; it is no leſs requiſite to know the perſons concerned, by the help of genealogies, which very often diſcover the motives and reaſons of things. Nay, genealogy has this great advantage above geography and chronology, that whereas theſe laſt preſent to the mind ſome particular actions only; the bare names in a genealogical table, form, if I may ſo ſay, an abſtract of all the remarkable events in thoſe perſons lives.

Nothing is more eaſy than to make genealogies; but it is very hard to draw them up in a clear and diſtinct manner, and to obſerve a fixed and conſtant method, which repreſents to the eye and mind what one looks after, without the leaſt trouble. This I have endeavoured to do, by means of the following rules, which it will be proper to lay before the reader.

1. The genealogical tables are divided by horizontal lines, marked, 1, 2, 3, 4, &c. On the firſt line is placed the name of the common ſtock, whoſe poſterity is ſet down on the other lines. Thus, all that are placed on the ſame horizontal line, or between the ſame figures, are at an equal diſtance, or in the ſame degree, from the common original. Hence may be ſeen, by the caſt of an eye, the number of generations from the common root, and the degrees of conſanguinity between the deſcendants. For inſtance, in the table of Woden's poſterity, Woden being the common ſtock of the Anglo-Saxon kings, Hengiſt, firſt king of Kent, is placed on line (*6*), by which is meant, that Hengiſt is the fifth deſcendant from Woden. Afterwards, in the genealogical table of the kings of Kent, Hengiſt is placed on a line marked (*6*), by which means, one may immediately ſee, how many degrees any one of Hengiſt's deſcendants were removed from Woden.

England, ceaſing to be under the dominion of the Saxons, by the conqueſt of the Normans, inſtead of Woden, William the Conqueror, is made the common root of the Engliſh kings, down to the preſent time; accordingly, in the genealogy of William the Conqueror, his name ſtands upon the line marked (1), to denote his being the ſtock from whence all others ſprung. For inſtance, Edward III, in this table, being on line (*9*) in the table of his own poſterity, he is placed at the ſame number, to ſhew, it is only a continuation of the genealogy of William the Conqueror.

2. The ſons are always placed according to the order of their birth, from the left hand towards the right, by which means, the eldeſt branches are diſtinguiſhed from the younger, at one view. The ſame order is not obſerved, with reſpect to the daughters, who are placed in the void ſpaces, ſo as to prevent the lines from running out to too great a length; but, however, the elder ſtands always on the left hand of the younger ſiſter.

3. The children of the ſame prince are placed ſo, that their father ſtands in the line over them, juſt in the middle, which ſaves a great deal of trouble and confuſion.

4. As the only end of theſe genealogical tables, is to facilitate the reading of this Hiſtory, ſeveral perſons who died young, or unmarried, or without iſſue, and the like, are omitted.

5. One of the chief things, which render genealogies plain and uſeful, is, to load them with as few words as poſſible; by which means the blank ſpaces will remain the larger between the names, than which, nothing contributes more to make the tables clear and diſtinct. This is the reaſon, the following abbreviations are made uſe of, as, E. for earl, D. for duke, K. for king, Q. for queen, W. for wife, d. for died. The names written in *Italian* character, under thoſe that are part of the genealogy, denote the husband or wives. For inſtance,

Sledda
Ricula of Kent.

This ſignifies, that Sledda married Ricula, princeſs of Kent. When two or more names are under another, with numbers before them, this means, 1ſt wife, 2d. wife, 3d. wife, or huſband, &c.

6. Laſtly, Each king has a number annext, to denote the order of ſucceſſion, and in what rank each ſucceeded to the crown. This is abſolutely neceſſary, in the ſucceſſion to the throne of England, where the order of the branches was not always obſerved.

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